

***THE EDUCATIONAL DISTRESS
OF THE
CHILD IN A SQUATTER ENVIRONMENT:
A PSYCHOPEDAGOGICAL PERSPECTIVE***

BY

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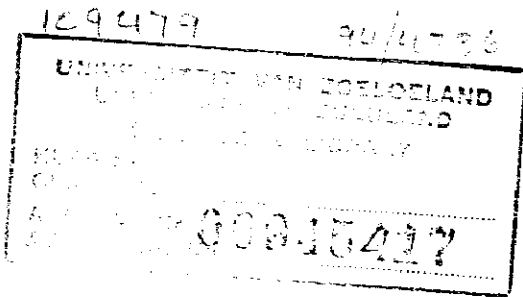
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DECLARATION

I declare that:

THE EDUCATIONAL DISTRESS OF THE CHILD
IN A SQUATTER ENVIRONMENT: A
PSYCHOPEDAGOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

is my work and that all sources that I have used or
quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of
complete references.

T.M. SOSIBO

JANUARY 1994.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to:

1. My wife, Nokwethemba, daughter Nomfundo and son Bayanda.
2. My father Dlezinye, mother Sibusisiwe, mother-in-law Gretta Mkhize and my late father-in-law Bernard Mkhize.

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- . God, Almighty for His unfailing support.

Of course any academic effort of this magnitude is impossible without the motivating variables within one's private life that would make such effort worthwhile.

SUMMARY

The aims of this investigation were:

- . to describe the life-world of the child in a squatter environment as it reveals itself in his relations to himself, to others, to things/ideas and to God; and

- . in the light of the findings obtained from the literature study and interviews, to establish certain guidelines according to which accountable support can be instituted in order to meet the needs of the children in a squatter environment.

As an introduction a literature study is given which describes the conditions that prevail in squatter areas. From a psychopedagogical perspective the squatter child finds himself in a situation of dysfunctional education mainly because he goes through life without the help and guidance of a responsible parent or adult. This results in the psychic life of the squatter child being under-actualised. The lack of responsible adult intervention and guidance, which is based on the pedagogical principles of love, trust and authority, results in the squatter child forming relationships within his life-

world which are inadequate for his emancipation. The squatter child thus fails to constitute a meaningful life-world. At present only a few social workers and voluntary organizations, such as Child and Family Care, reach out to these squatter children in an attempt to rehabilitate the families and supervise the children. The fact that the squatter child is a "child" that should be assisted by parents and the school in his process of becoming is at present often overlooked by the voluntary organizations that render support. Most of the support structures that came into existence to provide some measure of support are existing illegally under present statutory provisions. They lack the services of suitably qualified personnel and are often haphazardly organized. Furthermore they cannot cope effectively with the present situation and there is a duplication of certain services in the provision of support. In the light of the findings of this research the following was recommended:

- compulsory education should be initiated for all children between the ages of six and thirteen;

- compensatory education should be introduced in both formal and non-formal education, while informal or home education could be enriched in order to prepare children for the demands of formal or school education;

- school social workers should be trained and placed at schools to assist and identify pedagogically neglected children;
- remedial teaching training programmes for all teachers should receive more attention during training;
- parent guidance and involvement programmes should be instituted at all schools.
- welfare services should be co-ordinated to prevent duplication; and
- further in-depth research regarding squatter children.

OPSOMMING

Die doel met hierdie studie was tweeledig, naamlik om:

- . die leefwêreld van die kind in 'n plakker-omgewing deur middel van 'n literatuurstudie te beskryf soos wat dié kind dit beleef in sy verhouding met homself, ander, dinge/idees en God;
- . aan die hand van bevindinge wat uit die literatuurstudie en onderhoude verkry is, sekere riglyne daar te stel waarvolgens verantwoordbare hulpverlening ingestel kan word om die nood van dié kind te kan ontmoet.

Gesien vanuit 'n psigopedagogiese perspektief bevind die kind in 'n plakker-omgewing homself in 'n disfunksionele opvoedingsituasie weens die gebrek aan verantwoordbare hulp en leiding deur die volwassenes in sy leefwêreld. Die uitkoms hiervan is die onderaktualisering van die psigiese lewe van dié kind. Weens 'n gebrek aan verantwoordbare hulpverlening en steungewing wat op die pedagogiese beginsels van liefde, vertrouwe en gesag gegrond is, stig die kind in 'n plakker-omgewing verhoudings wat ontoereikend is vir sy emansipasie. Dié kind faal dus in die daarstelling van 'n betekenisvolle

leefwêreld. Tans verleen slegs enkele maatskaplike werkers en welsynorganisasies, soos onder andere die Kindersorgvereniging, hulp aan kinders in plakker-omgewings. Die feit dat die kind in 'n plakker-omgewing iemand is wat in sy wording deur sowel sy ouers as die skool bygestaan moet word, word dikwels nie deur die "vrywillige welsynorganisasies" verwerklik nie. Die meeste van die "welsynorganisasies" wat tot stand gebring word om hulp aan plakkers te verleen, is onwettig, verdwyn oornag en beskik meesal nie oor die nodige opgeleide personeel nie. Die duplisering van "hulpverleningsdienste" kulmineer ook in 'n vermorsing van fondse. Na aanleiding van die bevindings is die volgende aanbevelings gemaak:

- . verpligte skoolbywoning vir alle kinders tussen ses en dertien jaar moet ingestel word;
- . kompenserende onderwys moet in sowel formele as nie-formele onderwys daargestel word, terwyl informele onderwys tuis verryk moet word om sodoende die kinders vir die eise van formele skoolopvoeding voor te berei;
- . skool maatskaplike werkers moet opgelei en aangestel word om te help met die identifisering en hulpverlening aan pedagogies verwaarloosde kinders;

- . tydens die opleiding van onderwysers moet meer aandag aan remediërende programme geskenk word;
- . ouerbegeleidings en -betrokkenheidsprogramme moet by alle skole ingestel word;
- . welsyndienste moet gekoördineer word om duplisering te voorkom;
- . verdere navorsing rakende kinders in plakker-omgewings moet onderneem word.

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CHAPTER 1

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CHAPTER 1

ORIENTATION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

There are many word pictures in the Bible which illustrate and confirm the meaning and importance of 'home'. Jesus according to Matthew, Luke and John (Cosser, 1990:6) refers to the stability and security of a home, or rather the lack of it, and shows how important it is to have a home. He also refers to His Father's house with many rooms where there will be a place for believers - an image of an ideal, unblemished dwelling place which can house the homeless, the sick and the needy. This concept of perfect cities without the phenomenon of squatting is probably not feasible in South Africa with its unique population composition (Editor, 1992:1).

South Africa, according to a report in the Sowetan of 26 July 1990, is not in a much better position than any of the other developing countries when it comes to squatting. Cape Town, for instance, has some 2 000 unemployed, homeless people a month drifting into the area as squatters around the mother city. The bulk of these people do not have a formal income, and survive by dagga processing and distribution (Rothmund & Kela, 1991:6).

The emergence of large industries becomes a causative factor of urbanisation mostly in terms of people being attracted from all over the country to those areas where industries have been established. The creation of employment opportunities by industries in the urban areas is a source of attraction and people, therefore, migrate from rural areas in greater numbers (Ministry, 1992:2-3).

Butterworth and Chance (1981:39) state that migration occurs due to socio-economic imbalances between regions, certain factors "pulling" migrants to the area of destination, others "pushing" them out of the region of origin.

The most commonly mentioned push factors are lack of sufficient or productive land; alternative economic opportunities; absence of sanitation and medical services; poor educational facilities; and in some places, lack of security or natural disasters (Butterworth & Chance, 1981:40).

Employment and educational opportunities are generally ranked foremost among urban attractions, followed by the presence of health and recreational facilities and the excitement of urban living. These are the conditions or pull factors that draw members of rural communities to urban centres (Butterworth & Chance, 1981:47).

In short people seem to be attracted to urban areas mainly because they want a better life for themselves and their children, and for the opportunity of better and well balanced education. The question which arises, therefore, is: "What is meant by the term education?" In answering this question, Gunter (1980:12) indicates that education, in its intentional meaning, is a deliberate, purposeful, systematic and responsible intervention by an adult in the situation of the child on his way to adulthood in the true sense, with a goal towards becoming a worthy human being. The child needs help and guidance even though he cannot consciously determine the nature of it. The educator who knows the child and studies his actions, can interpret the child's behaviour and render the assistance needed (Vrey, 1987:4).

According to Mashabela (Rothmund & Kela, 1992:6) poverty is ever present in the squatter communities. Squatters, therefore, perceive themselves as pawns in a political struggle; disadvantaged in the fields of health, social care, education and economics. Equally there is a lack of infrastructure and services such as water, roads, schools, electricity and sanitation.

Ezewu (1986:79) acknowledges that the environment in which the foetus develops is no less important to the

child's learning at school than the one in which he is educated. Total or partial lack of adequate and appropriate nourishment during pregnancy leads to serious depression and anxiety on the part of the mother which affects the unborn child. Ezewu (1986:70) further illustrates that if the child gets his food when he needs it and at regular times, and if he enjoys the affection of both parents, he will quite likely grow up to be a well balanced member of society.

In contrast to what is mentioned above Le Roux (1993:107) says that the majority of children growing up in squatter areas experience educational distress, meaning that they are educationally impeded in their development. According to Nel (Le Roux 1992:107) educational distress surfaces when the quality of the occurring education is intrinsically bad and is most often the result of poor bonding between the child and his parents. Such a child is not involved in an intimate relationship with an educator who focuses on adulthood (Van Niekerk, 1987:9).

1.2 ANALYSIS OF THE PROBLEM

Homelessness is one of the most pressing problems facing South Africa. The implications of homelessness are significant not only in terms of resources and finances

but also because they have a profoundly negative effect on the well-being and dignity of the majority of South Africans (Cosser, 1990:1).

South Africa's urban housing problem can be traced back to the early days of industrialisation when a combination of poor crops and the lure of higher wages began to attract the rural worker, black and white alike, to the major industrial areas. This has the effect of almost immediately creating housing shortage and while municipalities took almost immediate measures to relieve the plight of white residents, little was done in the case of black population (Frescura, 1981:171).

Platzky and Walker (Le Roux, 1992:89) in their estimation of the South African problem discovered that, for the period 1960 to 1983, close to 3,5 million blacks were forced to move. Of these, approximately 112 000 excluding figures for the Cape, settled informally and squatted.

The extent and the seriousness of informal settlements (squatter environments) have been formulated as follows: "Almost one half of the population of the Durban Metropolitan area (DMA) live in informal settlements. This means that, of the people who work and shop in our

municipality - which is the functional 'core' of the DMA - almost one in two live in settlement conditions about which we know relatively little. In the 1970s there were few informal settlements in the DMA, but today there are 1,5 million people living in them, and experts predict that this figure will double by the year 2 000" (Klotz, 1988:3).

John Mavuso (Mashabela, 1990:11), member of the Executive Committee in the Transvaal in charge of housing and community development, has said that there are 1,4 million Africans living in 'squatter' conditions in the Transvaal alone. About 80% of them live in the PWV region. But his figure of shack dwellers in the Transvaal is lower than an alternative figure of 2,4 million people known to be living in shacks in the PWV region alone.

Van der Merwe (Moalusi, 1992:50) claimed that the largest concentration of squatters (731 864) was in the Pretoria, Witwatersrand and Vaal (PWV) area. Studies conducted by Social and Economic Relations in 1988 estimated an overall figure of 1,7 million African squatters, representing a shortage of approximately 340 000 formal houses.

In Malukazi squatter camp, near Durban, most of the dwellings are roofed with timber or reject malthoid sheets whilst for wall infill the people improvised by filling empty beer cartons with soil and using these to replace the rubble normally needed for this purpose (Frescura, 1981:177). In his study Boaden (1986:19) found that in the spontaneous settlement of Malukazi, three generic wall construction methods were identified as types of squatter houses that are found in the Durban region;

- . Pole-frame with infill: timber poles are set in the ground with horizontal members and various types of infill, but predominantly soil.
- . Load-bearing: concrete blocks or sun dried mud blocks are used.
- . Frame and panel: panels of plywood boarding are fixed to a timber framework.

Townsend (1991:65) maintains that generally, the provision of water is a major problem in squatter areas. Often squatters have to walk long distances to fetch water from formal township houses, where they may be expected to pay R10 per month for two 25-litre cans per

day. In some areas people are forced to draw water from the nearest stream or river, which may be heavily polluted. In Umlazi, only rarely are squatters dependent on NPA water lorries, especially since these services are erratic and only operate during the week.

A similar situation is found in the Cameroons where the cities of Donala, Takara and Bangkok are just three among many cities with large concentrations of illegal settlements on the banks of rivers, lakes or streams. This type of land is subject to flooding and not suitable for housing. These water supplies are usually very heavily polluted with both untreated sewage and industrial wastes (Hardoy & Satterthwaite, 1989:203).

Mountjoy (1978:110) acknowledges the fact that there are no recreational facilities in the squatter areas with which children can be occupied. Children are therefore prone to develop unacceptable behavioural habits such as stealing, experimenting with drugs, drug addiction, pick-pocketing and gangsterism.

According to Banks and Craft (Moalusi, 1992:82) poverty has its cost; it imposes serious hardships on the poverty-stricken child: he is underfed, ill-educated, socially and economically marginalised, and he suffers

from poor hygiene, social discrimination, turmoil and overcrowding in the home.

Le Roux (1993:91) states that formal education (schools) is virtually non-existent in squatter areas. The nearest schools are usually kilometres away, and the children in the squatter areas have no means of adequate transport to get to schools in formal townships, with the result that educational opportunities are not easily accessible to them.

All children of school going age in squatter areas require schooling. It has become impossible to absorb these children into the already overflowing existing schools. Nevertheless, many primary schools in Umlazi, for example, attempt to accommodate the children from the informal settlements. Unfortunately the same is not true of the Umlazi high schools. In the peripheral squatter settlements of Zamani or Uganda, near Isipingo and Unit T of Umlazi, secondary schooling is seen as a major problem as the Umlazi high schools regard the children from informal settlements as "rural" and refuse them entry. These children are thus forced to seek accommodation at distant high schools at Umbumbulu, Kwa-Makhutha or Folweni (Townsend, 1991:65).

Lack of money in the homes of squatter children reflects directly on children, more especially at school. At times the child goes to school without having taken a morsel of food. The principal and 20 teachers at Qozizizwe School at Orange Farm squatter camp are feeding some of their 500 pupils at their own expense, after many fainted from hunger during lessons. Each teacher feeds four or five children every day (Tema, 1991:12)

Under such circumstances the academic prospects of squatter children are seen to be very bleak, if not non-existent. The question arises as to what can be expected from the children who are living in over-crowded quarters with lack of privacy, gregariousness, a high incidence of alcoholism, frequent resort to violence in the settlement of quarrels, use of physical violence in the training of children and wife beating? The inevitable result is that children are also going to behave very violently almost everywhere, but at school in particular (Butterworth & Chance, 1981:149).

What is also evident in the squatter areas is the high rate of school drop-out and those who have never attended school. Mashabela (1990:36) supports this contention by highlighting that in a primary school situated at Weiler's Farm by the end of the year 1987, the primary

school population had decreased from 929 to 679 pupils, either because their parents had sent them to schools outside the settlement or because they had dropped out of school altogether.

According to the HSRC (Kapp, 1991:124) a child from the non-supportive environments usually experiences problems in the school situation because the traditional school derives its particular didactic approach from the educational system, which provides study content to pupils in the form of specific school subjects.

The emotional stability of a squatter child is very fragile because the child finds himself in an insecure home environment. There are a number of factors that contribute to emotional instability of a squatter child. In a nutshell, this instability is a result of the failure of parents to satisfy the basic needs for themselves and for a child in particular (Mashabela, 1990:47).

Mwamwenda (1990:109) acknowledges the fact that the child does not engage in unacceptable behaviour in order to impress upon his parents that he is a good child. Children behave well in order to win others' approval rather than because they believe in a given moral

principle. They also tend to conform to the opinion of the majority, and when making judgements take into account their opinions for a given behaviour.

Pretorius (Kapp, 1991:126-127) maintains that environmentally deprived children often manifest the following attitudes and behaviour patterns in the class and school situation:

- . Troublesome in class.
- . Drop out academically.
- . Often absent and playing truant.
- . Personality problems.
- . Social problems. Do not integrate easily into a group and are inclined towards isolation and alienation.
- . Poor concentration and underachievement.
- . Identify with undesirable friends.
- . Have feelings of inferiority.
- . Show resentment.

According to Mwamwenda (1990:222-223) a child who does not receive love and good care from his parents is likely to have no respect for them and may extend this perception of adults to all the other figures of authority in his life, including his teachers and school itself. Often parents are unable to control their children, who transfer their way of relating at home to the school situation. A child's behaviour may also be affected by his parents' economic status. For example, he may sometimes miss school in order to do piece-work to help supplement their income.

Kok (Le Roux, 1993:92) confirms that the children who grow up in squatter areas are characterised by their display of a poor self-concept, limited motivation, language deficiencies, poor creativity, perceptual deficiencies, obscured or darkened future perspectives, confusion about moral and cultural norms, rejection of authority and the establishment, and alienation from parents.

Le Roux (1993:105) acknowledges the fact that education cannot be guaranteed to run a smooth course, especially because of the dynamic and human nature of education.

Dysfunctional education is evident when the aim of education is not achieved - which results in the child failing to attain proper adulthood.

Dysfunctional education implies that the child will suffer an impediment with regard to his development. In other words, the child does not actualise his psychic life at a level that is attainable or possible for him and thus fails to develop and learn in accordance with his potential. Dysfunctional education means that the adult fails to create an educational climate that facilitates development. The adult fails to perform effectively with regard to accepting and understanding, trusting, and disciplining the child (Van Niekerk, 1987:10).

The life-world of the squatter child is seen to be obstructed by the environmental factors that have already been mentioned, because his relationship to his world, his understanding of the significance of the people, objects and ideas in it and also of himself, are seriously affected. Involvement with this world is possible only if the child has formed meaningful relationships and in this way constituted a life-world (Vrey, 1987:77).

Vrey (1987: 77-78) further argues that the relationships are said to be seriously affected when the need for achievement, for love, esteem, and understanding, and the need to belong, are not and will not be satisfied.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This study will investigate problems surrounding the squatter child as viewed from a psycho-pedagogical perspective. In essence this study seeks to find an answer to the following question:

- . What is the nature of the educational distress of the child in a squatter environment?

1.4 ELUCIDATION OF CONCEPTS

1.4.1 Absolute Poverty

Absolute poverty means insufficient financial means to afford the basic necessities of life such as food, clothes, housing and medical care (Le Roux 1992:3; Rodgers, 1984: 4-5).

1.4.2 Anti-child culture

Le Roux (1992:4) maintains that an anti-child culture is an anti-child pedagogical milieu in which anti-child sentiments are prevalent and the child experiences his situation in the family and community as such that he cannot be accommodated. In such circumstances the child's development is seriously hampered.

1.4.3 Child abuse

The National Committee for Prevention of child abuse (Morgan, 1985:129) describes the concept "child abuse" as excessive, aggressive, or unreasonable parental demands that place exceptions on a child beyond his or her capabilities. Child abuse can show itself in constant and persistent teasing, belittling, or verbal attacks. It also includes failures to provide the psychological nurturance necessary for the child's psychological growth and development - no love, no care, no support and no guidance (Le Roux, 1992:5).

1.4.4 Child neglect

Child neglect means negligence or inadequate care of children by adults with regard to children's physical,

medical, emotional, social and nutritional needs (van Niekerk, 1987:15; Le Roux, 1992:5).

1.4.5 Deprived / disadvantaged children

According to Chazan and Williams (1978:1) the concept "deprived / disadvantaged children" refers to the children whose educational progress is impeded by the environmental handicaps such as poverty, membership of the oppressed group, or a background offering little emotional stability or cultural stimulation. Kapp (1991:123) describes the same concept (deprived / disadvantaged children) as referring to the children with less opportunities in regard to the deficiency in the child's educational (educative) environment which restrains him in his adequate actualization.

1.4.6 Educational distress

Nel and Lubbers (Le Roux, 1993:107) maintain that educational distress surfaces when the quality of the occurring education is intrinsically bad and is often the result of poor bonding between the child and his parents.

Langeveld (Van Niekerk, 1987:9) in his description of educational distress emphasises the fact that something

has gone awry in the communication between the parent and a child. This has an adverse effect on the child's development, especially because the meanings which he attaches to reality and also his behaviour become indecipherable to his educators.

1.4.7 Informal settlements/squatter environments

Informal settlements or squatter environments are the areas of settlement which are not planned or approved by the local authorities or the State. Housing is erected by the occupants of the land themselves, generally out of unorthodox building materials. The areas are often densely populated and generally poorly serviced (Platzky and Walker, 1985:xii).

Squatter environments or informal settlements are settlement areas characterised by the air of desperation and uncertainty, and a culture of poverty. They lack services and amenities. They are the product of both population growth and old government policy which halted provision of housing in urban African areas in an attempt to arrest further African urbanisation (Mashabela, 1990:11).

1.4.8 Squatters

This refers to people living illegally on land without the permission of the landowner. The official use of the term is far broader and looser and it may be used to describe any person whose presence on a particular piece of land is not approved of by the authorities, regardless of the nature of the agreement between the occupant and the landowner (Platzky and Walker, 1985:xiv).

Nash (1977:5), in his definition of squatters, says that squatters tend to be the poorest members of society, although there are exceptions. This does not mean that they are "sub-human or devoid of normal human attributes".

Mountjoy (Dlamini, 1993:8) stipulates that squatters are the people who usually occupy land illegally. They pick a piece of vacant land anywhere, largely ignoring accepted urban standards of housing, hygiene and sanitation.

