The National School Nutrition Programme and its affects on schooling for farm workers in South Africa

-An investigation of two generations living and working on wine farms in the rural areas of Western Cape

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This work is for everyone that wants to change the South African society to the better…
Abstract

In this thesis, I study the effects of the National School Nutrition Programme (NSNP) on the rural areas of Western Cape, South Africa. More precisely I try to find out how the NSNP has affected the families in this rural area and what attitudes that can be found among the two generations of people living and working on wine farms. The reason for this investigation is that NSNP was set up to increase school attendance among children living in an exposed socioeconomic environment, and I wanted to see how much the NSNP affect people’s daily life, with focus on the ones living on/near wine farms in the more rural areas in Western Cape since these areas holds socioeconomic groups that are exposed in the society.

To answer the research questions, I conducted several interviews with both wine farm workers and pupils living on/near a wine farm. But oral history is more than a method! I wanted to look upon the history from a grassroots perspective with a special focus on the working class, ethnic minorities and women’s part in the history. My theory is based upon the terms Welfare and Social inequality. These two perspectives describe access to labor market, poverty, education and income support. These aspects highlight different forms of social exclusion which wine farm workers and pupils living on/near wine farm lives in.

With these methods I found out that the NSNP plays a crucial part in the lives of those who lives in the rural areas of Western Cape. Many pupils go to school just because their parents want it due to lack of food at home. The government’s purpose of the NSNP, to increase the school attendance can be seen in the answers giving to me during interviews with wine farm workers.

Key words

Nutrition, mal-nutrition, poverty, child-poverty, school, Primary School Nutrition Programme (PSNP), National School Nutrition Programme (NSNP), African National Congress (ANC), Apartheid, inequality
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1.1. Introduction

On the 2nd of February 1990, F.W. de Klerk president of South Africa removed the banish on the South African Communist Party, Pan-African Congress and the African National Congress party, ANC, and nine days later Nelson Mandela gave his famous speech from the balcony of City Hall in Cape Town. This was a big step towards democracy and the beginning for the end of the Apartheid system which ended in 1994 when Nelson Mandela was elected president.

My own memories from this major event are vague since I was around teen years old, but I do remember that they talked a lot about this man, Nelson Mandela on TV. He had been sent to prison and been there for over 25 years, but still he wasn’t angry or mad. There was only joy and satisfaction in his eyes. I think I found that quite strange, and still today when I think about this man the first picture that flashes by in my head is a smiling and free Nelson Mandela.

However, after several years in school including history studies at the university and a 3 month stay in South Africa it is not the same Mandela in my eyes anymore. The man is now quite old and many have questioned his work. Still today, approximately 15 after he was elected president, poverty is still a problem in South Africa. I have witnessed huge townships with high unemployment and social problems, children begging on the streets, problems with violence and schools that still are racially segregated. The ANC seems to have lost some of its previous power to other parties which have promised more money and harder work to cope with the huge social problems in South Africa. However, despite the now existing problems, we must never forget what Nelson Mandela and the ANC actually achieved. Nelson Mandela was, and still is synonymous with the democratic process in South Africa.¹

After having been elected president he became the reconciliator with a constant smile on his face. Before that he was known as the militant negotiator. After his release the struggle began to make South Africa a democratic country. Negotiations with Nationalist party and its leader F.W. De Klerk took place, but before Mandela even would start the negotiations he demanded some democratic rights which De Klerk accepted.² De Klerk also saw the need for change.

“…the start of negotiations for a new political dispensation to embrace everybody. He called on South Africans to “take the road of drastic change”, to put aside divisions and “build” a broad consensus about the fundamentals of a new, realistic and democratic dispensation. “Our

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¹ Nelson Mandela exhibiton
² Sitas, Ari 2010: 5-16
country”, he said, and all of its people have been embroiled in conflict, tension and violent struggle for decades.”

On 27 of April 1990 the first democratic elections took place in South Africa for the first time ever. Due to black urban revolts such as those in Soweto, international pressure from the UN, economic stagnation, increasing unemployment and high inflation this elections was possible. Affects such as revolts, unemployment and economic stagnation forced South Africa to democratic elections. The want for change was grave. Almost 20 million people had the right to vote and ANC secured its victory with 62.5 percent of the votes. Nationalist Party and its leader De Klerk got 20.4 percent of the votes and then had the right to take part in writing of the new constitution. The Nationalist Party also won the Western Cape district and KwaZulu-Natal province. So it still had political influence.

In May 1996 the new constitution of South Africa was born. It was influenced by previous events during the past decades. Rights such as equality between men and women, racial and gender equality, the guarantee of basic rights, freedom of information, regular elections, protection of language and culture, freedom to join and form cultural and religious associations, increased provincial empowerment and acts against discrimination were now included in the new constitution. In 1995 the death penalty was banned. According to Mandela such a law did not belong in a modern democracy. De Klerk along with the Nationalist Party was upset over the new constitution. According to them, Mandela took the country closer to a one-party state. Also De Klerk expressed his anger with the minor role that Nationalist Party had in the coalition.

Another important step to cope with previous problems and conflicts was the introduction of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) under the leadership of arch bishop Desmond Tutu. The purpose of this Commission was that amnesty would be given to anyone that during March of 1960 until May 1994 had violated human rights. Those who didn’t step forward risked being stand in front of a court later on. In this way TRC wanted to help the country heal itself so that both victims and accused could move on with their lives.

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3 Barber 1999: 273
4 Beck 2000: 189
5 Barber 1999: 274
6 Beck 2000: 189-190
7 Beck 2000: 192-193
8 Beck 2000: 198
Over 20,000 persons testified in front of the commission and more than 7,000 people applied for amnesty. In 1999 the commission finished its work and the information in it regarding political crimes and its victims is a unique material.\(^9\)

After the elections in 1994 a hard and difficult work started to take place. Nelson Mandela had seen the effects of the Apartheid regime with huge social problems and hunger among the Coloured and Black population.\(^10\) ANC long hoped for an economic program similar to the Marshall Plan after World War II and the purpose was to provide economic assistance to South Africa.

In 1993 ANC established the *Reconstruction and Development Programme* (RDP). The aim was to give everyone a better life which included free education, water, electricity and construction of houses. In this way Mandela hoped to decrease poverty and in 1994 the parliament approved the RDP. Several programs were established to cope with problems like health care for children, land reforms, housing and road projects.\(^11\) Thus the good will to deal with these social problems the budget was very strict since the Mandela administration did not want to end up with debt problems with loaned money.\(^12\)

An important part of the *Reconstruction Development Programme* are the food programmes. There were several reasons for their introduction. The Mandela government saw the importance of education for the new South Africa and wanted every South African child to go to school. The *Primary School Nutrition Programme* was introduced during 1994. By offering food and nutrition learning in school they hoped for several effects like improved school attendance, improved learning and increased knowledge regarding subjects such as nutrition and health would increase.\(^13\)

The purpose of my survey is to analyze the introduction of the *Primary School Nutrition Programme*, later on renamed *National School Nutrition Programme* in a historical context and see how this legal change has affected life in general and in school in rural areas of the Western Cape province. I want to see how this program has affected school attendance in rural areas among two generations of people living on wine farms in the rural area of Western Cape.

\(^9\) Beck 2000: 197-198  
\(^10\) Ross 2001: 186-187  
\(^11\) Beck 2000: 194-195  
\(^12\) Ross 2001: 187  
\(^13\) An Evaluation of South Africa’s Primary School Nutrition Programme 1997: 9-10
Cape, and what positive effects these food programs have had on family life outside school. These two generations are pupils and farm workers living and working on wine farms.

1.2. Status of topic
The gathering of information regarding my topic was facilitated since I spend almost three months of year 2011 in South Africa collecting the sources needed to finish my work back in Sweden. I was able to do that due to a scholarship from SIDA and Lärarförbundet. Literature regarding farm workers in Western Cape, poverty in South Africa, South African politics, archival material regarding food in school and the educational system is hard to find in Sweden. Literature regarding the historical context, such as Apartheid together with government reports on internet over the PSNP and NSNP can be found in Sweden. Effects of the food programs in a historical perspective among two generations living and working at wine farms in the Western Cape was hard to find. Maybe it has to do with that it takes time to perform interviews and gather material. Closest ones to approach my thesis are government publications regarding the annual reports of the PSNP and NSNP and therefore I choose to answer my questions of issue with a special focus on wine farm workers, women situation and how family life been affected by the NSNP. Literature available tends to have a top perspective, an overview when comes to describe the effects of the NSNP. I my thesis, I would like to see how it has affected minority groups such as Colored and Black wine farm and their families living in the rural areas of Western Cape.

The key literature I have used is *South Africa, a modern history* written by Rodney Davenport & Christopher Saunders gives an overview perspective of the South African history from the pre-colonial history until the end of Apartheid. It gives an good overview over the history and has good information regarding the *Truth and Reconciliation commission*, how the economy were affected by the Apartheid and what the purpose behind the social reforms that Mandela government established after 1994. Still, I think it should have been giving more information regarding the changes after 1994.

*Sydafrika, stegen mot befrielsen* by Birgitta Silén gives an historical perspective of the history of South Africa. It gives a short and clear documentation over the Apartheid and according to me a good description of unions, ANC resistance and the horror from the Apartheid regime. This book helped me to form an understanding of what really happened during the years of Apartheid and became an important part in my history background.
Input on nutrition for the poverty and inequality report by Milla Mclachlan and Pauline Kuzwayo describes nutrition from several perspectives such as causes behind nutrition such as lack of education and food security, and how important nutrition is for infants and young children. The authors also give an historical perspective over the food programs in South Africa and purpose behind PSNP and NSNP. It’s been giving me an important overview over the link between nutrition and learning.

Situational analysis of children in South Africa 2007-2008 by UNICEF, by order from the South African republic gives an overall perspective as well a provincial perspective over children’s situation in South Africa. Facts regarding poverty and inequality among children take as huge part in this report. Also Unemployment among parents and the outspread of hunger have a central part in this report. Quality of education such as teacher’s education, resources in school and school safety is also investigated. This document gives an overall view when it comes to describe the situation for children in South Africa and what problems as well as opportunities they have and describes how the government through national programs such as NSNP contributes to children’s time in school.

The book Inequality in education, comparative and international perspectives by Donald B. Holsinger & W. James Jacob discuss the changes in the educational system and provides the reader with specific case studies, such as the one in South Africa where the author’s gives an historical perspective of the school system in South Africa with special focus over the Apartheid time and the challenges after the fall. The authors also discuss things that make the education unequal, such as gender, race, economical factors and language.

Another book with similar theme is Studying Ambitions, pathways from grade 12, and the factors that shape them by Michael Cosser. This book gave me information on how pupils in South Africa think about their education and what affects it, such as hunger and poverty. Understanding the legacy of dependency and powerlessness experienced by farm workers on wine farms in the Western Cape by Leila Ann Falletisch gives an historical perspective over the Western Cape with focus on Wine farming and the relationship between workers on the farms and there relation to the owner with focus on for example paternalism and the Tot system. This book gave me valuable information over when it came to describe the relation between farm workers and farm owner.
Going for broke- The fate of farm workers in arid South Africa by Doreen Atkinson discuss the lack of education among farm workers in modern South Africa. Atkinson gives an historical explanation regarding this problem and its affects today such as literacy which affects the ability to understand their rights and how to change their life situation. But also that transport to school, parental involvement and unqualified teachers makes it hard for the children to attend and manage school.

