

**RICH VERSUS POOR:
DISCREPANCIES IN PERCEPTIONS OF ANC AND NP SUPPORTERS
TOWARDS THE
POOR IN SOUTH AFRICA**

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the University of Stellenbosch**



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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this assignment is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

Signature

Date.

ABSTRACT

Within the academic fraternity poverty has traditionally been treated and analysed as a sociological concept. When poverty reaches critical proportions, its consequences may, however, spill directly into the political sphere. The author contends that poverty has become one of the major determinants of political debate in South Africa.

The NP government (which changed its name to NNP in 1998), which ruled South Africa from 1948-1994 instituted apartheid, a policy, which gave priority to the interests of whites to the detriment of blacks, coloureds and Indians. This resulted in an unequal distribution of resources, and consequently also unequal social development of South Africa's different population groups. As a result poverty is concentrated in the non-whites groups, with blacks as a group being the worst affected.

The aim of this assignment is to investigate the difference in attitudes between supporters of the ANC and NP towards poverty and the poor in South Africa. In this assignment the author proposes that ANC supporters have a better understanding of the nature of poverty and more experience of poverty than NP supporters. She bases her contention on the fact that the overwhelming majority of the ANC's supporters come from the previously disadvantaged groups.

The finding of this study is that political party support is one of the major determinants of perceptions that South Africans hold towards the poor. ANC supporters seem optimistic about the future prospects of the poor, while NP supporters seem to be more pessimistic. It must, however, be noted that in many instances there seem to be a general trend that population groups in both parties have the same response pattern (e.g. blacks will show the highest percentage in a response to a question, followed by coloureds, Indians and then whites or vice versa).

OPSOMMING

Hoewel akademici armoede hoofsaaklik as sosiologiese konsep beskou, kan ekstreme en wydverspreide gevalle van hierdie kondisie direkte implikasies vir die dag tot dag politiek van 'n staat inhou. Die skrywer voer aan dat dit toenemend die geval binne die Suid-Afrikaanse politieke konteks is. Inderdaad het dit een van dié vernaamste dryfvere van openbare beleid geword.

Apartheid was die breinkind van die NP (sedert 1998 die NNP) wat Suid-Afrika van 1948 tot 1994 regeer het. Die toepassing van dié stelsel het bygedra tot die sistematiese ontneming van die mees basiese regte van swart, bruin and Indiër Suid-Afrikaners tot voordeel van hul wit landgenote. 'n Byproduk van hierdie beleid, was die oneweredige verspreiding van hulpbronne wat oor 'n tydperk van byna vier dekades bygedra het tot 'n grootskaalse ekonomiese ontmagtiging van die bogenoemde groepe. Gevolglik is armoede vandag nog gekonsentreer binne die bruin, Indiër, maar veral, die swart bevolkingsgroepe.

Die sentrale oogmerk van hierdie opdrag is om vas te stel of daar wesenlike opinieverskille tussen ANC en NP ondersteuners oor die kwessie van armoede bestaan. Die skrywer voer aan dat dit wel die geval is. Sy substansieër haar stelling deur te verwys na die feit dat ten tye van die relevante meningsopname die ANC se ondersteunerskorps hoofsaaklik uit swart Suid-Afrikaners bestaan het, terwyl dié van die NP hoofsaaklik uit wit, bruin en Indiër ondersteuners bestaan het.

Haar bevindings bevestig dat party affiliasie een van die primerê determinante van Suid-Afrikaners se houding teenoor armoede is. ANC ondersteuners blyk meer optimisties te wees oor die vooruitsigte van die armes as NP ondersteuners. Dit moet egter genoem word dat 'n vergelyking tussen die responspatrone van spesifieke bevolkingsgroepe 'n soortgelyke tendens binne die twee partye uitlig. In die meeste gevalle sal die persentasies vir of teen 'n stelling in dieselfe volgorde (swart, bruin, Indiër en wit) of omgekeer voorkom.

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DEDICATION

For my mother

Jane Mamutele Mamabolo

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1. INTRODUCTION

Poverty will be one of South Africa's major challenges in years to come. As more research on the topic of poverty is being done, the shroud is being lifted on the legacy of years of neglect towards the poor, mainly black, majority of South Africa. With sprawling shantytowns rapidly springing up in and around urban areas all over South Africa, few South Africans can claim that they are not conscious of the critical proportions that poverty has reached. Although it is not the intention of the author to venture too much into the historical context of poverty in South Africa, it is necessary to point out that its roots lie in centuries of strained racial relations, which have been exacerbated, especially over the past four decades of previous century.

Although segregatory racial legislation had been on South African statute books since the beginning of the century, it only became the central thrust of domestic policy with the ascendance to power of the National Party (now New National Party) in 1948.¹ Its policy of apartheid, aimed at the segregation of South Africa's different population groups, was, according to its architects, directed at the separate development of all these groups. In effect it amounted to unequal development in favour of whites at the cost of other groups. As a result poverty is today mainly concentrated in the black community. (For more on the NP rule see Lapping, 1986 and Nutall et al, 1998).

According to Gibson (1987:13) "poverty is often associated with the idea of inequality". This posits a situation where the resources of the state are distributed in favour of a certain section of society only. Poverty knows no colour, but in South Africa it has a racial dimension. According to Fraser-Moleketi (1997:45 and Financial Mail, 1996:27) "nearly 95% of South Africa's poor are African, 5% are Coloureds and less than 1% are Indian or White". Furthermore, today "South Africa is second only to Brazil in the size of the gap between the rich and poor, measured as 0.58% by the Gini coefficient" (Business Times, 14.6.1998:1). Most of the disparities that exist in our society can according to researchers be laid at the door of the apartheid policy. As a result poverty in South Africa is more of a political than a social concept. Precisely because the governing party (NNP) distributed the resources

¹ It changed its name to New National Party on 5 September 1998.

in favour of the whites and neglected blacks.

Heywood (1997:233), Kotze (1989:174) and Lawson (1985:257) contend that political parties respond and articulate the views of both members and the voters'. Political parties are the most important vehicles for articulating individual demands, the successful party finds out what people want and finds a way to combine and address those demands. When the NP was in power, blacks did not have the vote. It was therefore imperative to benefit its supporters, who were largely white, and to ignore the blacks, that did not have the vote. It is important for every party to promote the interests of its supporters because that is where its fate lies.

In opposition to the NP was the African National Congress (ANC) which was the "liberation movement" fighting for equal rights for all South Africans, irrespective of colour. The majority of its members were black. This party also won the vast majority of votes and became the government of the country in 1994.

This assignment focuses on the ANC and the NP supporters and in particular their attitudes to poverty. It is acknowledged that there are other political parties in the country but for the purposes of this essay only the NP and the ANC have been chosen. These were the two largest parties in the country when the survey on which this paper is based was conducted and they have been in the political domain for a long time. Moreover, they had the support of a major proportion of the two largest population groups in the country i.e. the ANC (blacks) and the NP (whites) (For support patterns in elections see Reynolds 1994, 191-192). Therefore using them in this study will also bring about a fairer representation of the attitudes of blacks and whites towards the poor at the time of the survey.

1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM AND PROPOSITION

One of the legacies of apartheid was racial discrimination in South Africa. The ruling (NP) made policies through which it preferred whites and discriminated against blacks, coloureds and Indians. (For an extensive reading see Venter, 1989: 1-20). As a result there was an inequitable distribution of state resources which created a situation where the marginalised groups, specifically, the blacks were affected by

poverty. The ANC, which had a predominantly black support base fought for a democratic South Africa. The proposition of this assignment is that the ANC supporters, have a better understanding and more experience of poverty than NP supporters. Many black people experience poverty directly where it affects them in their households and as such they understand what poverty is all about. Others who are better off understand and experience poverty because they live with the poor in their communities.

If it is true that there is a connection between the policies of the NP prior to 1994(an overwhelmingly “white” party) and the occurrence of poverty among blacks as some researchers suggest, then one would expect different attitudes among the supporters of these parties. It is therefore proposed that NP supporters will have less “understanding” of poverty than the supporters of the ANC will.

The next section deals specifically with political parties and their policies. In most instances party supporters are attracted to a particular party because of its policies.

1.3 POLITICAL PARTIES AND THEIR POLICIES.

Lawson (1985:246) states that a political party always seeks to place representatives in government. If successful it will exercise power on behalf of the general public. Party supporters always (or almost always) vote for the party’s candidate. According to Heywood (1997: 236), parties also help to articulate and aggregate the various interests found in society. Their major challenge therefore is to aggregate these interests by drawing them into a coherent whole, balancing competing interests against each other. People support a specific party because of its policies. For so long as the party sticks to its supporters’ preferred policies, it will always have their support. (For more on the functions of political parties see Ranney (1971: 323-327), Roskin, Cord, Medeiros and Jones (1991: 213-215).

At times the party may lose support if it amends some of its policies. In some parties, supporters are given platforms to voice their opinions whereupon amendments to party policies can be made should the majority of the supporters suggest so. It is

imperative for parties to satisfy their supporters at all times because the success of the party depends on them.

In the next section there is a discussion of the two largest parties in South Africa, namely NP and the ANC. This is provided in order to indicate how the NP's policies created an unequal society where it continuously discriminated against blacks, coloureds and Indians and the strategies which the ANC used to fight apartheid. It is also important to show how the parties evolved and the policies that the parties adapted in order to understand their supporters' attitudes to the poor.

1.3.1 BACKGROUND ON THE NATIONAL PARTY

General JBM Hertzog formed the New National Party in 1914. See (Worrall, 1971 190-192) for a discussion of the establishment of the NP. It had clear goals, physically, socially and politically to separate whites, blacks, coloureds and Indians. Kotze and Greyling (1994:203) state that it won the 1948 election, and it was so successful that it managed to maintain its monopoly of power into the 1990's. The NP managed to be the dominant party for a long time because of the loyal support its supporters accorded it.

Esterhuysen (1981:33) states that "the National Party came into power in 1948 under the flag of apartheid, in conjunction with other factors". While the black people's lives were not any better before the NP came into power, the situation became worse when NP became government. According to Breytenbach (1999:114) during its reign "the National Party introduced the policy of separate development, based on the following principles: territorial separation (which meant homelands for Africans and group areas for coloureds and Indians), social segregation (which meant separate schools, churches and neighbourhoods). Political differentiation (which meant separate institutions for political participation, mainly at lower levels of governance) and white supremacy." As a result of the above, apartheid in effect became a policy of white domination. (For more reading on separate development see also Wright, (1998: 70-75).

In the next section some of the key aspects of the NP's racial policies will be discussed.² The author acknowledges that there are many other dimensions of racial policies but in this paper only the following will be discussed Population Registration Act (1950), the Group Areas Act (1950), the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act, Number 46 of 1959 and the Bantu Education Act (1953).

The Population Registration Act (1950) may be considered as the "pillar of apartheid" because it enabled the government to differentiate and thus discriminate amongst different races in the country. The Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act and the Group Areas Act (1950) forced the blacks, coloureds and Indians into specific places where the chances of employment were slim. The Bantu Education Act (1953) was meant to grant blacks with an education which will suit their needs i.e. to prepare them for unskilled work. As a result it was difficult for them to find proper employment, and consequently many were not able to provide for the needs of their dependants. These chosen Acts are relevant to this paper because through them the government was able to discriminate against the black people economically, territorially and socially thus condemning the majority of blacks to a life of poverty.

1.3.1.1 RACIAL POLICIES

The above-mentioned racial policies were mainly to ensure that the NP's policy of separate development succeeds. There had to be an official way of dividing the people of South Africa into different racial categories. This was done also to ensure that the resources of the state reach its intended recipients, in most cases, whites. Kotze (1989:173) contends and mentions that because of the insular political culture of the Afrikaners, and more generally speaking of the whites, the groups have been privileged regarding government distribution of resources.

According to Omond (1985:22-23), Pampallis (1991:183) and Du Toit (1995:300) the Population Registration Act declared that every person in South Africa was classified into one of the following groups, 'Native' (later changed to Bantu), 'European' (later White), Coloured or Indian (later Asian). Lipton (1985:23) states that the Population

² See Esterhuysen, (1981:47) for the three phases in the development of National Party policy.

Registration Act of 1950 classified the whole population by race, it was based on appearance, descent and general acceptance (For more reading see Hugo and O'Malley, 1989:125). More crude ways to determine one's race was by inspecting fingernails or by pulling combs into people's hair should the comb be halted by tight curls, the person is more likely to be classified coloured than white (Du Pre, 1994:67). The Population Registration Act was not promulgated for the distribution of state resources only. Moreover, the Population Registration Act was employed as a means to make the prohibitions of race mixing enforceable (Gerhart, 1978:85).

Adam and Moodley (1986:222) observed that government promulgated the Group Areas Act of 1950 according to which people of a designated racial group were allowed to live in a specified area. Moreover, Du Pre (1994:82) states that the Group Areas Act aimed at restricting each population group to defined places as far as ownership, occupancy and trading were concerned. This was to ensure further segregation amongst the different races.

The government further promulgated the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act, Number 46 of 1959 in terms of which blacks were placed in the homelands. There were ten homelands altogether, and they were based on ethnic groups. Homer-Dixon, Boutwell and Rathjens (1993:21) declares that in "South Africa the white regime's past apartheid policies concentrated millions of blacks in the country's least productive and most ecologically sensitive territories". In 1980 rural areas of the Ciskei homeland supported 82 persons per square kilometre, whereas the surrounding Cape Province had a rural density of two. As a result of living on marginal land it was hard for people to afford subsistence farming. Overcrowding in the homelands worsened the situation. According to Omond (1985:89) 93,7% of poverty was concentrated in these territories which were neglected by the government.