According to both the Sowetan and Ross (Moalusi, 1992:5-6) a squatter is somebody who occupies land and property unlawfully.

1.5 AIMS AND VALUE OF THIS STUDY

The aims of this investigation stem from the statement of the problem and can be formulated as follows:

- to describe the life-world of the child in a squatter environment as it reveals itself in his relations to himself, to others, to things/ideas and to God; and
- in the light of the findings obtained from the literature study and interviews, to establish certain guidelines according to which accountable support can be instituted in order to meet the needs of the children in a squatter environment.

This investigation has the following value:

- . It provides a picture of the educational distress experienced by squatter children. This information can be used by various Government departments for planning purposes.

1.6 METHOD OF RESEARCH

Research with regard to this study was conducted by means of a literature study of the available relevant research literature. Interviews were conducted with authoritative persons in squatter areas such as social workers, the police, principals and teachers.

1.7 FURTHER COURSE OF STUDY

In chapter 2 relevant research on the squatter phenomenon will receive attention.

Chapter 3 will discuss the life-world of a squatter child.

Accountable support for the squatter child and his parents will be focused on in chapter 4.

Chapter 5 will contain a short summary and certain recommendations.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE STUDY

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CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE STUDY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter attention will be given to seven South African studies on the squatter phenomenon taking into consideration the findings of each of these studies. There is also one study that will be examined in this chapter which is not a South African study, but a study that was conducted in Zambia in a squatter settlement called "George". The main objective for inclusion of this study will be to portray the similarities and differences between South African squatters and the squatters outside South Africa. The focus of this research project will mainly be geographically limited to the Durban Functional Region and Stanger. The findings concerning squatter areas will be discussed under the following headings: description of the study; housing facilities; health and transport facilities; employment opportunities and commercialisation; and schooling / education.

2.2 ARDINGTON, E.M.

2.2.1 Description of the study

In his study Ardington (1992) examines the shack settlement called Canaan, which is situated on Clare Estate and covers eight hectares of ground west of the N2 freeway. It falls within the Indian Group Area of Clare Estate and the boundaries of the Durban Municipality. Although some residents say that they have been there since 1987 and others that they arrived as recently as May 1991, three quarters of the current inhabitants settled there during 1990 with 50% arriving during the first six months of the year. The number of houses in the settlement has varied over time but in May 1991 when the houses were numbered for the second time and yet another ban put on any further building, there were 429 houses in the settlement.

From early 1990 individuals desperate for a home in the Durban Functional Region identified unoccupied and unused pieces of land which were well situated for those working in the region, and moved onto it. Other homeless people seeing that initial settlers appeared to be undisturbed followed suit and within a few months a couple of thousand people were living at Canaan. This settlement

was named Canaan by a young reverend who lived with the squatter settlers.

2.2.2 Housing facilities (water, sanitation and electricity)

(1) Water

At the time of the survey there was no piped water available in Canaan and quite clearly this constituted the main concern of the community. Time and again the respondents referred to the problems they experienced and the expenses incurred when having to obtain water. Half of the respondents obtained their water for drinking and cooking from a corporation tap in Kennedy Road which is on the opposite side of the N2 freeway, a distance of three kilometres away. Three members of the community had been killed while crossing the freeway and a number injured. Most of those who obtained their water from Kennedy Road (41,7%) fetched the water themselves but 7,8% paid others to fetch water for them. Those who paid others to fetch water, paid R1,50 for 25 litres which was three times as expensive as the water bought by 47,1% of the respondents from a nearby Indian storekeeper. Sixty percent of respondents reported incurring expenditure on water either on purchasing the water or paying others to

purchasing the water or paying others to fetch it and the amounts expended varied between R1 and R45 per week and averaged R8.

(2) Sanitation and Refuse removal

The cleanliness and health status of the community is threatened by the absence of a sewerage system in the settlement. Three-quarters of respondents claimed to make use of pit toilets while the balance said they made use of the veld in the absence of any facilities.

There is no refuse removal in Canaan. Two-thirds of the respondents claimed to burn their rubbish in pits but the evidence of rubbish lying around seems to indicate that if they do burn rubbish they do not do so on a regular basis. The Durban Corporation has placed one small tip at the bottom entrance to Canaan. One-third of respondents said that they placed their refuse in the tip which the Corporation emptied from time to time. Current arrangements are clearly inadequate. Additional tips could be placed at strategic points and emptied more frequently.

(3) Electricity

There is no electricity in Canaan. The residents in the main use paraffin for cooking and heating water and candles for lighting. A few households use wood for cooking and lighting and over half the households make use of wood for heating. One percent of respondents use gas as a source of energy. Use is also made of batteries. In general wood is obtained in the open although 20% of respondents reported obtaining fire wood from the dump. Half of the paraffin is obtained from spaza shops within Canaan and from the local Indian store.

2.2.3 Health and transport facilities

Fixed health facilities are available in Canaan. Residents who attend clinics do so at FOSA or KwaMashu at distances of between 6 and 20 kilometres away. A few attended private clinics. A mobile clinic is operating from a caravan parked at the settlement by Hare Krishna and volunteer doctors over the weekends. Of the 60% who said they made use of hospitals frequently, 96% went to King Edward which is 25 kilometres away. The average cost of a return trip to a health centre is R2,60. A quarter respondents consulted private doctors on occasion

and 11% said they consulted traditional healers. There were two traditional healers amongst those surveyed in Canaan.

Although none of the public transport systems have official stops in the settlement, residents are well positioned to make use of both buses and mini-bus taxis. Most commuters accessed buses and taxis at the Springfield Flats underpass of the freeway, a half kilometre from Canaan, although there are also a number of other connection points in Clare Estate. Ease of access to transport and its relatively low cost was clearly important to residents. These facts were raised by respondents when explaining why they had moved to Canaan initially, why they were unwilling to move from Canaan or what they desired from any new place to which they might go. Thus not only is Canaan itself closer to the workplace than many of the places where they had lived before, but it is well served by public transport which is cheaper because of the relatively short distances to be travelled.

2.2.4 Employment opportunities and commercialisation

The people employed in Canaan were found to be largely unskilled and concentrated in the domestic and

construction sectors. Almost twice as many men as women were employed. Eighty six percent of those who were employed were unskilled or labourers. In other words a mere 14% were professionals, artisans or persons with some clerical or other skills. Eighty-seven percent of the third of those employed who were in domestic service or gardening were females. Their average monthly earnings in this sector were R185 - the lowest for any sector other than agriculture where only two persons were employed. The construction sector was the second largest employer from Canaan. Unemployment was very common among younger people with 50% (fifty percent) of those actively seeking employment being under the age of 26, as compared to 31 for those employed. The average age for the unemployed women was 27 and unemployed men 29.

There were at least three spaza shops in Canaan at the time of survey. A number of hawkers also operate in the settlement. There are three stores very close in neighbouring Clare Estate. The nearest shopping complex is in Sydenham, four kilometres away. Shopping practices appear to be influenced by practicalities as much as price. Although the local spazas and Indian stores may be more expensive than city stores for certain commodities, persons have no choice but to use them at times. The spazas are chiefly a source of bread and

milk. Respondents travel to the city stores when possible to buy meat, groceries, household goods and clothes. Over half of the respondents stated that they obtained their building material from the dump. The balance obtained them from hawkers.

2.2.5 Schooling / education

As is the case with most other services, there are no schools in Canaan. Children are therefore forced to attend schools outside the area - at distances varying between 2 and 40 kilometres - or be left with the choice of not attending school or living elsewhere where there are schools. Almost half of the 5 - 19 age group resident in Canaan are not at school. Only 38% of the households surveyed had children who were attending school.

Some of those whose children were not at school referred to the absence of schools in the area, others said they could not afford the costs of schooling and transport and others that they kept their children away from schools on account of violence.

2.3 CHRISTENSEN, F.

2.3.1 Description of the study

The study by Christensen (1993) centres around the informal settlement of Mshayazafe. This settlement was established in the early 1960s and is precariously situated on mostly steep and rocky ground to the north of Durban Functional. It falls within the Inanda Released Area 33 and is about 27 kilometres from the C.B.D. of Durban and about 5 kilometres from Phoenix Industrial Park which is the nearest industrial, shopping and employment area to the settlement. Mshayazafe is sandwiched between the informal settlement of Shembe Village on the one side and by Afrika, another informal settlement, on the other side. A very narrow section of the Piesang River flows through the settlement. A peaceful rural atmosphere prevailed at the time of research, despite the settlement's name which, translated into English, means "to beat until dead".

The majority of the settlement is situated on State land which is registered with the Minister of Regional Land Affairs. A small section of the settlement has remained Indian-owned land. The original Indian owners were mainly released indentured labourers and their descendants. For

many years these Indian people used the land for cultivation of market gardens. In the early 1960s, however, a number of Blacks began to move into the area now known as **Mshayazafe** to rent land from the Indians.

2.3.2 Housing facilities (water, sanitation and electricity)

(1) Water

Mshayazafe has two types of officially provided water sources. The first and the oldest is the water kiosk. The Umgeni Water Board provided kiosk is run by a local inhabitant who charges five cents per five litres. The second and most recent water supply which has been provided in the early part of 1993 is a standpipe. There is no charge for the water obtained from the standpipe. Mr Nyathikazi (local resident) reported that the Piesang River water is "not too dirty" in summer when there is rain. During summer months the river is generally clean and fast-flowing. In winter the river's water level drops considerably. It was reported that the river is the main source of water used for the laundering of clothing, blankets, carpets, etc. The soap used for the washing of these items prevents the people from drinking the water.

(2) Sanitation and refuse removal

The inhabitants rely on self-dug latrines for sanitation. Each household has its own pit latrine and there is no sharing of pit latrines amongst households. The average lifespan of these toilets was estimated by Mr Nyathikazi to be about two years. The lifespan, however, was understandably and drastically reduced if there was an exceptionally large family. For a large family the estimated lifespan shrank to around one year.

Concerning the refuse removal, the northern part of the settlement has been provided with a skip. This is emptied every Monday by a private company called Wastetech. The cost of this service is paid for by the NPA who organised the provision of the service. The remaining part of the settlement has to rely on self-dug rubbish pits. Rubbish is deposited within the pits and burnt.

(3) Electricity

Mshayazafe, unfortunately, has no electricity. Inhabitants rely on wood, coal, gas and paraffin for cooking and heating and on paraffin and candles for illumination. Certain appliances, such as television sets and radios, are operated by means of car batteries.

2.3.3 Health and transport facilities

A mobile clinic visits the settlement every Thursday between 1 p.m. and 3 p.m. This clinic, which is run by the Inanda Newtown A clinic, provides a free service to the inhabitants. The same clinic previously arrived much earlier in the day and was open between 10 a.m. and 3 p.m. However, the clinic staff discovered that many preferred to go directly to the permanent clinic at Inanda Newtown A - which is well equipped for treating most illnesses.

There is no public transport that runs through or enters the settlement. Compounding this is the hesitance of taxi drivers/owners to run such a service from the settlement. A reason for this limited taxi service operating from Mshayazafe is due to incidents of political violence which have erupted in the settlement in the past. The inhabitants mostly rely on the passing taxis and buses, mainly from Inanda, for transport. Such transport can be obtained at the transport stop on the main road (MR 93) which runs past the entrance to the settlement. The price of a single journey from Mshayazafe to Durban was R2,50 in June 1993.

2.3.4 Employment opportunities and commercialisation

A level of unemployment which is a characteristic of many informal settlements sadly exists within Mshayazafe. It is difficult to determine the percentage of unemployed inhabitants, although it can safely be estimated that at least half of the inhabitants are without permanent employment. Most of the unemployed rely on toqt labour (part-time work), on pensions and on the assistance from employed family members. Informal trading is believed to be an invaluable life line, preventing starvation for many people.

The commercial facilities available in Mshayazafe include one licensed general dealer run by Mr Jali and a number of informal businesses. Numerous shack shops operate and stock a limited supply of basic merchandise. Many of the inhabitants expressed disappointment over the poor way that the general dealers are run and in the inadequate and expensively priced stock. Many of the inhabitants reported that they do their shopping at Mamba stores and Bhoola's Cash and Carry at Phoenix. The shopping facilities in Durban are also used by the inhabitants. Transport is needed to shop at these places.

2.3.5 Schooling / education

Mshayazafe has one community-built primary school which caters for children from Class 1 to Standard 5. The five-classroom school is constructed from second-hand corrugated iron. The corrugated iron was salvaged and donated by the community. Much of this material came from the dismantling of the dwellings which the Indians had vacated. The school was established in 1990 when the children of Mshayazafe began to be harassed on their way to school in Unit B of Inanda Newtown.

There is no principal at this school. Instead Walter Ntsele, the person instrumental in establishing the school, has taken upon himself the responsibility of recruiting and interviewing teachers, providing an orientation into teaching methods, and practising as well as overseeing the smooth functioning of the school. The school at present is not registered with any educational department.

2.4 DLAMINI, D.

2.4.1 Description of the study

Dlamini (1993) investigated a squatter settlement in the Inanda district, which is situated north-east of Durban.

The area of study stretches from Phoenix in the south to Umzinyathi in the north and from Ekukhanyeni in the east to Ematendeni in the west, with Ntuzuma lying south-west of Inanda border.

In the development of the giant Durban-Pinetown industrial complex, people began to flock to the said industries in search of work. The shortage of accommodation for Black persons in Durban-Pinetown led to such persons residing on the fringes of the city, hence Inanda and its surroundings developed into a squatter settlement.

2.4.2 Housing facilities (water, sanitation and electricity)

(1) Water

Squatter dwellers in some areas are supplied with wholesome piped water through ±100 standpipes which are situated at the corners of the streets. Other residents pay 5c for 5 litres of water to owners of formal houses near squatter areas.

(2) Sanitation

Sanitation in the area poses a severe health hazard. Lack of water supply and poor sanitation resulted in the outbreak of typhoid in the area in 1973-1980. The Department of Development Aid has recently embarked on a sanitation project, with the assistance of the University of Zululand and other interested persons and organizations. The purpose of this project was to erect various types of low cost sanitary facilities with the ultimate aim of selecting the most suitable sanitary system.

(3) Electricity

Squatter dwellers are not supplied with electricity. They make use of candles, primus stoves and gas for lighting and cooking.

2.4.3 Health facilities

Squatter dwellers use facilities that are available in Inanda, Kwa-Mashu and Phoenix. There are health conditions in the area. Their activities are supervised and controlled by Head Inspector, Mr M.T. Mashiyane who is based at the Township Manager's office at Inanda.

Also, squatter dwellers utilise mobile clinics for primary health care. These are located at the resource centres on specific days.

2.4.4 Employment opportunities and commercialisation

Most of the squatter dwellers are employed in the following areas: Durban, Pinetown, Phoenix, Umhlanga, Verulam and Thongathi. The development of K.F.C. (KwaZulu Finance Corporation) workshops at Inanda and Kwa-Mashu townships has created job opportunities for them. Other residents earn a living through illegal trading at the corners of squatter camps. Resource centres were established to provide employment to the people in the squatter area.

When it comes to commercialisation, squatter dwellers make use of facilities in the location where there are formal houses. There are also illegal trading spots at the corners of the squatter area. Part of this trend could be attributed to the high unemployment rate.

2.4.5 Schooling / education

Children from this squatter area travel long distances over hazardous terrain to schools which are situated in

the township where there are formal houses. There are two creches which operate in other resource centres.

2.5 EVANS, R J

2.5.1 Description of the study

In this study of the Thongathi informal settlements Evans (1988) focuses on two areas, namely, **Magwaveni** squatter camp and **Emona** squatter camp.

Most of the areas where these informal settlements emerged began as far back as 1945, with labour seekers entering the Thongathi area to fulfil local labour needs. However, the Thongathi-Hulett group around that time paid employees a living-out allowance if they did not stay in the compounds and many employees moved into surrounding areas in order to qualify for this benefit.

(1) Magwaveni

This settlement lies adjacent to the railway line, and with the exception of a small portion of South African Railways property, is on Indian-owned land. It lies to the east of Thongathi, 3km from the town centre and therefore within the Thongathi Town Board area of

jurisdiction. Since 1973, when the (then) Port Natal Administration Board took over responsibility for the area, it has been the intention to rehouse the squatters in Hambanathi. However, because Hambanathi was not large enough to accommodate these people, and the extension proposals had been shelved, the settlement still exists today.

(2) Emona

The area known as Emona T7 covers 806 hectares of agricultural land, bordering on Hambanathi and stretching north-west of Thongathi. All land, where this informal settlement began in the early 1960s, is owned by Indians. The area is the responsibility of the NPA Community Services Department and National Health and Population Development.

2.5.2 Housing facilities (water and sanitation)

(1) Water

At Magweveni squatter camp water is supplied at six stands by Thongathi Town Board, for which each family pays approximately twenty cents per month.

Water is supplied at Emona squatter area by Community Services Department at 3 cents per litre, while those in surrounding areas obtain water from Indian landowners at 25 cents per litre. Water for washing is taken from the numerous streams in the area.

(2) Sanitation and refuse removal

The Town Board also supplies refuse bags and removes refuse twice weekly at Magwaveni. Pit latrines are found throughout the area. It has emerged that sanitation is very poor at Emona, and with only a few self-erected pit latrines many utilise the surrounding cane fields. There is no refuse removal for the area of Emona, but a few refuse pits have been dug.

2.5.3 Health and transport facilities

The Primary Health Care Services operate a mobile clinic in the area once a week at Magwaveni, concentrating primarily on child care and the treatment of T.B. Serious illnesses are treated in Stanger, Verulam or Durban.

At Emona a mobile clinic of the State Health Department serves the area once a month for primary health care,

while illnesses are treated at Thongathi, Stanger, Verulam or Durban.

When it comes to transport there is only one access road, which is tarred, with three internal gravel roads at Magwaveni squatter area. A private bus company runs from Monday to Saturday. In the case of Emona squatter area there is also one gravel road which provides access to the area from Thongathi, while an internal system of private roads connect the different properties. All are in bad condition. A private bus company and several taxis provide regular transport to and from Thongathi.

2.5.4 Commercialisation

In the area of Magwaveni shack shops supply only luxury items (drink and cigarettes) as Thongathi shops are in fairly close proximity.

In the area of Emona there are three Indian-owned general dealers and one butchery, but most of the shopping is done in Thongathi.

2.5.5 Schooling / education

In the area of Magwaveni, children attend school in Hambanathi, approximately 5km away, while younger children attend a creche run by the Residents' committee.

2.6 HAARHOFF, E.

2.6.2 Description of the study

This study by Haarhoff (1983) examines the informal settlement called **Malukazi**. Malukazi is located immediately adjacent to the southern extremities of the developed areas of the African township of Umlazi. It falls entirely within KwaZulu and is bounded on the east by the homeland boundary that separates it from the contiguous informal settlement of Isipingo Farm which falls within the township of Isipingo. The southern and western boundaries are formed by the Umbogintwini River, and the northern boundary by the tarred section of the Umbumbulu road (R611) which separates it from the already developed Unit 21 of Umlazi township. The surrounding territory which spreads westward along the Umbumbulu road and southward towards the township of Kwa-Makhutha, is largely populated at moderate densities by homesteads established by tribal agreement. Malukazi as a whole falls within the physical definition of the metropolitan area.

2.6.2 Housing facilities (water and sanitation)

(1) Water

The survey indicated that the range of services and facilities within the settlement, albeit informal, is not inconsiderable, but that there are aspects that are clearly inadequate. The fact that there is only one piped fresh water supply point for a population estimated to exceed 25 000 persons is not only inconceivable, but is difficult to explain in terms of how a settlement of this magnitude had developed and continued to exist. It is reasonable to assume that various alternative sources of supply are utilised; respondents mentioned the purchasing of water from the households in Umlazi and Isipingo Farm at a cost of ten cents for 20 litres. The various streams within the settlement, as well as the more distant Ezimbokodweni River, were reported to be used but mainly for laundering purposes. Clearly, these substitutes are inadequate, and a fresh water supply is an immediate need, irrespective of the future of the settlement.

(2) Sanitation

Sanitation is provided exclusively by pit latrines erected by the 'owners' of dwellings. Although

authoritative opinion on this issue has indicated that from a health point of view, there are no inherent disadvantages to ensure proper seepage, the absence of an adequate fresh water supply and possible contamination of natural water courses may make it difficult to maintain adequate standards of hygiene. Clearly, there must be some density threshold beyond which the use of pit latrines is inappropriate, but in the absence of detailed information, this is difficult to evaluate. As far as is known, to date there have been no reported epidemics at Malukazi, and the extent to which there is a potential health hazard has not been established. But in practical terms the water and sanitation aspects represent the greater immediate needs in Malukazi.

2.6.3 Transport facilities

Transport is very important, and keeping in mind that rates of employment are high, linkages to jobs in Durban are crucial. In addition to a service from Durban to Umbumbulu which passes through Malukazi, Putco has a frequent feeder service to Isipingo Rail. This provides connections to other buses to central Durban and surroundings as well as access to taxis and trains. A number of independent operators also provide a bus service to the settlement, and bus-stops are indicated along the main road to Umbumbulu.

2.6.4 Employment opportunities and commercialisation

To gauge some notion of magnitude, reference can be made to the survey conducted by the Centre for Applied Sciences. In December 1977 it was estimated that 4 927 males and females were engaged exclusively in formal employment, 1 361 were occupied in the informal sector, and 788 were active in both formal and informal employment.