My interest for history and education together with lack of information in literature regarding school food programs and its effects on schooling, wine farm workers and their families living and working in the rural areas of Western Cape made me choose following questions:

1.3. Questions of issue
- What is the government’s purpose with the National School Nutrition Programme (NSNP)?
- What attitudes regarding the National School Nutrition Programme (NSNP) can be seen among the two generations?
- How has the National School Nutrition Programme (NSNP) affected family life, children of farm workers and their school attendance in the rural area in the Western Cape Province?

1.4. Methods and sources
To gather the material needed for my analysis I had to perform interviews with two generations of people living on wine farms in the rural areas of Stellenbosch in Western Cape. This since the literature available for me doesn’t answer my questions of issue. Through their stories and experience I wanted to know how their time in school was affected by the PSNP, later on the NSNP in time during the late period of the apartheid.

Therefore is this study based upon Oral History. Thus the uprising of oral history, this is not a new way to use history. Oral history has been used throughout the history, from the ancient times of Greece and Rome until our days.

This way to look upon history got a breakthrough during the 1960’s. Then, during the time of social movements in combination in interest of social history oral history became bigger. They started to look on history from a grassroot perspective, focusing on working class (wine farm workers), ethnic minorities (Blacks and Coloreds) and women’s (sex) part in the society

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14 Hansson & Thor 2006: 45
15 Kjeldstadli 1998: 184
through history. Through interviews historians started to save a history that otherwise would had been forgot.\textsuperscript{16} Oral History is about telling every ones history, and creating a more democratic history.\textsuperscript{17}

Oral history and the meanings of it are various. American Oral History Association define Oral History as a method to collect and restore historical information through recorded interviews, while the British organization the Oral History Society regard oral history as a way to record people’s memories and their experience which give us a tool to understand the past and conserves every people’s past for the future. Thus the British interpretation is wider than the American, the British organization emphasizes that oral history is more than a method. It’s the history of the people.\textsuperscript{18}

The oral history is focusing on memories from previous events and traditions such as legends.\textsuperscript{19} When researchers do interviews with people or groups, it is often done to observe and tell their history. In my case I want to tell the history of the wine farmers and their relation to school and education. The point of oral history in this case is to strength the history and life perspective of wine farm workers in the Western Cape. Through my interviews I have created new sources and these should not be neglected.\textsuperscript{20}

Through the use of oral history I can use my interviews to exemplify the written material and make my text more alive by mixing literature with oral examples from real life. In this way I fill up my written material and can create a depth with examples from real life events. The interviews made among the rural farm workers in Western Cape gave me relevant information from an individual perspective, and together with literature and research I got different perspective on my subject. Through their stories I can see the changes made over time when it comes to changes in school and nutrition programmes within the school.\textsuperscript{21}

Preparations before the interviews are the key for success. Still it is not easy to know how I should react to certain answer and situations. The farm workers I will be meeting lives in a different world compared to mine. What cloths is the most suitable for the situation and how do I react to the answers given to me? Is it best to agree whatever said during the meeting to

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{16} Hansson & Thor 2006: 9
\item \textsuperscript{17} Hansson & Thor 2006: 8-41
\item \textsuperscript{18} Hansson & Thor 2006: 7-8
\item \textsuperscript{19} Kjeldstadli 1998: 185
\item \textsuperscript{20} Hansson & Thor 2006:54
\item \textsuperscript{21} Kjeldstadli 1998: 186
\end{itemize}
prevent cracks or do I sit quiet and take notes, and how do I formulate questions regarding poverty, hunger and situation in school? I choose to have anonymous interviews since the answers given to me can affect other people living in the area. The relationships between farmers and farm workers is on many farms not good, and since my questions is about poverty and education within families I found the anonymity important. Farm workers has also during my interviews been talking about rapes made by a family member, violence at home, alcohol abuse and their relation to the farm owner which makes it even more important to protect the source. I choose to make a list of questions before we started the interviews, and I also had my South African friend Siviwe who I lived together with in the same house and supervisor looking over them before. This to ensure that my questions didn’t insulted any farmers and students and that they had a good quality and to ensure that my questions not were to leading and inappropriate. After a few interviews I skipped the list since I remembered the questions by heart. Furthermore it feels more professional not to sit and use a paper of questions during conversation.

During my three month stay in South Africa, I and my colleague Jannie Jensen, whom I gathered the material with (interviews) experienced the best and worst when it comes to work out in the field and in another culture. Before leaving Sweden we managed to fix two important academic contacts, Professor Susan Levine at the University of Cape Town and Sandra Swart, Professor at Stellenbosch University. We managed to have one meeting together with Sandra and her master students. Susan Levine, professor in anthropology helped us a lot in the beginning. Our aim before we left Sweden was to write about the connection between child labor and school, but after our meeting with Prof. Susan Levine, who herself had experience doing interviews in the field, she discouraged us to carry on with this project since no one talks about this sensitive subject. So with the help from Prof. Susan Levine we changed the direction of our project and instead focused on the ANC food program and its implementation in a rural region.

Through contacts we got in touch with Women on Farms Project (WFP) and The DopStop Organization. The Women on Farms Project started up as an organization in order to organize women farm workers. During their meetings the participating women talk about their life situation on farms, and how their problems and general life situation can be improved in their daily life since they confront heavy workload and resistance to improvement from their men or boyfriends. The main challenge for many of these women is to stand up against the
patriarch, a hierarchic system which is holding down their liberty to act on their own. WFP provides women with tools to break this pattern.\textsuperscript{22} WFP goes directly to the farms to speak with the women farm workers. As I understood during my time with WFP, they meet resistance from the farm owners who don’t welcome their work.

*The DopStop Association* works to improve social development and skills like education and health. During the Apartheid farm owners constantly used alcohol as a method to pay the farm workers (Tot system), and still today, consequences can be seen due to this system. In 1994, *The DopStop Association* was founded to deal with the problems like fetal alcohol syndrome, meaning that many children were damaged from alcohol since their mothers used alcohol during the pregnancy.\textsuperscript{23} Unfortunately, after several times trying to arrange meetings without any result we decided to drop The DopStop and only focus on WFP.

WFP made our work possible. After a few meetings when we presented our work and they approved cooperation with us. A translator, ChaleenArendse who had contact on the farms helped us and through an agreement with the deputy director we agreed on a salary.

Without Chaleen, our work would have been impossible. Our interviews were made in the rural areas outside Stellenbosch. Since the answers in my questions of issue can’t be answered with present literature, interviews were necessary to finish our work. Some written material were found in Western Cape Archives And Records Service, and that material gives me an historical understanding of how much food the pupils got in school and what type of food they got, and can in this way complement my interviews.

We met with teachers and principals at the schools and they gave me valuable information regarding the NSNP and its implementation. Through them I also got information I never thought could be true. More on that below. On our search for contacts we came in touch with *Legacy Center* in the township Kayamandi outside of Stellenbosch. There I hoped to establish contact with the staff working there in order to make interviews. *Legacy Center* is a non-profit organization working with children and students in the township of Kayamandi. They come there to do their homework and have classes and in return they get food. We had the chance to conduct lessons our self and also see the food distribution. An important experience from this kind of meeting is to see how the ordinary teachers and helpers are working in the class room. With strict voices and movements they control the class room with verbal methods and sticks.

\textsuperscript{22} Greenberg & Edwards 2004: 36
\textsuperscript{23} www.dopstop.org.za 2011-05-04
Since we for a few weeks visited Legacy Center we got to know the township of Kayamandi and with our own eyes saw the social exclusion from the rest of society.

I and Jannie Jensen made around 30 interviews during our stay in Cape Town. We interviewed 17 people living on farm villages, 12 pupils attending some sort of school, 2 teachers, 1 principle and 2 social workers. Around 27 of them were women. Our contact with WFP could have contributed to that, but it also made it easier for both us and them to use already established contacts. In my analyses I used 22 of these interviews. Due to bad hearing and lack of material in my interviews I choose to not use everyone.

An important part for us was to understand what kind of situation they were living in. What kind of society they grew up in and the differences between generations. By the use of Oral History I want to the see the changes and differences between the two generations when it comes to importance and attitudes regarding school, the opportunity to take part in the school system and the importance of food in school and how that affects and affected their time in school. And to do so I performed interviews with the two generations. People in the first generation are Colored or Blacks from 25 years of age and up. There mainly source of income is from farm working and some has other types of job such as house cleaning, social working or teaching. Some don’t have a job at all and work inside the house during days. The second generation consists of Colored and Black students attending some sort of school and they are in the ages from 13 to 21.

Through the interviews with two different generations we can get a little understanding of the differences in time when they described their time in school. Since many of the farm workers were children during the Apartheid time it’s interesting to listen to their life story since they can compare their school situation with their children’s.

I use Oral History to describe the situation for Black and Colored farm workers, the working class and women living in the rural areas of Western Cape since these groups are, and have been social excluded from the South African society. I want do describe their story and put it inside a larger context, and by combining my interviews with written material I get the whole perspective of the past. I can also use my interviews to get the answers I want to find since that literature don’t do it. Therefore are my interviews the key for success in this thesis.

24 Hansson & Thor 2006: 10
25 Hansson & Thor 2006: 12
Several contacts were made by me to establish contact with the Western Cape Education Department without any success. The “bureaucracy” was always present and it takes time to get in touch with persons responsible for the NSNP in the Western Cape. Lack of time forced me to abandon that idea. An interview with the person responsible for the food programs in Western Cape could have been a good contribution to my work.

Literature needed for me to write about Apartheid, post-apartheid, education system and so on is much easier to find in South Africa.

My own experience tells me that it tends to be historical books with a brief overview back home. In South Africa I got access to the libraries at University of Cape Town (UCT) and Stellenbosch University. The African Studies library, at UCT specializing at African history provided me the books I really needed to fill out the holes in my work. Without access to these institutions my work wouldn’t be possible. Since we made interviews 2-4 times a week the last 3-4 weeks before we left, I worked at the libraries during free time. Problem for me some times were to find the best literature since there was a lot of it. In order to reach the desired result I had to combine the literature with my interviews.

For researchers, working in the field of history, it is crucial to find out if the source is scientific usable. My interview material is both based upon present and on-going events as well as events that happened many years ago during the Apartheid. To get the material needed for my survey I had to interview two generations of people with experience from time in school to see the effect of the PSNP/NSNP. Since almost half of my analysis material is based upon interviews with pupils who in a daily basis have some sort of experience of the NSNP in their school I found these sources reliable. It’s the present in time and the fact that the students work and can take part in the NSNP that makes it more reliable.

When it comes to my interviews with the first generation, the parents, it is more complicated. Since it has been many years since they went to school and memory tends to vanish I have to be more aware of the answers given to me and keep in mind that these answers can be wrong and affected from previous happenings, even if long-term memory often I good. Previous happening tends to shape during the life and is adjusted to the ongoing life. Still, information regarding the effects of the NSNP when it comes to family life and economy give me present information, and has therefore never been affected by the past as much as the present time.

26 Hansson & Thor 2006:23
27 Hansson & Thor 2006: 29-30
It`s important for me during the interviews to keep my questions open and stay out of questions with short answers like “yes” or “no”, and make sure that we don`t control the person we interview by steering him/her to answer what we want to hear. Communication between me and the farm workers creates my material. My values, experience and thoughts will also steer the interview and leave a mark upon it. My open interviews and their knowledge that I wanted to know how their life has been affected by the NSNP made my interviews more open and interesting.

Time and place chosen for my interviews also affects the result of my interviews. During summer in South Africa harvesting of grapes on wine-farms take place which means long hours on the field and lack of labor rights for the workers. During this time I made my interviews. A farm-worker is often exposed to social injustice and lack of labor rights. In this situation when the parents work long days, may be drinking in the home at nights the importance of the NSNP gets more notable for the children since time and effort from the parents to take care of their children is decreased.