The government tightened the Group Areas Act by bringing in pass laws for black people. As observed by Pampallis (1991:185) the pass laws were made stricter in order to increase control over the population and to ensure that labour was directed where it was most needed by white businessmen and farmers. This was probably one of the cruellest apartheid laws as it brought about the disintegration of the family because men stayed in single sex hostels whilst their families remained in the

homelands. As a result of these pass laws it was also hard for blacks to find jobs in the urban areas without the necessary documentation. The rural areas are characterised by low levels of economic activity as a result it was hard for the rural dwellers to get employment opportunities. The cumulative effect of the above has been high levels of poverty in the black community.

According to Mothlabi (1984:53) “...one of the ways in which apartheid is implemented and transmitted is through the system of Bantu Education”. The Bantu Education Act institutionalised discrimination and as a result inferior education was provided. Pampallis (1991:184) contends that it was meant to provide basic knowledge for unskilled manual workers to train African children to accept an inferior position in society and to provide ethnic consciousness in students. Liebenberg and Spies (1993:326) state that the immediate result of Verwoerd’s measure was a dramatic decline in the quality of black education. This could be seen in the decline in the number of black teachers in training from 8817 in 1954 to 5908 in 1961 and the rise of pupil teacher ratio in black schools from 40 to 1 in 1953 to 50-1 in 1960.

TABLE 1: STATE EXPENDITURE IN EDUCATION IN 1982-3

Whites	Indians	Coloureds	Africans
R1,385	R871,87	R593,37	R115,19

Table 1 (Omond, 1985:77) shows the state expenditure in education in 1982-3. The figures show bias in state expenditure favouring whites. The situation had not changed even in the 1990. Kotze (1997:166) states that “in 1990 state expenditure on education amounted to R16, 5 billion, one third of which was spent on white education, while only 10% of the population between the ages of 5 and 9 was white”. Moreover, this group represents only 12,5% of the total number of pupils enrolled.

This had a direct influence on the educational qualifications and adult educational levels of the South African labour force, leaving the non-white labour force especially Blacks and Coloureds with a large backlog in training, education and the development of human potential and manpower. As a result of the black people’s illiteracy and

their low standards of education most of them struggled to find jobs, those that did earned little.

It is necessary to discuss the income levels to see the racial distribution of income. This may also shed some light on the concentration of poverty in the black community.

1.3.1.2 INCOME LEVELS

As a result of the discriminatory policies of the NP, income levels were also racially distorted. This was one of the outcomes of the apartheid regime that can be directly linked to the poverty levels in South Africa. According to Lipton (1985:24) "...section 77 of the IC Act enabled the Minister of Labour to reserve jobs for specific racial groups in any industry, trade or occupation. The aim was to secure preference for whites and to preserve complementarity between the races and stop increasing the reliance of industry on African labour".

Esterhuysen (1981:3) states that when skin colour is used as a criterion in establishing a wage level, it amounts to discrimination, since it does not provide an indication of a labourer's contribution. Due to the low education levels of blacks it was also easy to discriminate against them in jobs, as in many instances they couldn't meet the required qualifications.

Moreover, Adam and Moodley (1986:16) mention that "...the close relationship between income level and race underlies the charge that the essence of apartheid is exploitation and labour control." This was the practice in South Africa. In 1993, one third of all African households earned less than R500 a month while only 2% of white households were as poor. Ninety-nine percent of African households had a monthly income of less than R5 000 while only half of all white households were in the same position" (Woolard and Barbeton, 1998: 27).

Skweyiya (1994:284) states that due to the legacy of apartheid and colonialism, various forces within the white ruling minority employed their exclusive access to political and economic power to promote their interests at the expense of the black

population. As a result, the majority of the South African population has been systematically excluded both from the economic and political realms, thus creating a situation in which the country has one of the most unequal patterns of wealth and income distribution in the world.

TABLE 2. PER CAPITA INCOMES AND ABSOLUTE INCOME GAP OVER THE PERIOD 1947-1991 AT CONSTANT 1990 PRICES.

	1946/47	1960	1970	1980	1991
African	1 055	1 153	1 301	1 742	1 710
White	11 190	13 362	19 558	22 552	21 121
Coloured	1 791	2 147	3 252	4 295	3 885
Asian	2 626	1 380	3 828	5 742	6 945
Absolute gap between white and African	10 135	12 479	18 257	20 810	19 411

Table 2 (McGrath and Whiteford, 1994:5) shows the income disparities that existed in South Africa mainly as a result of the discriminatory policies of apartheid. Throughout the per capita income for whites is higher than all other population groups. This condemned a lot of blacks into a life of poverty. Income largely determines a person/household's standard of living, the lesser the income, the higher the chances of poverty. It is acknowledged that a lot has changed in South Africa. The income gap between blacks and whites has narrowed but this does not apply to all blacks. According to Sen (1998:2) while some black people have benefited from the transition the level of inequality within the black population is almost as high as the national average-61% of blacks are still poor.

While the NP was the government of the day, the ANC was the liberation movement, which was fighting for equal rights for all South Africans. The next section will look more closely at the ANC as a political movement.

1.4 THE FORMATION OF THE ANC

Blondel (1978:13) states that “parties organize large sections of society for major battles; if conflicts involve only a few individuals, parties will not be formed. For parties to emerge conflicts must run deeply into the fabric of society and sharply divide its members”. This is the base on which the ANC was founded

The ANC was formed on 8 January 1912 (Rantete, 1998:3, Rive and Couzens, 1991:88 and Odendaal, 1994:5). Dr. Pixley ka Izaka Seme, a lawyer who was sent by missionaries to study abroad, gathered a number of Africans in Bloemfontein to a meeting, which culminated in the formation of the South African Native National Congress. According to Friedman (1993:5) the ANC was formed “in protest against a law which devoted more than four fifths of the country’s land surface to the sole property of the whites”. In its early stages the belief was that the petition and the eloquent argument would be enough to secure black participation in national and economic life. Mothlabi (1984:38) states that SANNC changed its name to African National Congress in 1925.

In the beginning the ANC used passive resistance to fight against the government. It changed its focus in 1941 when it demanded franchise for all Africans. It also included in its policy, the demand for the representation of all Africans in all government departments (Gibson, 1972:38). The aim was not to create a government where the black majority will rule, rather it wanted blacks to be recognised as full citizens as well. These sentiments were not shared by everyone in the ANC.

According to Meli (1988:108) the mid 1940’s saw young men and women, (mainly teachers or students of medicine or law) become dissatisfied with the manner in which things were done by the ANC and the pace at which they were done. The youths claimed that the Congress seemed to co-operate with the oppressors. The ANC continued to fight for a democratic non-racial and non-sexist South Africa. It organised peaceful protest but the government was not moved.

Walter Sisulu, one of the prominent leaders in the ANC formulated the idea of the Defiance Campaign. The Defiance Campaign is discussed in the next section. To

highlight some of the strategies the ANC used to bring a democratic order to South Africa.

1.4.1 DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN

The Defiance Campaign began on the 26 June 1951 and lasted till October (Hugo and O'Malley, 1989:164). According to Gerhart, (1978:89) it was formulated to tighten the struggle against apartheid. The main aim was to show the government that Africans wanted freedom in the land of their birth. Meli (1988:121) states that it was based on two important principles. Firstly, freedom cannot be attained if the leadership and the people as a whole are not prepared to be imprisoned and even die for the principles, which they believe in. The second important principle, which the campaign established, was that the liberation of the oppressed in South Africa could only come about as a result of extra-parliamentary struggle.

Whilst it was a struggle against apartheid as a whole, this campaign was directed at six specific laws, namely the pass laws, the group areas act, the separate representation of voters act, the suppression of communism act, the Bantu authorities act and the compulsory cattle culling policy. The success of this campaign was a major boost to the ANC because its membership grew from 4 000 to 10 000. This was largely due to the fact that before the campaign people were sceptical of joining the ANC since they thought it was an organisation for the better educated and the well off.

During the Defiance Campaign the ANC was still trying to fight in a less violent way. Up to that stage the ANC had hoped that the government would co-operate and meet the demands of the oppressed. That was however not to be. The apartheid government was not deterred by the success of the Defiance Campaign. It still continued with harsh measures against the ANC.

Lodge (1983:69) states that ZK Matthews came up with the idea to adopt the Freedom Charter for a democratic South Africa. This was meant to intensify the struggle. The next section discusses the Freedom Charter.

1.4.2 FREEDOM CHARTER

The Freedom Charter was adopted by the Congress of the People on 26 June 1955. It can be considered as the most important part of the struggle for a democratic South Africa. Some of the aspects which were in the Charter are today contained in The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 amongst others e.g. Chapter 2 Art 19 (1-3) and Chapter 2 Art 30 and 31 (1-2). These are some of the important principles contained in the Freedom Charter (For more reading on the Freedom Charter see (Steytler, 1991). It states that “South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people” (Davies, O’Meara and Dlamini, 1988:314). This can be regarded as a referral to the Homeland Act, which placed the black people in the homelands, where they suffered because of lack of opportunities. Moreover, it states that “every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and stand as a candidate for all bodies which make law” (Davies, O’Meara and Dlamini, 1988:314). It was against the apartheid regime’s discrimination of people politically. Most importantly when it denied the blacks the right to vote and to be elected into office.

The most important principle however contained in the Charter is that all apartheid laws and practices must be set aside. Thus the crucial aspect of the Freedom Charter is the equality of all South Africans. The adoption of the Freedom Charter was seen as a threat by the apartheid regime.

The ANC saw that the government did not heed its demands. Meli (1988:129) states that “throughout the 1950’s the ANC began in earnest to sharpen the weapons of mass direct action, which took the forms of boycotts, mass demonstrations of women and political strikes through the unique form of the stay-at-home. PUTCO buses were boycotted because of increased fares. See Mokonyane (1994) for an extensive reading on the Putco bus boycott. There was also a potato boycott where the protesters were against the inhumane conditions that the labourers on the potato farms worked under. (For an overview of this period see Lodge, 1983)

The government felt threatened by these boycotts. It thus acted swiftly to stop the activities of the liberation movements. Gibson (1972:56) states that in 1960 “on 8

April the then Prime Minister Verwoerd declared the ANC and PAC unlawful organizations and serious threats to public safety”. This was the start of the “*silenced sixties* where the NP government severely repressed resistance”. It used several measures like detention to silence the organisations, which were threatening the legitimacy of the state (e.g. ANC, UDF, COD and NUSAS). As a result of the repressive measures the ANC and the PAC went into exile. Though these measures were aimed at silencing the liberation movements, instead, they grew stronger and thus threatened the legitimacy of the state even further (Kotze and Lourens, 1988:161-200).

According to Pampallis (1991:264) “...the Soweto uprising proved a decisive turning point in the development of the liberation struggle”. From that time resistance spread to all parts of the country and became increasingly better organised. It took a variety of forms and drew into activity all sectors of the black population as well as a small but a growing population of whites. During this period there was an increase in the number of trade unions who were fighting for better working conditions and school boycotts where students continued to protest for equality in education. (For an overview of this period see Nutall et al, 1998: 92-130).

Moreover, Pampallis (1991:273) state that the period from the late 1970's saw the emergence of numerous community or civic associations, women's organisations, youth organizations and organizations linked to specific campaigns (For an overview of this period see Nutall, et al, 1998). This helped to intensify the struggle even more. International organisations also assisted in the struggle. The ANC became tired of working for a peaceful change, whilst the government was killing thousands of blacks, it resorted to using underground means i.e. violence. This was done through Umkhonto we Sizwe “Spear of the Nation”. The next section discusses Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). This is to show how the ANC had to resort to violent means because the government refused to cooperate.

1.4.3 UMKHONTO WE SIZWE

Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) also known as MK was formed in 1961 to serve as a military wing of the ANC (Williams, 1994:23). According to Hugo and

O'Malley (1989:165) "...after its banning in the wake of Sharpeville, the ANC decided to transform itself into a clandestine underground movement with a clear commitment to the armed struggle". Its main objective was to fight the government through violent means while the ANC was to retain its non-violent actions. Its membership was open to anyone irrespective of race, colour or creed; it was regarded as an independent body. It was only in 1963 that it was linked to the ANC by some of its leaders who were in exile.

According to Meli (1988:191) between 1972-1982 Umkhonto we Sizwe attacks concentrated on the sabotage of railway communications, industrial installations, attacks on government offices, there were also attacks on African security policemen, community councilors and former ANC members who had turned state witness in political trials or who had in some way betrayed the organization. All of these measures were used to coerce the apartheid government to give in and transform South Africa into a democratic state. As the activities of Umkhonto continued government was pressurised to act on their demands.

Thus, on 11 July the police raided Lilliesfarm at Rivonia near Johannesburg, the farm was rented by Arthur Goldreich where upon they captured members of the High Command along with documentary evidence which was used against those who were detained. Those arrested were Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Ahmed Kathrada, Andrew Mlangeni, Elias Motsoaledi, Rusty Bernstein, and Denis Goldberg (Pampallis, 1991:26-27).

The accused appeared in court on "...9 October 1963 on 193 acts of sabotage committed between 27 June 1962 and the date of the Rivonia raid. Nelson Mandela who was already banished to Robben Island was brought to become accused No.1" Meli (1988:154). At the end of the trial Nelson Mandela stood accused of high treason and he was sentenced to life imprisonment. He stayed in jail for 27 years. Upon his release he became the first democratically elected president of South Africa.

The ANC aimed to create a society where everyone will be equal. Most importantly it introduced the Reconstruction and Development Programme. According to Lodge (1999:27) "...the Programme emphasized two aims: the alleviation of poverty and the

reconstruction of the economy". The RDP will be discussed in chapter two. The next section discusses the transition from apartheid to a democratic state. Apartheid was abolished with the unbanning of liberation movements and the release of political prisoners this paved the way for transition to democracy in South Africa.

1.5 TRANSITION FROM APARTHEID TO A DEMOCRATIC STATE

FW de Klerk succeeded PW Botha as the president of South Africa in 1989. He is the one who started the transition in South African politics. On 2 February 1990 at the opening of parliament FW de Klerk announced the release of Mandela from prison and the unbanning of the ANC, SACP, PAC and 58 other organizations (Rantete, 1998:158, Pampallis, 1991:304 and Liebenberg and Spies, 1993:525).