In as far as commercialisation is concerned, there are only two Indian-owned and -operated shops which serve the community. These are located at the extreme eastern periphery and fall within the adjacent Isipingo Farm. In addition to foodstuffs such as milk, bread and canned goods, both stores trade in building materials such as window and door frames, cement and corrugated sheeting. Within Malukazi, the only formally-licensed communal operation is a privately-owned 'beer hall' retailing sorghum beer, but there is vigorous informal trading. There are more visible open stalls which sell a range of foodstuffs and goods that include meat, vegetables, fruit, confectionery and newspapers. Fresh food supplies are purchased at the central Durban produce market and from the Umbumbulu district. Other visible signs of commercial activity include a number of laundry depots

and 'shack' shops operating from rooms within or adjacent to, dwellings. One of these 'shack' shops retailed a range of informal building materials that include wattle poles and saplings used in the construction of dwellings.

2.6.5 Schooling / education

There are no formal educational facilities within the confines of the settlement, but a surprising fact derived from the Centre for Applied Social Sciences survey is that in 1977, 80% of children between the ages of 7-19 years attended school. Of these, 88% attended school in Umlazi.

2.7 KARODIA, S.

2.7.1 Description of the study

The area of the study undertaken by Karodia (1992) is **Ntchaweni**, a rudimentary settlement of eight to ten thousand people, which is located approximately two kilometres south of the town of Stanger. This squatter settlement derives its name from its close proximity to the Intchaweni River, which is found within the Groutville area near Stanger. Groutville is located approximately sixty-five kilometres north of Durban and

is made up of six wards. The Ntchaweni squatter settlement is to be found in Ward 4 and Ward 5 of the greater Groutville district.

The settlement developed in a ribbon form on either side of the old main road between Stanger and Thongathi. In Ntchaweni itself, three Africans have settled on freehold land in an environment characterised by poor living conditions.

2.7.2 Housing facilities (water and sanitation)

(1) Water

Most of the people interviewed by Karodia indicated that water is most urgently needed. After spending some days with the households, the following observations were made with respect to water provision:

- Women who traditionally bear the burden of fetching water in the area used tanks that are filled by the Department of Development Aid or KwaZulu Government tankers. These women have to wait lengthy periods for water.
- An entire half-day is wasted for a bucket of water to be filled. Women had to wait long hours with their children for water.

- Water is also obtained from the Gledhow Mill region. Here water prices are exorbitant, selling at an average of R1,50 for twenty-five litres.

- In addition the lack of water causes many diseases, for example, scabies. Documents at the Stanger Provincial Hospital indicates that there was a serious outbreak of cholera in the Ntchaweni area in 1981/1982, claiming the lives of many small children.

(2) Sanitation and refuse removal

There is no water reticulation system at present in Groutville, neither does the squatter settlement of Ntchaweni have a water-borne sewerage system. Consequently, it does not have any sewage treatment facilities. The population presently makes use of pit latrines with no septic tanks. The facilities in the squatter settlement are extremely poor and sanitation is even non-existent in certain places, creating a severe health hazard.

At present, there is no refuse disposal site in the study area. Neither is there a formal refuse removal service. Most of the refuse is dumped on empty land. Observations

reveal that pigs are kept in many areas to consume refuse. The dangers of open refuse dumps cannot be under-estimated.

2.7.3 Health and transport facilities

There are no clinics or mobile clinics in Ntchaweni. The inhabitants of Ntchaweni usually make use of the hospital services at Stanger. The state ambulance service only responds to emergency calls at the main road. The common reason given for the ambulance not going into the squatter settlement is that the infrastructure is poor. It is commonly regarded by residents that the state uses indirect means of removing squatters from areas like Ntchaweni, by depriving the squatters of their basic rights to enjoy an ambulance service. Roads are never upgraded so that state ambulances never service the squatter community.

2.7.4 Employment opportunities

Many men in the area are finding it increasingly difficult to find suitable jobs. The reasons given for this are that there was retrenchment at the mill due to sanctions and also retrenchment on White-owned farms. The third factor contributing to large scale unemployment

in the Ntchaweni area is that many males are unskilled and not qualified to take on the jobs that are available in the Stanger area.

2.7.5 Schooling / education

Without resorting to a statistical count, many children between the ages of six and eighteen do not attend school. One of the main reasons for this is that the local primary school at Lloyds is severely overcrowded, with an average of 70-80 children per class unit. However, the other factors which militate against children going to school are:

- Many children do not go to school because they are required to help their aged, ill parents to fetch water from tanks or the river.

- Many children remain at home and forego their education opportunities to look after their smaller brothers and sisters at home, while both parents have gone to work.

2.8 SCHLYTER, A. AND SCHLYTER, T.

2.8.1 Description of the study

The study by Schlyter and Schlyter (1979) is based on three field studies of a settlement called George in Lusaka, carried out at intervals of four years and covering a period of eight years from 1965. During this period large squatter settlements developed all around Lusaka. The report after the first field study advocated improvements to squatter settlements, and at the time of the second field study in 1973 the Government of Zambia had adopted a policy of improving these settlements. The interest of the researchers was then focused on the question of which improvements should be made. How could the supply of piped water, good roads and drainage be provided in existing structures? Would the division of land into plots really be necessary? What would the impact of upgrading be on social life and on the use of houses and outdoor space? One of the purposes of the second field study was to provide an understanding of the existing situation for the planning of improvements of squatter areas in general, and of George in particular. During the third field study, the upgrading of George was planned and implementation started. A special housing Unit was established within the Lusaka City Council and

financed by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which later became the World Bank.

2.8.2 Housing facilities (water, sanitation and electricity)

(1) Water

The lack of piped water in George as well as in other squatter areas is one of the most serious problems concerning settlements of this kind.

In 1961 there was no other supply of water than from the wells. According to the census conducted in the same year, 13% of the women carried water from Matero, but this was too far away for those living in the west end of George. The water supply in the wells was usually no problem in the rainy season. However, many of those who used the well water for drinking knew that it was often polluted and raised strong demands for good drinking water. To meet the demands, the authorities arranged for tank lorries to bring water into George.

(2) Sanitation and refuse removal

A pit latrine is simply a deep hole in the ground. The pit latrines are the only type of latrines used in

George. They are often dug in the dimensions of about 0.8 by 1.2m and 3m deep, just like a well. The cover is often made of concrete and has a small hole in it. One uses the latrine by squatting on the cover slab. If it is kept clean there is no smell in spite of the fact that there is no lid to cover the hole. The greatest disadvantage of pit latrines is the risk of pollution of the ground water. In densely built areas where the ground water table is high, as is the situation in George, the wells become polluted and are not usable for drinking purposes.

A major issue with regard to refuse is that there was no collection of garbage in George, with the exception of some dustbins put up outside the markets in 1976. Some parts of George looked very untidy and things were getting worse due to the growing use of non-returnable packaging. However, there was a number of large marl-pits and they were used for refuse. These marl-pits smelled, and although the burning sun breaks down biological refuse quite fast, the garbage pits constituted a sanitary risk.

(3) Electricity

Some three-phase electricity power lines with high tension of about 5 000v run along the edges of George in

the north and east and also straight through the centre of George from east to west. There are transformers at certain poles where single phase low tension lines are distributed to single or coupled buildings nearby. The power is distributed by Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation (ZESCO) to consumers.

There was however, no street lighting in George, except along Commonwealth Avenue. Street lighting is a measure to provide better safety and security in the settlement, and is very often a demand from the residents. The upgrading scheme suggested a network of lighting poles at a distance of 50 metres which will also provide better conditions for people to come together when dark.

2.8.3 Health and transport facilities

There have never been any health centres or clinics in George except for a roofed brick shelter used for a clinic at least up to 1973. This building was replaced by a Community Centre where the Upgrading Project was housed in 1976. Mobile clinics have sometimes visited the area and carried out immunisation campaigns. The people in George have had to visit health facilities outside George, which were heavily overloaded.

The roads in George were of varying quality, but most roads are only bad tracks. The only tarred road is the Commonwealth Avenue in the north, leading buses, taxis and most other vehicles into the settlement near the north market. Especially in the rainy season, most small roads and tracks, but also the main roads, are muddy and with holes sometimes overflowing. The people of George at times try to fill up these holes with banana stems and leaves, but this is only a short-term measure. During the rainy season only four-wheel-driven vehicles can pass through the worst places. In the dry season, on the other hand, the roads are extremely dusty. Most seriously affected in the settlement by these bad conditions are the buses and goods transport.

2.8.4 Employment opportunities and commercialisation

Waged employment was the heavily dominating type of income among the heads of households in George. The rate of self-employed people, however, increased during the eight-year period. This seems to be a trend opposite to the situation in George as a whole. The large number of self-employed people were connected to the large rate of female heads of households within the house-groups, which was about twice the rate for George as a whole. The rate of unemployment was low in the house-groups.

Concerning commercialisation in George, there are municipal African markets south-east of and centrally situated in the commercial city of Lusaka, for vegetables, live poultry, fresh meat, and other provisions. The municipal market nearest to George is the one at Matero, around 1km east of George. There are two different kinds of businesses in George, namely, groceries and teacarts.

A teacart is a small kiosk where one stands outside when buying through a counter window. A grocer is a shop that allows you inside when buying.

Butcheries, where fresh meat is sold, increased from zero in 1969, to seven in 1972 and eleven in 1977, out of which one was combined with a grocer. Eight of the butcheries had electricity for refrigeration. The three butcheries without electricity were situated in the north-west corner and in Chikolokoso. It is doubtful whether they should be regarded as proper butcheries due to the fact that the meat cannot be kept refrigerated.

2.8.5 Schooling / education

There were no schools in George. This was one of the most alarming deficiencies in most squatter areas, where

schools were only provided in legal housing areas. George was perhaps better off than other squatter areas, being situated so close to Matero, a large township with several schools. One of them - Kizito - is just on the border of George. In 1973 more than one-third of the school children went to Kizito and the rest were spread over fifteen different schools. Many children had quite a long way to walk. The demand for education has been very great in George as the organization of pre-schools, for instance, was mainly dependent on voluntary staff and charity for material. These pre-schools have never become more than isolated attempts.

2.9 TOWNSEND, M.

2.9.1 Description of the study

There seems to be many general statements applicable to squatter settlements as a whole, but it is not quite clear as to what extent it is true of Umlazi.

In his study Townsend (1991) takes as point of departure the process of change which has taken place in Umlazi over a period of three years, from 1987-1990, from being a model African township, strictly controlled to exclude squatters, to one in which most pieces of vacant land are squatted on. This raised a number of questions from

different sections of the community such as where had all these squatters come from and why did they appear so suddenly? This study attempts to describe and document the process of change that has taken place in Umlazi and ultimately to explain it.

Although the focus of the study is on the squatters, the wider context of urbanisation and housing around Durban in general provides the background within which the squatter phenomenon is investigated. The main focus of this study is therefore a description of the process whereby over a period of three years, about 150 000 people have moved on to vacant land in Umlazi and erected their shacks, thereby changing the face of Umlazi dramatically.

2.9.2 Housing facilities (water and sanitation)

(1) Water

The study points out that water is a basic necessity and should therefore be given the highest priority - especially in squatter settlements where the provision of potable water is a major problem. Often squatters have to walk long distances to fetch water from formal township houses, where they may be expected to pay R10

per month for two 25-litre cans per day. In some areas people are forced to draw water from the nearest stream, which may be heavily polluted. In Umlazi, only rarely are squatters dependent on NPA water lorries, especially since these are so erratic and only operate during the week. On the other hand some settlements have found ingenious solutions to their water problems. For instance, one squatter settler in Section F found a leaking water pipe which remained leaking for such a long time that one enterprising plumber decided to install a tap at the end of a pipe leading off from this leaking pipe. Today there are five taps that have been installed at this pipe and the area is known as Limpompo.

(2) Sanitation

The study also directs attention to the possibility of an outbreak of diseases such as cholera, typhoid, diarrhoea and many others, which has been at the heart of the call for town planning since the Industrial Revolution. These are associated with the lack of proper toilet facilities and the proliferation of flies, insects, rats, etc. in the squatter areas. In the new squatter settlements of Umlazi, the arrangement of the toilets that have been dug is often well thought out with a view to combating diseases and pollution. Usually the pit latrines of four

adjoining sites are grouped together in one adjoining corner. Often, however, the materials used in the construction of the toilets are inappropriate.

According to the study the reasoning behind the creation of large "toilet towns", or site and service stands in which sturdy toilets are provided, stems from the fear of the abovementioned diseases. The study points out, though, that latrines are not the panacea for all ills, and on many kinds of soils pit latrines and septic tanks are not suitable. In such areas there would seem to be no alternative but to opt for water-borne sewerage systems which feed into sewage treatment works, even though this may raise the costs.

2.9.3 Health facilities

In terms of health, generally the denser the settlement the greater the health hazard. However, some areas seem particularly poorly positioned in health terms. The informal settlement called **Uganda** in Umlazi seems to be the worst off in this regard. Apart from the presence of a rubbish dump in close proximity this settlement also has a series of electric power lines running across the area. The presence of power lines have of late become the subject of medical research which suggest that

overhead power lines may have a negative influence on health. Another settlement with power lines dominating the landscape in Umlazi is Zamani.

2.9.4 Employment opportunities

A further major problem in Uganda squatter settlement concerns the high rate of unemployment, although this has not been possible to quantify in the study. This has a major impact on how much residents can afford in order to pay for services, rent, title to the land, etc. Yet despite the high rate of unemployment, perhaps the most disturbing fact about the settlement is that most people in Uganda are renting the shacks they live in from other "owners". Although the average rental for a room in a shack (about R20 per month) may be low, this has a further draining effect on poorer residents' resources. This could perhaps be seen as a classic example of petty commodification of shacks by early arriving squatters who then succeed in exploiting latecomers on the market.

2.9.5 Schooling / education

The most serious shortage in Uganda is the absence of schools. This is made worse by the fact that the population is comparatively very young, and most families

have small children. Primary school children have to walk 3km and cross very busy roads in order to attend at Mgijimi Lower Primary school in D Section, where they are branded with the stigma of coming from Uganda and made to feel unwelcome. Secondary school children are forced to go to schools at Umbumbulu and to other faraway rural schools, because the local Umlazi secondary schools classify the residents of Uganda as "rural", and undeserving of places in Umlazi schools.

2.10 SYNTHESIS

In this chapter researched knowledge reviewed from recent relevant literature has been presented with an aim of giving further clarification to this research project. It became evident that almost in all squatter settlements there is a severe inadequacy of basic amenities such as water, sanitation, electricity, health and transport facilities, commercial facilities like shops, and schools in particular. It emerged in this chapter that the inadequacy or absence of basic amenities differs proportionately from area to area. In a few squatter settlements there are provisions for piped water, water lorries, and mobile clinics while, in many other squatter settlements no provision whatsoever has been made for essential services. It has been highlighted that the

only facilities that are being utilised by squatters in general are those provided from formal township houses, which are often accompanied by exploitation of the poor.

It also became evident that a small percentage of the squatters is employed in the Durban Functional Region and at Stanger as domestic and construction workers whilst the greater percentage of squatters is presently unemployed.

In the following chapter attention will be given to the life-world of a squatter child.

CHAPTER 3

THE LIFE-WORLD OF THE SQUATTER CHILD

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CHAPTER 3

THE LIFE-WORLD OF THE SQUATTER CHILD

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Vrey (1987:77) emphasises the fact that it is essential for a child to orientate himself in relation to his world for the sole purpose of understanding the significance of the people, objects and ideas in it and also of himself. Vrey (1987:77) further argues that involvement with this world is possible only if the child has formed meaningful relationships and in this way established a life-world.

Viljoen and Pienaar (1971:30) describe the concept world as a structure which consists of the whole of situations, occurrences and values at which man directs himself: a meaningful and grounding structure of human existence whereby man's acts, thoughts and feelings are involved. Man therefore exists in his world as a matter of choice: he constitutes his own life-world. The child also relates to his surrounding external world: objects and people amongst which he finds himself. Within this environment the child, that is the squatter child, constitutes his own life-world.

The nature and quality of the environment in which the child grows up is of vital importance for his development. To be more specific, home, as a facet of the environment, plays a major role in preparing the child for adult life. The family (home) is the first and basic educating agent in the child's life. His development is profoundly and extensively affected by the quality of the education offered at home. Family dynamics, of which child-rearing practices are an important aspect, constitute a climate that plays either a facilitative or an impeding role in the child's progression toward becoming a fulfilled human being. The quality of family life, expressed in a particular physical setting (home) thus determines, to some extent, the course and net result of the child's development (Le Roux, 1993:86).

Van Niekerk (1987:7) noted that through learning the child constantly raises the level upon which he communicates with life and gives meaning to his world. In learning the child will constantly form new relationships and improve the quality of existing relationships. According to Landman and Roos (1973:143-147) the child in a dysfunctional situation (e.g. the squatter child) under-actualises his psychic life.

The squatter child, therefore, finds himself within a dysfunctional educational setting. His behavioural actions of attributing meaning to matters, that is, the formation of meaningful relationships are of inadequate quality. This gives rise to educational deficiencies and disturbed family relationships which in turn transform the squatter child's educational situation into a problematical one. This view is supported by Scott (1993:5), indicating that squatter children are the children from poor families who manifest a disoriented future perspective. They identify with the poorer model of parents and older children in their environment, and due to the negative attitude towards knowledge acquisition, citizen duties, training and work, the child is not ready to go to school. The negative attitudes of the parents are thus implanted in the squatter children hence developing signs of being unloved, of poor self-esteem of poor interpersonal trust as well as signs of anxiety and distress.

Because of this inadequate attribution of meaning the squatter child finds himself in an environment whereby learning in a pedagogical sense does not take place. Therefore his life-world is improper and inadequate (Le Roux, 1993:92). This implies that the inadequate nature of existing relationships of the squatter child

cannot improve the quality of future relationships within his life-world on the squatter settlement. His development towards adulthood is impeded.

3.2 THE CONCEPT "EXPERIENCE"

It is self-evident that people experience things because experiencing and being conscious are for practical purposes the same thing (cf. Urbani, 1982:36). The important point in this regard is that all consciousness, all psychic life can be traced back to two basic forms, namely feelings and thoughts, both of which are a way of expressing a common basic form, that is, experience of reality (cf. Urbani, 1982:9). When it comes to the studying of the squatter child's experience, it would mean looking at the child's affective world of experience and how he gives meaning to this experience. In actual fact it means that the main concern here is with the relationship between his affective and cognitive experiences (Sonnekus, 1985:60).

Experiencing is an original continuous act of turning to and reaching reality which leads to knowing. In describing experience in the life-world of the squatter child the following is meant: Experiencing things is a way of expressing oneself and through which something essential about one's life-world becomes evident.

Sonnekus (1985:58) highlights the fact that experiencing means moving to, or going into or entering reality. In other words without experiencing one's life-world cannot be built up, cannot be comprehended, cannot be contemplated at all. It is through the child's numerous experiences of reality that his own unique life-world comes into meaningful existence (Pretorius, 1972:11). A study of the squatter child's world of experience implies learning about what he experiences in his world and the manner in which he attaches significance to it.

In view of what is said above it is clear therefore that there is no more important concept on the basis of which one can give complete expression to man's total involvement in the world than experience. Van den Berg (Urbani, 1982:34) makes the most suitable statement in as far as an understanding of the squatter child's experience is concerned: "Who wants to understand man should listen to the language spoken by the things in his existence, those who want to describe man should make an analysis of the environment from where his behavioural actions and thinking relate."

Sonnekus (1985:60) supports this view by stating that experiencing is the first orientation of man in his surrounding world and forms the basis for an

understanding of the world on a higher level. Since man is essentially a being related to other beings it becomes obvious therefore that one can only understand his experience by studying him in his relationship with himself, others, the things around him and God.

It must be taken into account that all of man's experiences and therefore also those of the squatter child take place within relationships. The difference should be made between the following:

- . Experience of the squatter child that takes place within his relationship to himself;
- . Experiences within his relationships with others;
- . Experiences within his relationships with things;
and
- . Experiences within his relationship with God.

According to Van der Stoep (Sonnekus, 1985:59) experience culminates in orientation or an act of orientating one's self. The squatter child finds himself in an insecure environment in which he has to orientate himself. What

is important about this orientation is that the squatter child should determine his own position in relation to that which he is faced with. The squatter child determines the nature of his relationship with his situation as a Gestalt, but also with the constituent parts of the situation. At a squatter home the squatter child continuously orientates himself in relation to the squatter environment as whole, to himself, to the social worker, to his peers, to things/ideas and to God. It is therefore important to take a closer look at these relationships of the squatter child that are found within his life-world (Geber & Newman, 1980:36).

3.3 THE LIFE-WORLD OF THE SQUATTER CHILD

These children are environmentally deprived and are characterised by the display of poor self-concept (they have limited self-confidence and this is often exacerbated by failure); limited motivation; perceptual deficiencies; poor creativity; language deficiencies; obscured or darkened future perspective; confusion about moral and cultural norms; rejection of authority and the establishment and alienation from parents (Le Roux, 1993:92).

In support of the abovementioned view Kapp (1991:126) says that environmentally deprived children (squatter

children) find themselves in a life situation which is generally characterised by:

- . an impoverished environment that is devoid of opportunity;
- . unstable interpersonal relationships;
- . inadequate cognitive development;
- . a culturally different educational level, and
- . a poor residential area with conditions such as overcrowded housing, noise, crime and other socio-pathological phenomena.

These characteristics are a clear indication of the squatter child's inability to form meaningful relationships.

In the South African squatter areas parents have limited time for contact with their children, with the result that the child's needs for communication remains unfulfilled - the child therefore experiences stress, frustration, fear, confusion, loneliness and insecurity (Le Roux, 1992:87). In this regard Kapp (1991:125-126)

notes the fact that these children grow up in an inadequate physical environment. Inadequate housing and overcrowding cause the child to have little privacy or room to study. It is this atmosphere that generates anger, violence and the disruption of traditionally stable community structures for the squatter children. It therefore goes without saying that the squatter child's relations to his parents and the home as a secure environment cannot be developed adequately in an environmentally deprived home.

