

3.4 SADA

3.4.1 Introduction

Sada lies in the north-east border of the Ciskei on the bleak uplands of the Queenstown Basin, 5 km from the tiny administrative dorp of Whittlesea. It is the driest part of the Ciskei and also the coldest, being 1 000 m up and with four months of frost in the year. Days are often sunny and windy. The land becomes arid if it is strained at all. Then there is dust everywhere, and dust spirals move across the countryside.

Sada is the biggest settlement in the Hewu district which covers the whole Ciskei area north-east of the Winterberg and Amatola ranges - bigger than Oxton or Zweledinga or even Thornhill in its population. It is also the oldest of these resettlement areas. It now has about 40 000 people, one-sixth of them squatting next to the formal area.

The squareish grid of streets and housing is the size of a small town. Little houses have spread over the flat land and quite far up the huge hill behind. They are all exposed to wind, heat, cold and dust. Down on the flat it is the same, but the best established side to the south has an elegant edge. Houses there, including some examples of Ciskei Moorish, stand elegantly among 15-year-old trees and look out over a grey waste of industrial land, bare but for 4 small factories, and the early stages of the Shiloh irrigation scheme. Shiloh itself is an old Moravian mission which lies over the tar road beyond, a road running east into Whittlesea and on up to Queenstown in one direction and off into the hills on the other, down to Seymour.

Sada has grown in the fork of the Seymour road and another road branching off it immediately outside Whittlesea. That road goes west to Oxton, Zweledinga and the Katberg Pass. Where the roads divide you look over the industrial and irrigation land to the few fine houses and the bad housing which extends back along the flats and up the hill. Then on the Oxton road you bypass Sada's third side, and through the fence running on your left you see first the mass of planned sites and then about 1 000 mud shacks cramped together on very hard-beaten ground. This long desolate corner is the overflow from Sada known as Emadakeni (The Muddy Place) or the Village of Tears.

The South African Bantu Trust (now SA Development Trust) bought the Sada land from Shiloh mission for a resettlement camp which started in 1964. The place had been Shiloh's cattle post. Xhosa people were brought or sent or directed here, mostly from Eastern Cape farms and townships. The name SADA is a contraction of 'At last we have found a home' in Xhosa. Officials said it was for people who had nowhere to live. Families came here voluntarily, they added, and here they could at least have a base for themselves and try to find work

roundabout or get migrant contracts through the labour bureau. The government planned to bring work to the area, so the assurance went on. By the time Sada was 'full' in 1972, with 25 000 people, Border industries would have arrived. It did not happen.

All this was said of other places too that started at the same time in the Eastern Cape, like Ilinge ('Try') near Queenstown, and Mngqesha ('Work') near King William's Town. Only Mngqesha, later called Dimbaza, eventually became anything like a growth point for industry, and even then it is said to have been developed more as a propaganda piece against exposés on the place than for real reasons of growth planning.

All these places were dumps for 'surplus' families. A few were 'surplus' politically. Their household heads were ex-Robben Islanders or known ANC supporters who were banished to Sada or Ilinge. The other families were mostly unwanted as labour, especially after 1967 when the coloured preference area of the Western Cape was extended to most of the Eastern Cape. This affected Xhosa workers east of the old Eiselen Line (Kimberley - Colesberg - Humansdorp) right over to Aliwal North - the Fish River.

Not only were these workers being supplanted, but whole townships were to be cleared - completely, as with the 203 families from Middelburg, or else gradually wherever people were in arrears with rent. This was part of reversing the flow to the towns, which the government had tried to do before, but now in the 1960s it was a really determined move. The policy was 'Out of town, back to reserve land', and it overrode urban residential rights. The fact was that people were not homeless as the officials had said, but were made homeless. If they then went voluntarily to Sada, it was because they had nowhere else to go - and that 'voluntary choice' was only because other places were 'illegal'. Everything about Sada including the position of the people who came there was a white construct.

White farmers also took the opportunity to clear unwanted black families off their land, especially the old or unfit for work. These evictions also amounted to forced 'voluntary removal'. The fence around Sada, and the rigid control whereby you could only leave or settle in Sada with permission from the Whittlesea magistrate, were to keep people out as well as in. It was not that Sada attracted people, but that they were desperate for a place after eviction. The myth of local development at Sada was upheld through 1969 when it was declared a 'self-contained Bantu town'. In fact it was nothing but a slowly growing sprawl of the poor or destitute, and 45% of the population were on rations of R1,70 a month per adult and R1,40 per child. Facilities were very bad, and still are. Even now in 1982, for instance, Sada has no hospital for its 40 000 people. Nor has the whole of Hewu district, come to that.

Without land for subsistence, without any decent local industry for wage incomes, the Sada people could only try for jobs on local farms or migrant work through the labour bureau in Whittlesea. The main income has always been from migrant wages. This is where a grim picture has got still worse, because in 1976 a massive influx of political refugees from the Transkei swamped the whole of Hewu. Those from Herschel went mostly to Thornhill, while the Glen Grey people headed mainly for Zweledinga, Oxton and Sada too. Altogether about 50-70 000 people arrived within 9 months, by April 1977, all needing houses and jobs. Sada and the labour bureau were crowded out.

To make matters worse, the Riekert recommendations have drastically cut down the number of migrant contracts for the homelands since 1980 by giving preference to workers in the 'Republic' area. The teeming workforce of Hewu now queue for fewer and fewer jobs. This terrible trend is likely to continue.

Sada in 1982 is badly under-housed, lacks proper facilities, cannot support itself locally, and shares a dwindling migrant labour market with all the other thousands in Hewu. The place has never developed in morale either. It was always too degraded to get run down. All you can say is that the misery of 1964 has multiplied without reducing the sense of isolation -

We cannot do anything on ourselves without money. We live to die -
slow death.

3.4.2 Origins

Most of the Sada people came from surrounding areas in the Eastern Cape . Our sample might be slightly overstating the case , but it had 92% from these parts . 74% came from less than 100 km away , and 45% from less than 50 . Whittlesea and Queenstown have always been the main sources but there were many others too - the sample picked up 30 places of origin . Those who came from further afield were from the Western Cape , the Orange Free State , and Transvaal . This very general range shows how 'surplus' families were being pushed out from everywhere in the Eastern Cape and beyond . The removals were certainly not isolated or arbitrary events .

A few more people came from urban than rural places (53% and 47% in our sample) . This was to be expected since the towns were the main areas where labour would be replaced , and where there was the 1960s drive to get blacks out of town .

THE TOWNSHIPS

Some townspeople were given these explanations direct or else they found out later -

They said the area is for coloureds so we had to move to Sada .

We were told to move because better houses for us have been built . The area is now used for coloureds .

For the few Cape Town people , of course , it was that they decided to drop their long 'illegal' effort to stay . The sample families had come quite recently , from 1978 -

The police (at Crossroads) said we had to leave because we had no right to live there . When our shacks were destroyed we rebuilt them . For several times we were fined . When we heard that there is a place that we can settle on we came here .

We were fined several times so we decided to leave .

For some families , especially in the 1960s , eviction came simply with township offices turning the screw on rent arrears , a perennial fact of life -

We were accused of being in arrears with rent by the local police . We begged them to give us 3 months to try and cope with as little as we could but they would not listen . The next afternoon they came and took our clothes out of the house .

The municipality said we were too far behind with rent . And that we could no longer be tolerated .

People were being moved out after many years of settled town life . Of those we interviewed , 96% had been in their last home for over 4 years , and 79% for 10 or more . 29% had been there for more than 20 years , and 10% for over 40 .

Being so well established , they had got all the work on offer . The town families we saw had all had at least one member in a paid job , with only 4 exceptions , and 23% had two wage packets . Of the jobs held , 30% were migrant and therefore not immediately affected , but 70% were local and the loss of these jobs increased the dismay some people felt about Sada -

We could all get employed in Adelaide but it's hard to get employment here in Sada .

There was more employment in Hofmeyr than here . (A former domestic worker)

The income was lost with the very move to where things cost more -

Things are very expensive here including transport costs to the hospital in Queenstown or East London .

When people compare Sada with the township they lived in before , almost everybody says it was better there . The origins are so scattered it is hard to build up a picture of any one place , but comments suggest the sort of things people remember with such feeling -

Taps were not so far from each other .

Prices of goods were not as high as they are here .

We were not used to borrowing money or food there .

The differences are that this place is far from the central business district . There is no nearby hospital . Houses are very small here . Not enough street lights .

In Queenstown we could sell something to earn a living .

We used to buy sour milk from nearby farms but here we are isolated and starving .

Bus services are regular in Queenstown .

The toilets were of good condition than these toilets here .

We occupied a 4-roomed house in Queensdale - here we are put in a 2-roomed house which even leaks when it rains .

It was much better there because we did not buy everything but here we've got to buy even wood .

A few people did not feel their move a loss -

I can see no difference between here and there .

There are no differences according to the community .

We have not yet got a better house but the fact that we have our own house satisfies us .

A few others felt life was harder before they came -

Port Alfred is not well arranged . Water is better at Sada because it is enough and not salty . Houses are better off here compared to self-built houses in Port Alfred .

We couldn't get employment in Tarkastad but there's a difference now . In Tarkastad we were harassed now and again for reasons known to the police only .

Most had rented houses before . In our sample half the rentals were from the government or municipality , and half from private owners . Several people favoured the move to Sada because they had had enough of being other people's tenants or lodgers and wanted a home of their own -

We no longer stay as lodgers but pay rent for our house . We are no longer under threat of being evicted .

We lived there as lodgers so we decided to come here .

Even in Sada this is only relative security -

I have to pay rent under threats of eviction which was not the case in the previous place .

We can go freely wherever we want to go , as long as we pay rent , without the threat of being evicted .

Some find this safety-rental too expensive after their old arrangements -

There was no rent there but here the rent is high .

Life here is very expensive because we pay R4,15 rent but there we paid 20c for our self-built houses .

For others the price is fair compared with what they paid before - R5 in Molteno , 1974; R4,80 in Queenstown , 1978 .

Some township people had not even paid rent before . They were the 3 families who had owned their own place , two of them 'illegal' shacks in Cape Town , and also an intriguing minority of 12% who had occupied housing free in Whittlesea and Queenstown , apparently from private owners . Unfortunately we do not know how those arrangements came about .

TRIBAL LAND

Of the rural people we met , 13% came from tribal land . They were all from Glen Grey district except for one family who had come on in despair from Thornhill after half a year in 1976 . Most had come at the time of Transkei 'independence' , which cannot be seen as voluntary removal any more than the moves made by people deciding to come after township eviction . They had voted against Transkei going independent , rather rashly , and so they could not expect any kind of future there when 'independence' happened all the same . In fact it seems that some of them were just kicked out .

We voted for Sebe not Matanzima so we had to move to the Ciskei .

We voted for Sebe not Matanzima so before independence day we had to move .

The local head there (Cofimvaba) told us to leave . The reason is that we were against being recruited to vote for the independence that was forthcoming in Transkei . We stressed that we did not want to move as we had nowhere to go but we were forced out by a number of people called amaMfengu .

Of all the people coming in , those from tribal land were most appalled at Sada's limitations . Their reactions give an idea of what they had had before: stock , agricultural land , access to a hospital , and also something closer to subsistence life .

We did not worry that much about work because we had a field .

We can also see what they loathed before -

We are no longer exploited by headmen .

In Cofimvaba we were to paying a sheep and a sum of R5,00 when Matanzima was to visit there and never ever did anyone get compensated - instead it left us bankrupt .

Ironically they were moving into the same practices all over again . Sada may be worse , come to that . The collection we heard of in 1981 was for a party for Sebe (who never came) and for Ntaba kaNdoda , Ciskei's pop-up national shrine . Sada people say these receiptless fund-raising are regular and so do people elsewhere in the Ciskei . If you don't pay you get evicted , so it is straight extortion . Of course people feel outraged , especially as nothing is being done to improve Sada .

We expect the Ciskeian government to help us because we pay for poll tax . Instead of improving our conditions they ask us to donate some money for the building of Ntaba kaNdoda monument .

We expect Sebe and his government to help us because we donate money now and again for parties cracked for government ministers . Instead of building more houses and factories here they are busy building a monument at Ntaba kaNdoda .

The real change for people from tribal land was the loss of farming and the implications about how the family then lived. They had all been settled for more than a generation, the families in our sample. The one that lost most had had two medium fields producing mealies, sorghum, potatoes, beans, tobacco, sweet potatoes, spinach and carrots. They had grazing rights in Cofimvaba, and their stock was of cattle, goats, pigs, poultry and horses - which meant they had meat, milk, hides and eggs. They also sold some of their produce. Then on removal

We lost our land and had to sell our stock.

They did not get a fair price, they said. Now in Sada they have one garden plot producing mealies, potatoes, beans, cabbages and onions. They have no stock. They still eat well and earn a bit through selling, but it is nothing much and no longer their own agricultural produce -

We buy sugar and make some sweets. We sell each sweet at 3c price.

We all sell sour milk - 10c pint.

The worst-off of the families from tribal land had had one small field for growing mealies, beans, cabbages and pumpkins. They too had lived in Cofimvaba and had grazing rights, and they owned cattle yielding meat and milk. They had sold their produce. On leaving they also had to undersell their stock. Now in Sada the family eats twice a day, their staples being mealie meal/samp and bread, with tea/coffee and sugar. Fat is used twice a week, and milk only once a week. They do not eat greens, potatoes, eggs, meat, cheese or anything else.

We do not know what formal incomes these families had before moving, if any, but otherwise the inference must be that the families from tribal land are all more precariously based after the move, more dependent on wage incomes. The poorer ones have certainly cut down their diet a great deal in ways affecting their health.

