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Poverty and Quality of Life among Blacks
in South Africa

by

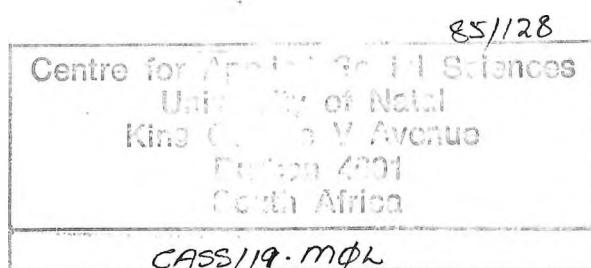
V. Møller, L. Schlemmer, H.G. Strijdom

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**Centre for Applied Social Sciences
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**UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
DURBAN**

SECOND CARNEGIE INQUIRY INTO POVERTY
AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA



Poverty and Quality of Life among Blacks
in South Africa

by

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Authors, Prof. L. Schlemmer and Dr. Valerie Møller are attached to the Centre for Applied Social Sciences and Dr. H.G. Strijdom is attached to the HSRC. The authors would like to acknowledge fully the contributions to this study of a number of other academics and researchers who have participated in the planning and execution of the study: Dr. H.C. Marais, Prof. Elize Moody, Mr. Edward Russell, Mr. G.K. Schuring, Prof. D.J. Stoker, Dr. C.F. van der Merwe and the staff of the Opinion Survey Centre at the HSRC and Dr. J.M. Verster, as well as the field teams of the Human Sciences Research Council Opinion Survey Centre and the Centre for Applied Social Sciences.

1. INTRODUCTION

Few people will gainsay the significance of poverty and its effect on the welfare and the texture of life of people. The scope and depth of poverty obviously are fundamental factors in any assessment of the level of development of communities throughout the world.

Poverty, in an absolute sense of material deprivation, however, is certainly not the only factor of significance in the determination of overall quality of life. Just as absolute deprivation has not proved to be the factor of most significance in stimulating active discontent among populations¹⁾, so also has previous research elsewhere in the world demonstrated that absolute deprivation interacts with a number of other factors in determining the way people perceive their quality of life and that it is not always the variable which influences perceptions most acutely²⁾.

1) See, Crane Brinton, *The Anatomy of Revolution*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1952,

James C. Davies, "Toward a Theory of Revolution", *American Sociological Review*, Vol 27, February 1962, pp 5-15,

Ted Robert Gurr, *Why Men Rebel*, Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1970; and Ted Gurr and Raymond Duvall, "Civil Conflicts in the 1960's", *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol 6, July, 1973, and

Edward N Muller, *Aggressive Political Participation*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.

2) Frank M Andrews and Stephen B Withey, *Social Indicators of Well-being*, New York/London: Plenum Press, 1976.

Norman M Bradburn, *The Structure of Psychological Well-being*, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1969.

Angus Campbell, Philip E Converse and Willard L Rodgers, *The Quality of American Life*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1976.

Hadley Cantril, *The Pattern of Human Concerns*, New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1976.

Jersey Liang and Thomas J Fairchild, "Relative Deprivation and Perception of Financial Adequacy among the Aged", *Journal of Gerontology*, Vol 34, No 5, 1979, pp 746-759.

In this regard we are referring to subjective assessments made by communities of their life circumstances. In its factual reality, however, poverty is obviously descriptive of quality of life in an objective sense; indeed it must be accepted as the major dimension of any measure of objective deprivation.

This analysis is a preliminary exploration of the relevance of poverty in the subjective well-being of South Africans. The major focus of this enquiry is subjectively experienced quality of life as it has been operationalised for a major national investigation among all groups of South Africans. The notion of quality of life in this study relates centrally to the experience of "well-being" or its converse in day-to-day existence in society. The concept has been elaborated, as it has been in major studies elsewhere³⁾ by positing that it includes the following dimensions of subjective experience: overall life satisfaction or dissatisfaction, feelings of happiness or unhappiness in both a personal and a public or "political" sphere, the quality of "mood" or personal morale in day-to-day existence, the satisfaction or dissatisfaction derived from social and interpersonal interaction in daily existence, the degree of self-worth and self-esteem experienced in a social and personal context and, finally, the satisfaction or

3) Theoretical analyses are given in:

Frank M Andrews and Aubrey C McKennell, "Measures of Self-reported Well-being: Their Affective, Cognitive and Other Components", *Social Indicators Research*, Vol 8, 1980, pp 127-155.

Aubrey C McKennell and Frank M Andrews, "Models of Cognition and Affect in Perceptions of Well-being", *Social Indicators Research*, Vol 8, 1980, pp 257-298.

Aubrey C McKennell and Frank M Andrews, "Components of Perceived Life Quality", *Journal of Community Psychology*, Vol 11, April 1983, pp 98-110.

Alex C Michalos, "Satisfaction and Happiness". *Social Indicators Research*, Vol 8, 1980, pp 385-422.

Methodological discussions pertaining to the quality of life concept are given in the texts listed in Footnote 2.

dissatisfaction experienced in regard to a range of major "domains" of living such as, for example, occupation, housing, community life, education, material benefits and welfare, transportation and the like.

Quality of life as defined for this study, therefore, is a composite set of indices of subjective reaction to day-to-day existence. The basic content of the elements of this composite index has been derived from qualitative research in communities in Durban and on the Witwatersrand⁴⁾ and from successive analyses of data derived from an extensive exploratory investigation among blacks, Indians and whites in greater Durban⁵⁾. The intention in the major national investigation is to identify the most salient, consistent, reliable and valid measures of subjective reaction to daily living for inclusion in a composite instrument for the measurement of subjective quality of life as it is affected by policy and planning in South Africa.