Some of my interviews are made in schools and some on farms. This may also affect the answers given to me. At school the pupils felt safe and are fare away from home which I think give me better interviews. They are in an environment important for my research and in school they are in one way or another apart of the NSNP. Also when it comes to the interviews with the first generation, these were made in their homes or close by which gives me an understanding of their life, and the person`s present life and situation reflects on my interviews.

A problem in interviews can be that the answers given to me is adjusted to how they will be reflected in the future. This problem can be solved by explaining that the interviews are anonymous and show that we are interested in explaining their life situation.

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28 Kjeldstadli 1998: 188-189
29 Hansson & Thor 2006: 45
30 Hansson & Thor 2006: 30-31
31 Hansson & Thor 2006: 31-32
32 Hansson & Thor 2006: 31-32
1.5. Theoretical points of departure

In many ways the South African society has a long path to walk to become a country where every man and women has equal possibilities to work, health care, education etc. During the Apartheid many marginalized groups were hoping and still hope for changes, and the political climate in South Africa is about how they can build a better and more equal society. The living conditions for farm workers and their families in the Western Cape are poor and the living conditions is not worthy anyone.

In this thesis I will use the terms Welfare and Social inequality to clarify and explain the living conditions for farm workers and their families in the rural areas of Western Cape. Welfare and Social Inequality helps me to understand and describe the living situation for farm workers who is a marginalized group in South Africa, and I will use them to give an understanding of how this particular group lives. The Sociologist Tapio Salonen, professor at Linnaeus University says that wide perspectives describe conditions such as access to labor market, poverty, income support and education. It can be described as an exclusion from the society where certain people are more vulnerable than others.\textsuperscript{33} It’s often connected to economic resources. Households with economic problems often have problems in other areas such as unemployment, poverty and health problems. A major problem with a poverty line (a measurement to measure poverty) is that current values in the society determine the view upon poverty; therefore can a person who falls under or over the line of poverty be different in every country.\textsuperscript{34}

This situation is present for the majority of families working as wine farmers in the rural areas of Western Cape.

Poverty is not equal to material criteria. According to Salonen we should see poverty as an exclusion from present living patterns among the population, and that view upon poverty lies in the hand of the viewer. Since that, we look upon poverty from where we stand today and not where we was years ago or with other countries since we have different living conditions.\textsuperscript{35}

Two perspectives upon poverty are economic poverty and material poverty. Economic poverty looks upon the income and spending in a household while the material perspective,
constructed upon necessary standard in homes such as items in the household, vacation opportunities and living standard.\textsuperscript{36}

Income support to people in need is also another perspective to look upon poverty. During specific times, households may be in need of an improved economic situation since the one they live under is not acceptable compared to the other ones in the society. Since the extent of these sorts of program is political it reflects the peoples will to contribute, and since these sorts of programs are based upon political decisions it may also change during economic cycles.\textsuperscript{37}

Another societal arena where social inequality is evident is in the labor market. The large numbers of unemployed persons in South Africa (23 percent 2007) creates a large working force compared to jobs available on the market. The enterprising sector doesn’t keep up with the jobs. In this situation, the proletarians and their salaries and demands on labor can be exploited instead of improved due to the surplus on labor force. In this way it is the higher class who owns companies that makes profits on the lower classes by using the high unemployment among the lower class. And through this way they can employ people for a very little salary and don’t improve working conditions since the working force can be replaced by a new one.\textsuperscript{38}

Poverty situation and the ability not to pay for fees in school, food or tax are higher in the agrarian society than in urban areas since it contains more marginalized groups and especially for women who have a higher difficulty to find a job.\textsuperscript{39} A sign notable at the labor force is for example that farm workers support their wife and children. This creates a large growing working class and their children are not able to remain on their social level as they are born into but fall down into poverty.\textsuperscript{40} This creates great inequalities between social groups and this pattern is upheld by economical interest such as the one in the wine farming industry where marginalized groups such as unemployed Black and Colored farm workers can be used to perform low salary jobs.

\textsuperscript{36} Salonen 2002: 23-24
\textsuperscript{37} Salonen: 2002: 24
\textsuperscript{38} Petersson 1983: 6
\textsuperscript{39} Petersson 1983: 11
\textsuperscript{40} Petersson 1983: 13
These tools (Welfare and Social Inequality) that I use help’s me to understand the situation for farm workers and their families. In South Africa are the living conditions very different due to the color of your skin or what sex you have. Lack of income, poverty, level of education, unemployment and health is much depended on if you are White, Black, Colored or Asian or if you live in the townships, suburbs or in the wealthy middle-class area. The large number of unemployment number (23 percent 2007) affects already marginalized groups in the South African society such as the Blacks and Coloreds.
2. Background

2.1. History

South Africa has a long and old history to share. The African continent is known as the human cradle. China had knowledge about the southern parts of Africa as early as in the 13th century. The written sources of South Africa began in the year of 1488 when the Portuguese explorer Bartolommeo Diaz went to shore in Mossel Bay, shortly after passing the Cape of Good Hope. The Portuguese showed little interest when it came to colonizing South Africa. The Dutch and the United East Indian Company entered the shore of South Africa during the early years of the 17th century. South Africa would mainly serve as a pit stop for seafarers and their vessels on their way to South and East Asian Countries such as China and India until the year of 1652, when Jan van Riebeeck was leading an expedition with the intention of establishing a more permanent base in South Africa, with the mission to provide the vessels of the Dutch East Indian Company on their way to South-East Asia.41

Former officials and employees at the built-up base would soon get permission to settle down more permanently in South Africa as farmers, with the purpose of growing and selling products to the Dutch company. The colony soon grew larger and expanded further inland of the continent.42

The Dutch society was at the time suffering with great social inequality and farmers were mainly both illiterate and poor inhabitants. The Boers were named after the Dutch word for farmers. They were known to be hard working and the bible played a crucial part in their lives. Conflicts soon arose between the indigenous African inhabitants and the Dutch settlers. According to the principle of terra nullius, any country with no legislated written documentation that proved righteous ownership of the land, were free to possess by anyone. The Boers also made bible interpretations important when it came to both justice and their view upon the different indigenous people of South Africa. According to them the bible considered the black man to be inferior to the white man. Both the Dutch and the British made their entry into South Africa in an era of social Darwinism and colonization, when Europeans considered themselves to be naturally superior to any other man or community, and this had inevitably a major impact on their view upon their fellow citizens.43

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41 Ross 2001: 27-28
42 Ross 2001: 28-31
43 Silén 1992: 33
The British interest in South Africa were strictly strategic to begin with, but would soon expand as greater wealth of resources was found such as fertile soil for sugar plants and mines full of diamond and gold.\(^{44}\)

The British first made their entry in South Africa in the early years of the 19th century. The Dutch settlements moved further north to establish their own republics as a result, and the discovery and exploitation of minerals such as gold and diamonds took place toward the end of the 18th century. The discoveries did change South Africa in many ways and represents a milestone between the early and the modern history of South Africa. The changes and processes caused by the discovery of these resources could be divided into the four different categories of war, unification, economic development and quasi-proletarianization that jointly formed the foundation of the development in South Africa. The findings of diamond and later on gold attracted different investors and thereby even different workers center to the diamond fields. Oversea investors wanted in on the profits and both immigration and the emergence of wealth were concrete consequences of the findings. Other upcoming consequences were such factors as the repressing of and the exploitation of the already suppressed indigenous populations of South Africa. This was the start of modern capitalism in South Africa along with the development in industry and new demands on the labor market.

The demands of a new labor force were significant. The spinning wheel of the economy were trigged by these findings and had great impact not only on the mine industry, but also on farms, railways and public work as well as other parts of the infrastructural development. The mining industry became of great importance for the British. The British were the ones to discover these resources, and thereby pushed the Boers further away from certain areas. The British wanted to maintain a dominion role in these areas by controlling railways and the labor pool. By doing this the British wanted to obstruct the Boers attempt the establishment of polities.\(^{45}\) There were also an ongoing conflict between labor and capital. The British owned the mines, but Boers had control over the land in Transvaal and the Orange Free State. This led to conflicts regarding how the limited labor force should be used. The British wanted labor forced in the mines whilst the Boers demanded them for work.\(^{46}\)

The new industry demanded a vast and skilled labor force along with good infrastructure. The British increased the control and the safety of taxes, railways and safety over all. This served

\(^{44}\) Silén 1992: 33-35
\(^{45}\) Butler 1998: 6-15
\(^{46}\) Silén 1992: 37-38
mainly to ensure the exploitation of the mineral industry. The new industries also made social and urban changes possible. Cities like Johannesburg emerged by the end of the 19th century and then the population of Johannesburg consisted of 90 percent of black people. The growth of new urban areas transformed the economic geography in South Africa. This can be seen as a consequence of another major process of this time, namely the one regarding migrant labor. Workers from Mozambique worked in the mining industry and the agricultural sector and these workers were part of a system of cheap labor. The black labor force would later be the back bone of the industry in South Africa, and the reason for this was the low price for which mine and farm owners could employ a black person. A new group of radicalized *proletarians* were growing in the society.  

> "These massive changes- warfare on a grand scale, the creation of a modern state, the new economy and the transformation of rural areas by migrancy- were brought over a short period and by forces that can only be conceived as abstract: markets, imperial power, capital. Without these changes there would be no South Africa"  

The conflicting interests between the British and the Boers led up to the Boer wars in 1880 and 1881 and the latter conflict between 1899 and 1902. The second war between the Boers and the British ended in British hegemony and the formation of the South African Union where different ethnic groups lived. The unification of the British provinces Natal and Cape together with the Boer provinces of Transvaal and the Orange Free State merged together into one state with British rule. The British were now in total control of South Africa and the Boers were no longer in control over certain provinces and the unification would implicate the coexisting of the Boers and the British. The united South African society made a vast transformation from an agricultural society to a modern mining state, and together the British and Boers agreed on one thing: that the Whites were superior to Black people.  

The *Civil Act* from 1910 ensured the white man’s dominance in politics in the South African union. Both Social Darwinism and the prior historical events and development within South Africa were of major significance for the justification and legitimating of the changes that were to come. The English dominance expanded in the beginning of the twentieth century and the racial segregation also tended to grow. Boers with electoral power and the white mine owners made this inequality possible. In *The Native Land Act* of 1913 the white power

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47 Butler 1998: 6-15  
48 Butler 1998: 14  
49 Silén 1992: 37-38
became even more exclusive and black people were furthermore proletarianized when about 87 percent of the land fell in to the hands of white people.\textsuperscript{50}

The control over the agriculture has been an important object for the White minority. Until 1970, all land was owned by the state and the opportunity for Black and Coloreds to exploit and take part in some sort of business were impossible. It was not efficient for any Black or Colored farmer to make profit if you don’t have the opportunity to own your own soil. This lack of opportunity enforced the control over the Blacks. By the end of 19\textsuperscript{th} century Black farmers had been living relativity peacefully by them self in large farming community. Black farmers produced large quantities of wool, wheat and corn and owned large numbers of cattle. They had become commercial farmers. Despite their success as farmers, political and economic decisions would change their life situation. The \textit{Native Land Act} from 1913 forbade any Black or Colored peasants to act as a farmer or tenant on land belonging to any White, even if the White farmer wanted to lend out or sell his land. A reason behind these sorts of regulations was a fear that Black farmers who were more skilled would outcompete the White farmers. Therefore became Black farmers low wage workers. In modern South Africa today you will have troubles to find a commercial farmer that is Black or Colored.\textsuperscript{51}

The black populations were given the least fertile soil and were forced into certain parts of the country. That resulted in high concentrations of black people in certain areas, whilst the more fertile soil belonged to the white minority. This forced many black and colored to leave the ground that they had been living on through generations to become wage workers. The racial segregation took part even in the cities, hence \textit{The Native Urban Areas Act} forced black people to live in certain areas named townships. These became suburbs to the city in time. The nationalistic thoughts exceeded among whites during the First World War and in the years after. Swart gevaar, meaning the black danger, is a typical example of one of the expressions of the nationalistic era. The Nationalist parties tended to grow and segregation was reinforced in political thinking during the 2\textsuperscript{nd} WW when young South African students were sent to Germany and later returned with new racial ideas. In the election of 1948 the Nationalist Party won the election mainly due to the fact that the Boers outnumbered the British in numbers. Now apartheid, the word itself meaning separation or segregation, was formalized.\textsuperscript{52}

\textsuperscript{50}\textit{Butler 2001:15}
\textsuperscript{51}\textit{Kendall & Louw 1987: 30-57}
\textsuperscript{52}\textit{Silén 1992: 39-43}
New racist methods were designed in South Africa. The population of South Africa was formally divided into four categories: Whites, Blacks, Asians and Mixed Coloreds. All these groups were said to be represented by the regime, but reality was different. New laws forced people with different skin color to use different toilets, go by different ambulances and to get buried in different graveyards. Marriage amongst citizens from another racial category was forbidden.