WHITE - OWNED FARMS

These produced 87% of the rural families we met. Again, families off these farms had gone from very well established bases. Those we interviewed had stayed for anything between 3 and more than 70 years in their first place, in these proportions: 91% had been there for over 4 years; 74% for over 9 years; 46% over 20; and 26% over 40. This is to say that nearly half of them had been there a generation, and a quarter of them for two or more. Most of them (79%) had left nominally of their own free will, but here again the pressures to leave were so great one hesitates to use the term.

The broad theme of their life on the farm was familiar: terrible wages, with rations, to one or two of the household in return for work from many more; service every day throughout the year from the paid workers and by demand from the others; fields for a few, and permission to run stock for a few more.

Their wages ranged from R2 to R40 a month. No less than 51% of the workers got R6 or less; 76% less than R15; and 95% less than R21. These appalling figures are slightly modified by the fact that 68% of the workers also got rations of various amounts (which were not geared to the wage scale to compensate particularly for the worst wages). But they are modified again by the huge family effort that seems to have been summoned in the name of just one or two paid workers. EVERY farmer used the family's labour although 48% of them employed only one man. Another 30% hired two, and the rest hired up to six. The extraneous work included milking, shearing, working in the farmhouse kitchen, ploughing fields, looking after sheep and cattle, irrigating, chopping wood, and so on.

For this the family also had a place to live - the main feature. It was rent-free in the strict cash sense, and that was another important thing. Only 13% had no land to plough and had

no livestock at all. Of the rest, 31% had a field and 97% had stock even if in some cases it was just poultry. Most people had other creatures too - pigs were quite common, many had cattle, and some had goats and donkeys as well. The eggs, milk and meat, and the green vegetables, were vital additions to the rations diet which appears to have been mainly bulk carbohydrates (samp and mealie meal).

Those in formal service worked the year round, for long hours every day -

The difference between Sada and the farm is that you can rest here but on the farm you worked from 6 a.m. - 6 a.m. (? p.m.)

There was no day off on the farm but here I can rest.

On the farm we never got satisfied because of the hard labour we performed.

Not one response indicated any warmth of feeling towards their landlord-employers. On the contrary, 27% of those interviewed gave views ranging from general dislike to hot indignation. The composite picture of the white farmer is of a cruel man who holds the threat of eviction over you constantly to back up any demands, makes your children work instead of letting them go on with their education, and leaves the family with no powers of decision about their own life. Undoubtedly there was a lot of truth here. Whatever the case, it is certainly the image their workers held.

We are no longer under the cruel farmer.

We are no longer threatened with evictions by farmers.

We are no longer under white farmer.

We are entitled to own our own house here in Sada more than being kicked up and down by a white farmer.

Here there is the chance of educating children. On the farm the maximum was Standard 2 and then work for the farmer.

Here I can depend on my own, not on a person who will force me to what I don't want.

What these families do remember with longing, though, is the fact of secure food -

We are starving here - we got rations and other commodities.

Starvation in this place is abundant because you stick to one type of food but on the farm you could enjoy milk every day.

We have just realised that a farm life is better than the one led in township because we don't get rations here.

We are starving because we don't get ration.

The last two quotes have extra force because those people actually left the farm through being so badly paid -

We could not get enough money from the farmer. (a man earning R4 monthly plus samp and mealie meal)

The farmer paid us very low wages. (a man earning R15 monthly plus the same)

This indicts Sada rather than praises the farms. Still, people recall those rations with wonder - and see them as valued food, and not at all as an endearing side of any human bond. Memories of the relationship are not glossed over.

Other good features of farm life were mentioned -

We are forced to rent here but didn't rent our former dwelling .

The houses we built on ourselves on the farm were better than what we are staying in here . They are small and expensive .

At least we had a tank of clean water but not here . (a man now living in Emadakeni)

Most of all there was the precious fact of being able to keep some stock . This loss is often cited bitterly , and also the loss of reasonable housing for the poor cramped quarters in Sada -

There is no right to keep stock because this is said to be a township - but an undeveloped and non-development township . People are scuttled in very small 2-roomed houses .

Why families moved from the white farms is not always clear in the sample , but the main categories seem to be two . First there are households wanting to escape exploitation and get a place of their own to settle in and organise their own lives .

We wanted to be our own bosses by having our own house in our own land .

When the farmer died we moved because the new farmer was cruel .

We wanted to be secured in our own house .

The farmer was very cruel so we decided to leave him .

By implication also , people left to seek other work , and the only legal course was to head for a labour bureau in a 'homeland' area .

The other main group are families thrown off as being unfit for work .

Because the household head was deaf and injured himself by a machine i.e. cut two fingers , the farmer evicted us . We were taken from De Aar by train and arrived in Queenstown and taken by GG trucks to Sada . (The family had been there 38 years)

The white farmer said we are no longer fit for work so we should leave the farm as soon as possible . We came here on removal trucks . (They had been there 50 years)

The farmer said the household was too old , so he had to come here . The white brought us on a train - fund supplied by the government . (After they had been there 28 years)

When my husband got sick we left because there was nobody to work . (After they had been there 50 years)

Some families were just trucked away , and it is clear that government transport was made available to private farmers because these evictions were in line with government policy .

Farmers also replaced people they didn't like , apparently , or the farm changed hands either by consolidation or sale to another white farmer -

The farmer panicked since my father had attended a funeral on a Saturday .

The farmer left for urban areas for they were very old . The new farmer brought his many people .

The new farmer of the farm said they were going to locate people of their own choice .

The farmer said we should leave because he was selling the farm to the government .

3.4.3 First removals & early days at Sada

The question of force behind a move is very hard to gauge, as we have seen. In formal terms though, 19% of sample families were evicted (12% from townships, 7% from the country), and of that group 56% were physically carted off to Sada, about a third of them from town.

Occasionally the pill was sugared -

A white government official said they have built houses better than those we were living in. They really are better but small and expensive. We were brought here on GG trucks.

Otherwise they heard more matter-of-factly -

They said the location there would be demolished and new accommodation was available in Sada. We were brought on trucks of S.A. government.

Apart from what sounds like a bag of groceries (bread, jam etc.), which was described as 'compensation' from a farmer, none of the families we met had been compensated at all for removal. Nobody mentioned asking for it either.

Only four families in our sample tried to stay. The Crossroads people resisted police raids until finally they decided to give up. Other Capetonians put up with fines for a while. Elsewhere others pleaded for time to make up their rent, or that they had nowhere to go. No Eastern Cape people showed anything like the firmness of Cape Town resistance, nor were there any group stands against removal as far as we heard. Maybe the 1960s lacked some of the assertions of the next decade: for example, 78% of the people brought to Sada arrived in the 1960s, and they might not have accepted this if it had happened a decade later. It could also be that the small Eastern Cape groups were more isolated and unprepared for trouble than those in Cape Town.

Trucks were used for Eastern Cape removals, but people from further off came by train as far as possible. Where people arrived on their own initiative they had hired a truck or lorry, or a friend had helped them with transport.

The Whittlesea people came first in 1964, from just a few kilometres away. The whole township was being cleared, and this suggests there were at least 200 families involved. The township had been an old one - some families had been there 60 years and more - and the people had been able to keep livestock including cattle, using the grazing nearby. They came to the site on what had been Shiloh land, the mission's old cattle post, and local feeling ran high against their going there at all.

We are not sure, but understand some 10 000 sq ft sites had been marked out and rough roads made before the people came, and that a few water taps were in. They went straight into temporary housing allocated by the Bantu Affairs man in charge, Mr Brechten. These were the familiar tomato-box huts. Each had one room without ceiling or floor, with one door and two windows, one at each end. Apparently there was a pit latrine for each household. For fuel they cut down the bushes roundabout, a supply that virtually dwindled away within five years. Facilities were very poor, with rudimentary roads, water supply and sanitation; and also remote in the case of the clinic and shop, both of which were off the site. Going into this resettlement camp, families had to lose their stock because there was no question of grazing. This was one of the strong objections people had to moving.

Before the end of 1964 the Whittlesea group had been joined by the first arrivals from the farms - those evicted from Tarkastad, Adelaide and so on. Some had to go into a terrible emergency batch of housing: one-roomed asbestos structures which were worse than the tomato boxes for staying hot through summer nights and cold through winter days. Some may also have been in tents.

The rest of the 1960s saw a steady rise in population but not in facilities or opportunities for local work or community spirit. The place was just a larger dump than before. There were over 8 000 people in Sada by the time it was proclaimed a 'self-contained Bantu town' in 1969, and houses were going up at a rate of 60 a month at one stage, yet there was still no clinic or formal shop. The Shiloh clinic, 3 km away, held a Sada session once a week, with a 'health officer' in attendance. There was no qualified midwife in the camp. People had to walk to the shop in Whittlesea 5 km away for all bought goods and for rations. Altogether it was clear that these were the most expendable, ignorable units of the unwanted, in the eyes of the administration, and that meant a high proportion of the old, disabled and very young.

A garnish of 6 000 trees had been planted along the roads (if that's what you could call them - only the one leading into the camp was worthy of the name) and some of these survived. Meanwhile no plot could be watered by hose 'because they waste water', the superintendent of the time, Mr Kirsten, said. Fuel had grown so scarce even before 1969 that it sold for the enormous sum of R9 a load of thornbush which could last two months if used sparingly. This was quite beyond most of Sada's means, where 45% of the people were desperately trying to keep going on rations to the value of R1,70 a month per adult and R1,40 per child. To cook any food there was, was an acute problem. Few of those tiny sheds were heated either - and Sada is 1 000 m high, with a 4-month frost period. Bouts of gastro-enteritis killed many people in those early years, as still happens today. Many more sat and then lay curled up starving in the bare rooms until they died. The number will never be known.

Details of income, diet and the other sides of life covered by our survey will be considered in turn. To complete the early general picture, however, we should add that local employment has always been low and badly paid, but that the early years when Sada was being built gave more jobs locally than now. In 1967 the government started a brickworks too, doomed to failure because Sada lies 42 km from the nearest railhead at Queenstown, and the cost of bringing clinkers from there to fire the kilns was more than the railage all the way from Witbank in the Transvaal. It was never a commercial venture but a way of reducing the housing bill in Sada.

The brickmakers seem to have been largely women, since 100 were employed at the quarry and 100 at the kilns. For this strenuous full-time work they earned R4 a month, and in fact took home only R2,30 a month because the rest had been docked off for rations for the family. These workers therefore paid for their own rations with nearly two weeks' fulltime work; or to put it another way, they amounted to being a concentration camp workforce which is kept fed enough to do work for the administration and cut government costs. The same rate and reduction for rations applied to another 500 women, mostly pensioners, who cleaned the camp, picking up rubbish by hand, and planted and watered the trees.

There were many more women than men in Sada, but the men who got work were a bit less outrageously exploited. They earned R16,50 a month on construction work like building the houses. This was far below the level of wages offered at Boskor, the State sawmills nearby - at that time they paid R10 a week plus food, which was still a very bad rate. Local farms hired some Sada men, and Boskor occasionally did too. The main assumption and fact was that men went off on migrant jobs contracted through the labour bureau in Queenstown until another bureau was set up in Whittlesea.

Since those early days, at least another 30 000 people have come. They rely almost entirely on the labour bureau in Whittlesea for jobs, and must seek them because there is no way out of the proletarian lifestyle. The SPP survey picked up some aspects of their life in the early 1980s - 95 households were interviewed in March and April 1981. The questionnaires are the basic source for most of the following profile.

3.4.4 Demography

POPULATION GROWTH

The population growth rate has been very unsteady. Two big waves arose in 1969-70 and 1975-76 when tremendous numbers came to Sada. Official figures confirm this kind of pattern.

The first wave is quite a puzzle. It came after December 1968, doubling the population by March 1971 from 7 000 to 14 000. The arrivals during those 2¼ years were from the local townships and farms as usual, and the pressures to leave do not appear greater than before. Perhaps it was that more people capitulated to those pressures, though, because of the housing programme at Sada which had picked up speed and kept going full tilt through 1969-70. A thousand houses went up then, doubling the total from about 1 400 in December 1968 to 2 411 in March 1972. In the absence of any external reason that we can see for the influx, we feel this internal one could be the cause. In fact the slump in arrivals after this period coincides with the end of the building boom. A mere 126 houses were built in 1971, 6 in 1972, none in 1973. That again seems to suggest a link with housing.

The second wave included the exodus from Glen Grey as Transkei 'went independent' in October 1976 - but again it is a puzzle because BENBO figures show a strong inflow from 1973/4 before the one from Glen Grey began, so there must have been other factors.

There had been an official increase, counting only legal residents, of just 667 people from 1971 to 1973. Then Sada suddenly grew by 2 482 in 1974 and 3 606 in 1975. The arrivals still appear to be from the same local sources and for the same reasons, but this time they could not possibly have been drawn by the lure of housing - if that is what had happened before - because officially only one house was built in March 1973 - March 1975, and 339 the next year. We cannot offer any explanation for this strong inflow.

A third, smaller, wave of arrivals occurred in 1978/9. Again we do not know why. That is the latest information we have on Sada's population growth.

A caution on population figures here. Families outstripped official houses from the early 1970s. The overflow area Emadakeni began then, a random section which is really hard to gauge. The swelling numbers there are elusive because mud houses get built or extended as the need arises without any formalities like planning permission or rent. The rate of arrivals is vaguer still because one cannot even infer it from rising population. People tend to slip away again from Emadakeni more than from Sada proper, and the outflow is a completely nebulous factor. Any guess at inflow therefore has to add a total unknown, the outflow, to a wild surmise about numbers past and present.