This preliminary analysis is mainly concerned with describing differences in the quality of life, where they exist, of the poorest black people in South Africa as compared with "typical" low income groups and with those who are more affluent or "less poor", as determined by the relatively crude measure of per capita household income. The analysis cannot claim to determine the causal weight of poverty in contributing to quality of life. This will require extensive multivariate analysis of the data which still remains to be undertaken. This paper achieves no more than to describe in overall terms how these black people who can be defined as either very poor, typical or less poor

4) Valerie Møller, Lawrence Schlemmer, Judson Kuzwayo and Beata Mbanda, *A Black Township in Durban: A Study of Needs and Problems*, Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Natal, Durban, 1978.

BBDO Research (Pty.) Ltd., "The Soweto Community Development Programme", BBDO, Johannesburg, Report No. 1, 1976.

5) Valerie Møller and Lawrence Schlemmer, *Quality of Life in South Africa: Towards an Instrument for the Assessment of Quality of Life and Basic Needs*, Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Natal, Durban, 1982.

experience their quality of life, without necessarily ascribing the differences in quality of life to income differences.

This preliminary analysis has some wider significance in the sense that the samples are representative of extensive communities in rural and peri-urban areas in Natal and the Northern Transvaal and of major urban townships throughout the country. The descriptive comparisons therefore reflect the subjective condition of black people in major areas of the country.

2. SOME METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The interview schedule on which the results discussed below are based has been discussed in full in previous published work⁶⁾, and in the interests of brevity, the discussion will not be repeated here. This schedule is the result of a long process of development, and is based on the schedule used in the extensive exploratory investigation among three population groups in the Durban area. This schedule and the data arising from its use were considered in some detail and depth by authors Møller and Schlemmer in preparing a draft final schedule⁷⁾. This schedule was carefully examined and modified by a project committee established for the joint project consisting of representatives of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences, the Co-operative Scientific Programmes division of the CSIR, the Inter-group Relations Programme and the Opinion Survey Centre of the HSRC. The items from which results are drawn for the present analyses will be provided in the text.

6) V. Møller and L. Schlemmer, "Quality of Life in South Africa: Towards an Instrument for the Assessment of Quality of Life and Basic Needs", *Social Indicators Research*, Vol 12, 1983, pp 225-279.

7) V. Møller and L. Schlemmer, *op. cit*, 1982.

Personal interviews among random or systematic samples of blacks were conducted during 1983⁸⁾. Interviews in Natal and KwaZulu were conducted by a well-briefed black field team of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences. In the Transvaal, Lebowa and urban areas elsewhere in the country interviews were conducted by the equally well-briefed and experienced field teams of the Opinion Survey Centre of the HSRC. Interviews were back-checked for validity in the normal way.

The samples among blacks covered the black townships in the major cities of the Witwatersrand, Cape Town, Durban, Pretoria, Bloemfontein, Port Elizabeth and East London, informal peri-urban shack areas around Durban, a range of rural districts in the national states of KwaZulu and Lebowa and blacks residing in the white agricultural areas of the Northern Transvaal and the Natal Midlands. Data for the latter categories were not ready at the time of writing and are omitted.

In the analysis which follows, respondents in three groups defined in terms of per capita income are compared with one another, with intervening groups omitted. (Where correlation coefficients are presented, however, they are calculated on the basis of the full range of income categories.)

The lowest category among urban respondents, encompasses individuals in households with a per capita income of up to R40 per month and among squatters and rural people up to R25 and R15 per month respectively. Hypothetically, in a household of 6 in the urban area this would amount to a monthly household income of

8) In the urban township areas random samples drawn from address lists, stratified by areas relating to ascertainable socio-economic differences were used. In the peri-urban squatter areas and in rural areas a form of systematic sampling was used, based on interviewing points appearing at distances of equal intervals along routes and thoroughfares, with random distance starting points.

R240, clearly below the Household Subsistence Level for blacks in major urban areas as calculated by Potgieter for September 1983⁹⁾. This group has been defined as "poor" in all three cases.

The next group in the analysis below comprises those urban respondents with per capita household incomes of R41 to R80 per month and R26 to R50 and R16 to R30 per month for squatters and rural respondents respectively. This group is on the Household Subsistence Level or somewhat above it in the urban context. This category corresponds to what can be regarded as fairly typical low to moderately low income groups in black society. They would not be poor in relative terms but are also far from being affluent. In the analysis below they are termed the "typical low income" group, since in terms of the survey results for urban areas and in squatter areas they are modal categories. (In rural areas the "poor" group is larger, however.)

The third group isolated for analysis comprises those urban respondents in households with a per capita income of R161 per month or higher and R101 and R61 or higher in the case of squatters and rural people. The urban households in the top category are well-clear of the Household Subsistence Level and over double the median per capita household income in the survey data for urban dwellers of R78 per month. As such this group in relative terms is fairly well to do and has been cautiously referred to as the group which is "fairly affluent".

9) J.F. Potgieter, *The Household Subsistence Level in the Major Urban Centres of the Republic of South Africa, September 1983*, Fact Paper No. 51, Port Elizabeth, Institute for Planning Research 1983. The range of HSL's for black families of 6 persons in the urban centres is between R249-77 and R301-48.

3. THE MAJOR FINDINGS: QUALITY OF LIFE AMONG BLACK PEOPLE AT DIFFERENT INCOME LEVELS

3.1 Overall life satisfaction

Three items probed overall life satisfaction:

- general life satisfaction¹⁰⁾
- personal happiness¹¹⁾
- happiness with life in South Africa, a mildly political connotation¹²⁾

The results of these three probes are presented in Table 1, separately for urban, peri-urban shack dwellers and rural populations.