According to (Du Plessis and Corder, 1994:3) De Klerk's legalization of many prohibited organizations (including the ANC, PAC and the SACP), the release of certain prisoners and detainees and the government's stated intentions of realising Mr. Mandela comprised a package of measures which astonished almost all observers.

Nelson Mandela was released from prison on the 11 February 1990. Soon after his release and that of other political prisoners, other South Africans who were exiled also returned home. The negotiations began with the National Peace Accord. It was a formal agreement in which political parties and interest groups committed themselves to a joint peace effort, agreed to submit to disciplines imposed by the accord, and to establish structures to monitor it (Friedman, 1993:16). (For an extensive overview of the transition see Kruger, 1998).

Following this accord, the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) was formed where nineteen political parties were represented. Codesa one failed and then Codesa two began but it also failed. Friedman (1993:31) states that Codesa two failed with disputes about percentages, which further diminished public understanding of the convention and respect for its participants. Later on the "Negotiating Council was formed it was a success and it announced the 27 April 1994 as the date for the country's first democratic elections" (Rantete, 1998:208). Table 3 shows the racial breakdown of election support in 1994 (Reynolds, 1999:181-184).

TABLE 3 RACIAL BREAKDOWN OF ELECTION SUPPORT IN 1994

	ANC	NP
Black	94%	14%
Coloured	4%	30%
Indian	1.5%	7%
White	0.5%	49%

During the apartheid era the NP had an exclusively white membership. It opened its doors for all races in 1990. It is interesting to see that the NP got 14% of the black vote even though they were the victims of apartheid since the NP came into power in 1948. Soon after the elections it accordingly came up with Development and Empowerment Strategy: An integrated strategy to address absolute poverty in South Africa (DES). This is the first extensive poverty alleviation policy that the New National Party ever came up with, since it came into power in 1948. After the elections the NP also became a member of the GNU but its membership was short-lived.

According to Mattes, Africa and Jacobs (1998:2) the NP withdrew from the GNU in June 1996 and its leader FW de Klerk subsequently resigned in August 1997. The NP's withdrawal from the GNU was largely because "...given the many decades over which it enjoyed power, the NP had not made the transition to opposition very easily. It had to learn the ropes of opposition while at the same time sitting in cabinet. De Klerk had found this hardest of all, he was still in cabinet, but no longer in power" (Calland, 1999:6).

1.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter aimed at giving a brief background history of the NP and the ANC. The National Party and the ANC have been in the forefront of the political domain in South Africa, though at opposite extremes. The New National Party became the governing party in 1948 it subsequently came up with its policy of apartheid. Apartheid discriminated against blacks, coloureds and Indians to the advantage of

whites. The ANC was the liberation movement, which fought for a free South Africa; it had a predominantly black support base while the NP had a predominantly white support base.

The NP government provided for whites and neglected other racial groups. As a result poverty is concentrated in the non-white racial groups especially among the black community. This in a way may created a difference in attitudes about poverty between the supporters of the ANC and the NP. Definition of concepts is an important part of any paper. Therefore, chapter two will provide the definition of some of the key concepts used in this assignment. Chapter three provides data analysis and presentation, while the fourth chapter provides concluding remarks and recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

2. INTRODUCTION

Poverty is a complex phenomenon. It is multifaceted. No one definition can encompass poverty. This chapter is meant to provide the definitions of poverty and definitions of other key concepts used in this paper. Firstly it will define poverty which is the foundation of this paper. Other key concepts that will be discussed are race, poverty alleviation, income, political party support and prejudices against the poor.

2.1 DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS

2.1.1 POVERTY

The following definitions give an indication of the range of views that exist regarding poverty;

“Poverty is looking into the future devoid of hope” Mooneyham (1975:41)

“Poverty is about lack of access, lack of power, lack of income and resources to make choices and take advantage of opportunities” Moleketi (1997:44)

“Poverty is like an illness, it comes in different forms and one can’t cure it until he knows the form of poverty” Maluleke (1994:7)

“Poverty can be viewed as economic, social and political” (NP, 1997:7)

Whilst acknowledging that there are diverse definitions of poverty, this paper will focus on only two definitions of poverty. Firstly, the World Development Report (1990:26) which defines poverty as “the inability to attain a minimal standard of living” and secondly Gibson (1987:13) who states that “poverty is often associated with the idea of inequality”. This implies that the households do not have sufficient income to afford even the most basic things e.g. food, adequate shelter and clean water.

In South Africa a minimum standard of living entails that one must have three meals per day, proper shelter that protects one from rain, wind and diseases, access to clean water and electricity. Households, which do not have these, are considered poor. In South Africa poverty, just like inequality, has a racial dimension. This is due to the legacy of apartheid where there was inequality based along racial lines. The next definition is that of race. It is imperative to define race because it forms a major component of this paper.

2.1.1.1 TWO FORMS OF POVERTY

People view poverty differently depending on the extent or form of poverty. The next section discusses poverty as absolute, primary or physiological or relative, secondary and social this will be elaborated in the next section (For more reading on absolute and relative poverty see Schaeffer and Lamm, 1992:242).

(a) ABSOLUTE POVERTY (also known as primary or physiological)

Absolute poverty is the worst form of poverty Kgarimetsa (1992:8) defines it as “describing extreme human deprivation where there is a lack of basic necessities of life such as food, water, shelter and health facilities.” It is a reflection of the total failure to address and satisfy basic human needs. According to Bezuidenhout (1998:165) it is an objective approach to poverty and classifies people into the poor and non-poor. It specifically links people to income whereby those who earn little or nothing at all are considered to be poor.

The argument put by both Kgarimetsa (1992:8) and Bezuidenhout (1998:165) encompasses absolute poverty. Income determines a person’s standard of living. The lesser the income, the poorer one will be. The absolute poor either do not have any income at all or earn very little; therefore most of them won’t be able to afford even the basic necessities.

Moreover, absolute poverty translates into illiteracy. Kotze (1997:167) state that poor parents are mostly illiterate and uneducated consequently, they're not in a position either to motivate or to support their children educationally. Others would encourage children to work in order to supplement the family income. These families are characterized by unemployment or underemployment, and consequently they cannot afford the most basic human needs like adequate shelter.

Mashabela (1990:11) states that in the rural areas the poor are mostly found in traditional dwellings (mud houses) whilst, in the urban areas they are found in squatter camps in "mekhukhu" made of wood or zinc. Their living conditions are further characterised by an air of desperation and uncertainty, a culture of poverty exacerbated by a lack of services and amenities. These dwellings are not safe and do not provide adequate shelter. During winter they become cold, and during the rainy season shelters can be damaged or even totally destroyed.

In summary it can therefore be asserted that the absolute poor are worse off because they cannot afford basic necessities, whilst those who are relatively poor can afford the basic necessities. The relative poor are poor when a comparison is made between them and the rich.

The following section deals with relative poverty (also known as secondary or social poverty) another aspect of poverty, which is highlighted in the literature.

(b) RELATIVE POVERTY (also known as secondary or social)

Poverty in South Africa can be regarded as relative, secondary or social. According to (Giliomee and Schlemmer, 1985:26) "...the political institutions enforcing the policies of racial separation, while not necessarily the original cause, are now the major engines generating poverty in black rural areas." The cumulative effect of decades of inequitable distribution of resources to institutions responsible for the welfare of non-white South Africans has aggravated poverty in South Africa.

It is necessary to discuss relative poverty as another facet of poverty in this paper. Bezuidenhout (1998:165) defines relative poverty as a subjective approach to poverty where a comparison is made amongst people in a specific country. Whilst Kgarimetsa (1992:8) states that “it explain the inequalities in life, such as the uneven distribution of resources and deprivation where other people are denied access to opportunities in order to advance themselves”.

Both these definitions cover relative poverty but for the purposes of this paper the one by Kgarimetsa (1992:8) is used. It gives a clear picture of the South African society where there was an uneven distribution of resources and others had opportunities to advance themselves at the expense of others.

With relative poverty even if a household has all the basic necessities it can still be considered poor when it is compared with other households in the same country. It is stated by Williamson et al. (1975:9) that “a number of consequences of poverty are a function of income deprivation relative to the rest of society rather than absolute income deprivation”. In societies people have a tendency of comparing themselves to others. As a result the poor will feel even poorer when they compare their social standing with the rich. This situation is likely to persist as long as the distribution of income; wealth and associated opportunities remain as unfavourable to the poor as it is today.

Poverty and Inequality Report (1998:2) states that for decades SA’s Gini coefficient (currently 0.58) has been one of the highest in the world (For more information on inequality in South Africa see McGrath and Whiteford, 1994:1). The inequality in South Africa has a racial bias whereby most Whites are in the high-income earning category whilst the majority of Blacks are in the low income earning category. Thus Woolard and Barbeton (1998:27) states that 66% of African households are poor compared with less than 2% of white households. This disparity can be attributed to the legacy of apartheid whereby resources were allocated separately to specific racial groups instead of to the South African population as a whole. Though there have been slight changes since the take over of the ANC the challenge to eradicate poverty remains enormous.

White (1999:7) states that the rapid growth of a black middle class means there are now more black households in the richest 20% of the South African society. Whilst Sen (1998:2) contends that some black people have benefited from the transition, levels of inequality within the black population have become as high as the national average- estimates are that 61% of blacks are still poor. This is true and the situation is worse for the poor they are neglected even more.

Relative poverty can create a situation where the rich in society exclude the poor. This phenomenon is known as social exclusion, and refers to a state or situation, but sometimes also refers to processes, to the mechanisms by which people are excluded (De Haan, 1998:13). The poor are socially excluded because they don't have means to care for themselves they are therefore seen as a burden by the rich. Due to the complex nature of poverty it is difficult to distinguish the causes from the effects. It is imperative to discuss the determinants of poverty, which are specifically relevant to South Africa. The next section discusses the determinants of poverty.

2.1.1.2 DETERMINANTS OF POVERTY

Although there are many determinants of global poverty, this chapter will focus on those that are specific to South Africa. In the following section the determinants of poverty i.e. the legacy of apartheid, unemployment, illiteracy, population increase and lack of sufficient land will be discussed.

(a) THE LEGACY OF APARTHEID

Apartheid became official government policy in 1948 when the National Party came into power. According to Motlhabi (1984:3-4) apartheid was a system that separated races. This separation was not only on a physical level, but also politically, culturally, socio-economically and religiously. Motlhabi (1984:4) further state that the two pillars of apartheid were the belief of the Afrikaners in the essential difference of races and the fear of Black domination, leading to the need for self preservation among this group that dominated South African politics since the 1940's. Its cumulative effect has been the systematic enrichment of the white minority to the detriment of other racial groups.

Key Indicators of Poverty in South Africa (1995:4) state that the apartheid era has left a legacy of poverty and inequality in South Africa. (Apartheid and the racial policies, which it promulgated, are discussed in chapter one). Unemployment is a major determinant of poverty; the unemployed struggle to make ends meet. Unemployment is discussed in the next section.

(b) UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployed people are the worst hit by poverty. For such a household everyday will be a struggle to make ends meet. Thus Herholdt (1997:97) states that unemployment is a major determinant of poverty in South Africa. *The Poverty and Inequality Report (1999:9)* contends that poverty and unemployment are closely correlated: 55% of people from poor households are unemployed, compared with 14% of those from non-poor households.

Rural people are the worst hit by poverty because there are few employment opportunities there. Due to the scarcity of employment in the rural areas most of the rural dwellers migrate to the urban areas in search of employment. For the urbanites the situation is not as bad because comparatively speaking urban areas are much better in terms of employment opportunities than the rural areas. Those rural dwellers that choose to remain in the countryside are either unemployed or work in the farms where they are paid little.

Illiterates are more affected by poverty than the literate because it is difficult for them to get employment opportunities. Illiteracy is discussed in the next section.

(c) ILLITERACY

Illiteracy is the “greatest single cause of deep poverty, it has replaced race as the major factor in inequality, and it underlies or contributes to a wide range of other socio-economic ills” (Schlemmer and Levitz, 1998:1). Harley (1996: 43) observes that the educational level of the household head correlates significantly with the economic level of the household. Moreover, Kotze (1997:167) states that “...poverty is given as the main reason for the high drop out rate among black pupils and there is

a relationship between school attendance and poverty related issues such as health and nutrition". It is hard for anyone young and old alike to sit in a classroom and concentrate on a hungry stomach. In order for adequate learning to take place the learners must have a sufficient diet and must also be healthy.

Moreover Kotze (1997:174) states that "at present the South African population is estimated at 38 million. Approximately 50% (20 million people) are over the age of 17 and therefore mostly out of reach of formal education. It is estimated that approximately 75% (14m) of adult learners have a need for some or other form of adult education". With the figures standing like this it just shows that there is a lot of South African households who are struggling to make ends meet because they earn an insufficient income due to either being illiterate or having little education. Due to lack of access to family planning facilities, the poor tend to have large families. This also adds to their poverty because they will have many mouths to feed with the little that they have. Population increase is another determinant of poverty and it will be discussed in the next section.

(d) POPULATION INCREASE

The high population growth rate is also a major factor, which causes poverty. According to Kotze (1997:174) a "... high population growth hampers development and leads to poverty and to a poor quality of life and standard of living which in turn results in high fertility". Where there is no real socio-economic development people are not informed about issues which affect them and their wellbeing. The population increase will be caused largely due to the fact that people do not have access to family planning clinics ultimately end up having large families which they will have to support with difficulty. If a country has a high population growth rate but doesn't have adequate resources to maintain the population, poverty will be aggravated.

On the household level Bezuidenhout (1998:171-172) states that "poverty is associated with high population density and overcrowding. Due to lack of finance individuals or families tend to share housing facilities. This leads to overcrowding and many young children in such households take to the streets to earn a living". This paints a picture of life in squatter settlements. There most households are forced to

share a single room. That room will be used to cook, sleep in and also to bathe. Moreover, on the household level population increase will aggravate poverty because there will be an increase in the number of mouths to be fed.