Millions of people were even forced to move, hence fellow citizenship within the same areas amongst different racial categories were prevented by law. Attractive work in the cities was primarily given to and reserved for the white minority.

The gaps between the different racial categories caused by the segregation within the apartheid regime got to become quite severe as time went by. The discrepancy between rights amongst different citizens within South Africa during the apartheid regime has caused great gaps when it comes to socio-economic conditions such as poverty, education and criminality. Resistance movements among the non-whites started to emerge at the beginning of the 19th century and organizations fighting for their rights in the South African society. The most well-known is South African Native National Congress, later on African National Congress, ANC, established in 1912. It’s main goal in the beginning was increased rights for the black population and after 1948 to abolish the apartheid regime, and establish democracy. Early on this party would be represented by one man who later on became important in the shaping of the modern South African society, Nelson Mandela. As a young lawyer he became active in the movement.

The organized resistance against apartheid grew rapidly after 1950 as a result of new laws and systematic implementation of the apartheid policy that made the conditions worse for the black people. The ANC members protested together and carried out peaceful actions like ignoring the racial segregation rules on the busses and burning their passport documents. In 1955, the ANC created the Freedom charter, a document describing how they wanted South Africa to be. Issues like democracy, equal rights to vote, non-racism and redistribution of South African resources between all racial groups. The response from the regime was that the

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53 McKay 2006: 1060
54 Silén 1992: 43
55 McKay 2006:1060
56 Silén 1992: 41
Freedom Charter was considered to be a communist document, and therefore could be ignored.\textsuperscript{57}

A high tide in the resistance, and in many ways a tragedy, was the demonstrations in Sharpville in 1960. Peaceful demonstrations against the apartheid had been carried through for a long period of time, but this time the police opened fire into the demonstrating crowd and killed sixty-nine Black protesters. The police-men were mainly White and as a result of the open conflict the ANC was outlawed and thereby forced into becoming an underground and exiled organization. It still continued its work against the apartheid regime.\textsuperscript{58} Criticism towards the harsh intervention came from around the world including the United Nations, but the regime took no responsibility for what had happened. Instead the hunt for ANC members increased as a result, and so did the violence and brutality in South African society. Nelson Mandela was arrested in of 1962, and between 1965-1975 thousands of other supporters and members of ANC died for example during peaceful protests. The prime minister of this time, John Vorster, was known for his harsh ways to suppress the Black people as well as for his sympathies with the National Socialist Party in Germany during the 1930-1940\textsuperscript{th}.\textsuperscript{59}

In the middle of the 1980s the ruling regime started to develop some democratic reforms. It launched new reforms such as limited representation in the parliament, although this change only was made for the Coloreds, not for the Blacks who were in majority in South Africa. This provoked the black majority even more. In the townships, young men started to attack the police and take control over the streets. Over five thousands Blacks were killed between 1985 and 1989 and numerous got wounded as an effect of riots between Blacks and the security forces, mainly consisting of White people. Again, the political life in South Africa becomes harsher. In the late 1980´s and in the beginning of the 1990´s, strong sanctions and critique against the regime from all over the world made hope for change reappear in South Africa. In the elections of 1989, the new president F.W. De Klerk started a dialogue with the ANC leaders and also let Nelson Mandela out of prison.\textsuperscript{60}

As a social system Apartheid had various weak points. The core of the apartheid system was the separation between blacks and whites but due to that the industry demanded the labor force in the cities, all Blacks could no longer live in reserved areas. So over time the

\textsuperscript{57} Silén 1992: 48  \textsuperscript{58} McKay 2006: 1060  \textsuperscript{59} Silén 1992: 50  \textsuperscript{60} McKay 2006: 1061
regimedeviated more and more from their original plans regarding apartheid. The economy was sensitive of sanctions from other countries and large costs to sanction the apartheid also tended to damage finances. 

Together Nelson Mandela and De Klerk worked for democracy by guaranteeing economic and civil rights. In the elections of 1994 Nelson Mandela won largely and became president. De Klerk was made vice president and together they started to build up a new multiracial and democratic nation. From the year of 1990 the ANC has been working closely together with the Congress of South African Trade Unions, (COSATU), a union as of today is the largest national association with several affiliated unions and over 1,2 million members.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was established soon after Nelson Mandela had been elected as president. The important work of this group was to heal the wounds from the apartheid regime. Through interviews they let the victims of the Apartheid share their stories and speak about all the horrible things that had happened to them. This was seen as a way of coping with their history. There was also critique against the TRC and the way it handled the trials. In court, when witnesses wanted to point out and give names of policemen from whom they felt violated of, groups of policemen stopped this by addressing the Cape judge who saw this action illegal due to lack of prior warning. Policemen guilty of crime on farms could also be saved from punishment if they witnessed and gave evidences to other cases. Such thing happened when the leader in the secret police was charged for murder based upon eyewitnesses from his police officers. Case of Brian Mitchell gives us an understanding. Mitchell was sent to prison for having killed people when he worked for the security force. Despite this crime, Brian was granted amnesty due to that the order of this crime came from a legitimate authority. De Klerk, former president and leader of the Nationalist Party, acknowledged that his party had handled in terms of murder and assassination. De Klerk accepted only responsibility for his party when it came to cross-border raids against military bases, action in terms of upholding the law and propaganda actions.

The Mandela government introduced a liberal market along with global trading. This was his way to deal with the big poverty in the South African society. In the elections of 1999 Thabo Mbeki succeeded Nelson Mandela. Together both Mandela and Mbeki secured basic needs for

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61 Silén 1992: 70-71
62 McKay 2006:1061-1062
63 Silén 1992: 69, 100
64 Davenport & Saunders 2000: 690-697
the people such as water, electricity and health care. South Africa soon became a state within Africa that was viewed as a role model for other African countries. South Africa became an important state, for pushing the African continent forward in terms of both economic equality and of political rights. There has been an ongoing phase all over the African continent where countries have started to break with their different totalitarian regimes. The colonial times have passed and most of the African countries have gained formal independence. The anti-communist revolts and revolutions in Europe together with the reject of military regimes in Latin America inspired the African continent to do the same.65

2.2. Wine farming and farm workers in the Western Cape

The Western Cape has been famous for its wine production since the middle of 17\textsuperscript{th} century and for a long time been a central part in its history. With its special climate district of Western Cape has for a long time been the center of agriculture, and of the total 2 million people active in the South African agricultural sector, more than 1 million works in the Western Cape. One of South Africa’s biggest ports is located in Cape Town and together with tourism they bring a huge income to Western Cape. Numbers from 1993 also show that the white majority during Apartheid lived in the Western Cape. Of the total 3, 7 million people living in the Western Cape more than 2 million were White, while the Black population amounted to little more than 700 000.66

To sustain the large production of wine the farm owners have always been exploiting cheap labor. Payment in alcohol (Tot System) made the farm workers addicted to alcohol and this increased not only the social control from the farm owners over the farm workers, this was also an economic decision that favored the farmers. When slavery was abolished in 1834 slavery was replaced by paternalism. Farm owner were seen as the “father” who controlled his workers in a way he considered the best to do it. So the alcohol and paternalism made the control over farm workers stronger. The rural areas became more isolated and the opportunities to education, especially for women were limited.67

The\textit{Labour Relations Act} of 1995 and the \textit{Basic Conditions of Employment Act} of 1997 are supposed to protect every farm workers right. But despite this legislation, protection for farm

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65 McKay 2006: 1061-1063
66 Palmberg & Strand 1995: 28
67 Falletisch 2008: 2-4
workers is poor. The legislation regarding the working conditions on the farms is weak and the farm worker remains marginalized and vulnerable. Until the 1990s the farm workers were excluded from several rights such as labor legislation and protection from unions. In the beginning of the 1980s the trade unions were started and two things happened. First, the so long experienced father figure (the farm owner) became more of an opponent. The other thing was that the farm workers increasingly became aware of their working situation and rights. Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) together with smaller unions had organized the farm workers but they still are one of the least organized groups in the country, and due to lack of education among farm workers they also have problems to claim their rights as farm workers.

In a historical context there is no collective organizing on farms due to social isolation and fear of losing what the little things they have. These factors can prevail farms workers from joining trade unions. Today, many of the farm workers are forbidden to make contact with trade unions during the working hours. Also, many of the workers are skeptical towards the trade unions. Despite the problems for trade unions to reach out amongst the farm workers the farm owners feel the “eye” of the trade unions watching over them which has led to improvements on farms, such as farm owners following the law.

An interesting perspective regarding problems described above is the situation regarding education amongst farm workers. Research from 1996 shows that 41 percent of the male farm workers have no education and that 34 percent has as little as primary school education. These numbers are even worse among the female farm workers. Why? The opportunity for proper education among Blacks and Coloreds was small during the Apartheid. Farm schools established by farm owners were regulated by the Apartheid government so education among farm workers and their children remained low. Some of its problems still remain today. Lack of transport to school, qualified teachers and parental involvement is still a problem in the rural areas of South Africa. For example, in 1985, only 36 percent of the farm worker’s children (6-14 years) attended school.

In order to understand the society the farm workers live in they need more education. Illiteracy and poverty reduce people’s ability to understand their rights and to seek change in

68 Falletisch 2008: 59
69 Falletisch 2008: 50-51
70 Atkinson 2007: 229-230
Better-educated people are more likely to move because they have better information, more financial means, can take more risks and have a better chance of obtaining a livelihood at their destination”.  

The social relation between the farm owner and his workers are important. They can be seen as a complex social system where the farmer is seen as the authority figure whose job is to judge his workers. This has then created a system where different farm workers compete over the attention and approval from the farm owner and this create fractions between the farm workers. Feeling of suspicion and bitterness can be expressed under the influence of alcohol and also increase social conflicts. Problems like this are not easily solved, because not only farm owner, but also the farm workers hold on to these “traditions”/patterns.

Employment for women on farms during apartheid was strictly controlled by the state. The woman was seen as a spouse, but ordered by the farmer she was expected to work. Thus, women have often been used as seasonal workers. The paternalistic pattern described above has in many ways effected women´s situation more than men´s. If the male worker had to move from the farm due to injury his wife had to move along, regarding how long she has been working at the farm. Women are still responsible for child care, household maintenance and get less paid for the same work as men. Even today women are depended on male relatives if they want access to farm-houses. Over all, many of the Western Cape farm-workers remain invisible and disempowered.