	Percentage Dissatisfied		
	Poor (<R41pm)	Typical low income (R41-80 pm)	Fairly affluent (>R161pm)
<u>Urban Township (n 3 276)</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
General life satisfaction	43	27	11*
Personal happiness	40	26	11*
Life for blacks in South Africa	34	24	17*
<u>Peri-urban shacks (n 138)</u>	<u>(<R26pm)</u>	<u>(R26 - 50pm)</u>	<u>(>R101pm)</u>
General life satisfaction	70	62	29*
Personal happiness	48	51	31*
Life for blacks in South Africa	37	47	24*
<u>Rural (n 403)</u>	<u>(<R16pm)</u>	<u>(R16 - 30pm)</u>	<u>(>R61pm)</u>
General life satisfaction	41	45	20*
Personal happiness	33	49	20*
Life for blacks in South Africa	32	36	25

- 10) Item in interview schedule: *"Taking all things together, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days. On the whole would you say you are very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied or very dissatisfied?"*
- 11) Item in interview schedule: *Taking all things together in your life, how would you say things are these days? Would you say you are very happy, fairly happy, fairly unhappy, or very unhappy these days?"*
- 12) Item in interview schedule: *"Here are some statements about how black people like you could feel about life for blacks in South Africa. Which statement shows how you feel about life in South Africa? - very happy/fairly happy but not very happy/unhappy/angry and impatient."*

* Spearman Rho significant at $p < 0,05$.

The results in Table 1 suggest that levels of overall dissatisfaction among blacks, while moderately high, do not rise to encompass majorities in the urban township and rural areas. In shack areas, however, dissatisfaction with life in general is characteristic of majorities in the less affluent groups.

A general trend in the results for urban and rural people is for the extent of "political" dissatisfaction to be lower than general dissatisfaction among the poorer groups but higher among the fairly affluent groups, which would accord with theories which suggest that political discontent is particularly associated with rising expectations. This observation notwithstanding, however, the poorer groups do reveal higher absolute levels of "political" discontent than the fairly affluent group.

Among the urban township residents there is a very clear and consistent inverse relationship between per capita income and level of dissatisfaction, with all correlations proving to be statistically significant¹³⁾. The correlation coefficient for the "political" item is weaker than the others, due no doubt to the fact that the political circumstances of blacks relate to statutory racial criteria and not directly to material privilege.

Among shack dwellers there is a strong and significant correlation between dissatisfaction and income as regards general life circumstances. As regards personal happiness and political concerns the effects of income are seen only at the upper end of the income distribution — the fairly affluent shack dwellers are significantly less dissatisfied than people in both lower income categories.

Among rural people, there is a suggestion in the data

13) Spearman rank-order correlation coefficients were calculated on the full range of data, including intermediate income groups omitted from the tables. The data were divided into five income categories of roughly equal intervals.

that the intermediate "typical" group is most dissatisfied. The results on "political" dissatisfaction are not statistically significant but as regards general satisfaction and personal happiness the fairly affluent group is significantly less dissatisfied.

Generally speaking then, it would seem that the poorer communities are significantly less contented with life than the relatively more affluent. In urban township areas the relatively very poor group has markedly lower subjective perceptions of overall life quality than others. In rural and shack areas, however, the distinctions between the "poor" and the "typical" groups are not substantial. It would seem as if the generally less-developed social environments in these areas over-ride income differences at the lower levels. Only the relatively affluent in these areas can rise above their environmental circumstances, as it were.

3.2 Specific qualities of life

Evaluations of more specific aspects of life were obtained in a series of probes.¹⁴⁾ The detailed results are listed separately for urban, peri-urban shack dwellers and rural populations in appendix tables 1, 2 and 3.

Broadly speaking, dissatisfaction with specific aspects of life follows a pattern very similar to the one observed for the more general evaluation of life circumstances. Levels of discontent are item specific but are generally higher among the lower income groups.

In all the populations surveyed higher levels of discontent

14) Item in the interview schedule: *"I will read to you a number of aspects/parts of people's lives. I would like you to tell me how satisfied you are with each aspect/part. You should tell me whether you are very satisfied, satisfied but not very satisfied, dissatisfied but not very dissatisfied, very dissatisfied. If the part I mention is not important enough to be concerned about, say not important."*

focus on expenditure items such as cost of food, education, housing and transport. Some concerns appear to be specific to urban, peri-urban or rural groups, and levels of dissatisfaction on such items tend to be uniformly higher in all income groups. Environmental issues, such as government services in the rural areas, water supply and roads in shack areas, and crime in the urban and peri-urban areas, are a case in point. These results suggest that common living circumstances have a levelling effect and we observe consistently higher levels of discontent regarding cost of living, income earning opportunities, and infrastructure in all income categories. However, with few exceptions the data indicate that the higher family income of the more affluent blacks may cushion them from the disadvantages of their environmental circumstances. This is particularly the case in the townships.