Lack of sufficient land is another determinant of poverty because if people had sufficient land they wouldn't go hungry they would plough and sell their produce. This will be discussed in the next section.

(e) LACK OF SUFFICIENT LAND

The confiscation of land that took place under the apartheid government has had a significant impact on the distribution of wealth among South Africans. According to Kgarimetsa (1992:11), the poorest of the poor lived on only 13% of the available land in apartheid South Africa. As a result, the poorest households were unable to earn any income from agriculture or use the remainder of the produce for personal consumption (Mather and Adelhazeh, 1998:3). According to Duraiappah (1998:2169) and Adjustment in Africa (1994:161) there is a trend among poor families who have to meet short term needs to mine the natural capital as a means to survive. In one way or another this poses a threat to the land since it can lead to soil degradation and loss of tree cover.

Poverty is a complex phenomenon; it has different determinants and dimensions. Wilson and Ramphele (1989:15) state that poverty is not one-dimensional. In the next section the five dimensions of poverty will be discussed. It is imperative to discuss these dimensions to show that poverty is concentrated in specific areas and amongst specific groups of people. It is necessary to discuss these dimensions because they are relevant to this study.

2.1.1.3 DIMENSIONS OF POVERTY

The five dimensions of poverty that will be dealt with are race, area, gender, age and disabled.

(a) RACE

Since it is concentrated in the black community, poverty in South Africa has a definite racial dimension. Woolard and Barbeton (1998:27) state that “only 1% of African households earned more than R5 000 a month, compared with 51% of white households”. This shows a great disparity. It also means that the majority of the former struggle to make ends meet and therefore live in poverty whilst only a minority of the latter are inflicted by poverty. Poverty is concentrated in the rural than in the urban areas. Area as a dimension of poverty is discussed in the next section

(b) AREA

Worldwide the poor are found in the rural areas. Swanepoel and de Beer (1997:6) and World Development Report (1990:1) state that more than one billion in the developing world are living in poverty, and 85% of the poor still live in the rural areas.³ The situation is the same in South Africa. Kotze (1997:167) states for instance that rural poverty is a feature of the South African way of life. Barbeton, Blake and Kotze (1998:26) contend and state that almost two thirds of the poor live in Eastern Cape, Kwa-Zulu Natal and Northern Province. These three are known as the rural provinces.

Swanepoel and de Beer (1997:6) state that the rural poor have the following characteristics, they are poor because they don't have adequate income to live on, they are weak because their bodies don't have the necessary nutrients to protect them

³ Most African societies are predominantly rural (with upwards of 90% of the poor in rural areas) and relatively weak in providing basic social services. See Adjustment in Africa: Reforms, Results and the Road Ahead. (1994: 162)

from illnesses, they are isolated because the rural areas are mostly found on the outskirts far away from where development takes place e.g. far away from health facilities, schools, communication etc, they are vulnerable because of the abovementioned factors. It is hard for the rural poor to escape their poverty due to the abovementioned factors (For more reading on poverty and rural dwellers see World Bank 1990:29). The next section discusses gender as another dimension of poverty.

(c) GENDER

Female-headed households are always more hard-hit by poverty than the male headed ones. The Key Indicators of Poverty (1995:4) and Moleketi (1997:45) state that female-headed households have a 50% higher poverty rate than the male headed ones.⁴ Barbeton, Blake and Kotze (1998:28) state that the “poverty rate by household is 60.3% female headed and 31,3% for male headed ones”. Moreover, Barbeton, Blake and Kotze (1998:28) make a distinction between a *de-facto* and *de-jure* female-headed household. A defacto female-headed household is one where the head of the household is in practice female, because the designated male head is absent for most of the year. A de-jure female-headed household on the other hand is one where the head of the household was specified to be a woman. This definition is used in this study.

Due to the prevalence of poverty in female-headed households the term “feminisation of poverty” was formulated. It basically refers to the concentration of poverty in female-headed households. According to Bezuidenhout (1998:166) poverty may be positively linked to those women who are unemployed or who earn low income, and who need to care for their children and or other members of the family living with them. My personal experience within the Black households is that with the tradition of extended family it becomes hard for a single breadwinner to sustain one's family and the extended family as well. This is especially where the family is female-headed.

⁴ Even in other African countries e.g. Mozambique female-headed households are the hardest hit by poverty. See Cramer, C and Pontara, N. (1997:8)

Barbeton, Blake and Kotze (1998:28) state that there are four reasons which contribute to the severity of poverty in female-headed households. They are the following; (a) female headed households are more likely to be in the rural areas where poverty is concentrated, (b) they tend to have fewer adults of working age, (c) female unemployment rates are higher, and (d) the wage gap between male and female earnings persists. In South Africa the de-jure female-headed households are mostly found in the urban areas whilst the de-facto female-headed households are found in the rural areas. This is largely due to the practice of labour migration, where male heads work far away from home.

Moreover, according to Chant (1997:50) “women’s disadvantage in employment is exacerbated by a lack of children’s facilities. She further states that “...in order to work around the demands of attending to children, women often have to do part-time early morning and evening work, which lacks proper protection and fringe benefits” (Chant, 1997:50). Whilst this is true in most countries, the situation is different in South Africa. My personal experience is that in South Africa women are increasingly opting to leave their children at pre-school and day-care centres so that they can work full-time.

Lack of employment opportunity forces other female-heads to rely on state transfers and maintenance grants and this makes them vulnerable. This is largely due to the fact that at times they don’t get the grants in good time, and thus have to depend on their neighbours and kin. As has been indicated women in general are thus more prone to be affected by poverty than males but with incidence being higher among rural than urban women.

Rural women are disadvantaged at three levels; (a) “as poor people they are affected by the same hardships which affect their male counterparts, (b) as women they suffer from cultural biases which undervalue their contribution to development and (c) as heads of households they carry the same problems whilst having to carry out the full burden of household management and production for which they get very little support” (Jazairy, Alamgir and Panuccio, 1992:273).

It may be true that rural women lack most basic necessities, which their urban counterparts have. The urban women have access to electricity and tap-water whilst the rural women have to walk long distances to fetch wood. Another striking feature of poverty is its prevalence among the young and the aged. This aspect will be discussed in the following section.

(d) AGE

Amongst all age categories the aged and the children are the worst affected by poverty. Williamson (1975:1-2) state that children and the aged make up a substantial segment of the poor. This can be attributed to the fact that both these two groups have to depend on other people for their livelihood. In South Africa “three children in five live in poor households and many children are exposed to public and domestic violence, malnutrition and inconsistent parenting and schooling” (Poverty and Inequality Report, 1998:3). In most cases these people are poor because of the poverty of the households that they depend upon or depend on them.

According to the World Development Report (1990:31) poverty and hunger among children is of particular concern. The very young are highly susceptible to disease and malnutrition and poverty-related illnesses can cause permanent harm. Poverty has a negative effect on children. It has been found that children who come from poor households perform worse than their better-off counterparts at school. Bezuidenhout (1998:171) states that “...children need sufficient nourishment enabling them to cope with the demand of formal education”. Low income is a cause of malnutrition (For more reading on malnutrition and low income see Thirlwall, A.P, 1994:36). Malnourished children may experience problems with their self-esteem because they don't acquire higher grades, are unable to complete their school year successfully, or are unable to compete with their peers.

The elderly are compelled to share their grants with their children and their grandchildren. At other times they starve with the family when the government doesn't pay them in good time. The disabled are discriminated against in many sectors of society. This discrimination may also have a significant impact on poverty levels. Disabled as a dimension of poverty is discussed in the next section.

(e) DISABLED

Discrimination against the disabled is rife in society but it is far worse in the employment sector. Bezuidenhout (1998:167) states that the disabled are met with physical and social barriers to employment, education and other means by which they can improve their quality of life. Williamson (1975:25) adds by contending that there is often a reluctance to hire a person with a disability of some type, even when the disability doesn't interfere with his capacity to do the required work. The able bodied are preferred over the disabled.

Many disabled are thus excluded from mainstream society and forced to live in poverty. Although they receive state grants they still live without basic needs and don't get appropriate care. At other times they are manipulated by the people they stay with, who in some cases may take their money and force them to live in poverty.

The next definition is that of race. It is imperative to define race because it forms a major component of this paper. In South Africa during apartheid race was used as a primary source of discrimination. It is an important concept, especially in this study, which deals with the differences between the ANC and NP supporters towards the poor.

2.1.2 RACE

The term race "refers to differential concentrations of gene frequencies responsible for traits which, so far as we know, are confined to physical manifestations such as skin colour or hair form, it has no intrinsic connection with cultural patterns and institutions" (Hunt and Walker, 1974:3). In South Africa it has played a major role in people's lives. The National Party government even promulgated the Population Registration Act of 1950 (this is elaborated in Chapter 1 under racial policies), according to which every South African was classified into one of the following, Black, White, Coloured or Indian. Through this, the government was able to pursue its policy of separate development according to which the resources of the state were distributed in favour of Whites.

In a discussion of poverty it is imperative to include poverty alleviation as well. Poverty alleviation is the strategies, which are used to reduce poverty. The next section discusses the poverty alleviation strategies of the NP (Development and Empowerment Strategy) and ANC (Reconstruction and Development Programme).

2.1.3 POVERTY ALLEVIATION

How poverty will be addressed will largely depend on its extent, but importantly also, on the way it is being perceived by policy makers. Approaches may for example, differ depending whether it is regarded as absolute poverty or relative poverty. The rationale of poverty alleviation is that development cannot be done to or for a person, but must be done with them. Poverty alleviation involves participation of both the poor and of the larger society (Holcombe, 1995:15).

Providing the poor with social insurance can also alleviate poverty, although it may be of little assistance in a poor society. The ANC and the NP have poverty alleviation strategies (For poverty alleviation strategies used in USA see Danzinger and Weinberg, 1986). The former has the RDP, which was formulated in 1994, whilst the latter has Development and Empowerment Strategy: An integrated strategy to address absolute poverty in South Africa, which was formulated in 1997 (For international approaches in the struggle against poverty see NP, 1997:16-17). What follows is a discussion of Development and Empowerment Strategy.

2.1 3.1 DEVELOPMENT AND EMPOWERMENT STRATEGY

The New National Party has a poverty alleviation strategy, which is known as Development and Empowerment Strategy: An integrated programme to address absolute poverty in South Africa. The idea to formulate this strategy was initiated on 26 August 1996 at the Federal Congress of the New National Party, but the strategy itself was finalised in 1997. Initially the National Party membership was for Whites only, but since 1990 it has opened its doors for all races. The Development and Empowerment Strategy has as its objective the empowerment of communities in order

to conduct poverty alleviation programmes. This strategy aims to alleviate poverty over a period of approximately 25 years. (NP, 1997:5).

Poverty is a public problem and it has consequences also for those who are not directly involved. Moreover, it is an integrated problem, which involves a combination of problems. It therefore is a combination of distribution, regulation and redistribution practices (For an elaboration see NP, 1997:2-3). The NP's idea of poverty alleviation is clear i.e. people must accept responsibility for their own lives and through that economic success can be achieved.

The Development and Empowerment Strategy is based on values which promote merit, productivity, achievement, personal abilities and socio-economic independence. The New National Party stands for:

- Merit driven empowerment but not entitlement
- Equal opportunities but not for an egalitarian socialistic society,
- A caring society but not for a dependent society and
- An independent civil society

Though there are many causes of poverty, the New National Party regards unemployment as one of the major causes of poverty, which is seen as arising from political and economic problems. As a result of unemployment 1,7m out of an economically active population of 14,4 million have turned to the informal sector. The New National Party proposes that there must be a balance between employers and workers rights. The problem of unemployment must be tackled by less regulation of the market by authorities the promotion of literacy, and numeracy and the explanation to workers of the relationship between productivity and higher wages.

The NP (1997:10) states that most of Sub-Saharan Africa's rural population lives in poverty. These rural poor possess farms, which are not economically viable; therefore the people cannot produce any subsistence yield. The New National Party proposes that large-scale land reform should be avoided and that state owned land should be included in the land reform at a faster pace.

Agriculture is identified as one of the major areas, which has a potential for job creation. The NP (1997:11) states that "agriculture has a multiplying effect on job creation, more job opportunities are created at a relatively lower unit cost." It suggests that the government must improve conditions in the agriculture sector by the provision of better training for small farmers. Tourism is regarded as an area, which also has a potential for job creation and poverty alleviation. The tourism sector can be improved by implementation of an anti-crime plan to address crime and violence in general and specifically to ensure the safety of tourists in South Africa (NP, 1997:36).

The NP emphasises the importance of education, it states that adult basic education must enjoy special attention. There must be provision of pre-school education so that children can be prepared for and benefit from education in primary school. Teachers must be trained to ensure that there is a properly trained labour force in the teaching profession (NP, 1997: 18-20).

The NP acknowledges that poverty exists and it is a public problem. Moreover, it suggests that poverty can be alleviated if people accept responsibility for their own lives. It emphasises that people have a duty to use their God given talents to help themselves.

The most prominent poverty alleviation strategy has however been the Reconstruction and Development Programme, which is a poverty alleviation strategy of the ANC. In the following section some of the key aspects of this programme will be highlighted.

2.1.3.2 RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

The RDP was formulated by the ANC led alliance, in consultation with other research organisations and NGO's. It is an integrated coherent socio-economic framework and seeks to mobilise all South Africans in the final eradication of apartheid and the building of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future. Mbeki (1998:137) states that the RDP is a conglomeration of particular projects, it is an integrated and sustainable vision for the creation of the post- apartheid society.

During the first democratic elections the ANC contested the elections with the RDP as its base document. After the elections the “RDP was accepted in Parliament to become the development framework of the country” (Venter, 1998:266). According to (Stewart, 1997:6-7) the RDP White Paper attempted to operationalise the RDP. It goes further than the base document in conceptualising economic policy to accompany the RDP; it included inputs and submissions from other parties in the Government of National Unity.