PRESENT POPULATION

Population estimates do seem to vary somewhat. Sada had 22 000 legal residents in 1980, according to the Minister of the Interior. Then the Quail Commission said the actual number amounted to 8% of the Ciskei's de facto size, which they gauged at 666 000. That meant about 53 000 in Sada. (Ciskei Legislative Assembly report, vol 13, p 262)

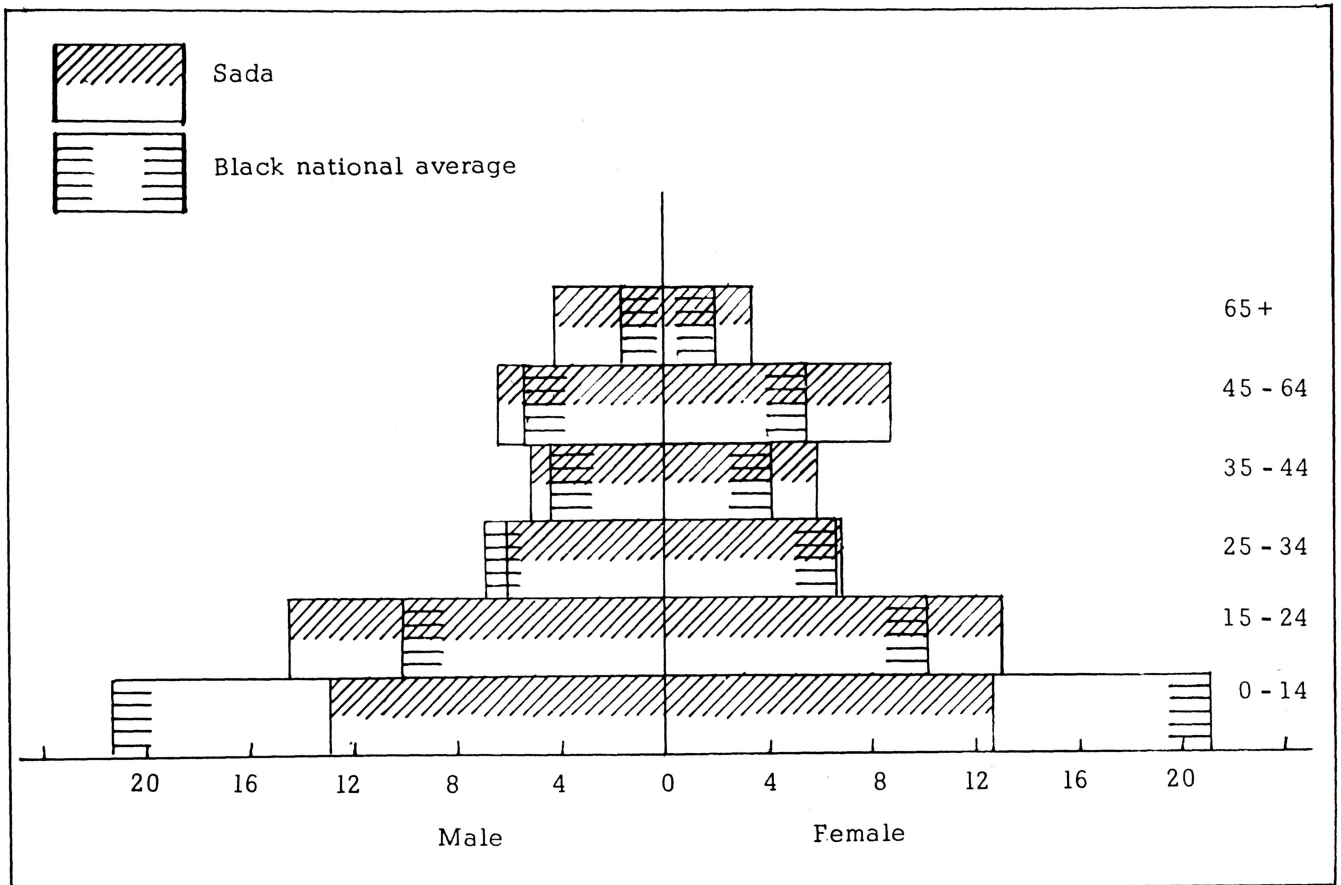
We took the preliminary BENBO figure for de facto residents in 1979 as our starting point. This was 28 966. Allowing another 10% - since official figures are sometimes a bit low and there will have been an increase in the last 2 years - we put the total up towards 32 000.

Then there are 6-7 000 people in the overflow area, Emadakeni, in over 1 000 houses there. This raises the total again to 38-39 000. As far as we can see, therefore, 40 000 would be the absolute outside figure.

GROUPS WITHIN THE POPULATION

The age groups at Sada are very different from the national black averages, as this graph shows:

Fig 1 SADA'S DE JURE POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX COMPARED WITH THE NATIONAL AVERAGE FOR AFRICANS, 1981 (%)



Here we see the very low proportion of children, 25,6% under 15 years. This is by far the lowest figure from the six resettlement areas that we surveyed. The highest figure came from Glenmore, 48,3%. We do not know for sure why this is so. The infant mortality rate was highest at Sada (326/1000 births), second highest at Mdantsane (104/1000) and low at Glenmore (34/1000), which suggests a sombre reason. Analysts tend to discount death as a factor sometimes, arguing that bereaved parents often try to compensate by having another child when one dies, but the correlation here is fairly emphatic and so child deaths could partly explain why there are so few children at Sada.

If child deaths are to blame, we should add that our sample shows 33% of Sada families lost one infant since they arrived and 2,1% lost two. Families live so close to starvation, many of them, and the death rate follows this pattern of underfeeding through the questionnaires, that this seems to be largely why children die. An example is a household where two children died under the age of 2. This was a family of five with one member in a construction job and the others unable to find work but still too young for a pension. They eat once a day

on samp/mealie meal with tea and sugar; bread every second day; fat once a week; a green vegetable less than once a week; and no other items.

The age groups 15-44 years are average, rising slightly in the older brackets.

Sada has far more old people than the other places we investigated. Nearly a quarter of its population (22,8% of de jure) are over 44 years old. This contrasts very strikingly with Dimbaza, for instance, a camp established shortly after Sada in the 1960s. There we found only 12,2% over 44 years (8,1% to 64, and 4,1% above). All these figures are far higher than the averages for rural Ciskei or anywhere else. Sada's 15,1% for 45-64 years is enormously high, and its 7,7% over 64 is phenomenal - well over twice the national black average. The figures here and also at Dimbaza could well reflect the 1960s policy of evicting old people, and there may still be a disproportionate number moving to these places now.

The ratio of male to female varies through the age groups from the near-parity of 101/100 up to 14 years, rising to 111/100 in the 15-24 year bracket. This slumps to 91/100 between 25-34 years, no doubt from some permanent male outmigration which one would expect to be far higher than the female. Then it stays steady until 45-64 years when it falls to 71/100 reflecting how many men die before women in Sada. After that age it seems the surviving men are sturdier than the women, raising the final proportion to 123/100.

These variations through life spans are wider than the national average which starts at 101/100 like Sada, but then drops slowly to 98/100 by 64 years and then droops to 88/100. An impressionistic view is that many men return to die, worn out by migrant work, and the old women who survive beyond 64 then succumb to their own lifetime strains. The switch at the end between the sexes happens in the other surveyed areas too, but it is more marked in Sada perhaps because there are so many more very old people there, as we have already seen. It could also be that old men move to Sada more readily than old women. This is sheer guesswork, but maybe old women tend to stay put, especially in rural areas.

Here we should look at the de facto age pattern to see what vast migrancy is implied by the male/female ratios. The graph below, on the next page, is still more eloquent when contrasted with the de jure graph already given.

The male figures for 15-64 years are very low, especially to the age of 44. A glance at the very different de jure figures shows that most migrants are youngish men. Overall, 31% of all Sada migrants are males between 15 and 24 years. This is a huge proportion, far higher than anywhere else we surveyed.

Migrancy levels are high in Sada. 47% of all males aged 15-24 are migrant, a vast number. 56% of all adults aged 25-64 migrate. Here again it is mostly male migrancy. Of females in that same range only 17% migrate.

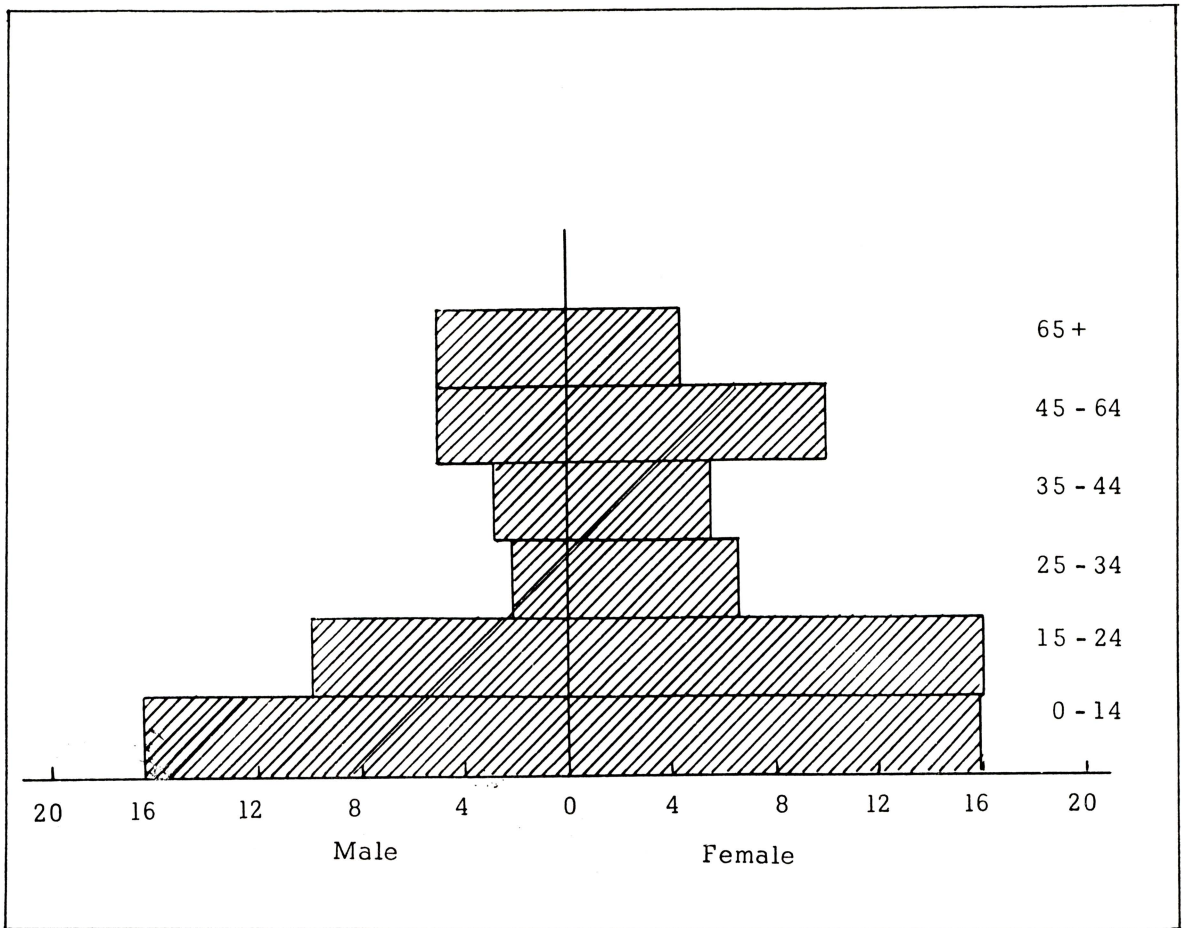
The vast male migrancy at Sada is good news in a sense, since it means that so many people have managed to find employment, but inevitably too it shows a far more fractured society -

We are divided, with our children far away, coming to see us annually or monthly.

Migrant earnings are at a high price in terms of family life, while yielding vital but small remittances. It has often been said but stays very true that migrancy is the price people must pay for survival when they have no other option left.

This life style (if that's the word) affects marriages. In our sample a 6,7% divorce rate, split equally between male and female migrants, contrasted with 1,7% among commuters and 1,9% among permanent residents. (Commuters had the most marriages, at 40,1%.)

Fig 2 SADA'S DE FACTO POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX, 1981 (%)



Families tended to have 6 or 7 members: 5% had 3-4; 20% had up to 5; 75% had up to 7; 98% had up to 10. We had two exceptionally big families in the sample, of 13 and 15 people. Most households live in two very small rooms, which cramps all but the smallest families, even allowing for migrant members.

The household size implies close family relationships on the whole. Our data show 44% as nuclear families of parents and children; 40% extended families with grandparents; 6,5% including aunts, uncles and first cousins; and then 10,5%, quite a large amount, having more extended families. It would be interesting to find out what range of housing these various sizes of families have, as it seems by no means automatic that the biggest get the biggest houses. Among general complaints about how small the houses are, if people can get them at all, a heartfelt cry came from a family of 10 occupying a 2-roomed house -

The houses should be extended to 4-roomed house to accommodate large families.

The household heads of our sample were mostly men (71%). Predictably, male heads were far more often migrant than female ones - 42% as opposed to 3% of females. Taken all round, 22% of the households had absentee heads, which is fairly high, but the reason is obvious - a lack of local employment. Sada contrasts remarkably with Dimbaza in this respect, in our survey, where only 6% of the heads were absent, presumably because of the industries nearby.