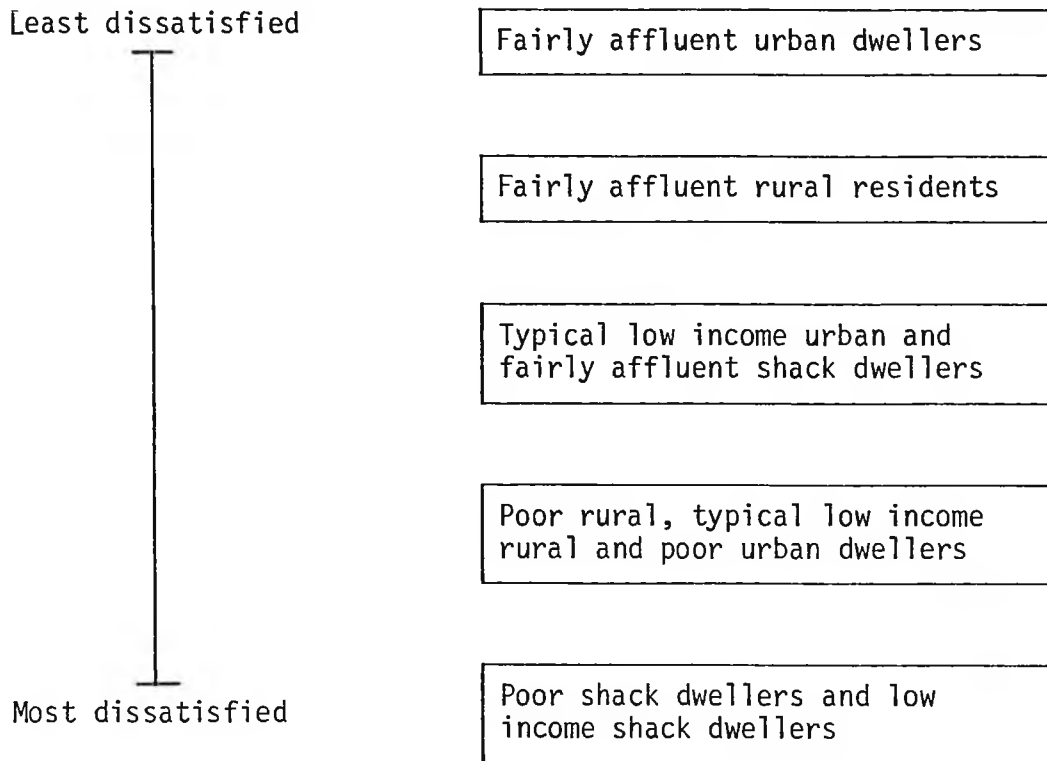
There appears to be a general trend for satisfaction levels to the highest in spheres of life which are within individual control. Thus, aspects related to the self and family circumstances are generally perceived as more gratifying. Conversely, aspects of life which are subject to external regulation tend to be evaluated less positively.

Curvilinear trends in the levels of dissatisfaction on specific issues among the income groups shown on the appendix tables suggest that discontent may be more acutely felt among the typical low income earners than the destitute poor, which is consistent with observations made about results in Table 1.

It is possible to arrive at alternative measures of overall dissatisfaction by aggregating the results for specific issues, as has been done in Table 2. This Table presents the aggregate data for groups of specific issues or domains of living as well as the average dissatisfaction scores for all specific issues taken together.

The Table enables us to suggest a broad and tentative

rank-ordering of life satisfaction across a representative range of issues:



	Poor	Typical low income	Fairly affluent
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Peri-urban shacks</u>			
Socio-political concerns	77,6	78,6	44,6
Income and expenditure concerns	75,0	76,9	45,3
Housing and environmental concerns	64,2	65,8	45,9
Other concerns	41,6	46,5	20,7
All concerns	64,6	67,0	39,1
<u>Rural</u>			
Socio-political concerns	40,0	49,4	31,4
Income and expenditure concerns	56,8	55,6	38,4
Housing and environmental concerns	37,2	36,3	28,9
Other concerns	32,6	30,5	18,5
All concerns	41,7	43,0	29,3
<u>Urban township</u>			
Socio-political concerns	41,4	42,4	25,6
Income and expenditure concerns	60,9	52,2	32,0
Housing and environmental concerns	42,1	37,4	27,0
Other concerns	28,0	20,8	12,2
All concerns	43,1	38,2	24,2

If we bear in mind, however, that different income scales are used for the different types of residential area, then it would seem as if the rural poor are least dissatisfied relative to their per capita cash income. In fact, this observation applies to all three rural income groups — despite the very low per capita incomes in the whole group, the levels of dissatisfaction are well below the typical and poor shack dwellers and roughly equal to the relatively much less impecunious urban township dwellers. It would therefore seem as if

the rural environments we studied cushion effects of very low income on the consciousness of individuals. This generalisation probably cannot be made for all rural areas, however, since the rural districts we surveyed were not by any means all agriculturally impoverished.

As regards the domain dissatisfactions in Table 2, it seems fairly clear that the most intense discontent was with income and expenditure concerns and with socio-political issues among peri-urban shack dwellers, and then with income and expenditure concerns among urban and rural people.

Even these high levels of dissatisfaction are almost eclipsed by some very specific grievances which can be seen in the appendix tables. For example, 96 and 100 percent of poor and typical shack dwellers expressed dissatisfaction with opportunities to find work, and grievances on food prices and transportation costs attain almost the same levels.

3.3 Quality of life in personal domains of living

We have already noted that life dissatisfaction appears to be lowest in those spheres over which people can exercise control. This pattern is further verified by the results on levels of dissatisfaction in regard to manifestly private and personal areas of life, presented in appendix tables 4, 5 and 6.

These results reveal notably low levels of dissatisfaction virtually throughout the range of issues. What is very relevant to our theme, however, is significant differences according to income group appear even in the most private sphere of life. While income levels in themselves may not be directly responsible for the contrasts, income may very well relate to other resources which facilitate social, interpersonal and personal adjustment to life's challenges.