The RDP is based on six basic principles namely, an integrated and sustainable programme, a people driven process, peace and security for all, nation-building, linking reconstruction and development, and the democratisation of South Africa (RDP, 1994:2). It also has five key programmes through which it aims to achieve its objectives. These are meeting basic needs, development of our human resources, building the economy, democratising the state and society and implementing the RDP. The most important programme, which aims at the alleviation of poverty, is the meeting of basic needs and it will be discussed in the following section.

(a) MEETING BASIC NEEDS

Poverty is amongst the harsh realities facing the South African society. It is the direct result of the apartheid system and the grossly skewed nature of business and industrial development, which accompanied it. The RDP (1994:5) states that there are at least 17m people surviving below the Minimum Living Level in South Africa, and of these at least 11m live in the rural areas. South Africa is an upper middle income country with a per capita income of R 8 500 it can afford to feed, educate and provide health care to all its citizens, one of apartheid's legacies has however been the skewed nature in which these services were allocated (RDP, 1994:5).

The RDP aims at poverty alleviation through social insurance which includes compulsory private contributory pension schemes for all workers and state social pensions, criteria which entitle workers to retirement between the ages of 60 and 65 or to social pension at 60, and social assistance in the form of cash or in-kind benefits (RDP, 1994:18-19). Moleketi (1997:2) states that these social assistance programs are granted through assigning a means test. This means test is done to target the

poorest of the poor i.e. those people who have no means at all. In line with the ideals of the RDP, the government's social security programme benefits 3 million beneficiaries of social grants in all the nine provinces. The payments are made every month. During the 1996/7 financial year these payments amounted to approximately R12 billion i.e. 86% of the total budget.

In 1993, 7 million South Africans were living in households receiving state pensions. Moleketi (1997:2-3) states that up to a quarter of all household income in rural areas is derived from pensions and grants. Social insurance is work place benefits such as UIF and retirement funds, which require contributions from employers and employees. Social insurance may however not be beneficial to all since it caters for only those who have had employment and opportunity to contribute to social insurance schemes.

The next section discusses political party support. Political party support in South Africa up until the early nineties was biased. The NP had a predominantly white support while the ANC had a predominantly black support. As a result the distribution of resources favoured the NP and its supporters and neglected the blacks.

2.1.4 INCOME

Income is defined by Herholdt (1997:96) as that "which is obtained as a reward for labour or services that are rendered." Within the South African economy individuals and families must have enough income generating employment to afford a sufficient diet. The income levels in South Africa are skewed. The Whites used to be paid more because of the apartheid policy. As a result, South Africa is amongst the countries with the highest Gini-Coefficient "it stands at 0.58%" (Sen, 1998:2).

Political party support is the major independent variable in this assignment (see chapter three). In South Africa during the apartheid era political party support was racially defined. A major proportion of the NP supporters were whites, while a major proportion of ANC supporters were blacks. The next section discusses political party support. It is imperative to discuss political party support since this paper is about the

differences in attitudes of the supporters of the two main political parties in South Africa.

2.1.5 POLITICAL PARTY SUPPORT

Political participation can take place in various ways. There are conventional and unconventional ways of political participation. The former is the acceptable means e.g. voting, communal acting etc, whilst the unconventional ones are strikes, boycotts etc (Dalton, 1988:35). The South African political scene has had a share of both. The unconventional ways were advocated by the liberation movements with a predominantly Black support, while the conventional ones were advocated by the White community. The situation has changed since the democratic elections of 1994.

2.1.5.1 PREDICTORS OF POLITICAL PARTY SUPPORT

There are various factors that motivate people to participate in politics and they are as follows race, gender, and social status.

(a) RACE

According to Zack (1998:2) race refers to a distinct biological group of human beings who were not all members of the same family but who shared inherited physical and cultural traits that were different from those shared within other races. In South Africa in the past race used to act as a predictor of political party support. In 1991 the HSRC reported that the average supporter of the ANC is Black and speaks one of the most common African languages in the country (isiXhosa, isiZulu, Sepedi, Sesotho and Setswana). Whilst the average supporter of the NP is coloured or white speakers of Afrikaans or English. The next section discusses gender as a predictor of political party support.

(b) GENDER

Dalton (1988:49) states that gender can also act as a major predictor of political party support. Men are more likely to participate in politics than women are. On the one

hand this is due to early political socialization whereby both sexes were taught that politics is a male domain. On the other hand women don't have time to participate in politics because they have far too many responsibilities that they have to take care of. Besides their careers they must still look after the family and other household chores. It is however questionable to consider gender as a predictor of political party support today. Many more women are increasingly showing an interest to participate in politics than before.

In the next section social status as a predictor of political party support is discussed.

(c) SOCIAL STATUS

Another determinant of political party support that is mentioned is social status (Dalton, 1988:49). Citizens with higher-status citizens are more likely to have the time, money, access to political information, knowledge, and the ability to become politically involved. On the other hand those low on status with few years of schooling, low incomes and work in low status occupations are much less likely to participate in politics than those whose status is higher" (Henderson, 1976:24).

As a result of the inequalities in society at times people have prejudices about the poor. These prejudices are dealt with in the next section.

2.1.6 PREJUDICES AGAINST THE POOR

The different environments within which the poor and the non-poor socialize may often contribute to prejudice between the two. This may cause rich people to think that the poor are lazy and don't want to uplift themselves. According to (Alcock, 1997: 36) poverty is seen as the product of individual weakness and fecklessness. These prejudices can be classified into three categories namely large families, preference for leisure, short-term horizon and criminal tendencies.

(a) LARGE FAMILIES.

The poor are often being criticized a lot by the non-poor who feel that they have a propensity to have large families and as a result they have to carry a high ratio of non-earning dependants to adulthood. This implies that the poor will become even poorer because they'll have many more mouths to feed. According to Levin (1995:17) offers a possible explanation when he states that the high population rates among the poor come about as a result of traditional values and perceptions favouring high fertility. In some societies in a person earns respect by the number of kids he has. As such people are pressurized to have many kids. Others have large families to secure themselves insurance for when they are old and can't take care of themselves. Lipton (1997:83) defends the poor when he states that the poor have many children to make up for a much higher risk of infant mortality. Children from poor families are prone to infections and therefore have a lower life expectancy.

Furthermore the poor live in the rural areas where they do not have access to media e.g. radio and are therefore not as informed about things like family planning. They also tend to live far away from health facilities and as such may end up having large families because they don't use contraceptives. Children from poor families are prone to have kids at an early age because of lack of sex education.

(b) PREFERENCE FOR LEISURE.

The poor people prefer leisure to work; a person can opt to stay unemployed than do menial jobs e.g. gardening. Levin (1995:17) states that blacks (the poor) have different attitudes to work than whites and therefore they choose to be voluntarily unemployed under certain conditions.

Levin (1995:17) further state that poor people lack the will to be rich as a result they won't make it in the private sector. This is illogical because the private sector is known to be competitive. It employs people with skills and most of the poor people don't have the necessary skills because they are uneducated due a number of reasons, amongst others, they don't have the funds to finance their studies.

(c) SHORT TERM HORIZON

Another criticism, which is directed towards the poor, is that they have a weakness of self-indulgence, when they have money they spend immediately without thinking about the future. Levin (1995:17) states that most income that is earned is immediately spent for these people the opportunity costs of saving are very high.

(d) CRIMINAL TENDENCIES

According to Bezuidenhout (1998:73) the poor may participate in criminal activities such as drug peddling, shoplifting, burglary, gang-related activities and the selling of children in order to acquire the financial means to sustain a minimum standard of living. This is partly true because some poor people steal but others who are not poor also steal as well.

2.2. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Definition of key concepts is important for any paper. In this chapter all the key concepts were defined and elaborated on. The key concepts in this paper are poverty, race, poverty alleviation, political party support, income and attitudes towards the poor. Poverty forms the basis of this paper as a result the major part of this paper concentrated on poverty its facets, determinants and dimensions. Another important concept is poverty alleviation it was also dealt with and two poverty alleviation strategies were discussed namely RDP which is the poverty alleviation strategy of the ANC and DES which is the poverty alleviation strategy of the NP.

Political party support, race and income were also discussed these are the independent variables of this paper. The last concept to be defined is prejudices against the poor. Through data analysis we shall be able to ascertain the perceptions of the ANC and NP supporters towards poverty and the poor. Chapter three deals with data analysis and presentation.

CHAPTER THREE

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

3.1 METHODOLOGY

The empirical data used in this assignment comes from the World Values Survey of 1995. Fieldwork for the survey was conducted in October 1995 in the nine provinces of South Africa. Interviews were conducted by Markinor in Northern Province, North West, Mpumalanga and Kwa-Zulu Natal whilst Market and Opinion Survey conducted interviews in the remaining provinces. Due to the fact that the WVS of 1995 forms the basis of this study, the study thus uses secondary analysis. The next section elaborates on the nature of secondary analysis.

3.2 SECONDARY ANALYSIS

There are diverse definitions of secondary analysis but for the purposes of this paper the following three were chosen,

- “It may be defined as preexisting or prerecorded data which were not collected for the specific ends of a given social researcher” (Forcese and Richer, 1973:179).
- “Secondary analysis refers to the analysis of data collected earlier by another researcher for some purpose other than the topic of the current study” (Babbie, 1992:282).
- “...it is the reanalysis of previously collected survey data or other information. The survey data are originally collected by others” (Neumann, 1997:285).

The author supports the above mentioned definitions. All these three definitions boil down to the fact that when employing secondary analysis the researcher does not need to collect his or her own data. The researcher uses data already collected by others,

which was not necessarily constructed with the aim in mind, in this case research into perceptions about the poor. Even though it is conducted for other purposes other than this it has a number of advantages.

3.2.1 Advantages and disadvantages of secondary analysis

Various authors discuss the advantages of secondary analysis. A number of the most important advantages will be highlighted here. Kiecolt and Nathan (1985:11) and Nachmias and Nachmias (1996: 307) state that secondary analysis requires less money, less time and fewer personnel and is therefore attractive in times of economic fluctuations, when the funds for available research are limited and uncertain. It is also advantageous because the researcher can do the project alone without any need for additional staff. According to Hakim (1982:17) it can provide a wealth of databased research on new topics, issues and policy concerns.

Williamson, Karp and Dalphin (1977:154-155) mentions that it may be the only way of obtaining data from the past, especially in view of the problems in relying on people's memories to obtain data. It can also be used before embarking on costly research where researchers want to know the potential fruitfulness of their objectives or of specific questioning techniques. Indeed secondary research is an advantage for struggling researchers who do not have the necessary finances.

It is used in this study because it saves money considering that the researcher doesn't have the necessary finances to conduct primary research and it saves time because of the limited time within which this research must be completed. Moreover, it is an advantage because there is no need for the researcher to employ additional staff. Furthermore, it helps the researcher in getting information from the past. Secondary research has advantages but it also has limitations. Williamson, Karp and Dalphin (1977:155) state that at times secondary research may be "outdated."

For this assignment may be one of the largest problems with the use of secondary analysis is that of the operationalisation of key concepts. In this case the concept

poverty was not operationalised and it may be that the respondents interpreted the concept “poverty” differently. Against the background of the definitions used in chapter two this is most likely. Another limitation of using WVS’95 is that the data may be somewhat dated but because it is the only latest survey that includes items on perceptions about the poor the researcher will use it. At times it is difficult to access secondary data because researchers are not compelled to publish their research results. The researcher must have sufficient information about how the data was collected failing which it will be difficult to detect bias and errors (Nachmias and Nachmias 1996:308). Fortunately there is a full field report available on the WVS of 1995 and a number of studies were published using the same data. See amongst others Kotze (1998), Taylor (1998) and Kotze and Du Toit (1997).

3.3 Sampling

This research paper uses the World Values Study of 1995. According to (Kotze, 1998:43) Markinor conducted three waves of the World Values Survey in September and October 1981, 1990 and 1995. The surveys form part of the World Values Study surveys, which were conducted in 50 countries during 1995. The universe consisted of all adult South Africans of 16 years and older and the sample size was 2935 respondents. The survey involved the use of stratified sampling where, for each stratum, sampling points were selected at random. From each sampling point, 10 interviews were determined according to a random selection procedure, marked on maps. Stratification is a method for obtaining a greater degree of representativeness and decreasing the probable sample error. The sample was weighted and projected onto the universe and is thus representative of the universe from which it was drawn.

Nachmias and Nachmias (1998:188) state that stratified sampling primarily ensure that different groups of a population are adequately represented in the sample so as to increase their level of accuracy when estimating parameters. In stratification, rather than selecting the sample from the total population at large, the sample is selected from the appropriate number of individuals drawn from homogenous subsets of the

population. The South African population was therefore organised into homogenous subsets (province, population group and community size) (Taylor, 1998:62).

Kotzè (1998:43) states that within each qualifying household, all males and females were listed and the qualifying respondent was selected. If the selected person could not be interviewed after three calls, including evening calls, the person was substituted in a prescribed way. A minimum back-check of 20% was administered on each interviewer's work. The questionnaire was available in all the major languages and the interview was conducted in whatever language the respondent preferred.

The next section discusses operationalization.

3.4 OPERATIONALIZATION

The unit of analysis is the individual (For a discussion on the unit of analysis see Raj, 1968, 23-24 and Nachmias and Nachmias, 1981: 54-55). The independent variables in this study are "political party support", "race" and "income" while the dependent variable is "perceptions about the poor." It is one of the main propositions of this assignment that there is a link between party support and perceptions about poverty and the poor. In the WVS of 1995 the only question that tests the wellbeing of a family in material terms categorises income per households in a number of income brackets. The income categories range from up to R999 to R14 000+. In this case the researcher will rely on the perceptions that respondents have about poverty and the poor.