Among the 95 families we saw, there were only two cases where people had left the households to get their own plot. Marriages removed one man and five women from the home. There seemed very little movement away, in other words. Maybe people sit tight and rationalise their other concerns rather than risk losing their place in a house. Death might be the only departure with impunity. That is the other category of household leavers. Our sample showed 17 men, 9 women and 33 children dying in these families, and most deaths were from 1974 onwards, as the families we met were mounting up at Sada.

Child deaths have already been mentioned. The sample is too small to predict survival rates for babies, but so far they seem low. In our sample, 31 children were still alive in March/April 1981 of those born 1976-80, and 15 had died. To find the infant mortality rate we would have to know how many of the 31 children reached the age of 5. The fact that they lived through to the age of 1 augurs well for their survival, though, and so the rate is not likely to rise much. But the present rate is very bad as it is, at 326 deaths within five years of every 1 000 live births.

3.4.5 Formal employment

AGE AND SEX OF WORKERS

Men held most (66%) of the 180 jobs in our sample. Overall for both sexes, 31% of jobs were held by people up to the age of 24; then 26% to 34; then 41% to 64; and 2% thereafter. Local work for men dropped abruptly after the age of 24 and rose again from 34 - an inversion that complemented their migrancy figures. Women on the other hand seemed to work locally on the whole.

How steady people's working lives really are is another matter, of course. We do not know how much chopping and changing there is, how sporadic or constant work is in an individual's lifetime; what moves are made throughout a life from one kind of work to another; how many people can develop and use skills, and how many must stay at the same level of skill throughout their working life. These kinds of insight would bring us far closer than we are now to seeing how actual lives are spent and what the fact of employment means through the years to a worker and the people around him. Regretting this total blank in our review of lives at Sada, we turn to abstract breakdowns of local and migrant work.

LOCAL WORK

Counting local work as that found in Sada, Shiloh, Whittlesea and Queenstown (which includes some commuters on a weekly basis), we can say that 38% of the jobs in our sample are of that kind. Women have 58% of them, a large number, and the main sectors are manufacturing at Sada and to a lesser extent at Queenstown, agriculture mostly at Sada, and services mostly in Whittlesea and Queenstown.

Over half the women's jobs (57%) are in Sada or just outside at Shiloh, Whittlesea or farms nearby. Sada's 4 factories offer the most jobs - 485 in 1980. The Ciskeian National Development Corporation (CNDC) started them in 1972-74 at a cost of R2m, and they were designedly of the cottage industry type which would employ women - the idea being that men should be sent out on migrant work. Carpets are made here, wall hangings, school uniforms, jerseys, 'ethnic clothing', beadwork and soft toys. Almost all the staff are women. A sizeable 60%

of the local female workers in our sample worked there . The figure is just a shade above the average , which shows what little work there is for women locally - only about 1 000 jobs in all , including the meanest ones .

Another 15% of local work for women was in agriculture , we think at the Shiloh irrigation scheme . What little we heard of wages sounded abysmal . A woman skoffeling fulltime in 1981 got R5 a month , and another this year gets R6 . The highest we heard for this year , 1982 , was R7 . A few women also have construction jobs in Sada , probably also very basic work at bad pay .

Local agriculture also employs men , of course . There is the Shiloh scheme , and some white farmers in Hewu send trucks around each week picking up casual workers for maintenance jobs - clearing furrows , fixing fences and so on . Quite a lot (20%) of men working locally had agricultural jobs . In contrast only 20% were in construction , which shows how the building programme has gone down from the days before 1971 when most of them used to work in it and only a handful in agriculture . Local men also have a few jobs in manufacturing , some in the Sada factories . In all , 68% of all local jobs for men were in or around Sada .

Some Sada people do find work in Queenstown , mainly women in domestic jobs . A few people get into manufacturing , but with Mlungisi township right there the competition is heavy . The Queenstown factories offered 832 jobs in 1980 , mostly in food , drink and tobacco production but also in wood and wood products and to a lesser extent machinery and non-metallic mineral products . The few from Sada in these jobs were women , in our sample .

Everyone wants local work -

We would appreciate it if more factories would be built so that people can find work here .

Here there are not enough job opportunities as a consequence of transport costs to Queenstown to look for work . We would like more factories to be built , and pay weekly .

This last quote shows that for many people even a development in Queenstown would not be close enough .

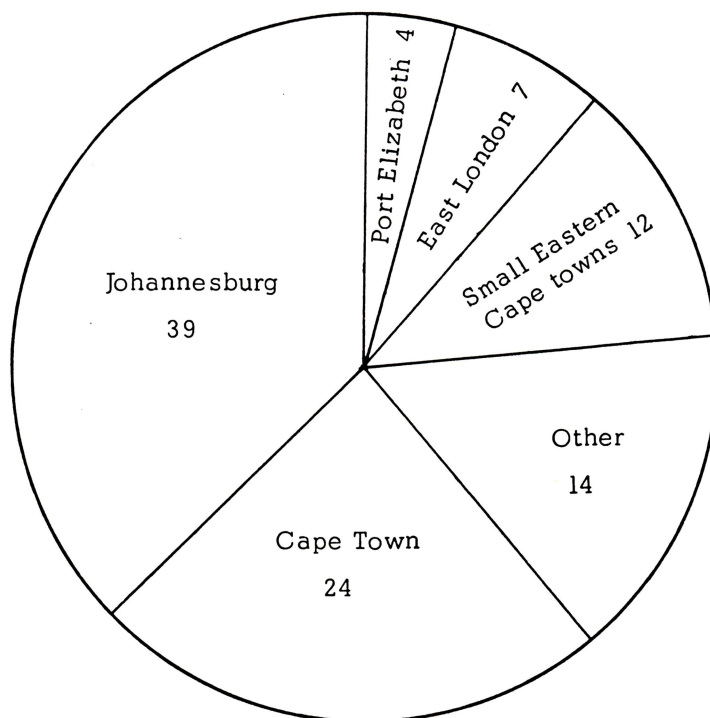
MIGRANT WORK

Of all the male workers in our sample 70% were migrant . Very few women migrated . As we saw earlier , almost all migrants were men - they had 81% of all migrant jobs .

The places of work made a striking pattern , as the pie graph on the next page shows . Johannesburg has the largest slice (39%) . It is mainly men who go there , almost all to the mines and a few to manufacturing , construction and other still smaller areas of work . Some women find domestic work there . Cape Town comes next with 25% , again a huge quota . Interestingly , a third of all the workers going there , in our sample , have jobs in electricity , gas , water supplies . It seems that the Cape Town municipality has tended to draw on the Whittlesea labour bureau for its work force . Men also go into agricultural jobs in Cape Town , and women into domestic ones .

Port Elizabeth and East London's tiny portions show how oversupplied these industrial areas are . They have vast settled communities to draw on for labour . On a very small scale , the same applies to the little towns in the Eastern Cape , places like King William's Town and Alice . People have found a job here , a job there , in many of these places . This suggests people have been scouring the Eastern Cape for work and getting very little . Most jobs would be snapped up by those on the spot .

Fig 3 PLACES OF WORK OF SADA EMPLOYEES 1981 (%)



Migrant work is prized for income , hated for its disruption of life , especially on top of the first disruption in moving to Sada . We did not meet migrants of course , but we did hear from those they left behind . They were clearly distressed -

We would appreciate more factories so that members of our families can come back and work here .

We want more jobs to be created for our husbands and sons to come back and work here .

We are divided , with our children far away , coming to see us annually or monthly .

There are no jobs here . We would like job opportunities to be created because we have family division . We would like to be a united family .

SECTORS OF EMPLOYMENT

This table includes all the paid jobs in our sample, local and migrant, set out to the nearest percentage:

Table 1 SECTORS OF EMPLOYMENT FOR SADA WORKERS
1981 (%)

Sector	LOCAL			MIGRANT			Overall total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Agriculture	3	4	7	2	1	3	10
Mining	-	-	-	19	-	19	19
Manufacturing	3	8	11	6	1	7	18
Electrical/gas/ water supplies	2	-	2	8	-	8	10
Construction	3	3	6	7	-	7	13
Commerce	1	-	1	2	-	2	3
Transport	2	1	3	3	-	3	6
Finance	-	1	1	1	1	2	3
Services	1	7	8	3	7	10	18
	15	24	39	51	10	61	100

Mining, manufacturing and services are the biggest employers. Mining (19%) takes men to the Reef mainly, also to Durban and Kimberley. Manufacturing (18%) is exactly divided between men and women, most of them working at Sada, while the men work more elsewhere. Women have most of the service jobs, another 18% group, and are mostly local workers.

Construction (13%), electricity/gas/water supplies (10%) and agriculture (10%) are minor categories; transport (6%), commerce (3%) and finance (3%) are marginal.

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

The job levels work out like this on our sample:

Table 2 OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF ALL EMPLOYMENT,
FOR MEN AND WOMEN 1981 (%)

Level	Male	Female	% of all the jobs
White collar	7	14	9
Service	10	59	26
Skilled and semi-skilled	34	13	27
Unskilled	49	14	38
	100	100	100

} labouring category

This is a very skilled pattern compared with Dimbaza and the other areas, with 41% skilled workers in the labouring category. Evidently Sada has more skilled people than usual in the most thankless labouring contracts - the mines, construction, municipal supplies etc. They would not be doing the very worst jobs but would probably feel frustrated and exploited. White-collar migrant jobs are scarce, which again means no scope for skills.

Overall, 84% of men are skilled/unskilled labourers. This contrasts with women who mostly (73%) work in the service and white-collar categories.

Other figures also show that migrants have the same proportion of skills in their work as local wage earners do.

There was far more self-employment indicated at Dimbaza. That could mean they have more initiative in that community, although some Sada questionnaires show how resourceful people can be, even in acute depression. Perhaps it is that Sada has less opportunity to build up enterprises in a very impoverished area.

RECRUITMENT

How people found work is clear. Sada people evidently rely almost entirely on the labour bureau, judging by our figures which show that 91% got their jobs there. The labour bureau system at Whittlesea seems to be very fully developed. The Sada people got jobs in many different areas in all the provinces. Our sample picked up 17 places of migrant work scattered all over South Africa. They were in all the basic sectors: agriculture, mining, manufacture, electricity/gas/water supplies, construction, commerce, transport, finance and services. It shows how sophisticated the labour referral system can be, casting people into such a range of jobs in so many places - an intimation of the total labour control that may lie ahead.

Some other people got jobs from the employer direct, and just a few found them by themselves, or were recruited by an agent, or heard of them through their network of family and friends. Those ways of finding work are typical anywhere. Again, the one really noteworthy feature of Sada here is the enormous part played by the labour bureau. It was far more important in Sada than in any of the other resettlement areas we studied. To us this suggests a deliberate policy of giving the Whittlesea bureau quite a large quota of the contracts, seeing that Sada started so long ago that most people have lost their link with jobs in their places of origin, and are now exceptionally isolated in an underdeveloped area.

3.4.6 Family incomes

Although we lack data on exact wages, some idea of family incomes can be gleaned from the various sources they draw on: gifts, the informal sector, remittances and pensions. In order to arrive at some measure of average incomes we distinguish between gifts and the informal sector on the one hand, which are essentially redistributive mechanisms; and remittances and pensions on the other, which actually bring money into the community. In our sample, the remittances and pensions average out at 0,6 local earners per family, plus 1,3 migrant earners and 0,6 pensioners. This means the average family of 6 or 7 people has about 2 earners, a rate which if evenly spread would guarantee survival. Since this does not happen, though, it means a real struggle for many of the households.

GIFTS

Gifts to help support the household were made to 26% of our sample . This very high rate suggests that a complex social structure has grown up to cope with extreme poverty . In Emadakeni most of all , the very poor section of Sada , it is a key strategy for survival to borrow and help out -

Starvation is our problem due to scarcity of work . We have to buy things on credit or borrow them in order to survive .

We get on very well with our neighbours because when food is finished we are helped by neighbours . We also help them sometimes .

This is quite customary , but there is a lot of it at Sada where so many people cannot get by on their own .

INFORMAL SECTOR

About a quarter (24%) of the families we met earn what they can on the side by informal selling . Some of them buy and then resell paraffin , also fruit and vegetables . One still sells wood . Others make sweets and vetkoek . One family grows and sells tobacco .

The profit margins are very small for a lot of effort , just a couple of cents per item -

We buy paraffin in Whittlesea and sell it at a 40c cost a bottle . (price in 1981)

Buying milk from the dairy and making sour milk to sell at a cost of 8c a pint . (1981)

Some seem to be building up an order business -

My wife knits jerseys and scarves and sells them .

We buy pigs from nearby farms and sell meat monthly .

These informal schemes may be at the mercy of personalities or management in the form of Sada's committee . There was this thwarted effort -

The fact that I sew for a living is declared undesirable by authorities . I have already asked permission for sewing and selling to the community but Mr Modi (a committee member) has refused that totally .

AGRICULTURE

Here we found great frustration bursting out of hungry people who wanted to keep stock and couldn't, and wanted to grow vegetables but lacked space or water .

We can't keep stock and have fields because it is said to be a township .

There was the possibility of keeping stock in Whittlesea but that is against the law here .

We would like the permission to keep fowls or something .

We would like to have the right to keep stock and have fields because there is a big space of bare veld .

Some families do manage to produce vegetables for themselves , although it seems to be rather a small contribution . We discuss this later in talking about diet .