What is perhaps equally noteworthy about these results is that certain issues show a marked deviation from the general pattern

of majority satisfaction. Notable among these are the relatively high levels of dissatisfaction among all shack dwellers but the fairly affluent as regards ability to reach personal goals, trust relations with people at work, trust relations with neighbours in the community and peace of mind. Among rural people fairly high levels of dissatisfaction appear as regards trust relations and relations with superiors at work. These people may be reflecting problems experienced in work settings by longer-distance migrant contract workers.

3.4 Morale and mood in the quality of everyday life

An alternative assessment of quality of life is possible by considering the pattern of "mood" in everyday living. A series of adjectives like "frustrating", "friendly", "insecure", etc., carefully translated into vernacular words and phrases was presented to respondents, and they were asked to indicate which adjectives described their everyday lives. The responses appear in appendix tables 7, 8 and 9.

Here again very clear and consistent correlations with income level appear among the urban township residents. Among peri-urban shack dwellers the negative mood response rate is significantly higher than among both rural and urban residents, and most of the mood items among shack dwellers reveal a significant correlation with income level. Rural people are slightly more positive about daily life than any other group, and there are fewer significant associations with income level.

Here again we see that the most demoralised groups tend to be the poor and the typically low income shack dwellers. Rural community life and the amenities and services of township life generally seem to protect residents from the negative affect reactions to daily living which are fairly typical of the mass of shack dwellers.

3.5 Income, basic needs and modern comforts and conveniences

The study included a range of probes about the satisfaction of basic needs and access to the basic amenities and possessions appropriate to modern life. Correlations between basic need satisfaction and levels of income are likely to produce highly predictable results since the two variables are virtually synonymous — money generally buys the satisfaction of basic needs. We nevertheless felt that it would be interesting to examine the relationship in the three different types of settlement areas. The results are given in appendix tables 10, 11 and 12. The results are severely abridged because the full range of data on basic needs is yet to be analysed.

As predicted, the correlations with per capita household income levels were firm and consistent in urban, peri-urban and rural areas. What surprised the authors, however, was the fairly high proportions of people in the "poor" categories who possessed consumer-durables.

The poor and low income shack dwellers and equivalent rural people are at a very clear disadvantage compared with urban township residents, even in the poorer group. In part this is due to the lack of electricity, access roads and other infrastructural requirements for modern living, but it also must relate to the very much lower levels of per capita income outside the cities.

One of the more significant items relates to ability to save money, and here again the shack residents are clearly worse off than both the rural and urban people.

The major significance of these data lies in the fact that ownership of modern conveniences is one of the factors which intervenes between income and life-satisfaction. Many of our earlier results are more readily explained in the light of the findings in appendix tables 10, 11 and 12.

4. ASSESSMENT AND CONCLUSIONS

When this analysis was commenced the authors fully expected to find strong relationships between disposable income levels and quality of life among black people. However, the statistical significance, consistency and the strength of the covariation between poverty and a comprehensive range of indices of quality of life reflected in the results above are very noteworthy. These relationships generally extend into even the most personal and private spheres of daily existence, as well as to the mood and personal morale of people.

In addition to the factor of cash income, the results, particularly for shack areas, suggest that the level of development of the residential environment and the conditions of tenure and housing are also associated very pervasively with quality of life. Hence not only the material development of individual households but the level of development of the collective residential infrastructure are at issue in quality of life.

It is premature on the basis of this analysis, to attempt to specify the causal links between poverty and quality of life. This has to await multivariate analyses yet to be performed. In descriptive terms, however, one may conclude on the basis of these extensive and widely-dispersed surveys that the quality of life of the black poor, and even of the typical low income groups differs very substantially from the quality of life of not so poor and more affluent black people.

This conclusion may strike the reader as very obvious and hardly worth stating. It is, however, by no means generally accepted in decision-making circles that constraints in income are associated with deprivations of personal well-being. Many residual opinions reminiscent of the notion of "genteel poverty" exist in important circles throughout the world. The study reported on, by virtue of its size, extensive coverage and the very careful preparation of its data-gathering instruments will hopefully provide an authoritative

input into the ongoing debate about the consequences of poverty.

There is evidence in both the general indices of quality of life and in measures relating to specific domains of living that very poor rural people and to some extent the very poor shack dwellers do not have as sharp a consciousness of deprivation as the more numerous typical low income groups. This is readily explained with reference to the rising expectations of people slightly above the level of grinding poverty. It is not a case of the very poor achieving any reconciliation with their circumstances but probably that the consciousness of the very poor is depressed by daily preoccupations with survival.

The authors were particularly struck by the intensity of discontent in the shack areas around Durban, since research for the Buthelezi Commission in 1981¹⁵⁾, using a very similar sampling design among the same shack populations suggested that at that stage the informal shack populations were no more dissatisfied with their lot than urban populations. There may thus have been a deterioration in perceptions of well-being among these very poor communities in the interim, under the impact of a persisting influx of new residents. Given that the shack population of greater Durban, and of other black urban areas in South Africa which abutt national states is fast becoming numerically dominant in the total black urban and peri-urban populations, the high levels of discontent which this study reveals deserve close attention.