For the purposes of this paper the income categories of respondents have been recoded and the labels are defined and categorized into five (very rich, rich, average, relatively poor and poor). Although R999 as the lowest level of income is an insufficient measure of a "poor family" it will have to suffice in this study. It is suggested that the relevant figure of R 353 per adult equivalent must be used. (See Poverty and Inequality Report 1998). The next section discusses independent variables.

3.4.1 Independent variables

The independent variables in this paper are political party support, income and race. These items were conceptualized in Chapter 2. In addition “age” and “gender” will also be used in the explanation of the trends in the perceptions of the poor. (For a discussion on variables see Simon (1969, 31-33) and Phillips (1967, 38-40). The next section discusses the independent variables.

(i) Political party support

The item, which measures political party support, was phrased as follows: "If there were a national election tomorrow, for which party on this list would you vote? Just call out the number on this card. If Don't know: Which party appeals to you most?" The following categories were used:

1. ANC (African National Congress)
2. AZAPO (Azanian People's Organisation)
3. CP (Conservative Party)
4. DP (Democratic Party)
5. FF (Freedom Front)
6. IFP (Inkatha Freedom Party)
7. NP (National Party)
8. PAC (Pan Africanist Congress)
9. SACP (South African Communist Party)
10. Coloured Resistance Movement
11. Other (SPECIFY)
12. None
13. Would never vote

(ii) Income

The item which measured income was phrased as follows: "Purely for statistical purposes, we would like to know what group your household belongs, counting all wages, salaries, pensions and other income that come in. Just give the number of the

group your household falls into, before taxes and other deductions". The following categories were used in the survey:

1. R 14 000+
2. R 12 000-R 13 999
3. R 10 000-R 11 999
4. R 9 000-R 9 999
5. R 7 000- R 8 999
6. R 5 000-R 6 999
7. R 4 000-R 4 999
8. R 3 000-R 3 999
9. R 2 000-R 2 999
10. R 1 000- R 1 999
11. Up to R 999
12. No Answer/Refused

However, these categories were recoded for the purposes of this paper and they are as follows:

1. R 10 000-R 14 000+; "Very rich"
2. R 5 000-R 9 999; "Rich"
3. R 3 000-R 4 999; "Average"
4. R 2 000-R 2 999; "Relatively poor"
5. Up to R 999; "Poor"

(iii) Population groups⁵

1. White
2. Black
3. Indian

⁵ The population groups were determined by means of observation by the interviewer.

4. Coloured

The next section discusses the dependent variables, which are the "various perceptions about the poor".

3.4.2 Dependent variables

"Perceptions about poverty" is the dependent variable in this assignment. Since the WVS of 1995 does not contain a conceptualization of poverty, it can be argued that any attempt to operationalize aspects of poverty will pose a significant, if not impossible, challenge to the researcher. For this reason the author wishes to employ the concept of relative poverty in the operationalization of the phrase "perceptions about poverty." Bezuidenhout (1998:165) defines relative poverty as a subjective approach to poverty where a comparison is made amongst people in a specific country. This would mean that "perceptions about poverty" would be measured in terms of respondents' own understanding of the concept poverty.

This section provides the original questions, which were used in the survey as well as the shortened version of the questions.

(i) "Share of poor people compared to ten years"

The original question is "Would you say today a larger share, about the same share, or a smaller share of the people in this country are living in poverty than were ten years ago?" This is the original question used in the questionnaire. For the sake of brevity this variable is called "share of poor people compared to ten years ago."

Response Categories:

1. A larger share.
2. About the same share
3. A smaller share
4. Don't know

(ii) "Reasons why people are poor?"

The original question is "Why, in your opinion, are there people in this country who live in need. Here are two opinions: which comes closest to your view?" The question was rephrased to "reasons why people are poor."

Response categories:

1. They are poor because of laziness and lack of willpower
2. They are poor because society treats them unfairly
3. Don't know

(iii) "Chance of escaping from poverty"

The original question is "In your opinion do most people in this country have a chance of escaping from poverty, or is there very little chance of escaping." The question was rephrased to "chance of escaping from poverty."

Response categories:

1. They have a chance
2. There is very little chance
3. Don't know

(iv) "What government does for the poor"

The original question is "Do you think what the government is doing for people in poverty in this country is too much, about the right amount or too little." The question was rephrased to "what government does for the poor".

Response categories:

1. Too much
2. About the right amount
3. Too little
4. Don't know

(vi) Age-This means you are.....years old

(vii) Gender of respondent 1.Male

2. Female

Most of the data analysis in this paper is done by means of crosstabulations. Crosstabulations are discussed in the next section.

3.5 CROSSTABULATIONS

Crosstabulations are used more frequently in this paper. Bivariates often take the form of crosstabulations. According to (Hellevik, 1988: 18) bivariate is an association involving two variables. The major task is to assess whether a relationship exists between two variables. (Philliber, Schwab and Sloss, 1980: 154). The next section discusses data presentation and analysis.

3.6 DATA PRESENTATION

As indicated before this assignment uses the WVS of 1995. The independent variables are political party support, race and income. The main proposition deals with the differences between the attitudes of the ANC and NP supporters towards the

poor in South Africa therefore these two parties (ANC and NP) will dominate the discussion that follows.

TABLE 3.6.1 Political party support

PARTIES	PERCENT
ANC	59.5%
AZAPO	.4%
CP	1.1%
DP	2.6%
FF	1.7%
IFP	3.2%
NP	13.9%
PAC	1.1%
SACP	.1%
Coloured Resistance	.0%
ACDP	.1%
Would never vote	7.6%
Refused	1.2%
Other	.4%
None	6.1%
Don't know	1.1%
Total	100.0

Of the total sample 59.5% are ANC supporters, which is by far the largest percentage as compared to the other parties in the survey. (See Table 3.6.1) The NP is the second

largest, with its supporters constituting 13.9% of the overall sample. The ANC and the NP are therefore the two largest parties in the overall sample. The ANC and the NP have been in the South African political domain for a long time though at opposite sides. (For a more indepth discussion on the ANC and the NP see chapter 1). The next table shows the results of the 1994 elections. This is to show how these two (ANC and NP) performed in the first democratic elections.

TABLE 3.6.2 Results of the 1994 elections

PARTIES	PERCENT
ANC	62.7%
DP	1.7%
FF	2.2%
IFP	10.5%
NP	20,4%
PAC	1,2%
ACDP	0,5%

The 1994 elections were the first democratic elections that South Africa ever had. This was the first all-inclusive election where all the parties were allowed to participate. The above table is a list of all the parties which were included in the survey and which participated in the 1994 elections (The CP, Azapo, and the Coloured Resistance boycotted the elections).⁶ In the 1994 elections the ANC support was as follows 94% black, 4% coloured, 1.5% Indian and 0.5% white. According to Reynolds (1994:191) the ANC was able to win such a massive proportion of black votes because of its shrewd and straightforward campaign message, which highlighted the ANC's position as the liberation movement that would deliver the majority from apartheid into the promised land.

Moreover, Reynolds (1994:193) states that the ANC contested the elections as the only viable alternative to black liberation partly because of its history, “partly because of the AZAPO and Black Consciousness Movement boycott of the elections, and partly because of the failure of the PAC, who were the only party contesting the elections that could legitimately lay claim as well to the liberation mantle.”

The NP was the second largest party. It managed to secure 49% of the white vote, 30% of the coloured vote, 7% of the Indian vote and 14% of the black vote. The NP presented itself as the only viable alternative to black majority rule and parliamentary subservience. It was also successful in garnering coloured votes which was testament to a well-planned campaign to highlight coloured fears about their position in the new order in relation to the overwhelming black majority of the country (Reynolds, 1994: 193).

It is interesting to note the decrease in party support for both the ANC and NP when comparing the election results of 1994 and the WVS results of 1995. There may be a number of reasons for this phenomenon. With regard to the ANC one such explanation may be a decrease in the liberation euphoria that marked the 1994 elections. It can be expected that by October 1995 it was becoming increasingly clear that government in post-apartheid South Africa was not capable of instant miracles and therefore a certain extent of despondency could have contributed to this decline in support. When looking at the decline of NP support from 1994 to 1995, it can be speculated that the party’s participation in the Government of National Unity (GNU) may provide some answers. The fact that it was no longer playing a leading role in the administration of the country may possibly have projected an image of weakness to its supporters. The main reason forwarded for the NP’s departure from the GNU in 1996 was that it envisaged a more effective opposition role for itself. This can be seen as recognition of this perceived weakness.

⁶ The SACP and Cosatu formed an alliance with the ANC for election purposes.

In this assignment our proposition is that there will be differences between ANC and NP supporters about poverty and the poor. The next section discusses political party support and the various perceptions towards the poor.

3.6.3 “ANC and NP supporters” by “share of poor people compared to ten years ago”.⁷

Table 3.6.3 shows a crosstabulation of political party support and share of poor people compared to ten years ago. Of all the NP supporters in the survey 64.9% say a larger share of the people in the country are living in poverty than were ten years ago as compared to 38.4% of the ANC supporters. One can see a clear difference of opinion between the ANC and NP supporters because the percentage of NP supporters who say a larger share is almost double that of the ANC supporters.

Would you say that today a larger share, about the same share, or a smaller share of the people in this country are living in poverty than were ten years ago?

	A larger share	About the same share	A smaller share	Don't know	N(000's)*
ANC	38.4%	36.5%	18.7%	6.3%	14 120
NP	64.9%	22.1%	9.6%	3.4%	3 296

After years of NP rule and the privileged status they enjoyed coupled with the fear of ANC rule, the NP supporters had all the reasons to be pessimistic about ANC rule. It is interesting to note that the NP was the ruling party in South Africa till 1994 when the ANC took over. Thus the NP supporters by scoring a high percentage on a “larger

⁷ Tables used do not always add up to a 100% because of the "rounding off" of figures.

*The figures are in millions. The N in all instances is for the weighted data. In the survey unweighted ANC N represents 1408 and the unweighted NP N represents 639.

share of people are poor compared to ten years” ago are actually in a way criticizing their own government or they think that the ANC has done extremely badly in one year. The ANC supporters in particular had high expectations about ANC rule. They saw it as presenting them with greener pastures. Most importantly they expected the ANC government to bring about equality in their standard of living and that of the whites. Most ANC supporters trusted the promises that the ANC government made through the Reconstruction and Development Programme. (For an in-depth discussion on the RDP see Chapter Two).

The next section presents a crosstabulation of ANC and NP supporters and race by share of poor people as compared to ten years ago. This is to determine whether there are any significant differences in the perceptions of the population groups towards the poor in South Africa.

3.6.4 “ANC” and “NP supporters” and “population groups” by “share of poor people compared to ten years ago”

ANC					NP			
	White	Black	Indian	Colou	White	Black	India	Colou
A larger share	60.2%	36.9%	67.3%	60.9%	66.1%	37.3%	70.0%	70.3%
About the same share	21.4%	37.7%	7.7%	22.7%	24.0%	25.3%	14.1%	20.0%
A smaller share	5.8%	18.9%	25.0%	13.9%	7.7%	25.3%		5.9%
Don't know	12.6%	6.5%		2.5%	2.2%	12.0%		3.9%
N (000's)	14 120				N (000's) 3 296			

There are overall significant similarities in the responses of the population groups within the ANC and NP except for blacks. For instance, amongst all NP supporters who are whites in the sample 60.1% say a larger share of the people in this country are living in poverty than were ten years ago as compared to 66.1% of the whites in the ANC. Of all the black ANC supporters in the sample 36.9% say a larger share as compared to 37.7% of the blacks in the NP. This shows that political party differences in this instance do not play a major role in people's lives. At times people are much more influenced by their social backgrounds rather than by politics. Therefore it does not really make any difference whether a person is ANC or NP if they are black they will still share more or less the same problems with the other blacks. The percentages of the blacks in the ANC and NP are almost similar. This may show that blacks irrespective of political party support had high expectations about the ANC government.

In the 1994 elections some people did not vote on the basis of party political preference but rather they voted for the candidate they identified with, in terms of ethnicity others just in terms of race (For more reading on the elections and racial census see Du Toit, 1999:6-22). There is a resemblance in the responses of the whites, Indian and Coloureds in both the ANC and NP. Of the white ANC supporters in the sample 60.2% say a larger share as compared to 67.3% of the Indians and 60.9% of the coloureds. On the NP side 66.1% of the whites say a larger share while 70.0% of the Indians and 70.3% of the coloureds say so. It is clear that the whites, Indians and coloureds were pessimistic about the ANC government even though they supported the ANC.

During the apartheid era whites benefited with regard to government resources therefore they suspected that the ANC government would not provide for them like the NP did. The Indians and the coloureds also benefited from the apartheid regime though they were not given first preference like the whites. In most instances, in the distribution of state resources whites benefited more than any other population group (See chapter one). It is interesting to see that the percentage of the coloured NP supporters who say a large share is 10% more than that of the coloured ANC

supporters. We can only speculate that the latter had hoped that the ANC would provide for them. Moreover some of the coloureds who support the NP are poor therefore they were afraid that they will be stripped of the privileges they enjoyed during NP rule and also that the ANC will not provide for them.

When looking at age there is a wide difference between the supporters of the ANC and NP.⁸ Out of the young ANC supporters 57.2% says a larger share of the people in this country are poor as compared to ten years ago as compared to 34.7% of the NP supporters. This ANC group most likely comprises some of the people who were active participants in the struggle and who are now despondent with the government. They probably expected a lot from the new government and are now disappointed because the government cannot cater for their needs.

Income can also determine a person's attitude towards the poor. The next table is a crosstabulation of "ANC supporters" and "income" by "share of poor people as compared to ten years ago."

⁸ In the WVS of 1995 the age groups were categorized from 16-65+. For the purposes of this assignment they are categorized as follows 16-34 (young), 35-54 (old) and 55-65+ (very old).

3.6.5 “ANC supporters” and “income” by “share of poor people compared to ten years ago”.