According to Wolff (1973:61) children exposed to excessive stresses become maladjusted and require a psychological treatment approach. Deprived and inadequately socialised children (squatter children) display delinquent behaviour and require social training. For the squatter child the law of the squatter environment prevails. The squatter child shows almost no respect for values. He does not identify himself with the well-behaved youth groupings; in actual fact, he presents a deeply-rooted suspicion towards all authoritative institutions which may resemble a squatter home as well as his family, the school and other accepted social structures. The whole of this contention has been supported by Sibeko (1993) whom I interviewed about the general behaviour and attitude of the children in the vicinity.

The inadequate relations of the squatter child regarding formal education and towards himself are clearly evident. Scott (1993:6-7) maintains that once these children are at school, they soon lose any belief they might have harboured about their abilities or competence to attain school learning goals due to constant failure. They soon develop externally-controlled attributions, blaming the environment and adults for their circumstances and failures. Scott (1993:7) further argues that the result of losing this belief is low self-efficacy, low self-esteem and no incentive to engage in so-called appropriate learning behaviour, since this will heighten their feelings of inadequacy and low self-esteem. When the squatter children experience conflicting goals, as they do every day given the abnormal and dismal circumstances, the stronger value is definitely not one attached to learning.

In an attempt to cope financially, they hang around the street corners and the shops. There they way-lay smaller children sent to the shops to buy, and rob them of their money. Some go to the extent of exploiting young girls. The proficiency of juvenile delinquent actions carried out by most of the squatter boys do not end at the street corners and in dark shadows at night, but they go to the station and bus-stops and there mingle with the workers

and start their pick-pocketing campaign, usually on Fridays. The braver ones do not just pick-pocket but will actually relieve a poor defenceless old man of his whole wages by force. At times they will quickly and painfully deposit a brick over the head of the victim and empty his pockets the minute his cadaver touches the ground (Geber & Newman, 1980:41).

It becomes clearly evident that the squatter child cannot form a meaningful life-world because of his inadequate attribution of meaning. This eventually will determine the relationships he forms with himself, others, ideas, values and God. The quality of both meaning and involvement is determined by what the squatter child subjectively experiences and both are of inadequate quality, so that adequate self-actualization cannot be realised. The squatter child's relationships will therefore be an expression of his particular life-world, however inadequate his life-world may be actualised.

3.3.1 Relationship with himself

Initially it is the child's body that acts as agent between himself and the world: it tells him whether it is hot or cold, his senses enable him to get to know something about the world. His body determines how he

will be seen by others, as a boy or a girl, as fair or dark, and so forth. Thus he comes to know himself, even to know himself by a certain name (Dreyer & Duminy, 1985:23).

(1) Corporeality

It would be quite appropriate at this stage to examine the meaning of corporeality in terms of the child's physical development (Dreyer & Duminy, 1985:33-34; Nel & Urbani, 1990:5):

- his body allows him to move about, explore, and discover what the world is like;
- it is by means of his body that the child comes to know how and what the outside world is like;
- it is through the body that the child orientates himself;
- the child discovers himself through his body; and
- by means of his body the child is in dialogue with others in his world.

Geber and Newman (1980:50) observe the following regarding squatter children, which is common to all children of the deprived communities, namely that they are always starving and that their health is also always poor, because of under-nourishment. These children lead a life that is different from either that of the working or middle class. This is confirmed by Moalusi (1992:218) who in his survey of squatter children discovered that of the 60 pupils involved in his study, 51,67% reported that they always experience hunger at school and 18 of the pupils reported that they occasionally feel hungry at school. Only 11 of the respondents reported that they never experience hunger at school. They move around dirty and dressed in rags and tatters when they are at home. This state of poverty causes these children to behave very aggressively in most instances.

The squatter child often finds himself being close to criminal acts or even committing the criminal acts. According to Shaw and McKay (Le Roux, 1993:109) crime is culturally transmitted through personal and group contacts, and that the lack of effective social control agencies also contributes to the high incidence of crime in squatter areas. What actually exacerbates the problem of criminal acts amongst the squatter youth is the fact that there are no recreational facilities in these areas (Le Roux, 1993:91), with which children can be occupied.

As a result the children have nothing constructive to do and are therefore idle. It is believed that the outcome of the lack of sport and recreational facilities is the development of unacceptable behavioural habits such as stealing, experimenting with drugs, drug addiction, pick-pocketing and gangsterism.

According to Le Roux (1993:93) the environment in which the child grows up plays an important role in the direction and outcome of his development, while a supportive environment facilitates development. In applying this view to the development of a squatter child, it must be agreed and accepted that the depriving nature of the squatter areas impedes the child's development.

(2) Psychic life

(a) Inadequate exploration

According to Sonnekus (1985:52) exploration cannot be thought of apart from the child's initiative to learn and that each moment of exploration, whether purposeful or non-purposeful, results in learning. In this exploration the child explores those aspects of reality which depict both known and unknown characteristics. From the discussion of sensing it became evident that exploration

as such cannot be thought of occurring outside of the activity of learning since the child, when exploring, always becomes aware of something, perceives something, thinks about something, and so forth.

When education takes an unfavourable course, it always gives rise to anxiety. This in turn acts as an impediment to the child in his development. His feeling of insecurity is often revealed as a reluctance to explore, thus resulting in the inadequate actualising of his psychic life. The wheel turns full circle as his anxiety is necessarily increased by the very fact of his inadequate exploration of his world. The opportunities for him to actualise his psychic life with reference to specific educational contents also diminish because he prefers to withdraw from that which appears to him to be strange or new (Van Niekerk, 1987:21).

Those stances or attitudes which the squatter child assumes in exploring his world and which he fails to personally integrate, give rise to emotional lability; if the undigested experiences increase in number, he is eventually driven into an effective no man's land where he suffers from feelings of anxiety, insecurity, helplessness, uncertainty, dependence, loneliness and inferiority (Pretorius, 1972:51). According to Ter Horst

(1973:79) the child withdraws into his own world which to him has the resemblance of safety, yet actually intensifies his anxiety. The squatter child uses cheap intoxicants to create his illusion of safety but in fact only intensifies his anxiety. Lersch (1970:331-357) also mentions feelings of pessimism, dissatisfaction, a lack of self-confidence and inferiority, all which are clearly evident in the life-world of the squatter child.

Wolff (1973:160-161) acknowledges the fact that these children are faced with multiple handicaps, namely, genetic, medical, psychological and social disadvantages, each of which decreases the chances of success at school and in the wider world. The educational and social failure of the children from squatter areas in turn provides the trigger for much aggressive and delinquent behaviour. This occurs especially in adolescence when childhood, with its ostensibly limitless potentialities, ends and the individual is forced to recognise and accept that his adult roles are now restricted forever. Eventually the squatter child develops a negative attitude toward life which in turn becomes a defensive attitude. Muller-Eckhard (1966:80, 86) explains that this defensive attitude may be a flight to the fore (aggression), into oneself (isolation) or into the past (regression). The child cannot take up any new position

and only accepts that which is totally familiar to him. He feels that he is a captive, and impotent to change.

A child's reluctance to explore also gives proof of the fact that the volitional education, i.e. education directed at developing the child's will, has been neglected. Unwillingness to actively participate in the task of becoming an adult is rarely evinced by an affectively stable child (Van Niekerk, 1987:21). This reluctance of will is one of the major problems facing the squatter child.

Pretorius (1972:50) mentions the fact that experiences on pathic level of feeling have the implication of pathic unrest. Such a child (the squatter child) is usually labile, confused and disorientated concerning the gnostic import of experiences. It inhibits the child's desires and initiative in various ways. Pretorius (1972:50-51) highlights further examples of factors which have been assumed to have a direct relevance to a squatter child. They are as follows:

- the child wishes to become someone in his own right but he is held in check and remains immature;

- he is forced to adopt an expectant attitude despite the fact that as a person he is endowed with the initiative to create relationships, feel rejected;
- he would like to feel worthy, and feels inferior instead;
- he desires stability and seeks understanding, but regards himself as misunderstood;
- he craves support to realise his full potential, but constantly seems to be dispossessed of his potentialities; and
- he wishes to submit to true authority, but experiences a total absence of it.

(b) Inadequate emancipation

The person who the child is constantly becoming, corresponds with his anticipated image of self (Van Niekerk, 1987:22-23). If this image is unclear or unattainable as in the case of the squatter child, he will eventually accept that it is in actual fact unreachable and will at a later stage regard himself as nothing and useless.

Van Niekerk (1987:23) in his explanation of "emancipating" says it means that the child is realising or actualising the potential he is endowed with as a person as it pertains to his various abilities. The child (squatter child) who "under-estimates" his potential is in actual fact limited to actualising only his supposedly inferior potential. According to Van Niekerk (1987:23) there is proof of a weakened will in respect of his real potential, especially in an emancipatory sense. This in the end results in reluctance to become a proper adult.

Sonnekus (1985:53) maintains that the absence of an educator/parent in the life-world of a squatter child gives rise to the situation where no purposeful support is given with regard to his emancipation. The fostering within him of the will to become what he ought to become according to his potential, is also absent.

(c) Inadequate distantiation

A child in a dysfunctional educational setting usually takes inadequate distance from himself and his situatedness. This fact therefore brings a controversy regarding the way in which the child will set about

learning (Van Niekerk, 1987:23). In failing to take sufficient distance from himself, the squatter child is therefore less able to adopt the attitude for truly involving himself with the things of this world which are outside of himself. This inability to experience matters and assign meaning to them in adequately dissociated, controlled and well-organised gnostic manner by means of his perceptions, thoughts, etc. bring about a further degree of pathic-affective lability.

Van Niekerk (1987:23) further mentions that the child in effect fails to adequately control his emotional life by means of his reason. The insecure child, of which the squatter child is a suitable example, finds it difficult to risk moving from the mode of sensing to perceiving, and onward to thinking, imaging and memorising, as he is hindered by anxiety and emotional unrest. A labile mode of sensing also usually causes the child to fluctuate when he tries to attend to something on a gnostic level (Sonnekus, 1985:53).

(d) Inadequate differentiation

In a dysfunctional education setting a child is reluctant to fully actualise his potential and accordingly also reveals a reluctance to differentiate (Van Niekerk,

1987:24). When his cognitive education is neglected he may initially still prove to be willing to differentiate according to his ability. The inadequate disclosure of real facts by the educator does not, however, give the child a sufficient opportunity to actualise and practise his intellectual potential, by way of differentiation as the proper guidance and instruction are simply lacking. This reluctance to fully actualise his potential results in the child's failure at school.

Wolff (1973:167) has pointed out that failure at school for whatever reason is one of the major stresses in childhood which can set the stage for lifelong feelings of inferiority. The experience of school failure is particularly damaging for development because it often lasts throughout the whole of his school career. The psychological defences he must use to cope with the chronic anxieties aroused by this situation only add to his difficulties. Most commonly the child who fails appears not to care at all about his shortcomings. His coping mechanisms serve only to make his position in the classroom even more untenable. Inadequate intellectual education implied that the squatter child fails to achieve the necessary opportunity to differentiate the potentialities he has been endowed with as a person.

(e) Inadequate objectification

When a child is over-protected or rejected, or when too much is consistently expected of him, he feels that he is not at total liberty to let go of himself, his fellow-man and material things in order to view himself, his parents, other people and the realities of life objectively. He is consequently unable to discover the factual nature of matters (Van Niekerk, 1987:24).

If that which should be said, done and known is insufficiently modelled or instructed to the child, he is not receiving adequate and real support toward eventually taking an objective stance. In the classroom or at home the educator must always try to answer the child's questions concerning reality as adequately as possible. If the child's questions are ignored or answered unsatisfactorily, this child who is busy actualising his personal potential, achieves only an uncertain or wavering grasp on the content, which he admits he does not fully know (Van Niekerk, 1987:24-25). Consequently his awareness of his ignorance, and his quest for knowledge are both intensified. In this case the squatter child's affects may then become increasingly labile, especially because he knows that he does not know. It may also lead to a lack of organisation and

insufficient structuring in respect of his quest for knowledge, so that he fails to discover the essentials of life (Van Niekerk, 1987:25).

Ironically, he tries to escape the danger by retreating into an experiential world which is already dangerous, and by safeguarding himself by way of passivity, thus further decreases his gnostic-cognitive mobility. Action and activity consequently comes to a halt, hence the squatter child's orientation is inadequate.

(f) Inadequate learning

It is of great importance to note that with educational help, and by learning understanding, forming meaningful relationships, and constituting a life-world, the child progressively orientates himself in regard to the constituents of his environment (Vrey, 1987:37). Thus learning, development, understanding, and forming relationships are modes or ways of interacting with the environment. According to Piaget (Lefrancois, 1989:139) to learn is to relate to the environment, to become acquainted with the nature of the environment, and to understand its essential meaning. In the case of a squatter child, it becomes difficult for the child to learn adequately since the social nature of the squatter

area does not facilitate the acquisition of basic social skills and a social conscience, which means that the social setting (squatter environment) impedes the child's development. Le Roux (1993:108) acknowledges the impediment of the squatter child thereby indicating that growing up in a climate of normative confusion and instability often results in alienation and rejection of formal education.

The child's fund of experience reflects a hierarchy of values and significance, which reflect the way in which things have been meaningfully experienced, for example, stabile or labile in the affective sense, or cognitively organised or disorganised. Those experiences which have not become meaningfully integrated constantly force themselves to awareness. In his efforts to learn, he experiences difficulties in breaking through these subjective moments of sensing in order to focus on the material to be learned in an organised way. This is the pre-requisite to remaining involved with or paying attention to the contents by way of perceiving, thinking and so forth (Van Niekerk, 1987:26).

It follows that the possibility always exists for affective lability to occur, resulting in a destabilisation of the sensing mode of learning which

initiates all learning and which should accompany the cognitive modes. The child in that situation also develops the feeling that he is unable to learn adequately. This eventually leads to an intensification of his feelings of anxiety, insecurity and ignorance. Such a condition can be envisaged as a wall which has arisen between the squatter child's learning potential and his effective learning, instead of the bridge which normally exists when he feels secure in his lived-experience of love, acceptance, encouragement, warmth, and so forth, which enable him to fully realise his learning potential (Van Niekerk, 1987:280).

3.3.2 Relationship with others

During the pre-school period the child's relationship with others are mainly centred around his family members most particularly the parents. However, when the child goes to school he automatically extends these relationships to include his peers, his teachers and many other people.

(1) Relationship with parents

In our society there are forces and influences at work that disturb and impede the relationships between parents

and children to such an extent that child rearing and education are not adequately realised. In countless cases a generation gap has developed between parents and children because, owing to societal factors, they are unfamiliar with one another's situations and are also no longer capable of communicating with one another (Le Roux, 1993:3-4).

According to Mwamwenda (1990:222-223) a child who does not receive love and good care from his parents is likely to have no respect for them and may well extend this perception of adults to all the other figures of authority in his life, including his teachers and school itself. Often parents are unable to control their children when children are preoccupied with problems at home such as poverty and marital problems experienced by parents. It seems as though the traditional role of the parent in the Black urban area has in many ways become contra-productive, due to the fact that the values upheld by the family to the present, are opposed by the children (Van Niekerk, 1987:16). These parents cannot fulfil the basic educational needs of their children (squatter children), and it becomes the task of the formal schooling system to help bring about the change. The absence of compulsory education for Black children means that the basic educational needs of squatter children may never be met.

Kapp (1991:151-152) also maintains that the influence of family relationships and the family environment on the child's success at school, is well known. Many researchers have proven that problems in the family environment inhibit the child's scholastic progress. Insecurity, family disharmony, family incompleteness, the inability of parents to offer the child continual affective and spiritual security in a confused society and under economic pressure are all factors that affect the squatter child's relationship with his parents. It often happens that parents, as the primary educators, contribute to inhibiting the squatter child's learning and personality characteristics, which eventually lead to under-achievement at school.

According to the Centre for Intergroup Studies (1990:54) the squatter child's relationship with his parents is affected through the following factors:

- **Poverty and starvation:** This results from the unemployment of parents and from financial problems. These children experience deprivation at an early age. As this threatens their physiological needs, it places them in a very disadvantaged position at a very tender age.

- **Inadequate housing:** Lack of accommodation, overcrowding and squatting threaten their security as they do not experience stable family life.
- **Social discrimination:** It threatens their sense of belonging and their self-identity.
- **Social unrest:** This embodies a lot of community disruption because of the violence. The concomitant anxiety results in anger and confusion and exposes children to traumatic stress at a very tender age when they have not yet developed any coping skills.
- **The state of emergency:** The state of emergency represses community self-expression. This means that there are always simmering undercurrents which result in eruptions that cannot be explained.

(a) **The importance of these relations**

The first institution to provide for the child's self-actualization is the family, hence parents. The family (parents) is all-important in the rearing of a child. Cooper (Cemane, 1990:2) states that the parents:

- offer the experience of warm, loving and intimate and consistently dependable relationships;

- secure the physical and material provision, care, health and security of their members (children), either through their own resources or through the competent use of specialised help and services;
- acknowledge their task of socialising children, encouraging children's personal development and abilities, guiding children's behavioural interests and forming their attitudes and values;
- co-operate with schools and the wider community in providing educational and learning experiences; and
- offer support to children as they are gaining independence and during the establishment of their own married and working life.

The child is subject to constant change, as he is a person in the process of becoming or developing (Van Niekerk, 1987:4). He himself has an important role to play in bringing about this change by actualising his psychic-life within an educational setting. At any given moment the child therefore finds himself to be at a specific level of development, which can in turn be referred to as being the pedagogically attained level. The immediate objective is always to have this level

coincide with the child's pedagogically attainable level. This means that the child should be guided and looked after in such a way that he will give proof within the context of his daily life of increasing responsibility, identification with norms, freedom, etc., according to his own capabilities. The squatter child is unable to receive this guidance.

There is no child that automatically becomes an adult, but both the purposeful interaction of the adult and the child actualising his potential are integrally implied in the event. Le Roux (1993:102) maintains that as a person the child is involved in a dialogue with the world surrounding him. He actively reaches out to his world because he wishes to give meaning to it in order to discover its meaningfulness, basically because he wishes to be somebody in his own right and wants eventually to become an adult himself.

The squatter child's experiencing of reality from a psychopedagogic perspective, does not allow him to determine what opportunities are available for emancipation that the squatter child experiences always has a negative meaning. This results in the psychic life of the squatter child being pedagogically inadequately actualised. This directly refers to the modes of his

exploring, emancipating, distantiating, objectification and differentiating, which are in the same event inadequately actualised in terms of the pedagogical norm (Van Niekerk, 1987:6-8). The squatter child is therefore impeded in his progress towards adulthood.

Sonnekus (1976:124-129) also identifies matters such as the physical care of the child; social well-being, affective neglect which could occur in various ways, e.g. by too much or too little petting or lack of togetherness; inconsistent educational attitudes of the parents which signify an incoherent and disjointed approach to the child, confusing him and causing feelings of insecurity; material problems, where tensions exist between the parents; and broken marriages, where the child may feel that he has been rejected or neglected by one or both parents. The neglect of the physical, social and affective aspects of the squatter child are therefore all contributing factors to his negative situatedness, that is, a dysfunction of the pedagogic situation.

(b) The parents as a causative factor in regard to the squatter child's environment

In culturally impoverished homes (squatter homes) there is little space, little by way of play material and there

are few books. Parents are too preoccupied with their own troubles to interest themselves in their children's achievements. The children play out of doors most of the time. Parents and children in squatter areas do less together and communicate less often and less proficiently with each other verbally. Families are larger, the noise level within the home is high, and young children may often not hear what is being said (Wolff, 1973:168).

Wolff (1973:168) further argues that fathers, in these culturally impoverished homes, tend to leave educational matters to their wives and play little part even in the choice of the child's schooling matters. When children from such homes arrive at school they often prove disappointing to their teachers and consequently to themselves and their performance over the years declines. There can be little doubt that parents or guardians of squatter children do not really understand their children's physical, emotional and cognitive needs, and therefore also cannot interpret their behaviour, or how to discourage and to deal with improper acts.

Values also cannot change overnight. It takes generations to change a society's social behaviour. In this respect parents play the most important, and often the only part. However, especially in both Black

townships and squatter camps, a general phenomenon prevalent is that many parents have in fact surrendered to their own children, who will not accept parental authority. The result is that these parents do not know how to exercise educational authority, and as a result there is diminished trust and understanding (Centre for Intergroup Studies, 1990:56).

According to Thomas and James (Geber & Newman, 1980:51) the children who lack parental care and supervision begin to feel the importance of independence. They are left the whole day to do whatever they wish and in this way the hatred of parental control crops in. They begin to hate control by anybody. When they come to school age they cannot be told to do anything which they do not want to do. What happens to these children (squatter children) during the day and what they do is as dark to the parents as is daylight to the blind man. When the school comes out these children may be compelled by hunger to go home; if they are not hungry they are likely to go with their friends to the play-grounds and they will leave when they realise it is time to go home and do their daily routine. This they will do haphazardly so as to avoid punishment from their parents.

In this relationship an educational backlog becomes evident. There is a dead-lock in the dialogue between the adult and the child, resulting in a stressful situation that warrants intervention so that the child can be supported towards what he ought to be. When this situation of a strained relationship between the child and the parent is evident, the child's level of development does not coincide with his attainment level (Van Niekerk, 1987:42).

This means that there is under-actualization in all the modes of becoming and learning and the squatter child's progress towards adulthood is hampered or interfered with. Although the squatter child has a potential of achieving adulthood, a stressful education situation often hinders his development.