REMITTANCES

Wages are the mainstay of Sada's income. Local remittances are highly reliable in our sample, with 91% regularity. A few members contribute on an irregular basis, and very few never. In this respect Sada is healthier than Dimbaza, and less so than Mdantsane. Migrant remittances do not show the same loyalty though. A low 62% of Sada's migrants send money regularly, as against Mdantsane's 100% and Dimbaza's 78%

The remittances are like links to which plans can be attached. In that sense they hold things together. Borrowing has been done on the basis that money will arrive. Food is eked out to the time when more is due to be bought. School expenses are undertaken with wages in mind. If remittances fail or dwindle, it is very hard for people to bear -

Our problem is starving in the period inbetween remittances.

We need employment as that we have is temporary. This leads to starvation.

PENSIONS

One macabre fact does affect Sada's pattern of incomes considerably, and that is the great number of the old and disabled there. It has many more pensions in our sample than the other areas - the proportion is almost double that of Dimbaza and three times that of Mdantsane, and four times that of the other areas.

Pensions add substantially to family incomes. The Sada sample lists 180 earnings (local and migrant together) to 59 pensions. In terms of the income point system we used, this huge number of pensioners contribute a good 10% of all cash incomes. Whereas the wages come more from men, the pensions come nearly equally from both sexes.

In most households the pensioners add to some family income, and in a few they are the only source of supply. Whichever way, they give far more than money, and they bear much of the strain of poverty where a tiny income must be made to do so much. Strategies are conceived in 2-monthly stages, from one pay-out to the next, and this sets up a rhythm of planning at home. Loving grandparents want to help children stay at school too, among their longer-term ambitions. Yet the hopes and ideas sound more like pipedreams in our sample, because the precious lump sum of R60 every two months (1981) had no spending power in the present or the future. It had to pay debts. The planning rhythm at home therefore has a very low downbeat.

We starve here. The pension comes after so long.

Our problem is we are starving - because this pension comes at a time when we have to pay our debts and school requirements of my grandsons.

When the pension money comes I am already sunk with debts.

I can't educate my three grandchildren and they are likely to leave school, yet I would like them to study further.

3.4.7 Unemployment

There would be more income if all who wanted jobs could get them. This missing potential is high in Sada - at least one workseeker for every three people with jobs. The unemployment rate among the economically active is 28,7%. Most of these workseekers were at home when we arrived, and most were women. In our sample, women workseekers outnumbered men by more than two to one: men had an unemployment rate of 18,9% and women 43,4%. This is actually not as high as Dimbaza and some other places.

Unemployment through the age groups can be summarised thus:

Table 3 UNEMPLOYMENT RATES AMONG THE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE 1981 (%)

Age group	Males	Females
15 - 24	8	50
26 - 64	25	42

We see here that one out of nearly every two females failed to find a job. Also, most young men do manage to get jobs, which surprised us. It seems this is because they go straight from school to the mines.

The unemployed are distributed fairly evenly throughout the age groups:

20% were between 15 and 24 years
27 25 - 34
24 35 - 44
30 45 and over.

The last figure is a very large proportion indeed, and we cannot offer any explanation for it.

Most of the unemployed (64%) are out of work for over a year at a time. More than a quarter (28%) of workseekers have never held a job - many of these people are young women. There must be a great number at Sada who feel by now that a job is an unreal goal, as this man did:

I expect to find a job so as to overcome this burden but due to high unemployment rate that seems impossible.

Obviously being out of work is all the more demoralising for people in families that urgently need more income, which is often the case at Sada.

3.4.8 Poverty

We do not know exact incomes except for pensions, but gauged roughly what households would get from various kinds of job, local and migrant, at different levels of employment. Together with other information - the number of dependants, informal activities, general comments on the questionnaires - this gave a clear enough idea for grouping households on a poverty scale. It runs from an abysmal state to that of financial security, in four stages. Most households were in the bottom two: 80% of them lead a very harsh existence, always struggling for food and a few other basic needs such as fuel.

30% were in the bottom group. These are destitute families where there was one wage packet or one pension, or two very meagre sources of income, and several dependants to feed. Some households were small, but the overall fact was a lack of income. Three families had no visible income at all. People in this category live virtually on porridge, are always hungry, struggle to get fuel for cooking. Their aspirations are very theoretical for anything costing money, like school books. They cannot afford fuel for heating, are underclothed. Winter is an ordeal.

50% of households were on or just below the breadline. Their lives are also very deprived and uncomfortable, as can be imagined with a per capita income of R15 - R25 monthly. There is no spare money for clothes, for example, and even food is quite severely limited. Porridge and samp are still the staple diet. The recent price rises for these bulk foods in 1982 must be a terrible strain on the thousands in Sada and elsewhere who live like this.

15%, in the third group, have enough money to keep free from hunger although price rises for food may in 1982 have put some families in a precarious position. At the time of the sample, these households carried on a spare life which did not involve struggling for survival. In that sense they were comfortably off. The households tended to be small, up to 5 people.

The top 5% were financially secure. They have the leeway for transport expenses, schooling, some new clothes - things which seem luxuries to the rest of the community. The sample families had several wage earners in better paid jobs, supporting smallish households. They include a minister of religion and some other white-collar workers. It is another world from the very poor.

In fact the breadliners and the destitute told similar stories. Their priorities were the same, just more or less intense. Sometimes people fluctuate between the two groups. As we saw in considering pensioners, the rhythm of family income can strain people to the utmost, and waiting for a migrant's remittance also brings some into destitution:

We go as far as to ask food from our friends in the neighbourhood. We even borrow money to buy paraffin, then my husband repays the people or I do when he had sent some money.

We starve and have to beg for food.

The neighbours help and must be helped in turn. It is a vital part of coping with hardship. There were many references to borrowing, and some even to giving shelter:

We get on very well with the people here because we help together people who are left destitute after failing to pay rent, by trying to accommodate them.

We met the owner of the house, so he allowed us in.

There were 37% of the sample where families had just one wage earner or none. Then it is even more critical if members qualifying for pensions do not get them -

My blind son can't get any grant, we have been told to wait, now it has been so long. So far Mr Myataza has promised - there's nothing we can do but wait.

The priority is the fact that the household head has tried over and over to obtain pension but all in vain.

My disabled grandson is crippled and all attempts (for a grant) are in vain. The government had promised now for 5 years. I am still trying but I soon will give up.

I'm unemployed and I hardly cope with living costs. Rent is a problem - now and again I'm threatened with removal. Since I am not a healthy person I've consulted the municipality about pensions but nothing had been taken seriously.

This desperation about pensions is itself a sign of how hard things are in those families. Then people cannot even afford the cost of searching for a job on the side -

We have not enough job opportunities as a consequence of transport costs to Queenstown to look for work.

When people are so hard-pressed, with pensions the only source of income, then the harm done by bad bureaucracy is very serious indeed. Families may starve and their babies die. Our sample includes quite a few families who would be less hard-hit now if a clerk had simply sent off their form or lifted a ballpoint pen. Most protests to authority had been ignored, and none had succeeded.

For the very poor in Sada, survival becomes like a job -

We are trying by all ways and means to make ends meet only for survival. We live on bad conditions and see ourselves destroyed bit by bit.

One can hear how deeply this battle for survival is hated for being imposed and for being a waste of life and freedom. It is engrossing in the worst sense, a monotonous problem for every day:

The only helping money is that I get from the pension. By that time I borrow paraffin or something to keep us moving.

Getting up not knowing what to eat. Even if you have something to cook, you may not have paraffin.

The last speaker is a 38-year-old woman who depends on irregular remittances from her 42-year-old husband in Johannesburg who has a 28-month contract on the mines. There are three children aged between 9 and 18 years who live in the mud room in Emadakeni with their mother, while the 10-year-old daughter has gone to stay with a grandmother. Emadakeni is the area of mud houses, Sada's overflow where the homeless build shelters for themselves. These must be among the very poorest people, judging by appearances and also the fact that Sada people themselves call this place the Village of Tears. This woman we have mentioned is probably typical of many. She was looking for a job at the time of the sample, and had been out of work since they left Queenstown five years before, in 1976. At least there was no rent to pay in Emadakeni. They got their house from a man 'experienced in mud houses' and have kept it ever since. After a while she settled down into the neighbourhood -

I became used to being a friend of them in a while

where she now shares in the universal calculations about borrowing. She and the children eat once a day. They have mealie meal, tea and sugar. Twice a week they have a green vegetable and bread. They never have fat, jam or anything else. The other Emadakeni families in our sample had the same kind of life, so it may be typical of the area.

Emadakeni has grown a lot since this woman came in 1976. It seems there were about 80 shacks then, and now (1982) there are over 1 000. This means a population of over 6 000. They are poor not only in terms of income but in lacking facilities. The incredible fact is that there are none whatever provided for this part of Sada. There is no water. Every drop for all these people must be carried from street taps in the formal housing area which is a long walk away, even for the closest. The only sanitation is the holes some people have dug for themselves. Living like this, and with no streets or lighting, with no fuel for heating and hardly any for cooking, with jobs very scarce,

We starve and have no workplace. To get meals we borrow food or money from neighbours.

An emblem of need at Sada is the tall security fence guarding the Shiloh irrigation scheme nearby. Cash crops of food can only be grown here if the hungry are kept out.

3.4.9 General conditions

DIET

Most of the Sada families we met had a very poor food supply, some were down to nearly nothing, and a few ate well. The best diet was kept by a household that ate only twice a day but had a very good range of food every day, of green vegetables, potatoes/rice, milk, tea/coffee, sugar, eggs, cheese, bread and butter/margarine/fat. They also had meat and jam every second day and fish and mealie meal/samp twice a week. The worst diet came from an Emadakeni household also eating twice a day, but they had only mealie meal/samp at their meals, with bread twice a week and a green vegetable once a week, and that was all.

The main bulk food is mealie meal/samp. Everyone in our sample ate it, 97% of them every day. This is the highest daily rate of all the surveyed areas, the lowest being Dimbaza at 75%. The other main daily items are sugar in 91% of households, tea/coffee at 90%, and bread at 80%. Less regular items are fat at 39% and jam at 27%.

Several families have these things just occasionally, less than once a week: 2% have bread less than weekly, 4% lack sugar in this way, 4% tea/coffee, 32% fat and 64% jam. As these items are the ones usually chosen first after samp, the figures here show how limited funds are for food.

Food rich in proteins and vitamins is a luxury on most of the diet tables, however vital for health. Milk is used daily in only 18% of households, greens in 8% (presumably this varies with the season, according to what can be grown), eggs 4% and cheese 3%, meat and fish 1% each. The families who have these items less than weekly - and we should add that this means very rarely or never, in many cases - amount to 46% doing without milk, 19% without greens, 74% eggs, 94% cheese, 67% meat and 90% fish.

Carbohydrates in the form of potatoes/rice appear daily in only one household, and 56% have them less than once a week.

One group of our surveyed areas has a spectacularly better diet. They were the families in Mdantsane, Dimbaza and Elukhanyweni - the Haves, relatively speaking; the Have Nots, with a very impoverished majority, characterised Sada, Kammaskraal and Glenmore. The following table shows the percentage of families in these two groups eating various items daily and less than weekly.

Overall, the diet at Sada is among the worst we found in the areas surveyed. The other two very malnourished areas were Glenmore and Kammaskraal. They were the Have Nots compared with the other three areas, Mdantsane, Dimbaza and Elukhanyweni. The table on the next page shows how different the two groups are. Group (1) represents the areas with better diets - Mdantsane, Dimbaza and Elukhanyweni - and Group (2) the more deprived ones of Sada, Glenmore and Kammaskraal. First we record the percentage of families who eat certain items every day, and then the percentages who have them less than once a week. Each entry gives the smallest to largest percentage for the three areas of that group. For example, 19 - 34 under DAILY (1) for greens reflects the fact that greens were eaten daily by 19% of households in one area of the group (Dimbaza), by 34% of households in another (Mdantsane), and that the third area of the group (Elukhanyweni) lay somewhere inbetween (27%).

The most distinctive daily contrast is for greens, followed by fat, meat and potatoes. Cheese is a luxury for everyone, but even there the contrast is clear.

The other half of this table shows how many families ate these items less than weekly - which as we have said amounts to meaning very seldom or never. Again greens are far more rare for Sada families and others in group (2). The list is emphatic throughout in showing how badly nourished those families are.

Table 4 DIET IN SADA, GLENMORE & KAMMASKRAAL (2) CONTRASTED WITH MDANTSANE, DIMBAZA & ELUKHANYWENI (1), SHOWING DAILY AND LESS THAN WEEKLY CONSUMPTION 1981 (%)

Items	DAILY		LESS THAN WEEKLY	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Greens	19-34	8- 9	4-12	15-30
Margarine/fat	40-54	22-39	27-29	32-44
Meat	4- 6	0- 2	33-50	60-78
Potatoes/rice	9-15	1- 5	27-30	43-56
Fish	0- 4	0- 1	74-79	90-96
Eggs	0-10	2- 4	60-76	72-81
Sugar	83-98	81-91	1- 6	2-14
Tea/coffee	84-99	81-91	0- 5	2-14
Cheese	5- 9	0- 3	79-90	92-99
Milk	14-34	15-30	45-60	46-72
Jam	9-18	3-27	66-88	64-96

The second consideration on this table is to see how many families ate these items less than weekly - which as we have said amounts to meaning very seldom or never. Again greens are very telling, but the list is emphatic throughout in favouring the first group. It spells serious malnutrition for Sada and the others in the second.

About a third (32%) of the Sada families eat three times a day, 63% twice a day, and 5% once a day. All families have something to eat every day, with perhaps the odd exception in a few of the worst-off, but these figures are rather misleading in that they look like meals instead of the cup of tea which they often are. A glance at the daily rates for the various items of food, quoted above, will give a good idea of what people actually sit down to.