	Very Rich	Rich	Average	Relatively poor	Poor
A larger share	29.5%	28.2%	48.5%	31.3%	35.6%
About the same share	28.2%	37.6%	24.7%	33.5%	27.8%
A smaller share	42.3%	32.1%	25.6%	33.1%	34.4%
Don't know		2.1%	1.1%	2.1%	2.2%
N (000's)	14 120				

Looking at the ANC responses it is interesting to note that the percentages of a larger share are lower for the “very rich” and the “rich” and higher for the “average”, “relatively poor” and “poor.” The “very rich” and the “rich” do not have serious financial constraints like the others, they do not depend on the government for their wellbeing therefore it is not surprising to see the way they have responded. The “average” to “poor group” are despondent they had expected the government to provide for them as per the promises contained in the RDP but seemingly things were not going the way they expected.

Political party support is the major independent variable particularly with regard to the ANC and NP. The next section is a table of “NP supporters” and “income” by “share of poor people as compared to ten years ago.”

3.6.6 “NP supporters” and “income” by “share of poor people compared to ten years ago.”

	Very rich	Rich	Average	Relatively poor	Poor
A larger share	56.3%	70.5%	66.5%	76.7%	95.6%
About the same share	43.8%	23.2%	18.8%	8.1%	4.4%
A smaller share		6.3%	13.5%	15.1%	
Don't know			1.2%		
N (000's)	3 296				

The dawn of democracy was not really welcomed with open arms by the NP supporters. It was seen as something that will deprive them of the privileges, which they enjoyed under NP rule and also it was seen as a threat to South Africa as a whole. While almost all the NP supporters had fears about ANC rule, it seems the situation was worse for the “poor” NP supporters. Of all the “poor” NP supporters 95.6% say “a larger share of the people in this country are living in poverty than were ten years ago.” This shows the fear and pessimism that the “poor” NP supporters had about ANC rule. While the NP might have provided for them in one way or another they feared that the ANC would neglect them and concentrate on its supporters only.

Only 56.3% of the “very rich” NP supporters say a larger share. This shows that the new ANC government did not threaten the “very rich”. While on the other hand only 35.6% of the “poor” ANC supporters say “a larger share of the people are poor compared to ten years ago.” There is a significant difference in the perceptions of the “poor” ANC and NP supporters. Here it is obvious that party political differences played a major role as opposed to the poor's similar economic situation.

None of the “poor” NP supporters stated that a smaller share of the poor people in South Africa are living in poverty than were ten years ago. This may indicate that they had no hope that the condition of the poor people in South Africa will change for the better under ANC rule.

There are various causes to which poverty can be ascribed. The next section contains a crosstabulation of the variables “ANC and NP supporters” and “reasons why people are poor”. The concept “poor” is not operationalised in the WVS of 1995 therefore it is difficult to know what people understand as poor. See chapter two for different definitions of poverty.

3.6.7 “ANC and NP supporters” by “reasons why people are poor.”

Why, in your opinion, are there people who live in need?

Parties	Laziness	Society	Both	Unemploy ment	Neither	Don't know	N (000's)
ANC	23.3%	61.3%		.4%	.0%	15.0%	14 120
NP	41.3%	44.3%	.8%	.2%		11.7%	3 296

Of all the ANC supporters in the sample 23.3% say people are poor because of laziness and lack of willpower as compared to 43.1% of the NP supporters. In response to the question whether respondents felt that poverty should be blamed on society, 61.3% of ANC supporters answered in the affirmative, as compared to 44.3% of the NP supporters.

In this assignment we argue that the NP supporters may not understand what being poor really means, while ANC supporters on the other hand are more familiar with the dynamics of poverty. (In the WVS of 1995 60.5% of the ANC supporters may be

considered poor as compared to only 15.3% of the NP supporters). Should this be the case, the findings of Table 3.6.7 may be interpreted as a reflection of the NP's perceived ignorance about poverty issues. Given the divided nature of South African society such an analysis will however be incomplete. Apartheid has to a large extent succeeded in drawing clear boundaries between the everyday lives of South Africans from different races and cultural groups. It may also be that supporters of different races in the same political party may have divergent opinions on the issue. In order, therefore, to provide a more accurate reflection of opinions on why people are poor, race will have to be brought into the equation.

This will be done in the following table, which will show a crosstabulation of “ANC and NP supporters” and “reasons why people are poor.”

3.6.8 “ANC” and “NP supporters” and “population groups” by “reasons why people are poor.”

ANC					NP			
	White	Black	India	Colou	White	Black	India	Colou
Laziness and lack of willpower	45.1%	23.0%	39.1%	19.7%	53.9%	20.7%	51.5%	26.7%
Society treats them unfairly	20.6%	61.2%	55.3%	73.7%	34.7%	29.8%	45.5%	67.8%
Unemployment		.5%			.3%			
Neither	4.9%							
Don't know	29.4%		5.6%	6.5%	9.7%	49.5%	3.0%	5.4%
N (000's)	14 120				N (000's) 3 296			

This crosstabulation contain a number of interesting results. With regard to the question whether poverty can primarily be attributed to laziness, responses from individual racial groups differed marginally across party lines. The largest difference (12.6%) is to be found among Indian ANC and NP supporters.

When looking at the contention that poverty is the result of unfair treatment by society, there are larger differences among people of the same racial group in the different parties. Especially significant here is the difference in opinion between blacks in the ANC (61.2%) and the NP (29.8%). The remainder of NP responses has interestingly gone to the "Don't know" category. What can we infer from this? Before answering this question it must once again be stated that this survey took place only little more than a year after the ANC took control of government – a very short period for its policies to have any drastic impact on society.

It can thus be argued that black NP supporters were, like black supporters of other political parties, still experiencing the legacy of apartheid in 1995. Outright support for this contention by black NP supporters could however indirectly be interpreted as an indictment of NP policy. For this reason the “don't know” option had been the obvious choice. On the other hand the large "don't knows" can also be an indication that the question is too simplistic/badly worded.

Another factor which stands out is the fact that coloureds score the lowest on the “laziness” option and highest on the “unfair treatment from society” option. This is true for both ANC and NP supporters. With regard to the laziness option there is only a 5% difference between supporters of the respective parties. What can this be attributed to? The coloureds had probably expected a lot from the ANC government. At the time when the survey was conducted (a year and a half after the first democratic election) their opinions might have been clouded by a certain extent of marginalisation that was perceived (rightly or wrongly).

Of the NP white supporters in the sample 34.7% say people are poor because society treats them unfairly as compared to 20.6% of the white ANC supporters. It is surprising to see that a proportion of white NP supporters exceeds that of the white ANC supporters. There are differences between the black, Indian and coloured supporters of the ANC and NP on people are poor because society treats them unfairly. We can speculate that the supporters of the ANC would say “people are poor because society treats them unfairly” mainly referring to the apartheid regime which discriminated against the blacks, coloureds and Indians.

The next table shows a crosstabulation of ANC supporters, income and reasons why people are poor.

3.6.9 “ANC supporters” and “income” by “reasons why people are poor.”

	Very rich	Rich	Average	Relatively poor	Poor
Laziness and lack of willpower	48.7%	27.6%	32.4%	37.2%	18.3%
Society treats them unfairly	51.3%	53.3%	50.1%	47.0%	61.7%
Unemployment			2.0%		
Neither			1.1%		
Don't know		19.2%	14.3%	15.8%	20.0%
N (000's)	14 120				

The poor are the ones who experience poverty on a daily basis. They know their condition best and as a result, only 18.3% of the poor ANC supporters say people are

poor because of laziness and lack of willpower. This stands in stark contrast with the "very rich" ANC supporters of whom 48.7% believe that this is the case. This may show that income can in a way influence people's perceptions towards the poor.

Of all the poor ANC supporters in the sample 61.7% say people are poor because society treats them unfairly. This can be as a result of the conditions they lived under during the apartheid era and still continue during ANC rule. In some cases the poor are simply shunned by society because they are seen as a burden. This phenomenon is called social exclusion, which is a state or situation, it often refers to processes, or the mechanisms by which people are excluded. A major proportion of the respondents in this survey seems not to consider unemployment as a cause of poverty. In this section in particular, none except the "average poor" see unemployment as a cause of poverty. Since the unemployment rate was not as high in 1995 as it is today, it is therefore not surprising to see that most respondents do not see unemployment as a cause of poverty. The official unemployment rate decreased from 20,0% in 1994 to 16.9% in 1995, and then increased to 21.0% in 1996 and 22,9% in 1997 (Unemployment and Employment in South Africa, 1998: 24). The next table shows a crosstabulation of NP supporters, income and reasons why people are poor.

3.6.10 "NP supporters" and "income" by "reasons why people are poor."

	Very rich	Rich	Average	Relatively poor	Poor
Laziness and lack of willpower	40.6%	49.4%	42.9%	66.3%	51.1%
Society treats them unfairly	59.4%	46.8%	41.5%	26.7%	48.9%
Both			4.6%		
Unemployment			1.2%		
Don't know			9.8%		
N (000's)	3 296				

The “poor” and “relatively poor” NP supporters score the highest on “people are poor because of laziness and lack of willpower.” In addition it is interesting to note that among the “very rich” NP supporters 59.4% believe that poverty can be attributed to unfair treatment from society. These findings are contrary to expectations, because under normal circumstances one would expect responses to be the other way around, i.e. that poor people would blame poverty on society and the very rich would blame it on laziness. As has been indicated this is the case for “poor” ANC supporters of whom only 18% blame poverty on laziness. “Rich” and “very rich” responses from ANC supporters, however, also indicate similar high support for the idea that poverty is a consequence of unfair treatment from society.

When one therefore looks at the results for both parties, they seem to indicate that there is a remarkably high acceptance among “rich” supporters of both political parties that societal factors have had a negative impact on the condition of poor South Africans.⁹ It can be speculated that this may be a good sign if it can be indicated that this realization can also be linked to willingness among the rich to contribute to the cause of the poor. Further research must however be done to determine cause(s) for the high percentage of NP supporters that link poverty to laziness.

The next table shows a crosstabulation of “ANC and NP supporters” and “chance of escaping from poverty.”

3.6.11 “ANC and NP supporters” by “chance of escaping from poverty”

⁹ In the WVS of 1995 28.7% of the “very rich” state that they have completed university and 38.0% say they have completed postgraduate. This may indicate that there are generally high levels of education among the “very rich.”

In your opinion do most people in this country have a chance of escaping from poverty, or is there very little chance of escaping?

Parties	They have a chance	Very little chance	Don't know	N (000's)
ANC	42.6%	47.7%	9.8%	14 120
NP	43.7%	52.7%	3.6%	3 296

There are a number of ways by which poverty can be reduced. A common strategy to curb poverty is the introduction of poverty alleviation programs, which are in most instances initiated by the government or NGO's. Some programs may consist of the distribution of free food parcels, while in others the poor are active participants where labour is performed in return for food, money or shelter. The ANC and the NP both have poverty alleviation strategies the former has the Reconstruction and Development Programme while the latter has Development and Empowerment Strategy (See chapter two for an elaboration of RDP and DES).

There seems to be consensus between the ANC and NP that the poor have a chance of escaping from poverty. Of the total sample 42.6% of the ANC supporters say they have a chance as compared to 43.7% of the NP supporters. This may show that though people have party political divisions, they sometimes can think in a similar way about particular social issues. The only difference that we encounter is amongst the age groups within the ANC and NP. Of the young ANC supporters 53.4% say most people in this country have a chance of escaping from poverty as compared to 42.4% of the young NP supporters. We can only speculate that the ANC supporters were looking forward to the implementation of the promises contained in the RDP while the NP supporters didn't expect much from it. According to Sidiropoulos (1998:277), households headed by women were on average significantly poorer than those headed by men. This finding pertains to households of all racial groups. For

this reason women are more likely to get involved in projects that assist with poverty alleviation. In the survey 48.5% of the females say they have a chance to escape as compared to 43.0% of males.

While it was mentioned above that there is consensus between the ANC and NP supporters that people have a chance of escaping from poverty. It is questionable whether they will advocate similar strategies for the alleviation of poverty considering that they all come from different backgrounds and their parties are governed by different ideologies. The government, by means of the RDP, aims at the alleviation of poverty.

In the next table we shall see whether the ANC and NP supporters feel that the government is doing too much, about the right amount or too little for the poor.

3.6.12 “ANC and NP supporters” and “population group” by “chance of escaping from poverty.”

ANC					NP			
	White	Black	India	Colou	White	Black	India	Colou
Have a chance	65.0%	42.2%	67.9%	42.3%	50.2%	38.6%	52.2%	29.7%
Very little chance	24.3%	47.7%	30.6%	55.4%	46.9%	54.5%	47.5%	65.3%
Don't know	10.7%	10.2%	1.5%	2.3%	2.9%	6.8%	.3%	5.0%
N (000's)	14 120				N (000's) 3 296			

When analyzing the results of Table 3.6.12 it is clear that the overall trend seems to indicate that ANC supporters are more optimistic than their NP counterparts about the chance to escape poverty. This trend also appears to be true for the population groups

in the two parties. Whites, blacks, Indians and coloureds in the ANC display a larger amount of optimism than members of their respective racial groups in the NP.

An underlying trend that also proves to be interesting is the high level of pessimism by coloureds in relation to other racial groups in their respective parties. In both parties Indians and whites seem to be most optimistic, followed by blacks in the second place and coloureds in the last. Within both parties over 50% of coloureds believe that there is very little chance of escaping poverty. The percentage for coloured ANC supporters is 55.4% while the corresponding figure for coloured NP supporters is 65.3%. Overall the different population groups in the ANC are more optimistic than NP supporter that people “have a chance of escaping from poverty.”