(c) Errors in the parent-child relationship

Van Niekerk (1987:14-20) has pointed out that the dysfunction of the pedagogical situation is as a result of specific errors in relationships with the child. These errors may be summarised under the following headings:

(i) Lack of security

Lubbers (1971:55, 75) declares that when a person fails to meaningfully integrate that which is offered to him by life, yet on the other hand cannot make his peace with it either, that matter becomes an indeterminable burden which allows no escape. This burden makes itself felt in a generalised sense of unease and unhappiness, which is barely definable. Environmental problems affect a child adversely with regard to his meaningful experiences, his knowledge, volition and behaviour. If a child is not offered a guarantee by his parents or educators, he is exposed to danger and no longer exists in close connection with adults.

(ii) Obscured future perspective

According to Erasmus and Van Greunen (Scott, 1993:5-6) children from very poor families manifest a disoriented future perspective. They identify with the poor model of parents and older children in their environment, and due to the negative attitude towards knowledge acquisition, citizen duties, training and work, the child is not ready to go to school. The negative attitudes of the parents are thus implanted in the child. Squatter children also manifest perceptual and language deficiencies, limited

motivation, low self-concepts, little self-confidence and a lack of self-actualization.

Ter Horst (1973:97) maintains that the educators in this context represent past, present and future to the child. When the educators ignore their educational responsibility, there are no memories, stories, photo albums, other people or even objects to bind the child to his past. If the child's future is obscured as the child sees it, there is little to look forward to or to expect and the child therefore makes no future plans.

(iii) Affective or emotional neglect

Emotionally neglected children are not handicapped in the usual sense. Most of them have no permanent psychological defect for which allowances must be made. They are, as a rule, children reacting with normal psychological mechanisms to excesses in their lives, and their behavioural disorders require to be understood in the light of these stresses (Wolff, 1973:64).

The unfavourable course that education may run, always implies that the educational relationships are likewise being inadequately realised (Van Niekerk, 1987:15). A child may consequently experience little or no sense in relationships. This results in his being "unwilling" to

risk total involvement with any educator. A lack of mutual trust, understanding and sympathetic authoritative guidance always implies that the child must suffer neglect in respect of not only his effective, but also his intellectual and moral development. He will consequently explore the educational contents inadequately, so that the educational encounter is inadequately performed by his pre-cognitive reconnaissance. Destabilised trust and confidence then indeed lead to half-heartedness by suppressing the urge to explore.

Van Niekerk (1987:122) acknowledges the fact that when the educator fails to grant the child the opportunity to experience trust and faith, he actually becomes a threat to the child. He then inadequately pre-forms the child's actualization of his psychic life in respect of his significant personal experience, his will, his knowledge and his behaviour. The child remains more immature than could be expected. A child who lacks trust and confidence is labile or even impulsive in his emotional life. Whenever it is impossible for the child to trust and to have faith in his educators the relationship of understanding is also bound to fail because such educators do not really understand the child or what is happening to him. They have little insight into the full implications of his distress.

According to Le Roux (1992:94) the neglect of the child's upbringing as a result of increasingly tense marital relationships or impending divorce, changing family structures and poor parent-child relationships can cause the teenager to become emotionally unstable. Feelings of stress, anxiety, insecurity and loneliness can cause teenagers to resort to the use of alcohol. Teenagers often try to attract a parent's attention by their drinking habits. A lack of mutual trust, mutual understanding and unconditional acceptance in the family situation creates an unfavourable basis for attaining adulthood adequately. As a result of his experience of the anti-child culture, the teenager often experiences whilst growing up.

Van Niekerk (1987:11) further argues that when the adult, who is the more responsible person, does not take care that the conditions for adequate education are met, the child is usually affectively, intellectually and morally neglected. The parent indeed rarely has an excuse when a young child before reaching puberty fails to actualise his full potential. When puberty occurs, the situation changes in that the child now begins to assert his own identity. The adults "neglect of duty" especially lies in his failure to carry out the educative task as he ought to, and consequently allowing the fundamental

pedagogical structures to be inadequately realised. It is in this case impossible to adequately initiate or maintain the relationships, course and progress, activities, and aims of education. It is not suggested that this neglect is always intentional.

(iv) Rejection of the child

The "pedagogic relationship" is characterized by trust, love, acceptance, authority and understanding. It is a bond that exists between the adult and the child, both cognitively and affectively. The child can appeal for this relationship in many ways. The fact that the child is dependent, helpless, inexperienced, unskilled and incompetent is proof of the necessity of this relationship. If the adult does not avail himself and answer to the appeal, rejection is eminent. Cull and Hardy (1975:31) maintain that the rejection of either or both parents by the child is certainly an important factor in demonstrated, aggressive behaviour on the child's part. Many squatter children feel rejected and react with overt aggression toward parents and the family units. Rejected children generally show a marked tendency toward an increased resistance and quarrelling in relationship with adults. They also show considerable sibling rivalry.

When an educator does not spontaneously accept, but in fact rejects a child, the latter immediately feels that he is not being accepted and is thought of as unwelcome. He then experiences insecurity and anxiety. This intuitive knowledge (felt knowledge) eventually drives him to withdraw from the educational relationship, thus inhibiting any true encounter. The child also refuses to identify with the educator and consequently also loses out on the formative or moulding value of identification (Van Niekerk, 1987:17).

(v) The inadequate exercise of authority

The rejection or inadequacy of authority and the lack of respect for adults, both parents and teachers, is a consequence of absent and insensitive parenting. It affects the child's adjustment to school, his willingness to take on the responsibilities appropriate to his work, to follow instruction and to respond to guidance. It also makes the peer group a very powerful controlling and socialising force (Geber & Newman, 1980:57).

Kotze (1972:55) indicates that problems furthermore arise in the child's educational situation when authority is constantly wielded in an unsympathetic, inconsistent, loveless or dictatorial manner, but also when no

authority is exercised at all. When a child is confronted with too many commands and/or demands, when too much is expected of him he regards most of these restrictions to be devoid of meaning; the great number of impressions alone could give rise to uncertainty within him.

(vi) Disregarding the child as a unique person

Giddings and Mackler (Moalusi, 1992:239) argue the point that it is difficult to teach disadvantaged children (squatter children) because their parents are not interested in education and therefore do not present their offspring with favourable educational attitudes, for example, parents who send pupils on errands during school time. The child can also feel that his father's activities are more important to his parents than he is; or he can feel that his mother is disregarding him as a person when she is actually encouraging, scolding, warning or praising him with the best of intentions.

Van Niekerk (1987:19) acknowledges that the way in which the child is greeted by a parent or his teacher; the way in which a question is asked about his activities; in which he is instructed or forbidden to do certain things; the tone in which appreciation is expressed - indeed, every communicative interaction between the educator and

the child derives its real significance from the child's experiential world in a unique way.

(d) Awareness of the family's nature

Le Roux (1993:84-85) sees the secure environment of the home as providing the child with the following important aspects which are significant in the child's efforts of becoming:

- home should be a haven for the child, a place where he can experience acceptance, respect, positive regard, love and consideration;
- home should be where the child learns respect for other people, objects, values and for himself;
- home should be the basic unit in which the child is educated;
- home should be where his social, physical, moral, affective, cognitive, conative and spiritual potentials are adequately and appropriately stimulated;
- home should be where the needs of the child are met, not only his basic needs for food, shelter and protection, but also his higher order needs, for

example, need to belong to the family and the community, need to be valued by others and by himself, and need to succeed in realising his potential; and

- home should be where socialisation ought to originate.

The problem that faces the squatter child is that his life-world is deprived of this vital component for his successful exploration, emancipation, differentiation, distantiation and objectification. That is why the majority of children growing up in squatter areas experience educational distress, meaning that they are educationally impeded in their development.

(2) The squatter child's relationship with his teachers

Some teachers only too readily believe that children's "problems" should be ascribed solely to his own shortcomings or to a specific neglect of duty by the parents. They consequently ignore the fact that the teacher himself may also be instrumental in bringing about a problem situation. In this connection, Mays (Van Niekerk, 1987:12) states that it can arise from two

possible sources: "First, from the incompetence or malignity of a member of staff who either wittingly or unwittingly mishandles a pupil."

According to Dreyer and Duminy (Kapp, 1991:142) didactic neglect is usually closely associated with poor and inadequate relationships between pupils and teachers. Such poor relationships cause tension and conflict which are most detrimental to effective learning: "A child who does not like a teacher, or who is rejected by the teacher, psychologically 'closes' himself in the teaching-learning situation, with the result that a lot of information and facts will go by unnoticed for that child". Gaps and discrepancies in the child's present knowledge that originate in this way often lead to learning problems and, if they persist, may lead to serious didactic neglect.

(3) Relationship with peers

Dreyer and Duminy (1985:221-222) point out very clearly that the child's social play activities are very intimately connected with peer relationships. As soon as the child notices that his peers are people from whom he can learn and wants to learn he associates and identifies with his peers and evaluates his achievements against theirs. As his relationships with his peers become more

intensive and co-operative in nature, he also discovers that these relationships may be of acceptance or rejection, avoidance or being avoided, being chosen or not chosen, etc. In most cases the peer group with whom the squatter child associates only reinforces unwanted behavioural habits.

(a) **Friendship**

According to Vrey (1987:170) close friendship is the most important relationship an adolescent can form with a peer. Physical presence does not ensure real encounter or psychological closeness. The most meaningful friendships arise where the parties meet as equals, feel at home with one another and feel free to share the most intimate secrets, the most private thoughts and emotions.

Inkatha Institute (1990:12) states that belonging to a group is a common way of achieving a sense of identity. Group membership is particularly important to youth in any society. The adolescence is a period when the individual breaks away from parental influence and seeks support and acknowledgement of peers. It is also a time characterised by idealism and peers usually understand each other better. As a result they form groups based on a shared ideal, whatever it may be, and this group acts

as a support system. Inkatha Institute (1990:13) further indicates that the "lack of control" over personal life and feelings of worthlessness experienced by the squatter children seem to have led to a diminished self-image in the vast majority of squatter populations.

(b) Heterosexual relationships

Before heterosexual relationships can be formed, a well-established sexual identity is needed. Three overlapping phases in a child's psychosexual development can be distinguished. Sexual identity is the first. Starting with pink or blue baby-clothes, the child learns that he is a boy or she is a girl. The next phase is the acquisition of masculine or feminine skills - typical behaviour that becomes automatic, such as neatness and daintiness in girls, or playing with dolls, while boys enjoy rougher games. The third phase is sex-linked values, knowledge and attitudes, the latter being culturally determined to a considerable degree (Vrey, 1987:171-172).

The boy-girl relationship is extremely important to the child's self-actualization and self-reliance. Inkatha Institute (1990:39) maintains that the "picking up of girls" can be seen as a natural process under normal

circumstances in most societies. This is, in many cases, not the case in squatter areas. Even love and relationships tend to be a result of boredom, especially on the part of the male youth. Young males who spend their time drinking in the shebeens or doing nothing at home see, in many cases, their relationships with the opposite sex as nothing but a barrier against boredom.

(c) Social acceptance

According to Vrey (1987:170) in every peer group there are adolescents who are generally popular and others who are generally rejected. Poorly-accepted adolescents are often moody, sad, anxious and insecure. Cause and effect are closely interwoven. A child rejected by his peers on account of his moodiness will become even more moody. As they grow older, other norms for acceptance develop; however physical achievements in sport, together with friendliness and sociability are always held in esteem by the community and remains therefore prevalent in the hierarchy of norms for acceptance by others.

In this case the child growing up in a squatter area feels rejected as a member of the group and is isolated from the main stream of interaction and positive peer support. He reacts to this situation by displaying deviant behaviour (Le Roux, 1993:108).

Healy and Bronner (Le Roux, 1993:109) view anti-social behaviour as unsatisfactory adjustment of the environment, because the child does not feel secure in his family and is not accepted by his peers. The child feels deprived and inadequate and has not found socially acceptable channels for satisfying his needs. Le Roux (1993:91), in response to the physical achievements in sport regarding the squatter child, acknowledges the fact that the squatter areas lack sport and recreational facilities, as a result, the children have nothing constructive to do and are therefore idle.

(4) Relationship with welfare workers

Due to political violence that has ravaged the squatter communities, it is difficult for the social workers to get into the squatter areas and attend to the social problems that are encountered by the squatters almost every day. Because of that volatile situation, the adolescents have developed a culture of no trust to any outsider. But what is common in squatter areas is that they differ in the sense that some squatter youths simply fight an outsider whereas others will welcome an outsider very warmly, in this case a social worker. Those who usually display a positive attitude towards a social worker are the children who have already benefited most in terms of their environmental problems.

Dlamini (1993), a social worker at Emaweleni in Umlazi stated that they also meet these children who come from squatter homes at their schools. She said that even if the child comes from a "no-go" area in terms of its volatility, they then simply arrange with the school principal to immediately request the parent to come to school so that they can begin their campaign as social workers to help wherever possible. Usually after having assisted the needy children the relationships become normal and positive. Dlamini (1993) also said that because of the squatter children's past bad experiences with officialdom, i.e. parents, social workers, teachers, police, etc. they tend to be very suspicious persons when confronted with formal questioning and actually display a rebellious attitude.

(5) Relationships with the South African police

Mkhize (1993), a policeman stationed at Umlazi Police Station indicated that since there is a lot of anti-social behavioural practices amongst the squatter youth the policeman automatically becomes a victim to most of the squatter youth because they immediately conclude that the presence of a policeman in squatter areas means an arrest to them. These anti-social behavioural habits include crime, drug abuse, gangsterism, etc.

This negative attitude amongst the squatter youth towards policemen has also been compounded by the police involvement in the demolishing of the squatter homes almost in the entire country during the times of severe forced removals. Some of the youth witnessed it themselves and some were told about these forced removals. Orentlicher (1988:4) maintains that at Crossroads squatter camps, armed security-force personnel would sometimes arrive in a community, dismantle the squatter homes, load the residents and their possessions onto government trucks, and dump the entire settlement on the other side of the homeland border.

Orentlicher (1988:8) further highlighted that the hardship of the squatter life at Crossroads squatter camp in Cape Town was exacerbated by the constant fear that police would sweep into and demolish the squatter camps or arrest the inhabitants for having violated the prohibitions on squatting. Generally speaking the relationships between the police and the squatter children are perceived to be unpleasant and unharmonious due to the children's past political experiences and anti-social behaviour of the youth such as stealing, drug abuse, pick-pocketing, robbery, etc.

(a) Crimes committed by squatter children

According to Gross (Inkatha Institute, 1990:14) a political grouping is the relatively large number of youths in the townships and squatter areas who become delinquent and gravitate toward the criminal element within their society. These individuals join groups that are governed by lawlessness and anti-social behaviour, they are not necessarily politically motivated or aware but often use political slogans and group names to justify their actions. It is also noted that the origin of lawlessness, of anti-social, and anti-law and anti-authority attitudes of today's delinquent squatter youth is based on unsatisfactory home life, depressed socio-economic conditions and political handicaps.

Merton, Thrasher and McKay (Le Roux, 1993:108-109) pointed out that, where there is a discrepancy between the institutionalised means available in the environment and the goals that individuals have learned to aspire to in their environment, strain or frustration is produced; norms break down, and deviant behaviour may result. Gang behaviour is a mode of adaptation to environmental pressure. They also state that crime is culturally transmitted through personal and group contacts and that the lack of effective social control agencies also

contributes to the high incidence of crime in squatter areas being committed by the squatter children themselves.

3.3.3 Relationship with things and ideas

The child is increasingly concerned with ideas in constituting his life-world. Like objects, people or the attitudes of people towards himself, ideas become important only when he becomes aware of their significance for him and their implications for his own identity (Vrey, 1987:177).

According to Dreyer and Duminy (1985:63) the cognitive aspect of the child's relationship with his world can be seen by the following intellectual maturity:

- to think in general terms, that is to understand and apply abstract ideas;
- to grasp new relationships and to group these into logical and coherent systems;
- to trace the meanings of many words, concepts and ideas and thereby to increase his vocabulary;

- to weigh different values objectively and to make important choices and decisions; and
- to gain a general insight into ideas, relationships and, particularly, into learning tasks at school.

The squatter child constitutes an inadequate life-world and this will eventually influence his relations to ideas. This child finds himself in an environment that makes it very difficult for him to transform his genetically acquired potential into actualities. His development towards adulthood is impeded (Le Roux, 1993:92).

(1) Dangers pertaining to the environment

Moalusi (1992:224) in his study of squatter children discovered that the majority of drop-outs, with reference to children in squatter camps found long distances to school to be a disturbing factor. The majority of pupils who have to travel daily to school, many of them having to walk long distances, become exhausted and occasionally miss their lesson periods. This may have adverse effects on their scholastic performance. Good health, punctuality and regular attendance of lesson periods is of vital importance, for success at school. Duma (1993)

a teacher at Hubhushe Higher Primary School in Umlazi also supported the abovementioned.

Wolff (1973:171) in support of the abovementioned maintains that emotional disturbance is frequently caused by academic failure. On the other hand it may itself contribute to a child's lack of success at school. Children with anti-social behavioural disorders have much higher rates of school failure than well-adjusted children. Such behaviour disorders amongst the squatter children tend to evoke negative responses from teachers so that the motivationally disturbed children are likely to drop even further behind and the chances of academic success become even more remote (Ngobese, 1993).

(2) Formal education

Many children do not go to school in squatter areas because they are required to help their aged or ill parents to fetch water from tanks or the river, and others remain at home and forego their education opportunities to look after their smaller brothers and sisters, while both parents have gone to work (Karodia, 1992:116). Moalusi (1992:234) in his study of the squatter children discovered that most of the parents are too poor to afford to buy books. Possibly many hoped

that books and stationery would be supplied free of charge and waited for a move to this effect from the Department of Education. They (parents) are poor and cannot afford to feed, clothe and spend for the education of their children. Formal education is severely hampered when children have no access to a basic commodity such as books (Duma, 1993).

(3) Academic performance

There appears to be a common thread linking pupils' aspirations to their academic achievement. It was also in squatter homes where one found low assessments of parents' attitudes to the child's education and future employment. As a result children do not exert themselves in their school work, hence their lower performance. Pupils who have lower career aspirations do not value higher achievement at school owing to lack of motivation at home (Moalusi, 1992:292). All the parents hope for is for the child to leave school at the earliest possible date and take whatever job offered the highest immediate wage, no matter how short-sighted such a policy might be (Ngobese, 1993).

(4) Possessions

Reynolds (1989:49) in his study states that the children at Crossroads squatter camps had very few personal

possessions. Among them they owned one broken bicycle, two broken wind-up cars, one ball, one length of skipping-twine and some hoopla wire. At different times during the year the boys owned cars but they usually broke or were stolen after a while. The children had six exercise books and three textbooks among them; some exercise books were kept at school. They also had eighteen utensils - mugs, plates, bowls - that were designated as the child's own and an average of sixteen items of clothing each. Reynolds (1989:49) further argues that it is impossible to say what impact their lack of possessions had on their learning. No doubt the lack of opportunity to manipulate, order and construct things that were made out of materials, uniform in shape, colour or texture towards particular ends rendered the children less confident when faced with formal tasks in a test situation.

(5) Personal health

Wolff (1973:164) maintains that malnutrition and severe chronic diseases, such as tuberculosis, have given rise to accidents and acute infections as the most common in children from overcrowded homes (in this case squatter homes). Accidents in general and road accidents in particular, occur more often to children from squatter areas, because they always play in the streets due to

lack of adequate playing space. Respiratory diseases, especially pneumonia, and burns are known to have the highest incidence among the children from the disadvantaged communities. Wolff (1973:165) further argues that children from the lowest socio-economic groups are more likely to be admitted to hospital for illnesses which, in another child, are treated at home. Diarrhoea, measles and whooping cough, for example, are conditions that often bring children from large, poorly housed families into a fever hospital. Squatter children too, especially as toddlers, are still at times sent to 'convalesce' because their home environment is thought to hinder rapid physical recovery. Squatter children are thus exposed to more experiences of deprivation of parental care and stimulation, and to more emotional stresses as a result of illness than children of the township residents.

(6) Self-concept

Often persons who are prone to runaway behaviour, like that of squatter children, show inadequate self-confidence and see themselves in negative ways. An individual who maintains a negative self-concept often continues to behave in accordance with his concept by way of expressing hostility (Cull & Hardy, 1975:32). Le Roux (1993:92) acknowledged that these children, who are

environmentally deprived, are characterised by the display of a poor self-concept, that is, they have limited self-confidence which is exacerbated by failure. Scott (1993:6-7) maintains that once at school, squatter children soon lose any belief they might have harboured about their abilities or competence to attain school learning goals due to constant failure. They develop externally-controlled attributions, blaming the environment and adults for their circumstances and failures. The result is low self-efficacy, low self-esteem and no incentive to engage in so-called appropriate learning behaviour, since this will only heighten their feelings of inadequacy and low self-esteem. When they experience conflicting goals, as they do every day given their abnormal and dismal circumstances, the stronger value is definitely not attached to learning.

3.3.4 Relationship with God

Dreyer and Duminy (1985:68) state that a recognition of the spiritual element in man's nature is the very foundation for forming the desired character of the child. The fundamental feature that underlies human existence is the dependence of man on God and his consequent obligations to God. These obligations are expressed not only in formal worship and service, but

also in a way of living in accordance with moral and religious values.