The results show that in some respects the black rural environment, despite very deep objective poverty, cushions the residents in their subjective perceptions of well-being. This is particularly true of mood and personal morale among these populations, but it is also true that the overall levels of rural dissatisfaction are not as high as the objective material circumstances would suggest. This cushioning

15) *The Buthelezi Commission: The requirements for stability and development in KwaZulu and Natal*, Durban, H and H Publications, Vol. 1, Chapter 3.

effect is probably due to the limited amount of rural production which is still possible, to the relative freedom from bureaucratic constraint in rural areas and to greater community cohesion and trust. We should add immediately, however, that the general pattern of covariation between disposable income and quality of life even in rural areas is sufficiently strong to show that South Africa's black rural areas cannot offer a comfortable refuge for the very poor and unemployed in our society.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1

Urban Township Blacks (n 3 276)
Dissatisfaction with specific aspects of life

		Poor (<R40 pm)	Typical low-income (R41-80 pm)	Fairly affluent (>R161 pm)
		%	%	%
Socio-political issues:				
Your freedom of movement	(s)	37	60	23
Your life compared with other races	(s)	52	41	29
The respect shown to you by other races	(s)	38	32	24
The way you get on with other races	(s)	33	27	15
Your voting rights	(s)	47	52	37
Income and expenditure issues:				
The way you are able to provide for your family	(s)	45	33	13
Your wages	(s)	66	58	33
Your family's income if you are sick or die	(s)	61	51	19
Your income when you are old	(s)	56	48	23
The costs of education for yourself or your family	(s)	56	41	32
Your transport costs	(s)	75	70	51
The rent you pay	(s)	61	56	29
Food prices	(s)	87	87	77
Your personal possessions - things you have been able to buy	(s)	41	26	11
Housing and environmental issues:				
Your dwelling here	(s)	32	30	16
The size of your house	(s)	58	43	24
The privacy in your house	(s)	38	28	11
The housing available for people like you	(s)	54	49	42
Your choice of where to live	(s)	35	38	28
Water for your daily needs	(s)	21	15	9
The distance of shops, schools transport and other services	(s)	27	20	17
Government and/or municipal services in your community	(s)	45	41	32
The roads in your neighbour- hood	(s)	52	46	32
Police services in your neighbourhood	(s)	54	55	46
Your security of tenure where you live	(s)	37	35	25
Your safety from crime	(s)	52	49	42

Cont/.....

Table 1 Continued

		Poor (<R40 pm)	Typical low-income (R41-80 pm)	Fairly affluent (>R161 pm)
		%	%	%
Other issues:				
Opportunities for furthering your education	(s)	47	36	19
The food you eat	(s)	30	16	7
Your health or your family's health	(s)	29	19	9
Health and medical services	(s)	26	21	14
Your children's respect for you	(ns)	6	4	4
How good a parent you are	(s)	4	2	4
Your family's happiness and peace	(s)	14	10	8
Your religious life	(s)	4	4	5
Opportunities for finding work	(s)	72	58	38
Your job security	(s)	33	27	12
The progress you are making in your work	(s)	28	17	9
The way you are treated at work	(s)	24	19	10
The transport you use most	(s)	48	37	20

(s) Spearman Rho significant at $p < 0,05$

(ns) Not significant

APPENDIX

TABLE 2

Black peri-urban shack dwellers (n 138)
Dissatisfaction with specific aspects of life

		Poor (<R26 pm)	Typical low-income (R26-50 pm)	Fairly affluent (>R101 pm)
		%	%	%
Socio-political issues:				
Your freedom of movement	(s)	69	74	35
Your life compared with other races	(s)	76	84	56
The respect shown to you by other races	(s)	80	73	41
The way you get on with other races	(s)	70	77	39
Your voting rights	(s)	93	85	52
Income and expenditure issues:				
The way you are able to provide for your family	(s)	71	68	21
Your wages	(s)	85	70	55
Your family's income if you are sick or die	(s)	67	80	24
Your income when you are old	(s)	72	91	31
The costs of education for yourself or your family	(s)	83	78	41
Your transport costs	(s)	92	89	59
The rent you pay	(ns)	44	63	44
Food prices	(s)	93	94	94
Your personal possessions - things you have been able to buy	(s)	68	59	39
Housing and environmental issues:				
Your dwelling here	(s)	68	59	33
The size of your house	(ns)	67	63	39
The privacy in your house	(s)	56	54	28
The housing available for people like you	(s)	74	60	56
Your choice of where to live	(ns)	60	66	46
Water for your daily needs	(ns)	67	67	33
The distance of shops, schools, transport and other services	(ns)	38	32	33
Government and/or municipal services in your community	(ns)	52	86	47
The roads in your neighbour- hood	(ns)	70	86	47
Police services in your neighbourhood	(ns)	59	80	66
Your security of tenure where you live	(s)	75	64	41
Your safety from crime	(s)	84	73	60

Cont/....

Table 2 Continued

		Poor (<R26 pm)	Typical low-income (26-50 pm)	Fairly affluent (>R101 pm)
		<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Other issues:				
Opportunities for furthering your education	(s)	68	77	46
The food you eat	(s)	44	49	11
Your health or your family's health	(s)	51	48	23
Health and medical services	(ns)	29	57	32
Your children's respect for you	(s)	23	13	3
How good a parent you are	(ns)	11	14	3
Your family's happiness and peace	(s)	26	14	3
Your religious life	(s)	12	6	0
Opportunities for finding work	(s)	96	100	63
Your job security	(s)	43	50	20
The progress you are making in your work	(s)	54	50	18
The way you are treated at work	(ns)	28	58	15
The transport you use most	(ns)	56	68	32

(s) Spearman Rho significant at $p < 0,05$
 (ns) Not significant

APPENDIX

TABLE 3

Rural blacks (n 403)