When looking at possible reasons for the pessimism among coloureds, it must be kept in mind that the question refers to opinions about the future and not concrete material circumstances. The nature of the transition to democracy in South African may provide some answers. Transitional negotiations took place between a predominantly white NP and a predominantly black ANC. Whites already had economic power and the suspicion might have existed among coloureds that blacks would use their newly-found political power to enrich themselves to the detriment of other racial groups. These and similar fears were utilized with great success by the NP to canvass votes in the 1994 general election. Once again it amounted to a situation of “better the devil you know, than the devil you don’t.” The fact that coloured ANC supporters - and for that matter all ANC supporters - are more positive about chances to escape poverty than their NP counterparts, may be ascribed to factors such as the RDP that was launched in 1994, as well as the hopes and expectations resulting from it.

It is further interesting to note that the opinions of whites and Indians differ very little within the ANC and NP respectively. On the question whether the poor have a chance of escaping poverty 65% of white and 68% of Indian ANC members answered in the affirmative. For NP supporters the figures were 50% for whites and 52% for Indians. One possible explanation for this may be these two groups are financially

better off than the rest, making it more difficult to understand the obstacles that stand in way of the economic liberation of the poor.

The next table shows a crosstabulation of “ANC supporters” and “income” by “chance of escaping from poverty.”

3.6.13 “ANC supporters” and “income” by “chance of escaping from poverty”

	Very Rich	Rich	Average	Relatively Poor	Poor
They have a chance	56.4%	50.1%	59.6%	52.8%	59.4%
There is very little chance	43.6%	39.1%	34.9%	38.4%	35.6%
Don't know		10.8%	5.4%	8.8%	5.0%
N (000's)	14 120				

Among the five different income groups there seems to be agreement that the poor have a chance of escaping poverty. Significantly the highest levels of optimism are to be found among the “average” (59.6%) and the “poor” (59.4%) categories, while the most pessimistic are those that fall in the “rich” category (43.6%). The majority of the latter grouping (56.4%), nevertheless, believes that the poor have a chance of escaping their position. This positive tone can probably be attributed to optimism among ANC supporters about their party’s policy document on poverty alleviation, the RDP. Its emphasis on poverty alleviation may explain the high level of appeal specifically among the “poor.”

The next table shows a crosstabulation of NP and income by chance of escaping from poverty.

3.6.14 “NP supporters” and “income” by “chance of escaping from poverty.”

	Very rich	Rich	Average	Relatively poor	Poor
They have a chance	18.8%	44.7%	43.6%	47.7%	35.2%
There is very little chance	59.4%	52.3%	54.1%	44.2%	52.7%
Don't know	21.9%	3.0%	2.3%	8.1%	12.1%
N (000's)	3 296				

The trend among NP supporters seems to be the opposite of that found among ANC supporters. Percentages among all income groups indicate that there is considerable agreement with the contention that “there is very little chance of escaping poverty.” Most pessimistic about the fate of the poor are the “rich” (59.4%), those that fall in the “average” category (54.1%), and the “poor” (52.7%). Another factor that stands out is the high levels of “don't know” responses among the “very rich” (21.9%) and the “poor” (12.1%).

The negative outlook on the position of the poor among NP supporters may point to a perception that the ANC is only interested in addressing the cause of poor blacks, which in effect amounts to the marginalizing of other population groups. Should this be the case, opinions on the long-term prospects for the poor will most likely be affected. This perception may possibly have been strengthened by the NP's 1994 election campaign in which the dangers of the so-called “Swart Gevaar” was highlighted, especially among its poorer coloured constituency. The high level of

don't know responses among the "very rich" may very likely be informed by their view on the country's overall economic prospects at the time, and not so much their knowledge of the poor and their predisposition. When trying to explain the uncertainty among "poor" NP supporters, the unique context must once again be highlighted. The broad publicity and the possible launch of RDP projects may have had an impact on responses.

When one ultimately compares the responses of the two parties, it therefore appears as if party support may have an impact on opinions on the future prospects of the impoverished in South African society.

3.6.15 "ANC, and NP supporters" by "what government does for the poor."

Do you think what the government is doing for people in poverty in this country is too much, about the right amount or too little?

Parties	Too much	About the right amount	Too little	Don't know	N (000's)
ANC	5.8%	26.0%	58.4%	9.9%	14 120
NP	8.0%	26.1%	59.3%	6.6%	3 296

It is interesting to see that the supporters of the ANC and NP share similar opinions on what government does for the poor. Of all the ANC supporters 58.4% say the government is doing too little for the poor, while the corresponding figure for NP supporters is 59.3%. It, therefore, seems that in terms of this question party support does not play a significant role in determining responses.

The divided nature of South African society, however, requires a more thorough investigation than the mere analysis of opinions on the basis of party affiliation. The

strong racial undertones present in almost all aspects of everyday life in South African society must also be brought into the equation. This dimension has been incorporated in the following crosstabulation.

3.6.16 “ANC, NP supporters” and “population groups” by “what government does for the poor.”

ANC					NP			
	White	Black	India	Colou	White	Black	India	Colou
Too much	10.7%	5.8%	9.2%	2.0%	12.1%	1.0%	6.1%	3.0%
Right amount	55.3%	25.8%	31.8%	21.5%	34.8%	21.8%	29.3%	9.2%
Too little	29.1%	58.0%	56.9%	71.5%	47.5%	65.3%	63.3%	79.4%
Don't know	4.9%	10.3%	2.1%	5.0%	5.5%	2.0%	1.3%	8.4%
N (000's)	14 120				N (000's) 3296			

Responses to the first option indicate strong agreement among all racial groups in both parties that government is definitely not doing “too much” for the poor. It is however in the following categories that stronger cleavages appear.

Responses to the second category, “the right amount,” point to a specific pattern in both parties. Whites have the highest percentage in agreement with the statement, followed by Indians, blacks and then coloureds. The pattern is reversed in the “too little category” where coloureds score the highest percentage, followed by blacks, Indians and then whites. In comparison response percentages are overall higher for ANC responses on category one, and lower for category two.

The outstanding feature of this crosstabulation remains the coloured dissatisfaction with government output. Dissatisfaction among blacks may be explained by the fact that they were the most discriminated against under the previous dispensation, while opinions of whites and Indian may be linked to their relative material well-being in comparison to blacks. Although coloureds are in material terms not on a par with either whites or Indians, their poverty levels are lower than that of blacks. Why then, it must be asked, does their level of dissatisfaction far exceed all population groups, including that of blacks? The author is of the opinion that a major contributing factor may have been a feeling of marginalisation among coloureds (See Eldridge and Seekings, 1996: 537). The white regime surrendered power to a perceived “black government,” which like in the past has left them on the fringes of society.

The overall picture provided by table 3.6.16 is that there is a marked similarity between the responses of people of the same population group in both the NP and ANC. Racial affiliation and background may therefore play a role in determining responses to the question whether government does enough for the poor. Since ANC responses are, however, across the board more positive than those of the NP, it can be asserted that in this instance party affiliation may be the decisive factor.

3.6.17 “ANC supporters” and “income” by “what government does for the poor.”

	Very Rich	Rich	Average	Relatively poor	Poor
Too much	14.1%	3.2%	8.6%	6.7%	10.6%
About the right amount	28.2%	29.2%	28.9%	31.7%	45.0%
Too little	43.6%	65.0%	54.3%	47.9%	40.0%
Don't know	14.1%	2.6%	8.2%	13.7%	4.4%
N (000's)	14 120				

When looking at table.3.6.17 there seem to be agreement from all income categories that the government is doing too little for the poor. On the other hand there is affirmation from the relatively poor (31.7%) and the poor (45.0%) that the government is doing about the right amount. This can be attributed to the RDP, which was specifically aimed at poverty alleviation. It might have sparked some excitement and hope that their condition will change for the better.

Contrary to the responses that were given in the second option it seems that there is dissatisfaction from all the income categories pertaining to what government does for the poor. The percentages for the “rich” (65.0%) and the “average” (54.3%) are the highest as compared to 40.0% of the “poor”. This still confirms what we mentioned earlier that the RDP might have created some sort of excitement and hope for the poor.

The next table shows a crosstabulation of NP supporters and income by what government does for the poor.

3.6.18 “NP supporters” and “income” by “what government does for the poor.”

	Very rich	Rich	Average	Relatively poor	Poor
Too much	18.8%	7.6%	10.4%	10.5%	5.5%
About the right amount	12.5%	20.7%	29.7%	23.3%	24.2%
Too little	68.8%	66.2%	54.8%	51.2%	64.8%
		5.5%	5.2%	15.1%	5.5%
N (000's)	3 296				

There seem to be consensus from the NP supporters across the income spectrum that government is doing too little for the poor. The pattern is somehow similar to that of

the ANC responses. This is clearly reflected in the “too little” option. In this category the percentages are interestingly high. The highest of which is the “very rich” (68.8%), “rich” (66.2%) and the “poor” (64.8%). It is interesting to see that the very rich and the rich are on the affirmative on this option. This may be a sign of their sympathy towards the poor. What the author can deduce from this is that these percentages on “too little” may indicate extreme dissatisfaction that the NP supporters have about the ANC government. The same applies to their ANC counterparts.

3.7 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter aimed at data analysis and presentation the focus was mainly on the ANC and NP. Data used here came from the WVS of 1995. In all cases crosstabulations were done through which we established relationships between two or three variables. There are three independent variables namely political party support (which is the major independent variable), income and race. Therefore in most cases crosstabulations were done to see whether the respondents attitudes are as a result of political party support, income or race.

Political party support is one of the major determinants of people’s attitudes towards the poor. In most instances the supporters of the ANC across the racial divide share the same opinion on a particular issue the same applies to the NP supporters. There also instances where race can also be considered can also be considered as a determinant of party support. Income cannot be considered as a determinant of people’s perceptions towards the poor. The next chapter provides concluding remarks and recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUDING REMARKS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The eradication of poverty will be one of South Africa's major challenges in the new millennium. It is the view of the author that efforts to this effect have yet to make a visible difference to the overall predisposition of the poor. There are a vast number of people experiencing the consequences of poverty (no proper shelter, clean water, adequate food etc.) on a daily basis. Although factors such as colonialism and globalisation had an impact on the plight of the poor, most of these problems were caused by apartheid, a policy, which intended to protect and promote the interests of whites over those of Indians, coloureds and whites.

This assignment discussed the differences in attitudes between the supporters of ANC and NP towards the poor in South Africa. These two were chosen firstly, because they were the two largest parties before 1994. Secondly they played a major role in the political history of the country though at opposite sides of the political spectrum. The main proposition in this assignment was that there would be a difference between the supporters of the ANC and NP with regard to perceptions about the poor.

In most instances there are no concrete differences between the "rich" and the "poor." There are occurrences where the rich sympathise with the "poor." Contrary to popular expectations the "rich" blame poverty on the unfair treatment that the poor receive from society (See tables 3.6.9 and 3.6.10). It is only when we tackle income and political party support that we encounter some differences. The "poor" NP supporters seem to be more pessimistic about their predicament as compared to their counterparts in the ANC. This is probably because they were optimistic and we may attribute this to the RDP.

In this assignment there are instances where race also acts a determinant of people's perceptions towards the poor. For instance table 3.6.4, it is clear that these responses

were largely based on differences in the racial groups than anything. These responses were largely based on loyalty to one's people and were also governed by the respondents' social backgrounds. Amongst the four population groups whites, blacks, Indians and coloureds, blacks show signs of optimism. This can be as a result of the ANC government, which was in its first year of governance when this survey was conducted. At that time most blacks were filled with excitement about the new government. They had high expectations most importantly that their lives will change for the better.

Political party support is also one of the major determinants of people's perceptions towards the poor. There is thus support for the proposition put forward in chapter one. In most instances people of the same population group are divided on a particular issue but united on the basis of political party support. Overall the ANC supporters are optimistic about the situation of poverty and the poor in the country. This can be attributed to the fact that the ANC was the majority party in the Government of National Unity. For most ANC supporters this was probably seen as victory. They thus were optimistic that the ANC will bring about "a better life for all." The NP supporters on the other hand are pessimistic. This may be due to a number of reasons amongst others, the NP was no longer the government of the day. The NP supporters also didn't know what to expect from the ANC led government (which was predominantly black).

4.1 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

On the basis of the findings of this paper the following recommendations are suggested. A major problem encountered when using the WVS of 1995 was that poverty was not properly operationalized. As a result the respondents may have perceived poverty differently. It is therefore suggested that when doing further research there must be a clear operationalisation of poverty. Moreover, it is acknowledged that the survey used in this study is dated. When this survey was conducted our democracy was still young. The ANC had just come into power and it still had to implement its policies. Most South Africans had high expectations and were patiently waiting for the delivery of its promises. A lot has changed since then. We are now into the second term of the democratically elected government. It is

therefore, suggested that further research must be conducted to see whether there are changes in people's perceptions about poverty and the poor.

Moreover, the proposition of this paper focused on the ANC and NP only. The author suggests that when further research is conducted it must include other political parties in the country. The political atmosphere has changed in the country since the democratic dispensation. A number of new parties have emerged. As a result of these parties, the ANC and the NP may have lost a proportion of its supporters; as such focusing on those two only may not paint the clear picture of the differences in the perceptions of the supporters of the different political party supporters.

There are changes in terms of income distribution. The income differences between the blacks and whites have narrowed while that among blacks has widened and this might also bring about major changes to the study. When this study was conducted a major proportion of the whites fell in the high income earning category today a certain proportion of blacks also fall in the high income earning category (though there is still a lot of poor people in the country) (See chapter two). In the WVS of 1995 the lowest income category was R 999. There may be some households who survive on less than this. With the increasing number of blacks in the high income earning category it will be interesting to see how the income inequalities among blacks will impact on the perceptions about poverty.

South Africa is a democratic country where everyone is supposed to be equal. Will there still be in future a major proportion of the respondents who feel that people are poor because society treats them unfairly? The unemployment rate has increased markedly since 1994 (refer to page 63). There might therefore be an increase in the number of respondents who say people are poor because of unemployment. In this survey surprisingly few respondents said people are poor due to unemployment.

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