(1) Moral development

Vrey (1987:181) indicates that moral development contains a clear cognitive component. The adolescent becomes increasingly capable of conceptualising and generalising moral norms. Understanding moral concepts, he is able to transcend the morality based on rules and achieve a morality based on principles. The value of honesty gives rise to the norm 'you shall not steal'. Le Roux (1993:108) pointed out that growing up in a climate of normative confusion and instability often results in alienation and rejection of established beliefs and institutions such as the family and government agencies (e.g. formal education). Therefore, the squatter child finds himself in an environment of anti-moral development because of the following characteristics which have been internalised by the child himself: anger, a feeling of anxiety, insecurity, lack of self-confidence, dishonesty, lies, weakness of will, delinquency, resistance and defiance. Social life in squatter areas is not conducive to the child's moral development, and children from these social settings usually demonstrate poor social conscience and behaviour. The incidence of criminal acts

and other forms of anti-social behaviour amongst squatter children is high (Le Roux, 1993:108). They hang around the street corners and the shops. There they way-lay smaller children sent to the shops to buy and rob them of their money. And some go even to the extent of raping young girls. The young robbers do not remain at street corners, but they go to the stations and the bus-stops where they do a lot of pick-pocketing (Geber & Newman, 1980:41).

(2) Religious development

According to Vrey (1987:182) a personal religion means a faith and hope to which an adolescent can cling during the uncertainties and vicissitudes of his development. The adolescent cannot do without authentic religious knowledge, especially without knowing the way towards redemption.

The squatter child has no way of getting either authentic knowledge or practical demonstration while he is in the squatter area. The squatter child is thus without this means of hope and faith which can supply some security to his life. Le Roux (1993:108) indicates that because of the squatter child's failure to adequately emancipate, distantiate and differentiate, the child pays no attention to the content in question by way of

perceiving, thinking, imagining, memorizing, and beholding, therefore, learning does not take place. This situation is attributed from the environment and results into destabilisation of sensing. Destabilisation of the sensing mode of learning results in anxiety, uncertainty, insecurity and ignorance on the part of the child. The child's potential is inadequately realised. Most families in squatter areas may be termed detribalized in that traditional values, customs and norms no longer apply to the same extent that they used to, hence religious norms and values are completely found to be lacking amongst the squatter children.

3.4 SYNTHESIS

According to Dreyer and Duminy (1985:9) a child's life-world includes everything to which the child has attributed meaning and which he understands. A child's life-world has an ever-widening horizon. It is a personal life-world, and it is impossible to constitute a life-world without personal experience, personal involvement and the attachment of meaning by the child himself. Vrey (1987:77) maintains that it is of paramount importance for a child to orientate himself in relation to his world; and for this purpose he must understand the significance of the people, objects,

ideas, values, the self and God. Involvement with this world is possible only if the child has formed meaningful relationships and in this way constituted a life-world.

From the discussions in this chapter it became clear that the squatter child cannot constitute a meaningful and adequate life-world due to the environmental constraints. Le Roux (1993:92) maintains that squatter children are environmentally deprived and are characterised by the display of poor self-concept (they have limited self-confidence and this is often exacerbated by failure); limited motivation; perceptual deficiencies; poor creativity; language deficiencies; obscured or darkened future perspectives; confusion about moral and cultural norms; rejection of authority and the establishment; and alienation from parents. Kapp (1991:126) in his research indicates that environmentally deprived children (squatter children) find themselves in a life situation which is generally characterised by:

- . an impoverished environment that is devoid of opportunity;
- . unstable interpersonal relationships;
- . inadequate cognitive development;

- . a culturally different educational level; and
- . a poor residential area with conditions such as overcrowded housing, noise, crime and other socio-pathological phenomena.

These characteristics are a clear indication of the squatter child's inability to form meaningful relationships. The attitudes which the squatter child assumes in exploring his world and which he fails to personally integrate, give rise to emotional lability; if the undigested experiences increase in number, he is eventually pushed into an effective no-man's land where he suffers from feelings of anxiety, insecurity, helplessness, uncertainty, dependence, loneliness and inferiority (Pretorius, 1972:51). The social conditions prevailing in squatter areas contribute to impeded development. The child growing up in such an area is hindered in his innate intention to transform his genetic endowment into actualities, hence his self-concept is obscured (Le Roux, 1993:109). Conditions prevailing in squatter areas have an adverse effect on child development. The same can be said of dysfunctional education. It has become apparent that the incidence of dysfunctional education is high in squatter areas, therefore, from a psychopedagogical perspective the squatter child finds himself in an educational situation

which is dysfunctional. Dysfunctional education implies that the squatter child's psychic-life is under-actualised. Van Niekerk (1987:20-30) states that under-actualization of the psychic-life of the child will result in:

- inadequate exploration;
- inadequate emancipation;
- inadequate distantiation;
- inadequate differentiation;
- inadequate objectification; and
- inadequate learning '

In culturally impoverished homes (squatter homes) there is little space, very few children's toys and few books, if any. Parents are too preoccupied with their own troubles to interest themselves in their children's achievements, health and abilities. Parents and children in squatter areas do less together and communicate less often and less proficiently with each other verbally. Wolff (1973:168) maintains that when children from such homes arrive at school they often prove disappointing to their teachers and consequently to themselves and their performance over years declines. A general phenomenon prevalent in both Black townships and squatter camps is that many parents have in fact surrendered to their own children who will not accept parental authority. The

result is that these parents do not know how to exercise educational authority, and as a result their diminished trust and understanding (Centre for Intergroup Studies, 1990:56). Thomas and James (Geber & Newman, 1980:51) acknowledge the fact that the children who lack parental care and supervision begin to feel the importance of independence.

They are left the whole day to do whatever they wish and in this way the hatred of parental control crops in. They begin to hate control of anybody. When they come to school age they cannot be told to do anything which they do not want. In such a relationship an educational backlog becomes evident. There is a dead-lock in the dialogue between the adult and the child, resulting in a stressful situation that warrants intervention so that the child can be supported towards what he ought to be (Van Niekerk, 1987:42).

In the following chapter attention will be given to Accountable support for the squatter child.

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CHAPTER 4

ACCOUNTABLE SUPPORT FOR THE SQUATTER CHILD

4.1 INTRODUCTION

It is important to note that the Law in the RSA does provide to a certain extent for pedagogically neglected children. The pedagogically neglected children are the children in need of care. The Child Care Act No. 74 of 1983 defines the "child in need of care" as a child that:

- has been abandoned and is without any noticeable means to survive; or
- has no parents or guardian, or has no parents or guardian that can exercise any control over the child, or are incapable of exercising control; or
- is in the care of a person that has been found guilty of a criminal act against or regarding the said child; or
- cannot be controlled by his parents or guardian; or
- is guilty of acts of persistent truancy; or

- keeps company with an immoral or inherently bad person or live in conditions that will lead to seduction, degradation or give rise to prostitution by the child; or

- begs for a living; or

- is younger than twelve years old and runs a street trading business within the area of jurisdiction of a local authority unless allowed by that local authority according to the regulations of article twenty-two; or

- is supported away from the parent or guardian in an environment that is contrary to the needs of the child whose parents or guardian cannot be traced, or neglect to provide for the child although being instructed to provide adequately; or

- is in a state of physical or mental neglect.

The main aim of the above law is to protect the child in need of care (Mbanjwa, 1990; Blignaut, 1990). This implies that the pedagogically neglected child or squatter child is protected by this law. The squatter child must, however, be found by the Court to be a "child

in need of care" and be placed in a care facility as determined by the Child Care Act. The child cannot declare himself "in need of care" and place himself in a care facility without the approval of a Court of Law.

This exposition is also applicable to the squatter child as this Act indirectly spells out the causes of pedagogical neglect as experienced by the child as:

- the emotional abuse and/or deprivation of the child in his earlier years;
- a broken home;
- over-protection, spoiling of the child or rejection and insecurity of the child;
- discord;
- the bad example of parents or unsatisfactory relations within the family circle;
- the absence of authority; and
- a poor future orientation.

According to Van Schalkwyk (1988:132) every supporting service for a child accomplishes a specific task in the interest of education. Ruperti (1976:112) calls supporting services the organized help provided so that the educational process can run smoothly. With specific regard to the pedagogic situation Van Schalkwyk (1988) noted that after the root of the problem and its causes have been determined, guidance must also be given to the parents as they are usually the main cause of the child's problem. A pedagogic supporting service will naturally also include:

- the removal of the child from his present situation;
- the placement of the child;
- after-care and therapy.

Van Niekerk (1990) indicates that a universal truth is the fact that a child must have an adequate upbringing, that is education. He cannot simply grow up. This immediately accentuates the fact that whatever causal factors or remedial strategies are to be considered, the point of departure can only be that the child is dependent on education. It would be untenable to try to explain the phenomenon of squatter children in a

simplistic way by referring to certain specific factors in isolation, such as poverty or drug abuse (Van Niekerk, 1990:5). The effect of each of these factors on the education or upbringing of a child should be interpreted and clearly indicated.

Accountable support for the squatter child must therefore be viewed from his dependence on education. The squatter child finds himself in a situation of dysfunctional education. Accountable support for the squatter child implies that the child must be given meaningful help so that the situation of dysfunctional education in which he is caught up can be rectified. This also implies that all presently available legislation that provides for the welfare of the squatter child and structures for accountable support must be investigated.

Voluntary organizations are faced with a dilemma that their philanthropic motivations are not supported by the statute. Absconded children are subsequently accommodated on humane grounds only (Urbani, 1990). They have the minimum of prescribed rules, which entails mostly the prohibition of smoking dagga and inhalation of intoxicants. They are also required to respect other persons' bodies and belongings and they should not display uncontrolled behaviour. Children who do not

abide by these rules have to leave the "school" (Van Niekerk, 1990:5).

The Child Care Act No. 74 of 1983 (as amended), is a legal instrument sanctioning the services rendered to all children in the Republic of South Africa. According to Mbanjwa (1990:2) community involvement has however, increased particularly to meeting the needs of the squatter child, and there has been a noticeable discrepancy between what the Act provides and what private initiative is offering towards the allocation of the plight of the squatter child.

4.2 THE CHILD CARE ACT NO. 74 OF 1983 (AS AMENDED)

This Act focuses on the inadequate parent rather than uncontrollable child. No provision is made in the Act to accommodate parents who, because of the circumstances beyond their control (poverty, urbanisation, unrest, illiteracy, etc.) do not earn enough to provide for the needs of their family (Van Niekerk, 1990:6).

4.2.1 Certain definitions in this Act

Before looking at the above-mentioned Act, it is necessary to clarify certain definitions from the Child Care Act No. 74 of 1983 (as amended):

- **Social worker:** Means any person registered as a social worker under the Social and Associated Workers' Act.

- **Authorised Officer:** Means any person authorised in writing by a Commissioner of Child Welfare, Social Worker or policeman to perform a service.

- **Children's court:** A private hearing where a Commissioner of Child Welfare (who is always a magistrate), a social worker, a child and family concerned attend an inquiry held in camera.

- **Children's home:** Means any residence or home maintained for the reception, protection, care and bringing-up of more than six children apart from the parents, but does not include any school of industries or reform school.

- **Reform school:** Means a school maintained for the reception, care, education and training of children sent thereto in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act of 1977, (as amended) and sent thereto under the Child Care Act No. 74 of 1983, (as amended).

- **School of industries:** Means a school maintained for the reception, care, education and training of

children sent or transferred thereto under the Child Care Act.

- **Director-General:** In relation to the Child Care Act means the head of the department of State, administered by the Minister to whom the administration of that provision has been assigned.

- **Place of Care:** Means any building or premises maintained or used - whether for profit or otherwise - for the reception and temporal or partial care of more than six children apart from their parents but does not include any boarding school, school hostel or any establishment which is maintained or used mainly for the tuition or training of children, which is controlled by or which has been registered or approved by the State .

- **Place of Safety:** Means any temporal place suitable for the reception of a child into which the owner, occupier or person in charge thereof is willing to receive a child.

4.2.2 Provisions in the Child Care Act No. 74 of 1983
(as amended)

There are four ways in which Children's Court proceedings may be opened viz.:

- If it appears to any court in the course of any proceedings before that court that any child has no parent or guardian or that it is in the interest and welfare of any child that he be taken to a place of safety, that court may make such an order (Section 11(1)).
- If it appears to any Commissioner of Child Welfare on information given under oath by any person that there are reasonable grounds for believing that any child has no parent or guardian or that it is in the interest of the safety and welfare of any child that he be taken to a place of safety, that Commissioner may issue a warrant authorising any policeman or social worker or any other person to search for the child and take him to a place of safety (Section 11(2)).
- Any policeman, social worker or authorised officer may remove a child to a place of safety without a

warrant if such a person has reason to believe that the child is a child referred to in Section 14 (14), (see (2) holding of inquiries) and that the delay in obtaining a warrant will be prejudicial to the safety and welfare of that child (Section 12(1)).

- A child can be taken to a children's court by a social worker with a report requesting that children's court proceedings be opened in view of the fact that the child has no parent or guardian or is in the custody of a person unable or unfit in terms of section 14(14) to have the custody of the child.

(2) Holding of Inquiries

Holding of inquiries is the second provision laid down in the Child Care Act No. 74 of 1983, (as amended), for dealing with children. At the children's court inquiry the court must determine whether a child before it can be described in terms of Section 14(14) referred to earlier. This would determine whether:

- the child has no parent or guardian;
- the child has a parent or guardian who is unable or unfit to have the custody of the child in that he either;

- is mentally ill to such a degree that he is unable to provide for the physical, mental or social well-being of the child;
- has assaulted or ill-treated the child or allowed him to be assaulted or ill-treated;
- has caused or conduced to the seduction, abduction or prostitution of the child or the commission by the child of immoral acts;
- displays habits and behaviour which may seriously injure the physical, mental or social well-being of the child;
- fails to maintain the child adequately;
- neglects the child or allows him to be neglected;
- cannot control the child properly so as to ensure proper behaviour, such as regular school attendance;
- has no visible means of support.

As can be noted above, emphasis in Section 14 is more on the parent than on the child. This sometimes creates

problems for social workers when dealing with squatter children as the parents often cannot acknowledge and accept the investigation of social workers (Mbanjwa, 190:6).

(3) Orders which can be made at the inquiry

Upon holding of a Children's Court Inquiry the Child Care Act makes provision for either of the following orders to be made:

- that the child be returned to his parents under the supervision of the social worker and on a condition that the child or his parent comply with certain requirements;
- that the child be placed in the custody of foster parents under supervision of a social worker;
- that the child be sent to a children's home designated by the Director-General;
- that the child be sent to a school of industries designated by the Director-General (Section 15(1)).

(4) Residential care provided in terms of the Child Care Act No. 74 of 1983, (as amended)

(a) Place of Safety

As has been stated under the definitions, this is a place that provides temporal care of the children whilst the social workers are carrying out investigations in terms of the Child Care Act. The Child Care Act permits detention of the child for up to 14 days after which a social worker is expected to report at the Children's Court with her recommendations regarding the future placement of the child (Mbanjwa, 1990:7).

(b) Children's Home

Any residence or home maintained for the reception, protection, care and bringing-up of more than six children apart from their parents, but does not include any school of industries or reform school. Mbanjwa (1990:7) maintains that children who for any reasons cannot be returned to their parents or cannot be placed with foster parents are very often sent to a Children's Home which is a more permanent home than the Place of Safety. The Act provides for

the keeping of a child at the Children's Home for up to 2 years.

(c) Reform Schools

Children that have been dealt with in terms of the Criminal Procedures Act, as amended are very often ordered to Reform School. This is a corrective institution which through both its professional and non-professional staff aims at providing a corrective rehabilitation programme to assist juveniles to normal standards of behaviour. Children stay for up to 2 years (Mbanjwa, 1990:7).

(d) Schools of Industries

Van Niekerk (1990:4) indicates that schools of industries are places that aim at training the youth in the marketable skills of industry. Formal education is also provided though the main emphasis is to prepare the youth for eventual entry into the open labour market. Skills training is offered in trades like brick-laying, carpentry, electrical engineering, etc.

4.3 OTHER RELEVANT LEGISLATION REGARDING SUPPORT FOR THE SQUATTER CHILD

According to Blignaut (1990:2) no definition which defines the squatter child could be found in any legislation. In the same vein, he points out that "vagrants" and "squatter children", although they have certain characteristics in common, should never be seen as similar, as each group has its own needs that warrant different "treatments" and support. There is currently no specific legislation indicative of how the squatter child should be dealt with. The following legislation has been examined.

4.3.1 The Group Areas Act No., 36 of 1966, as (amended)

In terms of sections 17 and 20 of this Act, the unlawful occupation of land is restricted. Prosecution may however, only be instituted by order of Attorney-General. The South African Police can therefore not act on its own initiative.

4.3.2 The Abuse of Dependence-Producing Substances and Rehabilitation Centres Act No. 41 of 1971,)as amended)

Persons (also vagrants) with dependence problems can be admitted to rehabilitation centres under this legislation. A person under the age of 18 years can also be detained in a place of safety, where such place of safety is deemed a rehabilitation centre for the purpose of this Act.

According to Blignaut (1990) the procedure for bringing persons eligible for admission to a rehabilitation centre in practice, creates problems. It requires a sworn statement in writing setting out the grounds for admission, whereupon a summons or warrant for arrest is issued to the police to be served on the person in question. No immediate steps can thus be taken by a police officer.

It is a known fact that the squatter child indulges in the use (or abuse) of inhalers (or inhaling of harmful substances like petrol, benzine, etc.). This action does not constitute a crime in terms of this Act. Vagrancy per se is not a crime (Blignaut, 1990:3). At the same time the creation of nuisance by persons of a specific

population group by their mere presence, is not a crime and will not easily be prohibited by specific legislation.

4.3.3 The Trespass Act No. 6 of 1959, (as amended)

This Act prohibits the unlawful entry or presence upon land or in buildings. The prerequisite is that there should be a complaint.

4.3.4 The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act No. 52 of 1951, (as amended)

This Act prohibits an employer from employing a person under the age of 15 years. It was, however, suggested in the inter-departmental co-ordinating committee report on squatter children, 2/90, that children under the age of 16 years should (in certain conditions) be allowed to be gainfully employed until such time as education for Black children becomes compulsory (Blignaut, 1990).

4.3.5 The Children's Status Act No. 82 of 1987, (as amended)

This Act only deals with matters relating to paternity, guardianship, the status of children and matters

connected therewith. It does not address the squatter child problem of educational distress.

4.4 OVERVIEW OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN WELFARE SYSTEM

4.4.1 Legislation

In addition to the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act of 1983 (as amended), which enables welfare to be organized on a race group basis, three Acts of Parliament provide the framework for the Republic's social welfare system (McKendrick, 1987:24-28):

- The Social Associated Workers Act of 1978, (as amended), which provides for control over the profession of social work and associated professions (such as child care workers, as an example).

- The National Welfare Act of 1978, (as amended), which provides amongst other things for the registration of welfare organizations, the co-ordination and planning of welfare services at the local level, a South African Welfare Council to advise the Minister on welfare matters, and for regional welfare boards for the various race groups; and,

- The Fund-raising Act of 1978, (as amended), which provides for control of the collection or receipt of voluntary contributions from the public.

Within the context of these three Acts, social welfare organizations are influenced by the provisions of other Acts which regulate the social welfare response to persons who are disadvantaged or at risk. Principal among these Acts are:

- The Abuse of Dependence Producing Substances and Rehabilitation Centres Act, 1971, (as amended).
- The Aged Persons Act, 1967, (as amended).
- The Blind Persons Act, 1968, (as amended).
- The Child Care Act, 1983, (as amended).
- The Criminal Procedure Act, 1977, (as amended).
- The Disability Grants Act, 1968, (as amended).
- The Mental Health Act, 1973, (as amended).
- The Social Pensions Act, 1973, (as amended).

4.4.2 Structures

Bearing in mind that a number of uniraical welfare structures exist side by side, it is nevertheless possible to demarcate the respective roles of state and community across all of these parallel structures.

According to McKendrick (1987) the state's task is provision of:

- statutory personal social service programmes;
- overall planning of social welfare; and
- social security provision.

The private sector, comprising of community and church-sponsored welfare organizations, has primary responsibility for non-statutory personal social services.

"Personal social services", or "social services", refer to organized activities that are directly concerned with the conservation, protection and improvement of human resources (McKendrick, 1987:25). They involve direct services to people (individuals, families, small groups

and larger community groups) to prevent the occurrence of social problems, and to reduce existing social problems.

The term "social security" is used by (McKendrick (1987:25) to imply programmes of protection, usually involving financial assistance, provided to people by the state in order to protect them against the contingencies of life (e.g. blindness, disability, old age, etc.).

According to McKendrick (1987) in South Africa proper state-sponsored personal social services are delivered through the regional and local offices of four state departments (the Department of Health Services and Welfare of the Houses of Assembly, Delegates and Representatives, respectively, and the Department of Education and Development Aid); while in the self-governing and independent South African national states, they are delivered through independent departments of health and welfare.

The personal social services given by state departments are concerned with the social welfare aspects of Acts of Parliament. Community and church-sponsored personal social services are delivered by 1 600 local welfare organizations, registered as such in terms of the National Welfare Act of 1978 (as amended). Almost

without exception, local welfare organizations are affiliated to one of nationally- or provincially-organized bodies (for example, the South African National Council for the Blind, or the Jewish Family and Community Council of Transvaal). These national and provincial bodies co-ordinate and develop local services within their functional fields.

While overall control of social welfare planning is retained by the various state departments, four structures exist to facilitate co-ordination and co-operation between the state and the private sector on matters directly or indirectly related to welfare (McKendrick, 1987:26):

- Nationally- and provincially- organized bodies liaise with the state on matters concerning the field(s) in which they function, while on matters of common interest they combine together into an ad hoc committee for dealings with the state.
- The National Welfare Act, 1978, as amended, provides for 24 regional welfare boards, representing states and community interests, which have statutory power to regulate, co-ordinate, promote and plan welfare activities within their regions. These boards are

uniracial. At the National level, the multi-racial South African Welfare Council advises the government on social welfare needs and issues.