The South African wine market is today one of the ten biggest in the world and the European market is important for the export. Despite this increase, the situation for the wine farm workers has not been improved. Low wages and labor force taken from the poorest section in the society is still a huge problem. The export of wine gives the South African state about $500 million every year. A big supplier of South African wines is the British wine market. This influence over the market in South Africa makes the price lower on wine and in the end it affects the farm workers with lower wages. Numbers from year 2000 shows that 65 percent of the workforce in wine industry is seasonally employed while 35 percent works with permanent contracts. Women

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71 Atkinson: 2007: 130
72 Falletisch 2008: 47
73 Greenberg & Edwards 2004: 4-30
are often used during the seasons since there salary is lower. This situation makes the women dependent to their husband since they don’t have the opportunity to work and it is the man who earns the money.74

2.3. Education system during Apartheid and Post-Apartheid
The Nationalist Party’s platform of segregation took part in all areas of the society. The segregation was also spread to the school system. In the middle of the 20th century the black majority of South Africa, as well as Indians and Coloreds, were part of an educational system under strict control of the government, and opportunities to take part of the educational system were quite limited. The majority of black people did not receive any formal education at all.75

The black labor force in South Africa was not expected to have any education. Their work in the mines and later on in the manufacturing industry was limited to simply semi-skilled work, meanwhile the white minority expected to perform more skilled occupations. This system with a less educated working force was used in the mines during the 1930s when they replaced the more expensive white labor force at the introduction of the scientific management system. The Welsh Commission of 1936 identified the lack of interest from the state to deliver education to the black majority in South Africa. The Commission simultaneously argued that the state would take full control of the education system for the black majority. The aim of this was to determine the main objects in the curriculum. The Welsh Commission report can be seen as way for the White-dominated minority to strengthen their power and supremacy over the Black majority. The Calvinist theology was outspread amongst Boers in the South African society. According to the Calvinist theology they had a predestinated role in the society as leaders, and everything part of the society should be organized after this. Structural changes such as in school could be justified in this way.76

The Commission on Native Education is also known as the Eiselen Commission, after the commission leader, a social anthropologist named Eiselen. TheEiselen commission came with several recommendations, the main point thus being that the white race and especially those of Dutch ancestry were to control the key instruments in the economy and political life.

74 Erlischman & Lemer-Kinglake 2009: 1-9
75 Holsinger & Jacob, 2008:508-509
76 Holsinger & Jacob 2008: 510-513
Meanwhile Coloreds, Indians and the Black majority were able to learn, grow and succeed but within the boundaries suitable for the White minority.

“...the education of Black children and youth should not be an autonomous, stand alone enterprise, but rather a distinctly and exclusively separate part of a larger plan for education of the entire society. In the proposed society, citizens of the white race, and especially those of Dutch ancestry, would remain dominant and in control of the instruments of the state and the economy, while the black majority as well as Coloreds and Indians would have opportunity to grow, learn, and prosper within the limits that a permanent position of subordination and subservience to the White minority could offer.”77.

The Bantu Education Act of 1953 made that of the 7000 thousand schools in South Africa serving the Black Majority, 5000 were operated by churches. The rest of the schools got their funding from the state or from tribes. The formal goal regarding the education in these schools was that all members of the community had the same rights and that hard work and education would give the key to reach high economic and social status. In reality, this was not the situation. The majority of Black people did not obtain any formal education at all. The quality of the education that was given was not even close to being comparable to the education given to the white minority. The increasing control from the department of Native Affairs over Black schools created several education departments. The curriculums were constructed to adapt the black way of language and lifestyle.

The highest quality of education was limited to the White minority, its education being sanctioned by the state. The Bantu education was also funded by taxes, although high unemployment rates and low salaries in the Black communities was a direct reason for the economic difficulties within the schools of these areas. Great indifference and inequality amongst different teachers also had its effect on the educational system. Black teachers working in Black schools had a lower payment than white teachers educating White students. Any demands or criticism from the Black teachers and teachers unions regarding equal payment were not accepted. Regarding to low payment among the teachers, the White minority in control with Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, minister of Native Affairs and later on Prime Minister of South Africa, encouraged Black women to become teachers because of the fact that they would accept lower payment. Verwoerd was also a Professor in psychology at Stellenbosch University. There is also an urban perspective regarding schools during the Apartheid era. Black schools were often built in rural areas or on communal lands. The main

77 Holsinger & Jacob 2008: 513
goal was to keep the Black majority out of urban areas, separated and excluded from the white’s social and political life within the urban areas. Stronger resistance against the Apartheid arose, a pattern which was even visible in schools. The ANC early opposed the strong government control over education and as a reaction they started cultural clubs that in many ways functioned as schools. History, mathematics and writing and even other common subjects were taught. 

Together with churches and the Congress of Democrats Representatives, a political party in Namibia the ANC formed the African Educational Movement (AEM) in 1955. The organization had three goals. The first one was to establish private schools free from government control. The second goal was to assist cultural clubs and that had been rejected from ordinary schools. The third and last aim was to develop programs for home schooling education. The Apartheid system still excluded millions of Blacks and Coloreds from school and proper education.

In 1959 the first Black universities were established. The Black inhabitants lost their right to use freedom of speech and of assembly when they wanted to protest, even though the protest had been nonviolent and peaceful. The unequal distribution of economic resources within the educational system resulted in a failure to meet the new technical request of modern labor. These internal conflicts in South Africa resulted in the student riots of Soweto in 1976. Even after these riots a second period of conflicts began. This period is marked by economic, social and political chaos which led to a massive public opposition against the regime and the Apartheid system around the world. By the beginning of the 1990’s, the apartheid regime started to acknowledge some of the problems within the Bantu educational system.

A special school system during the Apartheid were the farm schools, settled the local farmers and offering many Black and Colored children the opportunity to education. Despite the “goodness” of the farm owners these types of schools often had problems regarding the teachers’ education and high dropout due to long travelling distance for the pupils. Possibility to attend a farm school lay upon the willingness of the farm owner to establish one. In spite of this willingness, many farm schools were established and may show a social responsibility towards their workers. There is also another perspective. When a farm school is established

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78 Holsinger & Jacob 2008: 513-520  
79 Holsinger & Jacob 2008: 516-520  
80 Holsinger & Jacob 2008: 516-520  
81 Ross 2001: 137  
82 Holsinger & Jacob 2008: 516-520
and children attending it, the farm owner had the right to use the students as labor force, or as the official meaning was, “training in agriculture”. This meant that the farmer had access to child labor during for example harvest time. Another problem was also the low attendance of professional staff in these schools. Due to non-urban placement and low payment in these schools compared to urban schools they didn’t attract qualified teachers. The presence of girls in these schools was low due to it was the girls job to take care of the children and the elderly when their parents needed to work. The Apartheid regime strongly supported these schools, since they thought that this would decrease the migration to the cities. But that turned out to be wrong. In 1988, the government improved the schools by installing toilets, offices and sanitation to improve farm education. Since 1988 and until these days the number of farm schools has declined despite efforts mentioned above. Instead it is the more urban schools that attract students rather than rural ones.  

In time, school system became a complex and bureaucratic system. Each school department had its own school model. This aimed to ensure that Blacks and Coloreds did not take part in the same school system as Whites. This gave the apartheid regime a control which prevented majority groups from rallying up together for a demand of more liberation. The school system consisted of fifteen ministries which consisted of ten separate departments for each Bantustan, a separate area for the Black populations were they “independently” lived by their own. Four departments were given to each recognized racial group of Whites, Blacks, Africans and Coloreds. This led to a system full of sub systems. Years before the political takeover of the ANC in 1994 the transformation of the school system was started, but many White schools still remained in their old pattern. Parents still had a choice of deciding what school their children should attend. White schools were depending on fees and donations, hence most Black students could not go there. There was also an urban question connected to this problem, hence the Black majority living outside the urban areas. White schools were often placed in the cities and therefore maintained the previous segregation with separate White and Black schools.  

Previous problems and segregation is still a problem in today’s South Africa. Despite hard work from the post-apartheid governments the access to good education for all citizens still remain a problem. But, recent years show that wealthy and middle-class Black families have been able to send their children to the best schools. We should still remember that there is

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83 Atkinson 2007: 229-232
84 Holsinger & Jacob 2008: 520-526
one important thing that separates the Apartheid regime from today. Selection of school now
days are not based upon the color of your skin, instead it tends to be socio-economic
differences.

The educational system became an important political question after the end of the Apartheid.
Development regarding school buildings, governance of schools, textbooks and so on
increased to levels never seen during Apartheid. One-quarter of the entire budget 1996/1997,
approximately R34 billion, were given to improve education in South Africa. Still there is
racial and gender difference regarding students who finish matric and go to university, and
unequal quality of teaching still remain as a huge problem in South Africa today.

Changing the school system and its previous inequalities takes time. The consequences after
the Bantu education which was based upon a racial segregated school with different economic
resources take time, if not years to repair. A new educational system was needed to fit in in
the new economic environment that South Africa became a part of in 1994. Thus the
increasing Black middle class moving in to more white areas there still is differences between
schools in different areas. The best schools in South Africa still tends to be in former White
areas which makes it hard for the black majority with low income to place their children at
these schools. A huge part of the Black majority still lives in certain areas outside cities which
also make it hard for them to transport themselves around.

There has and still is a huge drop out of students attending in the school system. Of the 1.6
million students who started grade 1 in 1995, almost 65 per cent of them finished before they
reached grade 12, and of these only 21 percent finished the final senior certificate, the final
test in grade 12, still many of these students are unprepared to higher education due to high
entry level on mathematics.

There is a racial side connected to the problem with low attendance in school. Even after the
fall of the Apartheid White, Colored and Black students has a different opportunity to manage
school or take part in the educational system. “…middle class Blacks will be more concerned
with ensuring that their educational needs are met than in promoting the interest of poor and
marginalized Blacks. Second, children from poor households are typically more educationally
challenging, and thus more costly to educate… the low income of many Africans combined

85 Holsinger & Jacob 2008: 506
86 Wilson, Nazneen & Braathen 2001:310
87 Fiske & Ladd: 2004: 53
88 Featherman, Hall & Krislov 2009: 176
with their residential segregation is likely to significantly limit their access to better schools.”

To increase the performance of pupils in school it’s important to have schools with proper material and small classes. A report from 1996 shows remarkable deficiencies in this area. A huge part of the primary school this year had a lack of electricity in their class rooms, limited access to toilets and running water and many schools in townships looks like prisons with barbed wire around the school and reinforced doors to protect them from gangs. This learning environment is not good.

The poor quality of the modern South African school makes it highly unlikely that those students who enter higher education will receive their quality degree in normal time. The higher education must meet their students were they end in high school. A report from 2003 made by the Human Science Reaserch Council (HSRC) shows low levels of performance in the school system, and especially in schools with a “tradition” of having pupils from Black areas. The need for change inside the school system is needed. Let us now see how the food affects pupil’s time in school.