Dissatisfaction with specific aspects of life

		Poor ($< R16$ pm)	Typical low-income ($R16-30$ pm)	Fairly affluent ($> R61$ pm)
		%	%	%
Socio-political issues:				
Your freedom of movement	(ns)	31	26	17
Your life compared with other races	(ns)	48	65	48
The respect shown to you by other races	(s)	47	53	29
The way you get on with other races	(s)	41	59	29
Your voting rights	(ns)	33	44	34
Income and expenditure issues:				
The way you are able to provide for your family	(s)	53	41	16
Your wages	(s)	62	63	36
Your family's income if you are sick or die	(s)	64	63	37
Your income when you are old	(s)	47	67	29
The costs of education for yourself or your family	(s)	50	48	41
Your transport costs	(s)	72	62	55
The rent you pay	(ns)	27	20	29
Food prices	(s)	89	90	84
Your personal possessions - things you have been able to buy	(s)	47	46	19
Housing and environmental issues:				
Your dwelling here	(ns)	10	17	14
The size of your house	(s)	44	31	30
The privacy in your house	(ns)	26	17	13
The housing available for people like you	(ns)	35	32	43
Your choice of where to live	(ns)	26	32	20
Water for your daily needs	(s)	57	48	20
The distance of shops, schools transport and other services	(ns)	29	27	17
Government and/or municipal services in your community	(s)	50	62	40
The roads in your neighbour- hood	(s)	61	61	37
Police services in your neighbourhood	(ns)	39	50	49
Your security of tenure where you live	(ns)	30	28	22
Your safety from crime	(ns)	39	30	42

Cont/....

Table 3 Continued

		Poor (< R16 pm)	Typical low-income (R16-30 pm)	Fairly affluent (> R61 pm)
Other issues:		%	%	%
Opportunities for furthering your education	(ns)	43	45	43
The food you eat	(s)	52	41	14
Your health or your family's health	(s)	31	31	17
Health and medical services	(s)	25	32	18
Your children's respect for you	(ns)	6	5	3
How good a parent you are	(ns)	4	3	1
Your family's happiness and peace	(ns)	6	16	7
Your religious life	(ns)	6	0	7
Opportunities for finding work	(s)	69	85	51
Your job security	(s)	48	40	17
The progress you are making in your work	(s)	48	22	14
The way you are treated at work	(s)	33	31	16
The transport you use most	(s)	53	45	32

(s) Spearman Rho significant at $p < 0,05$

(ns) Not significant

APPENDIX

TABLE 4

Urban Township blacks (n3 276)
Dissatisfaction with personal concerns

		Poor (< R41 pm)	Typical low-income (R41-80 pm)	Fairly affluent (> R161 pm)
		%	%	%
Your expectations for the future	(s)	38	26	20
The trust you have in people around you where you live	(s)	22	20	12
Your self-confidence	(s)	13	9	5
Your peace of mind	(s)	25	18	10
The safety and security of your marriage	(s)	14	11	4
The closeness and loyalty of your friends	(s)	16	10	7
The respect you get from your superiors at work	(s)	24	15	12
How you fit in with your age group	(s)	14	8	6
Your closest relationship with a man/woman	(s)	12	8	4
The respect you get in your community	(s)	21	13	7
Your ability to reach your goals if you try	(s)	31	20	10
The independence you have at work	(s)	27	29	10
Your sex life	(s)	10	5	4
Your spare time activities	(s)	14	13	12
The fun you get out of life	(s)	26	16	9
Yourself as a person	(s)	10	5	5
The trust you have in people where you work	(s)	20	17	10

(s) Spearman Rho significant at $p < 0,05$

(ns) Not significant

Item in interview schedule: *"I will read to you a number of things which people have told us are important to them. I would like you to tell me how satisfied you are that your life has these advantages. You should tell me whether you are: very satisfied, satisfied but not very satisfied, dissatisfied but not very dissatisfied, very dissatisfied. How satisfied are you with:"*

APPENDIX

TABLE 5

Black peri-urban shack dwellers (n 138)
Dissatisfaction with personal concerns

		Poor (\leq R26 pm)	Typical low-income (R26-50 pm)	Fairly affluent (\geq R101 pm)
		<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Your expectations for the future	(ns)	23	50	20
The trust you have in people around you where you live	(s)	53	41	13
Your self-confidence	(ns)	11	20	13
Your peace of mind	(s)	62	57	30
The safety and security of your marriage	(s)	18	33	0
The closeness and loyalty of your friends	(ns)	27	31	13
The respect you get from your superiors at work	(s)	38	42	15
How you fit in with your age group	(s)	11	19	0
Your closest relationship with a man/woman	(s)	17	6	0
The respect you get in your community	(s)	33	27	11
Your ability to reach your goals if you try	(s)	71	69	25
The independence you have at work	(s)	38	58	4
Your sex life	(s)	26	20	6
Your spare time activities	(ns)	30	33	10
The fun you get out of life	(ns)	24	35	17
Yourself as a person	(ns)	23	16	7
The trust you have in people where you work	(ns)	61	26	27

(s) Spearman Rho significant at $P < 0,05$

(ns) Not significant

APPENDIXTABLE 6

Rural blacks (n 403)
Dissatisfaction with personal concerns

		Poor (<R16 pm)	Typical low-income (R16-30 pm)	Fairly affluent (>R61 pm)
		<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Your expectations for the future	(ns)	16	36	18
The trust you have in people around you where you live	(ns)	21	18	21
Your self-confidence	(s)	18	15	4
Your peace of mind	(ns)	24	27	15
The safety and security of your marriage	(ns)	5	0	2
The closeness and loyalty of your friends	(ns)	14	28	12
The respect you get from your superiors at work	(s)	40	42	22
How you fit in with your age group	(s)	20	24	6
Your closest relationship with a man/woman	(s)	11	9	2
The respect you get in your community	(s)	28	33	14
Your ability to reach your goals if you try	(s)	27	40	18
The independence you have at work	(s)	26	23	17
Your sex life	(ns)	6	5	0
Your spare time activities	(ns)	15	14	15
The fun you get out of life	(ns)	24	29	15
Yourself as a person	(ns)	13	15	5
The trust you have in people where you work	(s)	42	28	22