- For the purposes of co-ordinating social, physical, economic and constitutional development, the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning has created multi-racial Regional Development Advisory Committees in each of the eight development regions of South Africa. Each regional committee is represented on the National Development Advisory Committee, which advises the Cabinet on overall development needs and strategies.

- A National Population Development Programme, initiated in 1984, has the aim of stimulating the community improvement in the quality of life of all communities. Local community development committees are represented on sub-regional Development Advisory Committees described earlier. Within each region, state and community activities to promote the Population Development Programmes are co-ordinated through an inter-departmental committee on which the private sector is represented (McKendrick & Dudas, 1987).

In addition to the four structures described above, other structures exist which may have influence on the co-ordination and/or development of welfare facilities. One of these is the network state-established Joint Management Committees which covers the whole country. The functioning of these committees is not open to direct public scrutiny. The committees are reported to be primarily concerned with security, and to this end co-ordinate the activities of all state departments, including security forces, at the local levels (McKendrick, 1987:29).

Other programmes and structures with the potential to greatly influence welfare planning and co-ordination exist under the aegis of the "common of the affairs" Department of National Health and Population Development. One is a Co-ordinating Committee to promote the interests of disabled people at national and regional levels through the formulation of a national policy on the care of the disabled, and the devising of strategies to meet the people's needs. Another is the National Advisory Board on Rehabilitation Matters which, despite its broad title, is concerned with the abuse of dependence-producing substances. This Board is giving attention to the formulation of a national policy on the prevention and combatting of alcohol and drug abuse.

4.4.3 Funding of social welfare

According to McKendrick (1987:27-28) the finance for welfare services in South Africa is predominantly provided by the state from tax revenue. Income tax from individuals provides the state with its largest single source of revenue: 10-billion Rand annually, compared with 9,5-billion Rand in tax collected from industry and 8-billion Rand generated from value added tax.

Work-related social security provision involves funding from other sources in addition to the state. Unemployment insurance (which includes maternity and sickness benefit for workers) is jointly funded by contributions from employees, employers and the state, while work injury benefits (workmen's compensation) are financed entirely by employers through insurance premiums which vary with risk.

There can be no doubt that the state is overwhelmingly the major source of finance for welfare services (McKendrick, 1987:27-28). Nevertheless, the private sector is not an insignificant source of funding for community welfare organizations. No recent figure exists of the actual total income of the Republic's 1 600 community-and-church-sponsored welfare organizations, but

in 1976 the Van Rooyen Commission estimated their income to be R130-million (Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the collection of Voluntary Contributions from the Public, 1976). McKendrick and Dudas (1987) have projected that this income, allowing for inflation, was in excess of R250-million in 1986.

4.5 WELFARE SERVICES PERTAINING TO THE SQUATTER CHILDREN

4.5.1 Introduction

In order to manage squatting and deal with it efficiently, it is essential that the Government's policy be stated clearly. The legal framework, viz. the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951, (as amended), (Act 52), already exists, but the phenomenon must also be regarded within the context of the process of urbanisation and as an integral part of it (Ministry, 1992:2).

Ministry (1992:3) further indicates that the period after 1986 is characterised by the presence of larger numbers of people in the cities and larger numbers of people having immigrated to the cities from the TBVC states and self-governing territories. Investigations, however,

revealed that with few exceptions, as in the case of the Cape, there is a large intra-urban movement of people and that the majority of the people now "visible" was already living in the areas several years prior to 1986. According to official statistics there were ±1,7 million backyard dwellers on 31 March 1991. The Urban Foundation puts the number of squatters within the borders of the RSA, but outside the self-governing territories at 7 million. This estimate is based on individuals who have no rights to land.

According to available sources, 56% of the Black community is already urbanised and it is expected that 75% will be urbanised by the year 2000. This implies that an additional 11 million people will have to be provided with living space. These figures reflect the magnitude of the problem and the enormous demands this will place on the country and its resources (Ministry, 1992:3).

According to Ministry (1992:4) the objective of Government is to manage urbanisation effectively to prevent squatting. Existing squatter areas can be cleared through lawful settlement. To achieve this objective, Government accepted the following policy:

- that land owner's rights to his land be respected and be protected against any unlawful infringement;
- land be designated to accommodate squatters legally in an orderly fashion. Primarily this entails the provision of sites with basic infrastructure services in the area, and on which an individual can construct his own structure according to his needs and means; and
- that where illegal settlement occurs, orderly resettlement be undertaken after consultation with those involved.

4.5.2 State welfare services

In South Africa, the national social welfare policy clearly states that human needs and suffering need to be addressed, irrespective of the status or the structure of a community. Therefore, the potential and the given situation of a community are the starting point of all social welfare services (Rothmund & Kela, 1992:7).

This policy is based on such principles as the right to self-determination by a community and the need for its members' involvement and participation. The role-players

in this process are the community social worker and the social auxiliary worker, in partnership with the local community. They are dealing with the seemingly overwhelming plethora of identified social needs and problems. Due to causes outside the social worker's field of service, such as unemployment, poverty, substandard living conditions, political tension and intimidation. Mashabela (1990:50) maintains that the social worker should approach his service to a squatter settlement as part of his ordinary professional duties, so as to prevent stigmatisation, and to encourage the general community to identify itself with the desperate shack dwellers. Let us have a closer look at the role of the social worker in a squatter community.

(1) Role of the Social Worker within a squatter community

According to Welfare Planning, Germiston (1992:12) empowering the community, developing community participation and involvement, understanding the community structures, networking, making himself known and marketing his agency's services as well as having the correct attitude are the social worker's major tasks in disadvantaged communities.

(a) Empowering the community

In this role, the social worker willingly shares his professional knowledge and skills with the community members open to it. This calls for an appropriate attitude on the part of the social worker. In this process shack dwellers can be helped to create necessary structures and taught the skills to run them democratically.

(b) Developing community involvement and participation

Community participation cannot be planned or predicted. It is a "by-product" of the social worker's professional intervention and his empowerment efforts. It occurs when a community has been conscientised by the social worker on its social needs and problems, and motivated to take the necessary action to combat these. Black communities do not generally adhere to the Western model of time. This requires patience on the part of the social worker who has to learn to move at the pace of a particular community, especially in a squatter camp where tensions, wariness, mistrust and prejudice are extremely high.

(c) Understanding the community dynamics and identifying community structures

Each community has a different power structure, dynamics and trigger issues. The community worker, therefore, needs to be a good listener. He must listen to everybody, that is, formal and informal leaders, and to various political groups. He must hear the powerful and the powerless. True community participation starts with the latter. In this way, the social worker can begin to understand the community's dynamics, while remembering that he must remain impartial, not allowing himself to become identified with any particular group, because this would jeopardise his credibility with the rest of the community.

(d) Networking

This follows directly from the social worker's identification of existing community structures, their inter-dependence and their interrelationship. Similarly, he, as a professional, experiences a need to closely interact with other professionals active in the field of community development. He needs to be a member of the multi-disciplinary team serving the squatter community, so needs and problems can be addressed from a variety of

angles. The co-ordination of tasks can promote a holistic approach to community development while eliminating the duplication of services.

(e) Making himself known and marketing his agency's services

The community must experience him as one of them, one who understands their social needs and problems and one who is willing to empower the community in its self-help efforts. Squatters are afraid of people coming to collect information. It may therefore be advisable for the community worker to seek an entry point into the community through an accredited community member, such as a local church minister, because a certain level of trust is needed for meaningful professional involvement.

(f) Having the correct attitude

The attitude of a community worker is decisive for effective community service. Promoting community participation and empowerment cannot be a mere lip service. Yet, true community participation is at risk, because it means giving control to a community by acting on its decisions. However, this will at no stage make the worker's task to guide, to advise, to enable, and to

empower the community superfluous. A willingness to interact with the squatters as equals, and to respect them as people with similar needs, hopes and aspirations as his own, is another attitude necessary in the social worker.

(2) School at Rietfontein

According to Welfare Planning, Germiston (1992:13) as the need for schools was expressed by the community, two committees were established in the community to address the issue. On 5 January 1990, community workers helped the committees in an effort to combine their strengths and eventually established one committee. Eric Njingola from Vulindaba Community Organization of South Africa (VUCOSA) became the organiser. He was instrumental in involving the Inter-National Development Trust which promised to donate structural material (pre-fabs) for the construction of a school.

In this instance, however, these efforts do not address the educational distress of a squatter child. The services that are provided by the social workers in squatter communities are merely directed to the squatter communities but not to squatter children who suffer the problem of educational distress.

(3) Role of the Transvaal Provincial Administration

Mavuso (1992:19) maintains that the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) is acutely aware that the vast majority of the Black population (especially those who move to the urban areas from the rural areas) simply cannot afford the luxury of privately developed sites and dwellings. Indeed, according to reliable sources, about 70% of the Black population fall within the so-called sub-economic category. While private development remains the ideal, the realities of our situation indicate that the private sector, at least for the moment, is unable to participate significantly in the provision of accommodation for what in fact constitutes the largest portion of the South African nation.

What the TPA has done at Rietfontein and Orange Farm is to proclaim informal towns in terms of Section 6A of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, as amended. This Section allows the Administrator to establish towns ignoring some of the ordinary legislative measures. Aside from any other considerations, such a town can be established within a matter of weeks, enabling homeless people to move on to their own stands in the shortest possible time. The establishment of such a town is done in a way that meets all requirements relating to stands

for schools, parks, etc. before sites are allocated. In this way, the Administration ensures that, in due course, this informal town may be established as a formal town of which the inhabitants may be proud.

Mavuso (1992:19) further indicates that at Rietfontein, provision has been made for approximately 4 000 residential stands with an average size of 220 square metres. At the moment the most rudimentary services are being provided, but contracts were concluded recently in terms of which a water reticulation network would be installed. The toilets that have been provided to the residents can easily be converted to water-borne sewerage, and the network will be constructed in such a manner that every home-owner will be able to connect his stand if he is prepared to pay the costs, about R100, of the connection. This is one of the basic principles of the TPA's policy: a home-owner is afforded the opportunity of deciding for himself which services he wishes to use. Similar arrangements will be made for the supply of electricity. In this regard, the TPA has already granted permission to Eskom to supply electricity to settlers in Orange Farm, who wish to obtain it.

The role of TPA is seen as not addressing the educational distress of a squatter child because it is not

specifically directed at solving the squatter child's problem. Instead it is aimed at addressing the problems of the squatter communities.

4.5.3 Volunteer welfare services

According to Welfare Planning, Germiston (1992:13) the following are the areas of importance in regard to the volunteer welfare services that were undertaken at Rietfontein:

(1) Self-help groups

(a) Sizanani Women's Club

On 13 November 1989, a self-help group of unemployed women was established in consultation and co-operation with the Transvaal Provincial Administration Development section. The name of the Women's Club was decided by the club members themselves. Their activities are crocheting, sewing and knitting. This is done under the supervision of the community developer.

(b) Illingeletu Women's Club

The above-mentioned Women's Club was formed by Vulindaba Community Organization of South Africa (VUCOSA) in

February 1990. Its primary aim is to sew and knit a local school uniform once it is established. This organization secured a sponsorship from the International Development Trust who gave the club sewing machines and unemployed women were offered training locally.

(c) Vezulwazi Women's Club

After the residents experienced a number of deaths within the community, the need arose to address the issue in a joint effort. This resulted in the formation of the said organization whose aim is to assist its members in case of death.

(2) Youth Activities

On 15 November 1989, a Zonkizizwe Youth Organization was formed in consultation with the Department of Education and Training, Alberton. The youth are occupied by going on youth camps, courses in leadership as well as organizing Sundays and sports days.

(3) Child and family care

Between 27 September 1989 and 15 January 1990 there was an increase in child-minders in the area. Child-minders

are those people or associations that look for certain specific environmental health standards in regard to the care of children. Child-minders were co-ordinated on 18 February 1990, therefore, a child-minders' association was born. The association looked at certain minimum standards for all places of care such as hygienic environment, hot water, compiling a weekly menu, registration forms, stimulating activities (toys) and immunisation cards. Visits were made to properly structured creches in the neighbouring townships. The system of bulk buying was introduced. Parents formed committees aimed at improving places of care and providing support systems to child-minders and staff members.

Although these volunteer services are also aiming at supporting the unemployed women, the youth and the children from Rietfontein squatter communities, but most of the support structures are existing illegally under present statutory provisions, lack the services of suitable qualified personnel, are often haphazardly organized, cannot cope effectively with the present situation and there is a duplication of certain services in the provision of support.

4.6 DE LANGE REPORT

An investigation regarding education for the pedagogically neglected child is contained in the De Lange Report (1981:3) which investigated education for children with special educational needs. Although not specifically mentioned, the squatter child is without any doubt a pedagogically neglected child. The De Lange Report (1981) made certain recommendations regarding a support structure for the pedagogically neglected child. These recommendations can also prove to be invaluable; as means of support for the squatter child as well as an effective means to deal with the squatter child phenomenon as a whole. Let us then consider these recommendations.

4.6.1 Recommendations of the De Lange Report (1981)

The De Lange Report (1981) indicates that ways and means should be sought to place Children's Homes, Children's Act Schools and Places of Safety under the same control, preferably under that of a department that is best equipped to see to the needs of these children. Other recommendations include the following:

- Children with no behaviour deviations who reside in children's homes should not be placed in Children's Act schools.

- Attention should be given to the size, construction and geographic placement of Children's Act schools and children's homes, but more specifically to smaller hostels and contact with other schools and society in general.
- Provision of services on the basis of multi-disciplinary teams should enjoy top priority.
- An in-depth evaluation should be made of how the total situation of the juvenile delinquent is dealt with, with special reference to the quality of the present re-educative programme.
- Long-term follow-up studies of pupils who have been discharged from Children's Act schools should be undertaken with a view to possible future adjustments of the present educational situation.
- Attention should be paid to the critical shortage of child psychiatrists and their training.
- A Co-operative Educational Service Centre (CESC) which incorporates a Section for Evaluation and Guidance (SEG) should be established in every defined educational region (or service area).

(1) The functioning of the Section for Evaluation and Guidance

(a) Nature of the SEG

According to De Lange Report (1981) the task of the SEG includes comprehensive diagnosis, designing remedial educational programmes and guidance. The SEG does not provide continuous remedial and other assistance, therapy, special education, etc. This is provided within the various educational institutions where guidance, re-diagnosis, follow-up and in-service training can be done by the staff of the SEG.

Comprehensive evaluation includes an evaluation, diagnosis, guidance and designing programmes by a team comprising educationists, social workers, psychologists, medical doctors and paramedics. The SEG therefore provides preventive as well as diagnostic and guidance service in that evaluation, diagnosis and guidance are provided for children (from birth onwards) as well as parents (a genetic advisory service is also included).

To create greater clarity and rationalisation in respect of these team members, the Work Committees: Education for children with special educational needs as a result of

its findings held in-depth discussions on the personnel who should be involved in the school clinics and co-operative evaluation and guidance centres and laid down guidelines for the functions and training of the following team members:

- educational psychologists
- educationist (orthodidactics)
- school social worker

An educational psychologist is someone who has been registered in terms of Act No. 56 of 1974 (as amended). Ideally, he has five consecutive years of training in psychology, has served an internship of 18 months at an approved institution and is capable of using diagnostic tests and making corrections in terms of diagnoses that have already been made.

The educationist (orthodidactics) has qualifications as laid down by an appropriate professional council. His functions include the interpretation of scholastic data of a diagnostic nature (or psychological reports), the development of didactical programmes, didactical evaluation, consultation with the teacher and remedial teacher in particular and the implementation of educational and remedial programmes.

The school social worker is registered according to Act No. 110 of 1978 (as amended) and is responsible for family guidance, the socialisation of the child and for dealing with problems that may arise in the child's transition from mainstream to special education or vice versa.

The above is merely a brief and preliminary exposition of some of the main functions of the functionaries mentioned. In the light of this the following categories of professional personnel are proposed for a fully developed SEG (Urbani, 1981): On a full-time basis;

- The head as team leader/co-ordinator;
- Doctor;
- Educationist (orthodidactics);
- School guidance teacher/counselling psychologist;
- Educational psychologist;
- School social worker; and
- Nurse.

Medical specialists, paramedics and legal advisors will also be included on a part-time and consultative basis. It is important that professional personnel in particular who are involved in the SEG on a full-time basis should also play a part in the in-service training of staff at the SEG as well as related personnel.

In the light of the above the following recommendations were made.

RECOMMENDATION 16: The training of educationists (orthodidactics), who are responsible for designing remedial programmes for children with learning problems with a view to the remedial or class teachers at school implementing those is an urgent matter.

RECOMMENDATION 18: Within the context of the SEG the task of the school social worker should include family guidance, socialisation of the child and dealings with problems that may arise in the transition from mainstream education to special education or vice versa.

(2) Registration with a statutory teachers' council

It is imperative that the existing professional personnel involved in the tasks of evaluation and diagnosis of and providing assistance and guidance for impaired and handicapped children and who have undergone predominantly educational training, should be subject to the discipline and registration requirements of a professional council. The committee does not wish to express an opinion on what the fields of jurisdiction of the three professional councils for psychologists, social workers and teachers

in particular should be, for it feels that these professional bodies should judge for themselves. The above-mentioned two categories should be able to register with a statutory teachers' council.

(3) **The relation between the SEG and School Clinics**

School clinics which are under the same control as the schools in a specific region serve as an intermediate body between the SEG and schools. Personnel attached to school clinics consist of the same categories of team members working at the SEG. Comprehensive evaluation, diagnosis and guidance as well as assistance, therapy, remedial treatment, compensatory education and parental guidance can be provided at school clinics. School clinics form an integral part of an education authority's provision of education in a particular area or region. The staff at school clinics and teaching staff at schools work together as a team. Personnel of the SEG can also assist with the in-service training of personnel at school clinics.

An infrastructure for the education of and the rendering of assistance to children with special educational needs should be built up simultaneously within schools and school clinics. Initially the staff at the school

clinics will have to serve more schools and provide in-service training for teachers. It is only in cases where the personnel at school clinics cannot deal with specific problem situations satisfactorily that the assistance of the SEG will be sought.

4.7 SCHOOL SOCIAL WORK

In considering school social work as means of accountable support system for the squatter child, the following important points must be borne in mind:

- All squatter children identified in the RSA are at present Black (Maree, 1990; Van Niekerk, 1990);
- compulsory education for Blacks does not yet exist in the RSA;
- psychological services (School Clinics) within Black education departments are virtually non-existent.

These three factors would thus imply that at present a school social work programme within Black schools as means of rendering an accountable support system for Black squatter children would actually be powerless. The main reason for this is the fact that education for

Blacks is not yet compulsory and therefore makes identification of squatter children almost impossible. However, school social work can render a crucial contribution as a support system for squatter children where there is compulsory education.

4.7.1 The scope of school social work

According to Le Roux (1987:21) the behaviour of the child that is deprived of the secure environment of the school will manifest itself in aggressiveness, anti-social behaviour and the development of a phobia regarding the school and education. If a school social worker could assist the teacher in identifying, diagnosing the problem, working with the problem and even refer the problem for specialised attention, preventive action could be taken timeously within the school context. Social work training is geared towards assisting the client (e.g. child displaying deviant behaviour) to achieve his maximum potential within any given circumstance.

Due to the fact that formal educational structures concentrate their efforts mainly on teaching or the transfer of knowledge, very little time and opportunities remain for the teacher to give special attention to

pupils in need of care (De Lange Report, 1981:58). In the same manner principals of schools are usually buried under administrative responsibilities and have neither the time nor opportunity for supplying guidance to families where problems exist.

According to Van Wyk (1989:88) the "Subject Advisor: Guidance" is not professionally qualified to handle welfare related problems in schools or compile reports regarding them. This task could be fulfilled by a school social worker within the school. As highlighted by the De Lange Report on the Provision of Education in the RSA (1981), the school social worker is registered according to Act No. 110 of 1978 (as amended) and will be responsible for family guidance, the socialisation of the child and for dealing with problems that may arise in the child's transition from mainstream to special education or vice versa. The school social worker will have statutory support as well as the training to perform these functions within the school environment. At present no teacher, guidance teacher or principal has any statutory power, the required training or experience to perform these functions adequately.

4.8 SYNTHESIS

At present only a few social workers and voluntary organizations, such as self-help groups, youth activities, and child and family care reach out to both parents and squatter children to endeavour to rehabilitate the families of the squatter communities.