2.4. The Food programs

Children’s possibilities to access food or some sort of nutrition is not specific for South Africa in spite of its implemented food program. The history of such programs begins in Munich, Germany in 1790 and increased in the middle of 19th century when establishment of soup kitchens started to take place. High unemployment rates among adults and hungry schoolchildren were the reasons behind these new projects. Similar pattern can also be seen in France were the first kitchen opened 1849, in New York 1853 and in England 1865, when meals were served to children attending local schools. The first school feeding programs in U.S. spread from New York along the country. The aim was to serve lunch in schools with large numbers of pupils living under poor conditions. These first programs were sponsored through charity, and the purpose behind these projects was to get the children to seek training in the industry. The School nutrition programs were often established in large growing industrial areas and until the year of 1913 lunch programs were operational in 30 cities in 14U.S. states. Over time the school administrations started to see

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89 Fiske &Ladd: 2004: 54
90 Fiske &Ladd: 2004:55
91 Featherman, Hall & Krislov 2009:178-179
the positive effects of the school food programs and more responsibility were taken by schools themselves.\textsuperscript{92}

Big rural areas and lack of the urbanization made it necessary for the schools to organize some sort of lunch, due to the long days. Lunches in school were actually prepared by the teacher, and then the children got the opportunity to warm their own food. By time the responsibility of the food programs had changed from a charity based program to an institutional program run by schools. In of 1920, the city of Los Angeles served over 20,000 meals a day, and those not able to pay got it for free. An interesting consequence can be seen in the beginning of 1920. The increase of food programs is connected to world war one. After the war, reports showed that many US soldiers had malnutrition which affected their ability to fight. So in 1920 school food programs grew rapidly and by 1946 all-most every school in the United States had some sort of food program\textsuperscript{93}.

In South Africa, programs regarding nutrition and food have a short history compared to Europe and the U.S and they are often known to be ineffective. One of the earliest programs began in 1928 to give help to the poor White minority. To solve these problems, several attempts were made to make poor White self-supporting. Through actions like this government hoped that nutrition problems and health problems could be solved.

Next significant step was the establishment of the \textit{National Nutrition Council} in the 1940s. The council’s task was to inform advice and educate other departments in questions regarding nutrition. There was also some practical support to small scale farmers regarding nutrition, school food-programs, nutritional surveillance and direct food aid to people in need of food. As mentioned before regarding the food programs in school, they were very minor compared to the ones that the Mandela government started after 1994. The \textit{National Nutrition Council} aimed specific to primary schools and the possibilities to eat much seemed not to be the case.

“\textcolor{red}{The daily milk order is 9 gallons. This milk is served hot everyday and during the winter cocoa is made. Very few children refuse to drink milk and the average amount taken by each child is the required one third pint per day...} \textcolor{red}{Twice a week fresh fruit is supplied e.g. grapes, oranges or peaches depending on the season. All the fruit is bought locally at reasonable prices}“\textsuperscript{94}

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{92} Martin & Conklin 1999: 32-52
\textsuperscript{93} Martin & Conklin 1999: 32-52
\textsuperscript{94} State food distribution scheme, Inspection report national feeding scheme, Volume- E695, Western Cape Archives And Records Service.
\end{footnotesize}
This council performance improved to be both needed and effective and proved that programs like this could survive through political commitment. Thus, during the tide of apartheid in the 1960s the program was left unfunded until it disappeared. Along with the apartheid politics came another way upon the view of the society. Along with the politics, especially designed for the White minority, problems regarding food and nutrition were no longer taken seriously since the White minority got a better socioeconomic standing and the malnutrition was longer recognized as a problem in South Africa.\textsuperscript{95}

Not until 1984, programs dealing with lack of food and nutrition were taken up again. A second inquiry also saw the connection between socio economic status and level of nutrition in South Africa. As a result of this an emergency food program was established in 1985 to deal with the most severe hunger problems among the Black population. A few years before the fall of the apartheid, the regime started to take these problems more seriously. Still, a few of them were seen as a fiasco with elements of corruption. In 1990, the \textit{Calitz Committee} on poverty came with several suggestions how problems with nutrition, hunger and poverty could be solved which lead to the creation of the \textit{Nutrition Development Programme} (NDP). Previous programs like the \textit{Protein Energy Malnutrition} (PEM) were reestablished once again in the 1970s. The new establishment gave R40 million every annum to local establishment for them to purchase for example skimmed milk powder to children with nutrition problems, and later on the PEM program expanded to target groups in the society. The “treatment” was food and it was seen as a medication. The program was for example directed to elderly and poor families with lack of food. This program can be seen as a type of a social welfare support.\textsuperscript{96} In the years of 1990-1991 a new program trying to deal with nutrition problem was established in South Africa. It was the \textit{National Nutrition and Social Development Programme} (NNSDP), and its vision was “to achieve and sustain self-reliance with respect for basic needs, such as water, food, shelter and clothing, and more specifically their food and nutrition needs”.\textsuperscript{97} The annual budget of approximately R400 million was spread out to the provinces based upon the needs and size of population and despite its broader focus it remained a food programme. The main object was to help families who lived below the poverty line and especially children of 0-2 year’s old, elderly people, primary school children in the ages of 6-13 and pregnant women. There was some critique regarding these sorts of program, especially NNSDP. Organized communities had a better chance to take part in this

\textsuperscript{95}Mclachlan&Kuzwayo 1997: 21-23
\textsuperscript{96}Mclachlan&Kuzwayo 1997: 21-23
\textsuperscript{97}Mclachlan&Kuzwayo 1997: 23
program compared to more rural areas outside the bigger cities. Resources well needed in these rural areas came in to the hands of people in more urban areas.\textsuperscript{98}

After the fall of the Apartheid system, Mandela and his new government had to deal with many new questions to make the new democratic South Africa work as good as possible. The school needed to be changed and since poverty and education has been associated with each other major projects took part after 1994. The introduction of the \textit{Primary School Nutrition Programme} (PSNP) was established to all public primary schools in South Africa. Even if the PSNP got some critique regarding supervising and communication problems between the Department of Health and the Department of Education, late meals and sometimes cooked outside in spite of bad weather, bad quality of food, logistic problems with trucks and cars to supply the schools and corruption, the PSNP got some positive effects around South Africa. Reports and surveys showed for example improved rates regarding school attendance. Before the establishment of PSNP in the Northern Province school children usually fainted and got tired even before lunch time. Since the introduction, this sort of reports seems to vanish. And the introduction of the PSNP seemed even more important when some children in more rural areas moved to other schools in search of food in schools since this was for them the only chance to get food at all during the day.\textsuperscript{99} All these disturbances affected the teacher’s job since it interrupted their teaching. Also the administration job regarding the food in the PSNP disturbed their ordinary work.\textsuperscript{100}

\textbf{2.5. Post-Apartheid economic development}\ The sudden end of Apartheid threw South Africa in to a new globalized and capitalistic world never seen before. Its isolation during the Apartheid made the country and its industry vulnerable to economic changes around the world.\textsuperscript{101} Before the end of Apartheid the economy debate of South Africa dealt mostly with the question if the Apartheid system prevented the economic development or not.\textsuperscript{102} Since just before and after the end of Apartheid the economic growth in South Africa has been fairly slowly compared to other newly industrialized countries. Less investment in production, low numbers of educated workforce and government spending are three reasons for the weakness of the economy.

\begin{footnotesize}
\bibitem{98} Mclachlan\&Kuzwayo 1997: 24-25
\bibitem{99} An evaluation of South Africa’s Primary School Nutrition Programme 1997: 20-23
\bibitem{100} An evaluation of South Africa’s Primary School Nutrition Programme 1997: 32
\bibitem{101} Sitas 2010: 48
\bibitem{102} Toase\&Yorke 1998: 37
\end{footnotesize}
For ANC, the key were the liberation itself, not to plan any major economic solution. Previous economic sanctions taken against the Apartheid regime had severely damaged the South African economy and racial discrimination on the labor market had damaged the country’s opportunity to expand production of goods now accessible on the world market. Bantu education which had created a large semi-skilled work force and this started to affect the economic growth. Local managers in the provincial and government sector were not qualified enough due to lack of education in previous school system.

The ANC policy was to nationalize the mine industry and the banks and to monopolize the industry. This had been its policy since 1955 and the creation of Freedom Charter. Ownership over such important elements should lie in the hands people. In spite of these long term goals, the Mandela government had to abandon those 1993. The risk of losing overseas investment forced them to abandon the plans.

In 1995, the Mandela government launched a huge social program, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). By funding R2 billion to health care, welfare, housing, education, school feeding and other developing projects they hoped that inflation could be reduced. Still, South Africa had an economy strictly on its knees. Problems in the economy were a major problem that the new government had to face and the new elected ANC leaders with big dreams of solving poverty, soon realized that a more pragmatic attitude towards economy was needed. Still, they hoped for a “Marshall Plan” from the western countries.

The RDP program showed to be improving the life of many South Africans and in 1996 government increased the program. But soon, instead of continuing the social reforms the cabinet started to decrease the program in order to reduce debt and cutting down the number of employees in the public service. Cabinet also forced the provincial departments to do the same. These harsh measures had to be done in order to maintain international confidence, strengthen the down going economy and secure the value market of the R.

How could the new South Africa take this turn? There were two major processes between 1991-1993. One political and one economic. The ANC concentrated on the political part,

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103 Toase & Yorke 1998: 38
104 Davenport & Saunders 2000: 570
105 Beck 2000: 195
106 Toase & Yorke 1998: 46
107 Davenport & Saunders 2000: 569
108 Beck 2000: 194
109 Davenport & Saunders 2000: 569-572
leaving the economy in the shadow. The Nationalist Party realized that the political power was to be lost so they concentrated to save some influence in the economy. Fortunes collected under the Apartheid regime were not to be lost. Negotiators from the Nationalist Party described that there were only one way to run the future economy in South Africa, and that was by leaving the power over trade policy and the central bank to administrative sectors and that political instruments such as international trade agreements and structural adjustment programs (economic measures) into the hands of independent experts at *International Monetary Fund* (IMF), *World Bank* (WB) and *General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade* (GATT) and Nationalist Party members. Lots of people, except members of the ANC got influence. In the scramble to win the political power, ANC lost a huge part of the political influence in South Africa. The loss of power over the central bank led to a reduced control over the monetary policy that was so important for ANC when it came to employment and growth. And without the control over the central bank, the promises from the *Freedom Charter* would be hard to achieve.\(^\text{110}\)

It didn’t get any better for the ANC when they later realized who would be in charge of the new central bank. The former manager leader over the central bank of the Apartheid time kept his job. Also the minister of finance kept his job after the elections in 1994. So the vast economic transformation ANC hoped for didn’t happen. It became impossible to redistribute the land since the new constitution protects all private land. All new jobs that ANC hoped for did not occur since GATT forbade ANC to support its own factories and the possibilities to build new houses and to give electricity to the poor was impossible since the debt from the Apartheid time affected the possibilities for new investments. And if the ANC wanted to print up more money they must get the approval from a former Nationalist Party member. Important elements of the utilities in the society fall in to the hands of private interest. And the possibilities to increase minimum wages were impossible since the agreement with IMF forbids ANC and the unions to do so.\(^\text{111}\)

The globalized world today makes it hard for developing countries to compete with western modernized economies due to their poor developed domestic economymakes them to take short-term loans at the IMF. Developing countries are also left with no space when it comes to terms and policy in these loans, which leads to instability. Then, what role did IMF play in the economic development in post-apartheid South Africa? The IMF and the WB have often been

\(^\text{110}\) Klein 2008: 253-256  
\(^\text{111}\) Klein 2008: 256-259
seen as the global consensus when it comes to create a liberal market-oriented economy. Especially in the former Soviet states, these ideas have been well implemented. These loans have in the eyes of many world leaders such as Ronald Regan and Margaret Thatcher been seen as a common good for growth. Some has the opposite view and regards the IMF and WB an imperialist power which tares down any attempt to bring on a socialist development and social programs. Instead the IMF promotes trade and investment in the industrialized world. “For almost a decade now, in country after country, the cult of privatization, of monetarism, of deregulation, of massive cuts in social spending has become absolutely hegemonic…”\textsuperscript{112} This has led to a competition between countries to open themselves to the world market:

“Economic liberalisation in the past two decades has given capital greater freedom to move to whatever location promises greater and faster profits. Governments are feeling over themselves to attract foreign capital investment. There is a race to the bottom as they compete to reduce taxes, provide subsidies and other support to private investors from the public purse and reduce labour standards in their bid to draw investment. Workers – immobilized by a lack of resources and forced to accept lower working standards because of intense competition for scarce jobs – find themselves occupying poor-quality jobs with little security and few benefits. In Africa, liberalisation and structural adjustment have opened fresh fields to foreign investors, but at great cost to the women who are concentrated in the new areas of production.” \textsuperscript{113}

As we can see, the view upon the IMF and the WB is different. Still there is evidence showing that in this Post-War era, western countries have been favored by the expansion of markets. From the very beginning, by taking the loan from the IMF, IMF has already established an agenda towards South Africa. Demands of the IMF say that the money should be responsibly managed which often means limitations on money spent on social welfare. The ANC and the COSATU opposed the loan application. COSATU argued that the application had been formalized by the previous government and that such a big loan should first be discussed in the National Economic Forum. ANC argued that an agreement of intent never happened.\textsuperscript{114}

The Mandela government lost influence in the economical arena during the years after the abolishment of Apartheid to international organizations such as the IMF and WB. This unexpected consequence limited the money spent on social welfare and is one explanation behind the present socio-economic situation in South Africa today.