(s) Spearman Rho significant at $p < 0,05$

(ns) Not significant

APPENDIX

TABLE 7

Urban township blacks (n 3 276)
Mood and morale in everyday life

Life is:		Poor	Typical	Fairly
		(\leq R41 pm)	low-income (R41-80 pm)	affluent ($>$ R161 pm)
		%	%	%
Miserable (vs happy)	(s)	40	23	6
Dull (vs fun)	(s)	40	27	12
Unfriendly (vs friendly)	(s)	13	9	6
Insecure (vs secure)	(s)	36	30	19
lonely (vs not lonely)	(s)	26	21	13
Frustrating (vs rewarding)	(s)	46	29	17
Not free (vs free)	(s)	31	26	12
Tiring (vs relaxing)	(s)	44	35	30
Getting worse (vs getting better)	(s)	44	34	17
Boring (vs interesting)	(s)	39	27	9

(s) Spearman Rho significant at $p < 0,05$

(ns) Not significant

Item in interview schedule: *"I'm going to give you some pairs of words which could describe how your life is at present. Would you tell me which one word in each pair of words best describes the life you are leading now?"*

APPENDIXTABLE 8

Black peri-urban shack dwellers (n 138)
Mood and morale in everyday life

		Poor (<u><R26 pm</u>)	Typical low-income (<u>R26-50 pm</u>)	Fairly affluent (<u>>R101 pm</u>)
		<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Life is:				
Miserable (vs happy)	(s)	56	50	4
Dull (vs fun)	(s)	56	53	23
Unfriendly (vs friendly)	(ns)	33	20	20
Insecure (vs secure)	(s)	58	61	31
Lonely (vs not lonely)	(ns)	15	28	14
Frustrating (vs rewarding)	(s)	90	77	25
Not free (vs free)	(ns)	54	51	32
Tiring (vs relaxing)	(s)	58	65	13
Getting worse (vs getting better)	(s)	54	52	20
Boring (vs interesting)	(s)	69	60	6

(s) Spearman Rho significant at $P < 0,05$

(ns) Not significant

APPENDIXTABLE 9

Rural blacks (n 403)
Mood and morale in everyday life

		Poor (< R16 pm)	Typical low-income (R16-30 pm)	Fairly affluent (> R61 pm)
		<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Life is:				
Miserable (vs happy)	(s)	37	35	19
Dull (vs fun)	(ns)	40	39	25
Unfriendly (vs friendly)	(ns)	9	13	11
Insecure (vs secure)	(ns)	30	45	26
Lonely (vs not lonely)	(ns)	20	29	21
Frustrating (vs rewarding)	(s)	44	42	26
Not free (vs free)	(ns)	16	26	17
Tiring (vs relaxing)	(ns)	33	43	30
Getting worse (vs getting better)	(ns)	41	29	28
Boring (vs interesting)	(ns)	22	25	15

(s) Spearman Rho significant at $p < 0,05$
 (ns) Not significant

APPENDIXTABLE 10

Urban township blacks (n 3 276)
Basic need indicators

		Poor (<R41 pm)	Typical low-income (R41-80 pm)	Fairly affluent (>R161 pm)
		<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Children of school-going age not attending school	(s)	9	5	2
Ability to save during past year	(s)	23	30	56
Household possessions:				
Fridge	(s)	44	66	89
Electric or gas stove/oven	(s)	43	62	89
Radio	(s)	80	87	94
Record/tape recorder	(s)	34	47	74
Television	(s)	33	56	83
Lounge suite or equivalent	(s)	77	86	92
Bedroom suite or equivalent	(s)	87	94	97
Vehicle	(s)	16	28	77
Telephone	(s)	20	30	71

(s) Spearman Rho significant at $p < 0,05$

(ns) Not significant

APPENDIXTABLE 11

Black peri-urban shack dwellers (138)
Basic need indicators

		Poor (<u>< R26 pm</u>)	Typical low-income (<u>R26-50 pm</u>)	Fairly affluent (<u>> R101 pm</u>)
		<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Children of school-going age not attending school	(ns)	24	11	5
Ability to save during past year	(s)	4	14	50
Household possessions:				
Fridge	(s)	4	19	56
Electric or gas stove/oven	(s)	4	19	53
Radio	(s)	78	76	94
Record/tape recorder	(s)	15	27	53
Television	(s)	4	8	50
Lounge suite or equivalent	(s)	52	68	81
Bedroom suite or equivalent	(s)	85	84	97
Vehicle	(s)	4	11	53
Telephone	(s)	0	5	52

(s) Spearman Rho significant at $p < 0,05$

(ns) Not significant

APPENDIXTABLE 12

Rural blacks (n 403)
Basic need indicators

		Poor (<R16 pm)	Typical low-income (R16-30 pm)	Fairly affluent (>R61 pm)
		<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Children of school-going age not attending school	(ns)	10	23	6
Ability to save during past year	(s)	11	20	51
Household possessions:				
Fridge	(s)	4	16	68
Electric or gas stove/oven	(s)	9	10	66
Radio	(s)	76	84	96
Record/tape recorder	(s)	10	31	60
Television	(s)	3	4	60
Lounge suite or equivalent	(s)	55	78	91
Bedroom suite or equivalent	(s)	90	92	97
Vehicle	(s)	8	12	61
Telephone	(s)	2	4	39

(s) Spearman Rho significant at $p < 0,05$
 (ns) Not significant



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