Nearly half the families (47%) manage to grow vegetables, which accounts for a lot in their diet especially when it comes to greens. The chief crops are peas, spinach and beans, cabbage and beetroot, and onions and tomatoes, with carrots, pumpkins and turnips mentioned occasionally. People also grow potatoes and mealies. The main thing is to grow food quickly, and with as little water as possible. A few families also keep fowls. It is hard to do this, as one can see, especially as the plots are not fenced: according to the questionnaires, hens either cause quarrels with neighbours or they are eaten by them.

Why doesn't everyone grow food? The answer is clear for most Emadakeni families: no water and no space. Watering is hard for other Sada people too because every bucket must be brought from the tap, which is many houses away for some families. No doubt there are other reasons too. Theft is a problem. The long 4-month frost period in the year also inhibits growth, and drought too. Obviously diets fluctuate with the season - mealie meal is always there, but other vegetables come and go. When they are out then diets suffer, and the poorer families have no spare funds to buy extra food from the shop.

HOUSING

Various types of houses have been tried at Sada. The ones that look most permanent are in the 'best' area where the elite of Sada have built or extended their own houses. They are all single-storey but mark themselves off as superior in every other conceivable way - they are spacious,

overwhelmed with a sense of design, and seem to occupy another world from the main township house, as their TV aerials proclaim. The anxiety of people to prove their economic position is quite noticeable.

The more regular thing, the usual township house, evolved after several kinds had been tried out. After the early tomato-box and asbestos ones of the 1960s, both temporary, there was an abortive attempt to mould houses from the local earth by stamping into wooden moulding frames and then plastering these frail walls. They were literally washed away by the rain. Then came the one-room zinc huts, so hot in summer and cold in winter, which are still often found in other more recent resettlement areas too - Oxton is full of them, from 1977, and so is Zwele-dinga. Some of these early houses still exist in Sada, with extra rooms of brick or concrete added on to them.

The main township house is a 4-roomed unit which is treated sometimes as one house but more often as two. Then the families live back-to-back with a dividing wall between them, each in two rooms, and share the plot. Some of these 4-roomed units are subdivided yet again, to take three families, one in two rooms and two in single rooms. Logically they could even be shared by four families, though not in the cases we met.

Some of these houses are of brick, and these might still be produced - there is still a brickfield on the hill at the back of Sada. On the whole, though, they now seem to be made of cement blocks. Most are badly substandard. They are called permanent houses but more critically they should not be seen as anything other than bad provisional shelter.

In fact, with rising costs the planners seem to be trying out worse kinds of housing again. In what looked like a reversal to the sandpit efforts of the 1960s, some builders in September 1981 were assembling sun-dried bricks of earth into walls which they then smeared with a poor cement plaster, knowing all the while that they were following some mad official rationalisation that would never work. They said as much, scraping scornfully at the surface with a fingernail.

Whatever the materials, the rooms are very small, there are no internal doors, the roofs tend to leak and the outside doors and windows to work loose. The houses are therefore congested, stuffy or draughty, uncomfortable and unhealthy. This is why nearly everyone talks about their terrible house, along these lines (for 'expect' read 'want') -

Accommodating so large a family in a 2-roomed house breeds diseases.

We need a bigger and better house than this 2-roomed leaking "matchbox". We expect the government of the Ciskei to help us because we are their subjects. The rent officers are useless because for several times I have been reporting this matter of my leaking house but no action is being taken.

Doors of houses difficult to close after rains.

Houses are very small. We would like better houses to be built because these are leaking.

Size of the house can't accommodate the lot of us.

Some people have managed to take over the whole unit -

When the people who were using the other two rooms left we took the two rooms upon our shoulders. We are using four rooms now.

and this is the short answer to overcrowding. The idea stares all these congested families in the face while they go on, day after day, resenting and perhaps quarrelling with their twin households. The overcrowding is a strain in itself, but it is made worse by a natural tendency to regard the OTHER family as occupying half of YOUR house.

We would like to get the other two rooms which are occupied by another family at the back.

Our problem is quarrels with the family occupying half (2 rooms) of the house .

Quarrels with neighbours sharing a yard .

We would like that the 4-roomed houses which are given to 2 families be of one family . It's a problem sharing 1 yard between 2 families .

In Middelburg we had a big house in good condition compared to this small toolbox-shaped house we are occupying . We would like the extension of these 2-roomed house into 4-roomed house .

It seems that people cannot get permission easily for extensions or additions to rented houses , or perhaps the investment is too precarious on those terms . People have also tried building a bit themselves and then had to take everything down .

Accommodation for the family in a small house like this is unbearable . About accommodation , we built an additional house , but we were ordered to get rid of it .

We will eventually buy this house , and when that is done we will do what we like on it .

Six of the sample households had bought their houses . The price ranged between R200 for a very humble place bought when a friend left Sada and R1 651 paid direct to the superintendent in Whittlesea in 1979 .

The others in the formal housing area all paid rent . The rate in 1981 varied from R4 upwards for a 2-roomed house to between R8 and R10 for a 4-roomed one . This was the total amount due to the rent office each month . Unfortunately we could not find out by the time of writing how much of this total was in true rental and how much in service charges . What is clear , though , is that rents rise from time to time , and without warning . People actually say the rents should be decreased , not increased , because the houses are getting so bad . Yet they cling to their houses , squalid as they are , and even while hating them , because of the housing shortage . There seems to be very little leeway given to families in arrears .

The increase of rent with no previous warning is part of my problem .

My problem is accommodation - when we failed to pay rent our furniture was taken out and the house was locked .

Most people feel safe if they keep paying , but apparently one or two in the sample did fear eviction despite that -

Rent is escalating now and again , yet there are times when we were threatened of being kicked out . I've made contact with our representative but we are still waiting for promises .

With accommodation so scarce , the rent office quickly threatens removal if people do not pay promptly . It can also ignore the complaints about bad housing .

Rent is the problem - now and again I'm threatened with removal .

Our house is leaking . We are doing our best to attract the attention of the rent office to our accommodational problems . It seems we are wasting our time without bribery .

In fact the rents at Sada came as a shock to many people either because they had been promised free housing if necessary and then been told to pay -

We are forced to pay rent here but didn't rent our former dwelling . The government promised that old-age people won't pay rent .

or because the rent was far higher than they had paid before . This was the case with many we met . Families also felt the rent was high when they saw the very meagre houses they were getting .

Families sometimes double up, even in these pokey rooms, to solve their rent and housing problems. Housing is at such a premium, you even have arrangements like this:

There is a man from Lady Frere who subsist us from his income since he has no place in which to live and is staying with us.

People cram in together, like the woman we met who with her family of six had moved in with another family - all in two rooms. The general feeling is that everyone is waiting in hope that there will be a new building programme. Houses have been promised -

We are siding in one man's house. My problem is that I have no house of my own, because I can be moved out at any minute. We would like to have our own house so as to settle. We have asked the government to accommodate us and it was said more houses are to be built.

The shortfall is vast. BENBO's figures give an idea of it. They say that just 384 housing units went up in Sada between 1972 and 1979, while in the same period the population rose by 14 739. It averages out at 38 people a house. To that crazyshow we must add arrivals since 1979 and natural increase of perhaps 3% a year. Meanwhile the temporary shacks and the jerry-built 'permanent' houses go on ageing.

After this delay of years, Whittlesea North is being developed over the Katberg road. The new site will have anything up to 10 000 houses and it will be far larger than Sada. Queenstown municipality are now handling the building programme under the Whittlesea Special Organisation scheme whose signpost marks the site (April 1982). They say the place is for newcomers and for local rehousing. Some homeless will settle here, certainly those who can afford rental for the urban-type NE 51/9 houses being put up now. The housing question still remains for those who cannot afford rental for four rooms, flush toilets and shower cubicles. The site is straight over the road from Sada, and it is huge - $4\frac{1}{2}$ km deep. Roads and water pipes are being laid, the first 24 houses have gone up, and the first families should be in before the end of 1982. Some Sada people will certainly be going there in the next couple of years.

Our sample suggests about a fifth of the Sada families need housing. Of the households we met, 81% were in the so-called permanent houses. The proportion for rehousing might be even higher if the administration accepts the fact that many households are very congested as they are and need to spread from two rooms into the whole 4-roomed unit. Other families still have temporary houses (zinc and tomato-box huts) - 8% in our sample - or else like our remaining 11% they have made some other arrangement. This could mean staying with another family or making out in Emadakeni.

Emadakeni is where people go if they are evicted, cannot pay rent, cannot get lodging, or have to leave a household because it has become crowded past bearing. We know very little about the place, but it deserves a section on its own: it is large, a crisis area, the very image of Sada's degeneracy, and also something of a place apart.

EMADAKENI, THE OVERFLOW AREA

This overflow from Sada began in the early 1970s when homeless people began building their own small houses of mud nearby. The name means The Mud Place. It is an extension of Sada, and yet separate in various ways. Physically it lies about 150 m from the formal grid of Sada's sites. There is a separate headman who does not seem to have much sway. Unlike Sada proper, there is no question of rent or eviction at present. On the other hand, as we have seen, it does not have even Sada's mean facilities.

The first people to build in Emadakeni had sites allocated them by a committee. Today, people asking for a place will get one from the headman, and the two families in our sample who did so said they paid him R20 in a lump sum. But most people just move in informally without applying to anyone. They either attach themselves to an established household - with a friend or relative - or else get a shelter of their own.

Once the place was somewhat established, people began coming in direct from areas outside Sada. In 1974, for instance, people arrived straight from Macibini township in Queenstown. One family we met had just been dropped on the roadside at Emadakeni by the farmer who was evicting them. Some Glen Grey people seeped in in 1977. It went on growing steadily so that by September 1981 we saw houses numbered up to 945, and there were a good many more than that. The population would be over 6 000.

Their homes are the most basic imaginable: very low mud walls, a small door to bow through, a few zinc strips for the roof. Even with very poor materials, some of them are expertly made. You build for yourself, or hire someone for about R32 to build for you, or buy a place as one of the sample families did for R12. Most have just one room. A few are quite large, and two we saw have murals on them, of monkeys and a lion. The houses are crowded alongside each other, mostly without garden areas or spare ground. The routes between them have been beaten into paths and roads by all the walking in the last 10 years. There are no formal streets, and no street lighting.

This sprawling area was among the places investigated by the Wentzel Joint Committee (South African and Ciskeian) at the end of October 1980 'to assess and report on the needs and financial implications of meeting those needs'. The only sign of upgrading we can report was the lorryload of water pipes standing in the midst of Emadakeni in April 1982, suggesting that water was at last going to be laid on. The families may be told to move over the road to houses in Whittlesea North, but judging by those we met they will not be able to afford rent, especially if all the houses are like the first ones built which have four bigish rooms, flush toilet, and water also piped to a separate shower cubicle and to the kitchen.

Meanwhile Emadakeni has no facilities, as we have said. To stress the shocking facts again, there is no system of sanitation provided. Some people have built pit privies near their houses others use the bank of a little gully to the west. With no water in the place, over a thousand households fetch every drop they need from the Sada taps -

We fetch water from the Sada community and that means 30 minutes to and from.

Taps were within easy reach there (Queenstown) but I have to walk 200 m or so to the tap here.

For the time being Emadakeni is going on as it began, like a lengthening shadow cast by Sada's failure. As more people go there, its total squalor will get even worse and more dangerous.

3.4.10 Services

SANITATION, MEDICAL SERVICES AND HEALTH

Much of the uproar about housing has to do with bad sanitation. The Emadakeni people we met just ask for 'toilets' of any kind. Some toilets in the formal area still have pits. Others have buckets which are changed once a week. This is not often enough, and people sometimes have to dispose of sewage themselves.

At every level people are scathing and want a better system -

We would like to have toilets.

We would like the starting of the bucket system in toilets more than this hole-digging.

We would like toilets to be of the water system and not buckets.

Everyone sees the danger to health -

The toilets are a source of diseases . It is necessary that they be changed into the bucket system . Some meetings were called and we were promised about the toilets and accommodation . We expect help from the government .

Toilets are just holes - health in jeopardy .

We would like toilets be made in such a way that they prevent diseases than encouraging them .

Bad systems are worse with overcrowding , which is mostly the case . Diseases spread in the families because houses are congested and the whole group relies on one inadequate pit or bucket .

The medical services have hardly stirred from the 1960s when 7 000 people had to make do with one weekly session at the Shiloh clinic nearby . Now there is a Type II clinic at Sada with 9 day beds , plus a sub-clinic . It is hopeless undercatering for a malnourished , badly housed mass of 40 000 . People complain that the clinics are helpless in time of illness , and that a hospital is urgently needed .

There is no permanent doctor in Sada . The district surgeon in Whittlesea is theoretically on call , but he is hard-pressed because he and three other doctors serve the whole of the Hewu district . The main clinic work is very low key , only the simplest of diagnoses and treatment . Referrals are not to the nearest hospital , the Frontier Hospital 42 km away in Queenstown , because as the local representative Mr RBDR Myataza told the Ciskeian Legislative Assembly (CLA) back in 1977 ,

If you were to go to Frontier Hospital , you would see a pitiful affair to see a person told to go back home and only given medicine , in spite of the fact he is seriously ill . You request that he not be admitted (sic) because you have no way of nursing him/her when he/she is so ill . All that does not help . What you are told , is that that is not a Non-European Hospital .