\textsuperscript{112}Leysens 1994: 71
\textsuperscript{113} Greenberg & Edwards 2004: 13
\textsuperscript{114} Leysens 1994: 59-70
2.6. Poverty and hunger in South Africa after Apartheid

Data from 1997 shows that almost half of the entire population in South Africa can be classified as poor with most of them living in urban areas.\textsuperscript{115} Since 1994 child poverty has been addressed as one of the most urgent questions to solve in South Africa. Through political reforms and social programs the government tried to decrease poverty amongst the children in South Africa, and number of children living in poverty has been reduced from 31 percent in 1995 to 23 percent in 2005. Although good economy and social welfare is known to be well connected, the government of South Africa still struggles with huge social-economic problems despite of the fact that they have the largest economy on the continent. Poverty and race are still related to each other. The highest rate of poverty can be found among the Black Africans in the provinces with a large rural population which has the lowest monthly household expenditures. Poverty is also different between provinces in South Africa. In 2005 for instance, 29 percent of the population in Eastern Cape Province was living under R250 per month compared to 9 percent in the Western Cape.\textsuperscript{116}

Poverty and unemployment rates are also well connected to each other. Without any secure and permanent income to the household poverty tends to increase. During the last several years the unemployment rate has decreased from 29,4 percent in 2001 to 23 percent in 2007 in South Africa, while experienced hunger among children decreased from 24 percent in 2002 to 12 percent in 2007. Thus, there has been some major improvement since 1994. Social assistance programs to reduce poverty are now functional and in 1998 more than 2,5 million people received some sort of social economic help.\textsuperscript{117}

Poverty among children is not always measured in material terms. Lack of health care, access to school, water and other basic needs are also important matters to consider when we talk about child poverty. Recent information from United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) shows that about two-thirds of the children in South Africa live in poverty, which is below R7,75 per day. In 1974, the World Food Conference decided that every man, women and child has the right to not experience hunger, but still many children do that in South

\textsuperscript{115} Wilson, Kanji & Braathen 2001: 303-306
\textsuperscript{116} Situation Analysis of Children in South Africa (2007-2008) 2009: 8-10
\textsuperscript{117} Situation Analysis of Children in South Africa (2007-2008) 2009: 11-16
Africa.\textsuperscript{118} For children, the nutritional aspects of the right to food are essential for their optimal physical, psychological and mental development.\textsuperscript{119} Despite many decisions regarding the right to food this remains a complex question since it depends on other factors such as employment rates, political decisions, culture and educational opportunities. Since the South African government stated the right to food to prevent hunger and malnutrition it also worked out food and nutrition plans to meet with these demands due to the intention to support the vulnerable in society. According to the South African constitution, section 27(1) (b) and 28(1) (c), this ensures access to sufficient food and basic nutrition to every child in South Africa.\textsuperscript{120}

To cope with these social problems, the South African department established several social assistance platforms. Through foster care, child support and care dependency the government tries to fight the spreading of social problems, and the number of people involved in these social programs has increased in the last years. In 1998, 2.5 million people were involved in these programs compared with 12.3 million ten years later in 2008. A total of 3.1 percent of the GDP is spent on social-assistance grants. Many households in South Africa today are depended on social welfare, and for many of these households this is the source of income were they get R210 (1998) per month/child.

The children’s access to schools, safe public spaces, libraries and so on is much depending on where the children live. By 2006 approximately 2.6 million were living in shacks on informal settlements and in backyard dwellings. In these types of living conditions children are exposed to poverty and overcrowded living is likely to increase chance of sexual abuse and spreading of diseases. Also schoolwork is affected negatively. Poverty effects the children as we have seen in many ways, both physical and mentally. Therefore, if poverty can be extinct many problems will be solved not just in urban areas, but also for example in the wine districts\textsuperscript{121}.

\textsuperscript{118}Danwood 2009: 3-14
\textsuperscript{119}Danwood 2009: 15
\textsuperscript{120}Danwood 2009: 15-18
\textsuperscript{121}Situation Analysis of Children in South Africa (2007-2008) 2009:10-22
2.7. Nutrition and learning

There are many purposes of giving food to pupils in schools. The introduction of Primary School Nutrition Programme (PSNP) and later, the National School Nutrition Programme (NSNP) intended to increase the presence of school children at school by offering them food in school. The food also prevents short term hunger and target concentration problems. Early malnutrition problems in life can cause lifelong problems regarding the ability to learn, and in long life term, this may also affect future generations and children’s capacity to develop cognitive ability. To prevent these sorts of problems it is important to support pregnant women so that the fetus during the pregnancy doesn’t get a reduced mental ability. The lack of food in early years also affects the brains ability. In developing countries more than 50 percent of the childhood mortalities during the 1990 were connected to malnutrition. Another problem worth addressing is that women’s situation in the society makes her and her child more vulnerable since they have a lower status in society and a higher risk of poverty.

The food program and other sorts of resources are therefore important to prevent further problems with malnutrition. In 2000, an estimated number of 100 million children around the world did not enroll in education, and this affects Africa more since the numbers are higher here than in the rest of the world. In Africa, about 30-50 percent of the children of primary school age do not take part in schooling. Things like tuition and other fees make it hard for their parents to decide what’s best for the often hungry family, especially when fees in some family can be about 20-30 percent of the income.

Hungry schoolchildren have a higher risk of not going to school. Hunger and lack of nutrition increases children’s possibilities to drop out of school, decrease memory, be less punctuality and getting lower grades. Especially in countryside Africa, where children walk long distances to school the hunger problems can be more present for them. According to an evaluation of the PSNP made by the South African government:

A child’s school attendance and achievement are dependent on a wide range of factors that include the quality of the school infrastructure, appropriate learning materials and the quality of instruction. In addition, the child’s ability to interact with and take optimal advantage of the

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123 World hunger series 2006: 39
124 Mclachlan&Kuzwayo 1997: 8
125 World hunger series 2006: 42-43
126 World hunger series 2006: 44
learning environment is a critical factor amongst other factors, this is dependent on the child’s nutrition and health.¹²⁷

There is also a gender perspective to this subject. A report from the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) of the United Nations (UN) shows that for every year missed in school during childhood will be seen in the lifetime income. Since girls in many ways are expected to work at home, this will affect them more. If girls had the same access to education as boys, the productivity inside the country would go up. The importance of education is taken very serious by the United Nations. The educational system gives each one of us tools to live our lives. A few years of education for girls in Kenya has reduced fertility which makes it more possible for women to concentrate on just one child and secure food for it. A child’s health is often determined by the level of education of the mother.

Education regarding right type of food and basic health knowledge such as washing hands is important for her and her child, because women with higher education has better nutrition rates and therefore also a richer breast milk for her children. Importance of education can also be seen in terms of class. Parents who themselves has an education are more keen to send their own children to school. And especially the education of the mothers is once again important. They have a greater influence over their children and especially her daughters and can in this way serve as a role model for them.¹²⁸

Thus, nutrition in schools are important, the introduction of school feeding programs was to increase the attendance of children and students in school. Only in this environment important questions such as nutrition and HIV/ Aids can be discussed. So the importance of solving short term hunger and make school children attend school is important.¹²⁹ So, let us now see how the PSNP and NSNP have affected the life of farm workers and pupils living in the urban areas of Western Cape.

¹²⁷ An evaluation of South Africa’s Primary School Nutrition Programme, 1997: 9
¹²⁸ World hunger series 2006: 54-56
¹²⁹ World hunger series 2006: 67-72
3. Analysis

3.1. The government’s purpose of the National School Nutrition Programme (NSNP)

This chapter gives a top perspective, a general overview regarding the government’s purpose of the NSNP. This is to exterminate poverty.

After the elections in 1994 there was three parties governing South Africa, ANC, NP and The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). Together they formed a government of national unity. Right after the election, Mandela and his government (who was in majority) launched a huge social program named the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). Despite high inflation in South Africa, the minister of finance spent over R2 billion on health, education, housing and so on. On the school front the Mandela government tried to unite all the school departments, a left over from the Apartheid time to one single administration controlled by the provincial department. The RDP promised a better feature for the people who since Apartheid been abolished, even if the economy in South Africa offered no rapid growth and feature for the RDP. International sanctions and segregated labor system during the Apartheid had severely damaged the country, especially for its Black, Colored and Indian population. 130

The Primary School Nutrition Programme (PSNP) was established in May 1994 and was a part of the RDP. This Programme played a crucial part in the challenges to cope with poverty, nutrition problems, health and to improve education. Improvement of education was important. By offering a morning snack when pupils came to school they hoped to improve school attendance, learning situation and capacity and punctuality. By offering an early morning snack schools made sure that children of 7-10 years age meet up with about 25 percent of the daily nutrition and around 20 percent of the children from 11-14 years old did so. A major goal for the PSNP was that it should provide 30 percent of the student’s daily nutrition. 131

How was the nutrition situation among the students when PSNP was introduced?

A survey performed in South Africa in 1994 among 97 790 pupils in 3300 schools shows the need of an improved nutrition situation in schools. The survey also showed racial differences.