Schools and vocational training centres have also been established in an effort to assist these children in obtaining lawful and independent occupations. Voluntary organizations are faced with a dilemma that their philanthropic motivations are not supported by statute. They subsequently accommodate children on humane grounds. The question of accountable support structures available to the squatter child at present can be summarised as follows:

- no statutory provision exists at the moment that pertains directly to the squatter child;
- The Children's Act No. 74 of 1983 (as amended) focuses on the inadequate parent rather than on the neglected child. No provision is made in the Act to accommodate parents who, because of the circumstances beyond their control (poverty,

urbanisation, unrest, illiteracy, etc.) do not earn enough to provide for the needs of their family;

- voluntary organizations are mainly involved in providing some support e.g. Child and Family Care. Child and Family Care is an educational, vocational preparedness and child care project for neglected children in South Africa. Most of the support structures that came into existence for providing some measure of support are existing illegally under present statutory provisions, lack the services of suitable qualified personnel, are often haphazardly organised, cannot cope effectively with the present situation and there is a duplication of certain services in the provision of support;

- church involvement is restricted to a minimum by their responsibility of addressing other social problems amongst members within their own community. A small percentage of indirect support is made by churches in the form of channelling funds as well as donations in kind (e.g. clothing, food, use of church facilities, etc.) towards voluntary organizations;

- educational support structures in the form of school welfare services could prove to be very supportive. However, at present the effective functioning of such a service within the Black community will be extremely hampered by the fact that Black education is not yet compulsory within the RSA;

- where compulsory education does exist the needs of the pedagogically neglected could be addressed by the school social worker. It will therefore be imperative that suitable persons be recruited, trained and schools be provided with the services of a trained school social worker. It was recommended by Le Roux (1987:402-407) that a four-year degree course (SSW (Ed,) Degree) be instituted to train school social workers. This degree must include four years of social work training as well as courses in Pedagogics, Psychology, Sociology and Guidance. (This degree will allow entrance to both an M.A. degree in Social Work or a B.Ed. degree. The aim is to enable a suitably qualified school social worker at a school to be promoted to a senior position within the structure of a school and/or education department.) The main tasks of the school social worker will be to identify the pedagogically neglected child (e.g. squatter child), be

responsible for the family guidance, the socialisation of the child and for dealing with problems that may arise in the child's transition from mainstream to special education or vice-versa. The school social worker could play a vital role with regard to curbing the squatter child phenomenon: In the first place the school social worker will be suitably qualified to identify and work with the squatter child and his parents. Secondly the school social worker will also have the statutory power to effect the canalising of the squatter child to a clinic or special school. At the same time the school social worker will have the required knowledge and statutory backing to assist, and work with, the SAP, welfare organizations and voluntary support organizations, etc. Thirdly, the school social worker will be an absolute necessity whenever a rehabilitated squatter child is returned from a special school to mainstream education.

Regarding the accountable support for the squatter child it can thus be concluded that a number of voluntary organizations are involved in an attempt to render some kind of support. The fact remains that the squatter child is a "child" that should be assisted by parents and the school in his process of becoming. This crucial factor

is at present often overlooked by these organizations that render support. These support structures direct their attention to activities that often exclude the school and the family context which are vital factors in the child's becoming. The actualization of the child's full potential therefore becomes remote.

In the following chapter summary and recommendations will be dealt with.

CHAPTER 5

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CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 SUMMARY

5.1.1 Statement of the problem

This study investigated the problems surrounding the squatter child as viewed from a psychopedagogical perspective. In essence this study investigated the nature of the educational distress of the child in a squatter environment.

5.1.2 Literature Study

(1) Ardington, E M.

In his study Ardington indicated that in a squatter area called Canaan, near Durban, during the time of study there was a lack of housing facilities such as water, sanitation and electricity.

Fixed health facilities are available in Canaan. Residents who attend clinics do so at FOSA in KwaMashu at distances of between 6 and 20 kilometres away. A few attend private clinics. A quarter of respondents in the study consulted private doctors on occasion and 11% said

they consulted traditional healers amongst those surveyed in Canaan.

None of the public transport systems have official stops in the settlement, however residents are well positioned to make use of both buses and mini-bus taxis. Most commuters access buses and taxis at the Springfield Flats Underpass of the freeway.

The people employed in Canaan were found to be largely unskilled and concentrated in the domestic and construction sectors.

Unemployment was a common feature amongst younger people under the age of 26. There were at least three spaza shops in Canaan at the time of survey. A number of hawkers also operate in the settlement. There are three stores very close in neighbouring Clare Estate. The nearest shopping complex is in Sydenham, 4 kilometres away.

As is the case with most other services, there are no schools in Canaan. Children are therefore forced to attend schools outside the area - at distances varying between 2 and 40 kilometres - or be left with the choice of not attending school or living elsewhere where there are schools.

2) Christensen, F.

In his study conducted in an informal settlement called **Mshayazafe**, near Durban, he discovered that the settlement has two types of officially provided water sources, namely, the water kiosk and a stand-pipe. The inhabitants rely on self-dug latrines for sanitation. Concerning refuse removal, the northern part of the settlement has been provided with a skip which is being emptied every Monday by a private company called Wastetech. Like other squatter areas, Mshayazafe has no electricity.

A mobile clinic that provides services free of charge to the inhabitants proved to be inadequate. Many squatters prefer to go directly to the permanent clinic at Inanda Newtown A - which is well equipped for treating most illnesses. There is no public transport that runs through or enters the settlement. The high level of unemployment, which is a characteristic of many informal settlements, sadly also exists in Mshayazafe. Approximately half of the inhabitants are without permanent employment. The commercialisation in the settlement includes one licensed general dealer run by Mr Jali and a number of informal businesses. Mshayazafe has one community built primary school which caters for children from class 1 to standard 5.

(3) Dlamini, D.

In her study that was conducted at Inanda she discovered that in some areas squatter dwellers are supplied with water and in others not. Lack of water supply and poor sanitation resulted in the outbreak of typhoid in the area in 1973-1980. There is no electricity supply in this squatter settlement.

Squatter dwellers use facilities that are available in Inanda, Kwa-Mashu and Phoenix for health purposes. Most of the squatter dwellers are employed in Durban, Pinetown, Phoenix, Umhlanga, Verulam and Thongathi. For shopping purposes squatter dwellers make use of the facilities that are in the location where there are formal houses and illegal trading spots. Children attend schooling in the schools that are found in the nearby township because there are no schools in this squatter settlement.

(4) Evans, R.J.

In his study of the Thongathi informal settlements he discovered that at Magwaveni squatter camp water is supplied at six stands by Thongathi Town Board and at Emona squatter camp water is supplied by the Community Services Department. The Town Board also supplies refuse

bags and remove refuse twice weekly at Magwaveni, whilst there is no refuse removal for the area of Emona. Pit latrines are used in both areas.

Both squatter camps rely quite heavily on the health services provided by the State Health Department and the Primary Health Care Services which operate through mobile clinics. There is a private bus company which operates at Magwaveni from Monday to Saturday. At Emona there is also a private bus company which operates together with several taxis to and from Thongathi. In both areas most of the shopping is done in Thongathi. Children attend school in Hambanathi Township.

(5) Haarhoff, E.

In his study of the informal settlement called **Malukazi** the survey indicated that there is only one piped fresh water supply point for a population of about 25 000 people. Sanitation is provided for exclusively by pit latrines erected by the 'owners' of dwellings.

Concerning transport, PUTCO has a frequent feeder service to Isipingo Rail. This provides connections to other buses to central Durban and surroundings as well as access to taxis and trains. The Centre for Applied Social Sciences indicates that there is no problem of

unemployment. For shopping purposes, there are only two Indian-owned and operated shops which serve the community. In as far as schooling is concerned there are no formal educational facilities within the confines of the settlement. Children attend school in Umlazi and at Umbumbulu.

(6) Karodia, S.

In his study of Ntchaweni squatter settlement he observed that water supply is a major problem and is most urgently needed. The lack of water causes many diseases, for example, scabies. The squatter area does not have any sewage treatment facilities. The population makes use of pit-latrines with no septic tanks. There is no refuse disposal site in the study area.

There are no clinics or mobile clinics in Ntchaweni. The inhabitants of Ntchaweni usually make use of the hospital services at Stanger. Roads are never upgraded and that is the reason why state ambulances do not service the area. There is a lot of unemployment in the area. The main reason is that many males are unskilled and not qualified to take on the jobs that are available in the Stanger area. Schooling is also a serious problem because many children between the ages of 6 and 18 do not

attend school. This is due to overcrowding at the only local primary school.

(7) Schlyter, A. & Schlyter, T.

In their study that was conducted in a squatter settlement called **George** in Lusaka in intervals from the period of 1965, they found that there was no other supply of water in George than from wells. At a later stage, after demand made by the squatter community, the authorities arranged for tank lorries to bring water into George. Pit latrines are the only type of latrines used in George. A major issue with regard to refuse is that there was no collection of garbage in George with the exception of some dustbins put up outside the markets in 1976. Electricity was provided in George although there was no street lighting, except along Commonwealth Avenue.

There have never been any health centres or clinics in George except for a roofed brick shelter used for a clinic up to 1973. Most roads are only bad tracks. Waged employment was the dominating source of income among the heads of households in George and unemployment was low. For commercialisation there were municipal African markets which served the area. There were no schools in George. Children attended school in the nearby townships called **Matero** and **Kizito**.

(8) Townsend, M.

In his study that was conducted in the informal settlements in Umlazi he recommended that water supply should be given the highest priority as well as sanitation services. In some areas people are forced to drink water from streams, which may be heavily polluted. In such areas there would seem to be no alternative but to opt for water-borne sewerage systems which feed into sewage treatment works.

In terms of health, some areas seem particularly poorly positioned. The informal settlement called **Uganda** seems to be the worst off in this regard. A further major problem in Uganda squatter settlement concerns the high rate of unemployment, although this has not been possible to quantify in the study. The most serious shortage in Uganda is the absence of schools. Primary school children attend school in Umlazi and secondary school children attend school at Umbumbulu because they are classified as "rural" and therefore undeserving of places in Umlazi.

5.1.3 The life-world of the squatter child

A meaningful life-world is formed when the child, by attributing meaning, forms relationships with objects,

people, ideas, values, himself and God. To attribute meaning to a relationship implies much more than mere understanding. The quality of both meaning and involvement is determined by what the child subjectively experiences, and both are components of self-actualization, which, because of the need for educational assistance, is guided actualization. The child's relationships are therefore an expression of his life-world.

The lifestyle of squatter children is an example of the outcome of disharmonious educational dynamics. It represents inadequate personality development which, although it took place through the child's own initiative, is mainly the result of educational misguiding by the parents and other adults. The child's initiative stems from the need of every human being to be somebody and to become somebody. When the child feels himself unaccepted, rejected and unwelcome, he develops a feeling of inferiority. Whether a child will develop a constructive or destructive attitude, in the first place depends on his parents' attitude to him. The fact that the squatter child finds himself in a situation of dysfunctional education, implies that his psychic life is under-actualised.

Squatter children are fully aware that their parents and other adults have neglected them. Furthermore those adults they interact with in squatter settlements usually respond with pity, disapproval, embarrassment, or outright hostility and rejection. For these children to be aggressive and misbehaving represent a desire to take control of their lives themselves. They have become victims of intimidation in their primary educational milieu. When intimidated now, their response is frequently to attack and they show little respect for authority in a misguided attempt to improve their self-image. Because of this inability of the squatter child the relationships formed by the squatter child are inadequate for his emancipation. He finds himself in a situation of helplessness and this helplessness is reflected in his relation to reality which offers opportunities for emancipation but which he is afraid to utilise.

5.1.4 Accountable support for the squatter child

At present only a few social workers and voluntary organizations reach out to these children to endeavour to rehabilitate the families and children. School and "vocational" training centres have also been established in an effort to assist these children in obtaining lawful and independent occupations. Voluntary organizations are

faced with a dilemma that their philanthropic motivations are not supported by statute. They subsequently support the squatter children on humane grounds. The question of accountable support structures available to the squatter child at present can be summarised as follows:

- No statutory provision exists at the moment that pertains directly to the squatter child;
- The Children's Act No. 74 of 1983, (as amended), focuses on the inadequate parent rather than on the uncontrollable child. No provision is made in the Act to accommodate parents who, because of the circumstances beyond their control (poverty, urbanisation, unrest, illiteracy, etc.) do not earn enough to provide for the needs of their family;
- Voluntary organizations are mainly involved in providing some support. Most of the child care organizations that came into existence for providing some measure of support are existing illegally under present statutory provisions, lack the services of suitable qualified personnel, are often haphazardly organized, cannot cope effectively with the present situation and is a duplication of certain services in the provision of support;

- Church involvement is restricted to a minimum by their responsibility of addressing other social problems amongst members within their own community. A small percentage of indirect support is made by churches in the form of channelling funds as well as donations in kind (e.g. clothing, food, use of church facilities, etc.) towards voluntary organizations;

- Educational support structures in the form of school social work services could prove to be very supportive, however, at present the effective functioning of such a service within the Black community will be extremely hampered by the fact that Black Education is not yet compulsory within the RSA;

- Where compulsory education does exist the needs of the pedagogically neglected child could be addressed by the school social worker. It will therefore be imperative that suitable persons be recruited, trained and all schools provided with a school social worker. The school social worker will be of immense value due to his situatedness within a school environment. The school social worker will at the same time have the required training to link

up with those at present involved in offering support for the squatter child. The school social worker will be able to canalise the squatter child to where the best support can be offered. The main tasks of the school social worker will be to identify the pedagogically neglected child (e.g. the squatter child), be responsible for family guidance, the socialisation of the child and for dealing with problems that may arise in the child's transition from mainstream to special education or vice-versa.

Regarding the accountable support for the squatter child it can thus be concluded that a number of organizations are involved in attempts to render some kind of support. The fact remains that the squatter child is a "child" that should be assisted by parents and the school in his process of becoming. This crucial factor is at present often overlooked by these organizations that render support. These support structures direct their attention to activities that often exclude the school and the family context which are vital factors in the child's becoming. The actualization of the child's full potential therefore becomes more remote.

5.1.4 Aims of this study

The aims of this investigation were formulated as follows:

- to describe the life-world of the child in a squatter environment as it reveals itself in his relations to himself, to others, to things/ideas and to God; and
- in the light of the findings obtained from the literature study and interviews, to establish certain guidelines according to which accountable support can be instituted in order to meet the needs of squatter children.

The writer is of the opinion that the aims of this study have been met and consequently it is now possible to make certain recommendations.

5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

5.2.1 Compulsory education for all children

(1) Rationale

At present the education system for Black children does not provide for compulsory education. Support structures

that do exist within the present educational system for Black children are rendered powerless because most of these children who are in need of support are not attending school.

The identification of squatter children by Black educational authorities is hampered by the lack of compulsory education because Black children are free to roam the streets at any time during the day.

Although Black educational authorities stated that the instituting of compulsory education for all Black children cannot at present be accommodated within their financial budgets some measure of compulsory education is vital for effective coping of the squatter child problem.

(2) Recommendation

The recommendation is that:

- education be made compulsory for all children from the age of 6 years up to a minimum age of 13 years.

5.2.2 Compensatory education

Compensatory education refers to educational programmes, practices, projects and techniques to overcome the deficiencies of children from culturally or environmentally deprived homes.

(1) Rationale

Social life in squatter areas is not conducive to adequate child development; and children from these social settings demonstrate criminal acts and other forms of anti-social behaviour. Apart from the skills required to survive, these children are lacking in basic social skills. The social nature of squatter areas does not facilitate basic skills and a social conscience, which means that the social setting impedes specifically the child's educational progress.

Two requirements must be met before compensatory education is able to achieve what it purports to do:

- the education system in South Africa will have to change drastically, that is, the introduction of compulsory education and possibly multicultural education necessitates centralised control over educational affairs in a single department of

education in order to allow some degree of control by regional educational authorities; and

- it is vital that the social conditions associated with squatting be removed if compensatory education is to succeed. This will require planning and implementation of comprehensive socio-economic programmes for upliftment and compensating for socio-economic and cultural backlogs, as well as the provision of the necessary infrastructure for these programmes.

(2) Recommendation

The recommendation is that compensatory education for environmentally deprived children should be offered in the following ways:

- the child should be approached as an individual;
- the curriculum should provide for a high degree of effective support, the development of a healthy self-concept and opportunities for creative expression;
- teaching strategies should show a sensitivity regarding different learning methods and learning

styles, body language, conversations between teacher and child as well as group work; and

- teaching staff should be sensitive to the diversity of population groups, language groups, socio-economic groups and cultural groups with whom they are dealing.

5.2.3 Appointment of school social workers

(1) Rationale

Once special schools for the pedagogically neglected child in need of special care have been established, the squatter child should be placed in these schools. The identification and resulting canalising of the squatter child to a special school can only be done by suitably qualified personnel who also have statutory power to effect these actions. It was recommended by Le Roux (1987:402-407) that a four-year degree course (SSW (Ed.) degree) be instituted to train school social workers. This degree must include four years of social work training as well as courses in Pedagogics, Psychology, Sociology and Guidance. This degree will allow entrance to both an M.A. degree in Social Work or a B.Ed. degree. The aim is to enable a suitably qualified school social

worker at a school to be promoted to a senior position within the structure of a school and/or education department.

No teacher or principal at present is suitably qualified or has statutory power to institute such actions. There is a dire need for such a person within the school environment.

The school social worker could play a vital role with regard to curbing the squatter child phenomenon. In the first place the school social worker will be suitably qualified to identify and work with the squatter child and his parents. Secondly the school social worker will also have the statutory power to effect the canalising of the squatter child to a clinic or special school. At the same time the school social worker will have the required knowledge and statutory backing to assist, and work with, welfare organizations and voluntary support organizations. Thirdly, the school social worker will be an absolute necessity whenever a rehabilitated squatter child is returned from a special school back to mainstream education.

(2) Recommendations

The recommendations are that:

- school social workers should be trained and made available to all schools, i.e. the school social worker should form part of the staff structure of every school;
- the training of the school social workers should qualify them as teachers as well as social workers within the school environment i.e. registration with both the Teachers' Council as well as the Council for Social work;
- the following four-year degree course (SSW (Ed.)) for the training of school social workers at universities within the RSA is recommended:

SSW (Ed.)

FIRST YEAR
Social work I
Pedagogics I
Psychology I
Sociology I
SECOND YEAR
Social Work II
Pedagogics II
Sociology II or Psychology II
Method of Guidance
THIRD YEAR
Social Work III
Pedagogics III
FOURTH YEAR
Social Work IV

- the school social worker should be promoted within the educational structure of an education department to any position for which he may qualify.

5.2.4 Remedial teaching training programmes for all teachers

(1) Rationale

At present the teacher training programmes at Black Colleges of Education do not include or provide for any training regarding remedial teaching. It is therefore doubtful whether the Black teacher is equipped to

concentrate on the mental health of his pupils. It is of the utmost importance that teachers should be trained in basic orthopedagogical guidelines. This should enable them to identify, evaluate and diagnose elementary educational problems and furthermore to give basic assistance. It could be expected from every teacher to be capable of handling continuous evaluation and reporting as a normal part of his classroom activities. All teachers should be capable of executing the early identification of high risk pupils by recognising, *inter alia*, impeding environmental factors which could be harmful for the child's development. Teachers will then be in a position to:

- neutralise negative effects on the child's learning strategies and possible deviant behaviour;
- execute learning readiness programmes; and
- inform parents about their own educational strategies and identify shortcomings in this regard.

(2) Recommendations

The recommendations are that:

- a remedial teaching programme based on orthopedagogical guidelines be included in the teacher training programmes at Black Colleges of Education; and
- through in-service training, by means of large scale compulsory workshops, seminars and conferences, an efficient system of identification, evaluation, diagnoses and assistance of teachers be promoted and assured.

5.2.5 Parent guidance and involvement programmes at schools

(1) Rationale

Because a large number of urban parents of the Black child are unable to read, they are forced to develop their own child-rearing strategies and omit to develop certain elementary codes of conduct in their children regarding that which society expects from them. Illiterate parents have to keep up with a rapidly

changing society and technology in South Africa which makes it extremely difficult for the parent to give guidance and assistance to the child. Many Black children come from homes where a more traditional culture is dominant, whereas the child is more exposed to a modern culture within the school. This factor seems to be a source of conflict in many families if the child tends to favour the modern culture.

In line with this is the traditional belief that a large family is an indication of wealth and therefore, the idea of family planning is rejected or even politicised by certain traditionalists. Poverty, unemployment and a lack of proper facilities causes havoc regarding parent-child relations in large families. On the other side of the coin, the emergence of single-parent families in the Black community usually implies the absence of proper parental guidance in these families.

It is therefore obvious that there is an urgent need for some form of education, training and guidance for parents themselves. In this respect the school could and should play a more prominent role, especially in the provision of training programmes for parents wherein the educative role of the parents and the teaching part by teachers could be synchronised and be more interrelated. At the

same time family planning and guidance should also receive serious consideration.

(2) Recommendations

The recommendations are that:

- training programmes for parents are instituted at schools wherein the educative role of the parents and the teaching part by teachers could be synchronised and be more interrelated;
- family planning and guidance clinics are held on a regular basis at schools in order to tie in with the whole training and assistance programme for parents.

5.2.6 Co-ordination of support and welfare services

(1) Rationale

At present voluntary organizations are mainly involved in providing some support for the squatter child. Most of the child care organizations that came into existence for providing some measure of support are existing illegally under present statutory provisions. They lack the services of suitable qualified personnel, are often

haphazardly organized, cannot cope effectively with the present situation and there is a duplication of certain services in the provision of support. Dr Venter (1990:21) announced a programme of the South African government which can be very effective in curbing the above-mentioned problem. This programme was initiated by the government during 1990 and is directed towards supporting and promoting actions taken by voluntary organizations within society regarding social problems within society. This programme was given top priority by the RSA government and placed under the guidance of the South African Welfare Council's Committee for Marital and Family life.

(2) Recommendation

The recommendation is that:

- all support and welfare services pertaining to the squatter child be co-ordinated and planned by the National Family Programme for the RSA under the guidance of the South African Welfare Council's Committee for Marital-and-Family life.

5.2.7 Further research

(1) Rationale

The squatter child phenomenon in South Africa at present pertains mainly to the Black society. As a result of cultural differences and the rapidly changing society there may be certain differences regarding the problems surrounding the squatter child phenomenon i.e. the pedagogically neglected child of the White, Indian and Coloured population groups. In addition, each of these population groups may have distinctive needs with regard to *inter alia* the care, therapy and remedial education of the squatter child. Research findings covering all the population groups will facilitate responsible planning of comprehensive services for all races in the RSA considerably.

(2) Recommendation

The recommendation is that:

- an in-depth research study concerning the squatter child phenomenon should be conducted.

5.3 FINAL REMARK

It is trusted that this study will be of value particularly to the various Educational and Health departments with regard to meeting the needs of these children and their parents. It is also hoped that the study will contribute towards brightening the future perspective of squatter children.

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