(CLA report , v 9 , p 306)

That being so , the four Hewu ambulances , none of which seem to be in working order the whole time , must take patients 280 km to the Cecilia Makiwane Hospital in Mdantsane , near East London . It is a 3½-hour drive . Dr C Bikitsha , medical consultant to the Ciskei government , pointed out the delay and expense involved , which for years has been utterly clear to everyone . The Daily Dispatch of 19.06.80 reports him saying that one ambulance did 35 000 km on these transfers in a 10-week period .

We were told that many people cannot get the ambulance whatever their condition . They have no phone , or the phones are out of order , or the call is not answered , or the ambulances are out , or they will not come without medical authorisation . In 1981 we heard of a man who died after a two-day wait for an ambulance .

When ambulances fail , people may in desperation hire a car for the long trip to Mdantsane . It is a huge expense -

Transport costs are a problem because there is no hospital here for emergency cases .

Obviously a community this size should have its own hospital . The case is even stronger for the whole Hewu district . The preliminary black figure of 74 065 for Hewu in the 1980 census will probably turn out to be far too low , but even so it proves the need for much more than a few scattered clinics . Since Sada began , the area has received perhaps 100 000 resettled people . Some have seeped away , especially from the Ntabathemba region on the NW border of the Ciskei , but many are still there . They would need at least one hospital even if they were in prime health , which they most emphatically are not .

The necessity of a hospital, which had been a glaring truth from Sada's early days, got to desperation point after the influx from the Transkei in 1976-77 when gastro-enteritis and measles and typhoid spread far more seriously than usual, especially in the huge Thornhill encampment. At long last in May 1979 it was mooted that a hospital be built near Poplar Grove, near the present Whittlesea North site over the road from Sada. A year later the Republic undertook to pay the whole bill for it. It has not been started yet (April 1982).

Good medical services are vital, but of course health depends first and last on how people live. Hewu is recognised as a very bad area. In July 1980 the Ciskeian Secretary for Health said 50% of the children in Hewu had marasmus (wasting away with starvation) and 33% of adults had pellagra (a clinical stage of malnutrition). Others believe that over 80% of the children here suffer from malnutrition. Hunger fits are a commonplace - these occur when children infested with worms are badly deprived of food.

This undernourishment leads to further ills. Pellagra can easily lead to psychosis, and the blood pressure and general hypertension problems have apparently grown as people carry on unequally trying to cope for their families. To quote from the Sunday Tribune, 8/10/78, a nursing sister at the Thornhill clinic said:

These people exist on mealie meal - nothing else. They eat only porridge. We get complications from the malnutrition and have a high incidence of psychosis - particularly schizophrenia. This could be caused by the depressing conditions under which people live.

The district surgeon at Whittlesea confirmed this, adding that there was a lot of psychosis throughout the district. Our Sada informants did not mention anything like schizophrenia to us, but many of them talked about the strain of keeping going and their 'high blood'.

People also have far less resistance when they lack proper food. Measles and gastro-enteritis crop up regularly throughout Hewu, TB and typhoid are endemic. The flare-ups of measles and typhoid tend to make news, but TB has become an ordinary fact of life that is not curbed in any of the settlements. Gastro-enteritis goes around regularly in the hot months. The babies are the very vulnerable ones.

As we have noted, diseases quickly spread where houses are congested and toilets substandard. The remarks already cited show that Sada people know this all too well. They feel themselves trapped as a prey to disease, living as they do.

Hewu is the driest part of the Ciskei, and predictably it has come off worst in the long 3-year drought, the last one, which is only now perhaps going to break in this year of 1982. This spell has meant very depleted water and therefore supplies which are more contaminated than usual; and also fewer vegetables being produced, a direct hit at people's diet. It has thus been a two-fold problem.

The lack of wood also affects health, not least in Sada. The land roundabout lost most of its thornbush years ago, in the early days of the camp. This is a severe strain on people - they rely mainly on mealie meal, which needs to be cooked, and now they must use food money on paraffin for their fuel, or else buy expensive bundles of wood.

Fuel is a problem as paraffin costs are high.

Here we've got to buy even wood.

Our problem is fuel. When fetching wood near the hills we are chased away by government elements.

Fuel is a problem. We have to buy wood. If one is found looking for wood in the bushes you get beaten by the police and possibly fined.

People obviously were prepared to scout around far from Sada and risk reprisals in order to get free fuel. Paraffin cost 40c for 750 ml in 1981, and wood R2.05 a sack.

Cold is another basic problem for health, especially here with the 4-month frost period in the year. Many in and around Sada cannot afford to use fuel for heating at all, and they feel the fierce cold all the more, and even succumb to it, because they are malnourished.

EDUCATION

By 'education' is understood the nominal schooling process laid on for blacks which they and the administration correctly see just as preparation for low-grade jobs, on the whole. Wage-earning is an acute priority in Sada, as in many other areas. Families therefore do their best to keep children in school. Significantly, education is high on the list of a household's problems, as here -

1. Starvation
 2. Education
 3. Rent
 4. Clothing
 5. Transport costs
- because there is no hospital here for emergency cases.

In all the responses we saw, schooling came before rent for these families.

Parents want to give their children the best start they can towards job security. The general feeling seems to be that schooling will help young people in the queue for jobs, and that this is security for them and for the families who helped them through school. It is sometimes mentioned rather like an investment parents make for security in their own old age. Nowhere is there any idea that school will develop the lives of children, except in their potential for wage-earning.

My problem is educating my two children as they depend on me for their needs.

Educating my two daughters is the problem which is right on my shoulders. I expect my daughter to find work if she can pass her Std 10 and work for a decent wage.

Schooling is a problem because of the high costs of books and uniform, all compulsory. No parent can escape bills of about R100 per child even at primary level. In high school, the uniform costs about R90, sometimes more. Books cost R40 and upwards (1981). It is quite clear from the responses we had that families even spend food money on these items. Where more than one child goes to school, households sometimes give up the struggle -

I can't educate my three grandchildren and they are likely to leave school, yet I would like them to study further. I would like to get any grant that would cater for them till a higher level can be reached.

Bursary funds are the remaining hope, as this comment shows. Sada families apparently keep themselves informed about these sources, drawing on help from as far afield as the African Scholars' Fund in Cape Town, for example.

There was some comment about lowering the cost of the annual bill for schooling, or, as this householder added, raising wages to cover cost -

We would like improvement in education - expenses to be lowered or to be given enough money on our jobs.

It is noteworthy that nobody even mentioned improving the substance of tuition, or compared the Sada schools against each other. The whole focus is on the cost, and the jobs that might lie at the end of it. Some parents hope about jobs for their children, others demand:

We expect the Ciskeian government to help us by providing more jobs so that when our children go out of school they can find jobs.

The officials' line seems to be that schools keep the youth under control and off the streets, as we heard it from parents. School is compulsory, parents are told, and when they explain that they of all people want their children to attend but the family can't afford it, they are told to try harder for the children. Only one comment in the questionnaires picked this up -

We expect the government to help us because they spread the word that if any children are found not attending school the parents would be in trouble.

We did not hear of any action being taken against parents though. Still, it sounds like a very negative situation.

Here unfortunately we do not know about student opinion in Sada. Interviews were with householders on the whole, and certainly always with adults, which left this side of life unexplored. It certainly would be well worthwhile to canvass the younger age groups too for an insight into community life generally, not only schools.

Parents spoke of quite a strong community sense among students. It was a solidarity with the nation, not just village awareness. Yet other comments also suggested that this consciousness was not strongly progressive and that on the whole the students were rather passive, even while rejecting the school system and syllabuses they lived with through the year.

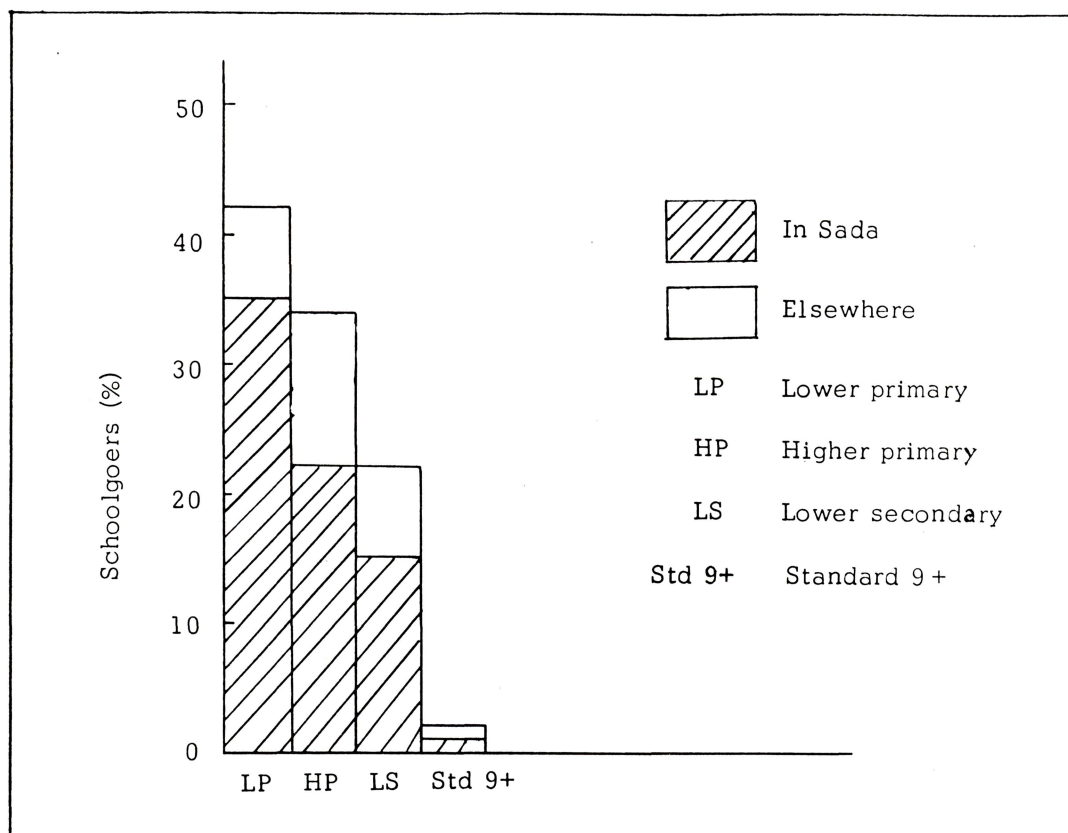
One dramatic event in 1980 has certainly hardened resistance both ways between students and the control system. On 11 September the students walked in a gathering band through Sada, in protest against the discriminatory regime and to commemorate Steve Biko's death. They were moving up the road from the Masibulele teacher training school when the police came for them. The group moved on together, refusing to divide, and continued up through Sada and further up the hillside behind it, singing freedom songs all the time. Then the police came with some reinforcements - the press report says 15 police to the 800 students - and charged the singers who by then had settled on the hill. They used teargas, whips and guns. The students retaliated with stones before they scattered. A constable was killed, so was a 16-year-old boy and two children aged about 12. One child was totally blinded, others had bullet, whip and teargas damage. About 50 were injured in all. The formal aftermath was that the police started a court case against 427 students, who were then tried for public violence. The families of the dead and maimed children did not try suing for damages. Some of the students are permanently injured or disfigured. Less tangibly, it sounded to us as though sympathies had drawn together among the students, and parents also had grown more alert to what students said and felt. Sada has always been heavily controlled, but has not seen anything like such a grim encounter before or since. In a politicising sense, quite possibly the 11 September 1980 was the most educative day in the life of Sada for everyone. Its long-term effects are by no means over.

Some 2 400 people attend school in Sada. They go to four primary schools, one secondary school, and the Mhlotshana High School, after which some may carry on to train as primary teachers at the Masibulele training school over the Oxton road. The schoolgoers were 62% girls in our sample, of those attending in Sada.

Quite a high proportion (26%) go to school outside Sada. This group is mostly boys (70%), as we found. It could be that families prefer investing in their sons instead of their daughters - or there may be other factors, such as lack of boarding space for girls or greater fears for them living away from home. Why do so many pupils go away to study? It could reflect on the condition of Sada's schools, or perhaps more families sent their children elsewhere in 1981 after the clash with the police in 1980. We did meet some parents who had had to farm out their children to grandparents because the household in Sada was too congested, and this accommodation problem could be another reason too.

Quite a few children (14%) at the lower primary level study outside Sada. In higher primary, the rate rises to 35%. Then it drops slightly to 30% for those in lower secondary, and soars again to 42% of the students in Standard 9 and up. We do not know which schools the Sada students go to, but this shift to places outside is very emphatic, as the following diagram shows:

Fig 4 SCHOLASTIC LEVELS OF SADA STUDENTS INSIDE AND OUTSIDE SADA , 1981 (%)



Here we also see the nearly total fade in schooling after Junior Certificate: 41% of schoolgoers were in lower primary, 35% in higher primary, 22% in lower secondary, and only 2% in Standard 9 and up. It also means that only one person in four goes further than primary school, and about two in five go no further than Standard 2, in our sample. Skills such as reading quickly fade at that early stage if people do not keep using them. With many people dropping out of school so soon, the illiteracy rate would actually be far higher in Sada than appears from the schoolgoing rate, since for quite a few people their skills will be lost again in a year or two.

In terms of mere labour training, the pattern is actually too good. Poor as it is, it overshoots the skill requirements for the very crude labouring jobs that many Sada people get. A Standard 3 or 4 pass is superfluous, Teba officials say, for miners who 'only have to read the danger signs and some numbers'. Teba accept Grahamstown men without any schooling at all, for example. Recruitment at Whittlesea may be more selective if people compete more for jobs there.

Whatever the jobs really amount to, many parents do everything to keep children at school -

Here there is the chance of educating children. On the farm the maximum was Standard 2 and then work for the farmer. But my problem is the educating of children on a small wages, since my husband is away for the whole year. I have to struggle for food. So far there is no help or anything to expect but to try and help myself.

Whether it was that parents could not cope or that the children themselves chose to leave off schooling, it seems there are a lot of young people out of school. Our sample shows that nearly one in five (19%) aged 7 years and up do not go. What they do, and whether their rate of employment is later affected, we do not know.

WATER

Concrete reservoirs on the hill behind supply water to Sada, drawing on Waterdown Dam. The water is led to street taps about 100 m apart, which many people found worse than they had had before -

There were taps at a 50 m distance but here you have to walk a long way to the tap.

In Queenstown taps are inside the yards.

People did not complain about the quality of the water, and in fact one person praised it for not being salty - this was after the water at Port Alfred.

Gardens may never be watered by hose, which disposes of many of them. All water is carried away to the houses, and in the case of Emadakeni people this entails a long, heavy trip, as we have seen. Water may be reticulated to Emadakeni in the near future, if the pipes seen there in April 1982 are put in.

STREETS AND LIGHTING

One route in Sada is tarred, mainly for the buses perhaps. Apart from that, there are dirt roads. They are fairly wide and better than many township roads elsewhere. Hewu is very windy, though, and Sada has a bad dust problem which makes tarring quite a priority. Emadakeni has broad and narrow walkways, some of which can take cars. They obviously need grading to turn them into true roads.

Emadakeni has no street lighting, and the main section has far too little, in the opinion of those we met. People want lights for safety as well as light to walk by.

One householder neatly summed it up -

Streets should be tarred and electrified because of dust and violence.

This is the gist of most of the comments we received.

TRANSPORT

Just about the best service is the buses which run past Sada, from Zweledinga to Queenstown, three times during each morning and twice each afternoon. Complaints are that it is an expensive fare (R1.50 one way in 1981) and not always regular. The cost cuts out some jobs and a lot of workseeking, and the irregularity makes people fear losing their jobs - some grim mention was made of this in 1981. The position may be much better now. The Queenstown town clerk said in April 1982 that the buses between Sada and Queenstown run every 20 minutes during the week. There are also Sada taxis, too costly for anything but emergencies. The nearest railhead is at Queenstown, 42 km away.

POST

Nobody mentioned remittances going astray. People have to collect their post themselves -

Post - this is one problem we face because you have to go to the factory for post.

SHOPS

In the 1960s people had to shop entirely in Whittlesea or Queenstown, apart from buying the odd item from hawkers. Queenstown was favoured then, and still is today, because prices there are so much lower. The R3 return bus fare needs to be made worthwhile, though.

Sada now has about four general dealers, we heard, although only the Sada trading store is listed in the phone book. There is the perennial beerhall, also the Hewu bottle store, and several shebeens. There are a good many informal traders too. This is how some people spoke of it, mentioning the supply of vegetables and liquor in almost the same breath.

Meat is in very short supply. Only one butchery exists and there is some informal meat-dealing, but nothing like what Sada needs.

3.4.11 Local affairs

NEIGHBOURLINESS AND ORGANISATIONS

This section is based uncritically on the families' views as they were given to us, because we could not evaluate such things as how candid people were about neighbour relationships or their allegiance to various organisations.

First we shall record how families in the sample get on with their neighbours, and the organisations and general interests they support. Then we turn to their main problems and aspirations, what people expect to do about them, and whom they expect help from.

Several households felt the social strain of moving to Sada. Some quickly felt at home with their neighbours, especially if they were helped to settle in -

We get on very well with them because when we arrived as 'newcomers' they accepted us.

We get on very well with them because they helped us in our plight to get a house.

I made friends very quickly and easily.

Others took longer -

After some weeks I began to make friends.

We did not get on very well until we came to know them better.

At first we had difficulty in making friends.

One would expect this in any relocation, but it is far worse where people come from many different places - the disruption of the move comes at the very time you are leaving the neighbours you know and need most. Sada contrasts with Elukhanyweni, for example, where an established community was transferred intact. We assume that people who came to Sada from the same area, with ready-formed friendships, had a much better start there.

We get on very well with them because we come from the same place.

Very well - some we have known before arrival.

Almost everyone says they get on well nowadays with their neighbours, but there are more muted replies too -

Well - we never had a fight.

I have never quarrelled with them since I came here.

Families have been strained by being too close together. Let alone the clashes within a family, neighbours have to be very circumspect about not getting in each other's way or, if they share a plot, to foster good feelings -

We do get on well with them because the plot is not divided.

We get on very well with them because we don't engage ourselves on people's private/family affairs.

We get on very well with people. In some instances the occupiers of the front of the house get cross with us when we tell them that their poultry get into our garden.

We get on very well yet there are some misunderstandings due to the fact that the yards have no fences.

People have very warm ties too, of course, and appreciate each other -

We get on very well with them because they are friendly.

They are nice to us.

We get on very well inasmuch as we exchange visits and invite each other for supper.

Common problems also draw people together. We have already noted the strong borrowing mechanism at Sada, and that families even accommodate each other if a household is thrown out for not paying rent. Quite a few said they got on together

because we have the same needs.

because we are all under the same living conditions.

because we help each other with food.

In context, the following aloof-sounding comment does in fact convey the tone of many families we met -

We get on well together because we speak the same language and are of the same class.

Being 'all Ciskeian together' did not give this kind of togetherness, though, except in a negative sense -

We all get on well because we are all suffering under the common government.

We get on well with them because we are all under the same rule.

But organisations in Sada certainly do strengthen the bond with neighbours -

We get on well together because we have formed groups e.g. burial society.

We get on well with them because we attend church services and meet at functions together.

Many families mentioned belonging to the same church as their neighbours. The churches are by far the biggest and best supported organisations in Sada. The Moravians predominate, as is only natural in this area of Shiloh Moravian Mission. Others that we met were Zionist, Dutch Reformed, Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist, Full Gospel, A.M.E. and Ethiopian. Altogether, 65% of those we met were church members.

Burial societies had a 32% membership in our sample, and so did the Ciskei National Independence Party. There was one mention of the Sada Mothers' Union, another of the Moravian Church choir. No sport or other leisure clubs were listed, although some sport is played - the field with rough posts lies over the Oxtan road from Sada. The teams apparently give concerts to raise funds for themselves, so there is some organisation involved.

Churchgoing seems to have a sense of rivalry to it, among the denominations. It draws more women than men, has a traditionalist conservative appeal, is valued for its moral support and

also in some cases for material help - members may apply for particular bursaries, use the hall for their functions and fundraising etc. It may be on the wane.

Burial societies are said to be an index of poverty. The honourable end matters all the more after a lifetime under par, and where living is hand-to-mouth people have to provide for the expense of a funeral in this way.

The CNIP is popularly seen as the one way to get ahead materially. It is a precondition of just about every job in the Ciskei. People in Sada even felt that CNIP membership helped them to get pensions, housing or anything else where they had to apply to officials, even if they had an absolute right to get the thing they were asking for. Sada's administration is through headmen and committees acting as intermediaries between people and State offices. This double-thick process has thwarted most of the applications we heard of. Democratic pressures are tried -

A meeting was called for we have too few houses.

Some meetings were called and we were promised about the toilets and accommodation.

Basically, though, it all boils down to appealing to the Ciskei government, to authority, as the source of everything. People therefore tend to try for things through a chain of influence. It makes for very complex relationships which get more complicated still as key people cannot produce the goods. Promises work for a time, but then leading figures find their own power base eroded by failure of the administration to supply what Sada needs. The regime seems to turn everyone into suppliants, and it must all be in the name of the CNIP. There may well be an upswing in CNIP status at present, with hopes rising of benefits from the new Whittlesea North development. But comments even from people with party cards show plainly that they regard the CNIP as a dunning outfit -

We expect the Ciskeian government to help us because we pay polltax and donate money to the party. It seems as if they are interested on the party more than on human lives.

CNIP membership thus strikes us as politic rather than political. Another feature of it in Sada is that it is urged on everyone as a populist movement - or at least a token support for Sebe as 'the nation's leader'. Yet it is the one way for people to climb into elitism, and so the way it works is divisive and hierarchical. The tangle of local figures at the bottom of this hierarchy may well get more complicated as thousands more people will soon be resettled in the area. For everyone, whether they are in the power game or not, the CNIP and Ciskeian regime mean very much the same thing. People are indignant at having to pay towards NtabakaNdoda monument, 'parties cracked for government ministers', gifts for Sebe and so on, as we have mentioned. Many comments throughout the questionnaires imply that Sada keeps having to pay, for nothing in return. It is rent, for houses never repaired. Or poll tax, or CNIP collections, for nothing but promises. The fact that a third of our sample belonged to a party with such a record shows how strongly the Ciskeian authorities push the need for membership.

LEADERS

Nearly all the households named Mr Myataza, MP for the area, as a community leader. Other comments also show that he is seen as the most effective link with the central authority -

The government will help as Mr. Myataza promised.

Sometimes the faith people have in him sounds like no faith at all, but just the only option -

I've made contact with our representative but we are still waiting for promises.

Most people include at least one community councillor's name on their list. About a quarter mentioned teachers and/or ministers of religion. No leaders were named other than these establishment figures.

ATTITUDES TO PROBLEMS

As the sections above have shown, people have many pressing needs in Sada. It is pensions, housing, local work, better pay, help with education, guaranteed jobs for school leavers, also the longing for land and the chance to have stock again. There is sanitation too, and better street lights, and proper water supplies, and tarring of roads, and decent health facilities including a hospital, and a butchery that can cater for Sada.

Virtually all the questionnaires show people relying on the Ciskei authorities for everything. How much they really expect is hard to say. A few people sounded really hopeful -

The above - post and sanitation - had been what the Govt. promised to do something about. The Govt. has given us much hope so we are looking forward to its help.

Most made strong but neutral statements to the effect that their problems were the Ciskei's responsibility.

We expect the Govt. to help since housing problems are catered by it.

We expect the Ciskeian Government to help us because we pay poll tax and we are under their regime.

We expect the Government (Ciskeian) should help us because we cannot do anything without their intervention for they brought us here.

We expect the Ciskeian government to help us because we are their responsibility.

About a third mention government help without really expecting it. Their remarks convey anything from doubt to anger.

We would like the Ciskeian Government to help us. We old people expect death to redeem us because this white civilization has brought shame to blacks.

We expect the Ciskeian Government to help us because they want independence, a sign of being economically viable.

We expect the Ciskeian Government to help us because we are really dying.

There is nothing we can do about our problems but wait for what the government's promised. The government is our hope.

I can do nothing but wait what the authorities should do as they always promise. The headman who represents us is the hope to raise our needs.

We expect the Government to help us because we do know that we are exploited instead of being protected.

We expect the authorities to help us because when it comes to financial matters they are the first class to collect money.

A few, including some cited in earlier sections of the report, have written off any idea of help from the authorities.

We expect help from nobody but God. The government does not want to hear from our cries.

We cannot do anything on ourselves without money. We live to die - slow death. We expect any kind of help from anywhere because the Ciskeian government has shown less interest on our side.

These comments arise almost entirely from the question, 'Who do you expect to help?' They show deep dependency and despondency, which perhaps form a vicious circle. The threat of detention under Proclamation R252 may also deter people from working on community problems independently of the government.

3.4.12 Conclusion

The very fact of families coping day after day, year after year, at Sada betokens huge resourcefulness and endurance by many people. They contend especially with cold in winter, epidemics in summer, broken families, congestion, hunger, and all the restrictions on full life common to blacks throughout South Africa. All this is the hidden cost of resettlement, a never-ending imposition on the people who were moved either against their will or with legalistic barriers on any other move; and who, once in Sada, have had to live in proletarian style but deprived of proper housing, proper services and in almost all cases, a living wage.

Beyond the daily effort, it is difficult for Sada people to achieve more on their own. Many are very poor, most have their family life shattered by migrancy, all are forced to stay isolated and in the cash economy. They and their problems are so government-oriented, few households felt they could do anything at all themselves to improve things. Nobody mentioned any community drives to initiate change. Self-help seems limited to the burial societies, some fund-raising for sports functions, and the borrowing mechanism - all of them important, but just as day-to-day strategy, not for development.

Sada contains firm neighbourhoods. Perhaps they could have done more if the people had arrived together from one established community rather than in fragmented groups of strangers. Or perhaps people have lost initiative through strain and leaning too long on official promises. Yet the general tone is not as passive as the previous section sounds. A good many comments show that people wanted to solve their own problems and those of the community generally, but felt they could do so only if they had some leeway given them to start with.

We expect to get better jobs so that we can find solutions.

We expect to do something like getting work with higher salaries so that we can find solutions for most of our problems.

We expect to get rid of such problems as family division, scarcity of jobs, and small accommodation. We can help ourselves through unity and street competitions on various things. The government should have a solution to most of our problems.

The changes happening now in 1982, with massive resettlement over the road, will bring some benefits. Housing will be eased, at a price. Infrastructure will improve in the Whittlesea area. But the basic troubles for people are part of the regime's ongoing design and will not be changed to suit the wishes of those in Sada: migrancy, minimal wages, minimal facilities for rural dormitories. Negatively again, there will be greater congestion, pollution problems, maybe water supply problems, probably more of a battle for jobs at the labour bureau when anything up to another 60 000 people move into the Whittlesea area.

Overall, it looks as though many people will still have to squander their life energy just on survival. They lack freedom, and some people have cried out against this great indignity and waste of life at Sada.

We are trying by all ways and means to make ends meet only for survival. We live on bad conditions and see ourselves destroyed bit by bit.