130 Davenport & Saunders 2000: 569-570
131 An evaluation of South Africa’s Primary School Nutrition Programme 1997: 1-2
Among the Coloured students 4.1 percent were wasted and almost 17 percent were underweight. Among the Black pupils 2.4 percent were wasted and almost 9 percent were underweight. In comparison to the White pupils these numbers are high. Only 0.8 percent of the Whites were wasted and 1.1 percent was underweight.\textsuperscript{12}\textsuperscript{2} The higher number among the Colored schoolchildren surprised the researchers and an explanation is hard to find.\textsuperscript{13}\textsuperscript{3} There were also provincial differences in the survey. In the province of Gauteng, 4.6 percent were underweighted compared to other provinces such as Northern Cape where 20.9 percent of the pupils were so.\textsuperscript{14}\textsuperscript{4} A report from 1995 also reveals the short term hunger in South Africa. 55 percent of the people who answered in this study said that they had problems to feed themselves and that 7 percent of them often were hungry, and a report from Gauteng reveals that 34 percent of the Black children were hungry when they came to school.\textsuperscript{15}\textsuperscript{5} “Micro-nutrient malnutrition is a public health problem of considerable significance in South Africa…children in rural areas, and those of mothers with limited education are the worst off”.\textsuperscript{16}\textsuperscript{6} Even anemia and iron deficiency among pupils showed up in an investigation in 1995 to be a problem among pupils in South Africa. As much as 20 percent of them had anemia and 10 percent had iron deficiency.\textsuperscript{17}\textsuperscript{7}

The hunger situation for many pupils around South Africa is often connected to their parent’s economic situation. The Hirschowitz and Orkin research report of 1995 shows that children who often were hungry came from families with low income. Around 40 percent of the children coming from South African households sometimes or often went hungry compared to only 3-4 percent of the White households.\textsuperscript{18}\textsuperscript{8}

Why then are programs like the PSNP so important? As we have seen, malnutrition is a major problem for many pupils in South Africa even if the provincial differences are large. So, the importance of health and nutrition in schools are proved to be important. The connection between nutrition and learning are strong. Without proper nutrition such as vitamins and proteins it will affect the cognitive performance and learning performance in school. Short term hunger causes inattentiveness which also affects the child’s time in school. Often long

\textsuperscript{12}\textsuperscript{2} An evaluation of South Africa’s Primary School Nutrition Programme 1997: 7
\textsuperscript{13}\textsuperscript{3} Mclachlan & Kuzwayo 1997: 10
\textsuperscript{14}\textsuperscript{4} An evaluation of South Africa’s Primary School Nutrition Programme 1997: 7
\textsuperscript{15}\textsuperscript{5} An evaluation of South Africa’s Primary School Nutrition Programme 1997: 8
\textsuperscript{16}\textsuperscript{6} Mclachlan & Kuzwayo 1997: 11
\textsuperscript{17}\textsuperscript{7} Mclachlan & Kuzwayo 1997: 12
\textsuperscript{18}\textsuperscript{8} Mclachlan & Kuzwayo 1997: 16
walks to school and no breakfast cause these short term hunger. By implementing the PSNP government hopes for an improved nutrition and health learning in school, which affects the pupils time in school by increasing the school attendance and learning results. Since many of children who are attending school have problems at home when it comes to food security the NSNP fills an important task. By offering food in school they also stimulate local agricultural and employment in school. 139

As we have seen there are many reasons for children to take part in these food programs. The connections between health and nutrition are closely linked together in the early age of the child. Impaired hearing, learning capacity, poor vision and growth retardation are all signs in lack of nutrition. 140

Attendances to school do increase due to the opportunities of food at school, and the enrolment of girls in schools is higher when food is offered at school. There are also other positive effects of the PSNP. Parents are taking a larger responsibility and are more motivated in school organization. The opportunity for children to take part of the food programs in school has increased the socio-economic status of many families. Since they can spend money on other things rather than food they can save their money and make investments on other things accept food. 141

During days, when there is no schooling, parents and students become disappointed because of the food. 142 In my interviews with the farm workers and pupils I came across similar thoughts. Both first and second generation express the importance of food in school. A woman said that many parents don’t have food at home, instead they send their children to school. 143 And one mother who has a 9 year old girl said that her daughter don’t go to school when there is no food. 144

Another aspect of the PSNP is the nutrition learning. At the same time as school has the responsibility to provide nutrition meals for their students they have to teach about healthy nutrition and dietary. The goals are to teach the pupils to make right decisions when it comes to food and make them understand what causes malnutrition. 145 Still, a male suggested that

139 An evaluation of South Africa’s Primary School Nutrition Programme 1997: 9
140 An evaluation of South Africa’s Primary School Nutrition Programme 1997: 65
141 An evaluation of South Africa’s Primary School Nutrition Programme 1997: 9-14
142 An evaluation of South Africa’s Primary School Nutrition Programme 1997: 22
143 Interview nr: 7
144 Interview nr: 5
145 An evaluation of South Africa’s Primary School Nutrition Programme 1997: 68-69
more “junk” food should be served in school to increase number of students eating in school.\textsuperscript{146}

In 2006 PSNP was organized as the \textit{National School Nutrition Programme} (NSNP). The prior programme, PSNP, included food and nutrition learning only for primary schools, but in 2006 the programmewas extended to cover secondary schools and high schools as well and the budget for the NSNP increased in 2008. The new NSNP was first prioritized to quintile 1 (Q1) schools (based up socio-economic status of the learners) who has the largest needs of help following by Q2 and Q3 schools. By 2010/2011 the NSNP will be introduced in all secondary schools.\textsuperscript{147}

By the vast expansion of the NSNP it involved more than 7 million pupils around South Africa. Quality of food also increased during the expansion of NSNP, from 3 cocked meals a week to 5 cooked meals. This was possible by higher grants from the government who which increased the cost for a meal in primary schools from R 1.40 in 2008/2009 to R 1.85 2009/2010.\textsuperscript{148} The main goal of the NSNP is still to proceed with nutrition education, increase learning ability through school meals and to promote sustainable food production.\textsuperscript{149}

Poverty and hunger is a hinder for pupils who want to take part in the school system. Still, after several years since the end of the Apartheid hunger makes it difficult for the pupils to learn. By providing at least one meal a day at school they provide the poorest pupils with some sort of nutrition. The aim is that children who experience hunger can eat some food at school.\textsuperscript{150} 23 percent of the population in South Africa is living beneath the poverty line of R250/month. Poverty is often a result of unemployment and in 2007, 23 percent of the people in working age and actively searching for job was unemployed. In 2006, 60 percent of the children in South Africa were living in a household where at least one parent was unemployed. In Western Cape is the number higher, 89 percent.\textsuperscript{151}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textsuperscript{146} & Interview nr 18 \\
\textsuperscript{147} & National School Nutrition Programme: Annual report 2009/2010: 1 \\
\textsuperscript{148} & National School Nutrition Programme: Annual report 2009/2010: 5-9 \\
\textsuperscript{149} & National School Nutrition Programme: Annual report 2009/2010: 1 \\
\textsuperscript{150} & Situation Analysis of Children in South Africa (2007-2008): 73 \\
\textsuperscript{151} & Situation Analysis of Children in South Africa (2007-2008: 8-12 \\
\end{tabular}
\end{footnotesize}
Main reason for the establishment of the NSNP is to provide food at school. Since the high unemployment rate there is a need to serve food to hungry pupils. In 2007 around 12 percent of children attending school experienced hunger.\textsuperscript{152}

Thus this number of 12 percent I think it’s higher. During my interviews I come to notice that school children feel a shame by eating of the food in school and even talk about it.

The Mandela government wanted a new start and they saw the importance of education and things that needed to be improved in school such as school attendance and learning situation. The high level of malnutrition, anemia and iron deficiency, especially in rural areas among the Colored and Black population, needed to be taken care of. Therefore is education regarding healthy nutrition and opportunity to eat in school important.

By serving food in school Mandela government wanted to give everyone a chance and opportunity to take part in the new school system, a system that for so long time been excluding people due to color of their skin. Large numbers of Black and Colored living in rural areas are more exposed to unemployment and socioeconomic problems. By serving food in school they hoped for higher enrolment especially among girls in school. Now, let see what attitudes regarding the NSNP that can be found among the two generations!

\textsuperscript{152}Situation Analysis of Children in South Africa (2007-200812-14
3.2. Attitudes regarding the National School Nutrition Programme (NSNP) among two generations in the rural area of Western Cape

On a wine farm right outside Cape Town I and my colleague interviewed a male wine farm worker working on one of the oldest wine farms in South Africa. His story affected me deeply. He lives 40-50 kilometer outside Cape Town in a rural area. He´s working day starts at 3-4 a clock in the morning when he starts the journey to his job. By 7 a clock he starts working on the farm and finishes around 7 in the afternoon and by 9-10 a clock in the evening he´s home and this pattern proceeds for 6 days a week, sometimes 7 days a week. This also includes female farm workers so it´s not hard to understand how important the NSNP can be for certain families and that the food in school is important for the children whose parents works very long days.

Life among farm workers in Western Cape is in many ways a tough journey and there are many obstacles to overcome every day and every year of their life when it comes to support their family financially. That´s my experience after interviewing around twenty farm workers and pupils living and working close to a wine farm.

During my trip around the wine farms it hit me that the school has an important task when it comes to support the pupils and their families. Not only by talking to their parents and try to understand what kind of situation their pupils are living in, but how important the NSNP is in the ordinary daily life. In my interviews I saw the need for food in school and that many families depended on them.

Still, the question on what attitudes different generations of farm workers and pupils display towards the NSNP is an important one. So let see what attitudes there is towards the NSNP among these two generations.

The First generation
The general view upon the NSNP is positive in the “elderly” generation. During my interviews I never came across a person who expressed something very negative regarding the NSNP. The social and economic situation for the farm workers contributes to this common view. An older woman working on a wine farm outside Stellenbosch told me that many families need this kind of support to survive in their daily life. She says that for many children and, than she pointed to her neighbor’s house and said that food in school is the only meal they got for 24 hours. “…less fortune children together with many others are going to bed with empty stomach”\textsuperscript{153}. Another woman could also see the need for the NSNP in her daily life. She told me about her village and that single parents living there experience hunger and often comes to them and asking for some bread. \textsuperscript{154} 

I made around fourteen interviews with adults who lives and works on farms and every time expression like these above was expressed. A woman, who recently lost her job at the clay-factory nearby where she lives, said that she feels that the NSNP been more important for her and her children. “When we don’t have food at home I know they get it in school and its better financially for me”\textsuperscript{155} Sometimes we don’t have food at home to give to our children, so it is good that they get food in school instead she said…The food in school has become more important for me now when I don’t have a job.\textsuperscript{156} Other women told me that “Some parents don’t have food at home, so the kid’s gets food in school instead…the food is important, because some children don’t have food at home since their parents are unemployed. They have nothing at home…”\textsuperscript{157} 

A woman explained to why the food in school is important to her. “They get food every day, and the food is good. It’s good they get food in school. Sometimes I don’t have the money, so I send my daughter to school. There I know she gets food…” \textsuperscript{158} A woman with 5 children of her own said that for less unfortunate children it’s good that they get some sort of food in school.\textsuperscript{159} 

\textsuperscript{153} Interview nr:3 
\textsuperscript{154} Interview nr: 1 
\textsuperscript{155} Interview nr: 9 
\textsuperscript{156} Interview nr: 9 
\textsuperscript{157} Interview nr: 7 
\textsuperscript{158} Interview nr: 6 
\textsuperscript{159} Interview nr: 4
It’s not difficult to understand why the food in school plays such an important role for many of the farmworkers and those living on wine farms. One of the purposes with the NSNP is that children who experience hunger at home have the opportunity to eat in school.

During one of my visits on a high-school outside Stellenbosch I meet a teacher who confirms this picture. He told me that a few children during the weekends don’t have the opportunity to eat and many children go hungry especially during the weekends. This has consequences he said. To overcome their hunger some pupils drinks alcohol and he told me that “On a Monday morning you can see that they have been drinking. “You see it in their eyes, in the way they behave and you can see it in their faces””. Our connection on Women on Farm Project “confirms” that theft in grocery stores increases during the weekends when the pupils don’t have any food at home. This is the only option she said. During weekends neighbors or friends give food to the ones that don’t have anything. Their parent drinks a lot, especially during the weekends, and according to Elna this is the big reason for why children don’t get food. Some kids even steel and some sell their bodies. By offering their bodies the children get food or money. This leads to many teenage pregnancies according to Elna. These patterns among pupils some time begins in primary school. So her view upon the NSNP is that it helps those who don’t have food at home.

The social situation makes it hard for the parents to support and provide food for their children at home. Female farm workers expressed that sometimes the children don’t have any food at home and that their parents are working late, so the only chance for them to eat is in school and this was especially noticeable during my stay in South Africa. I conducted my interviews during the high season in the wine industry. During summer the grapes are ready to be picked and the need of labor and long working days is necessary. Elna, my contact at WFP confirmed how important the food are to pupils whose parents are working long days on the wine fields. “The food is important. The parents know that my kid want be hungry at school and that they get food there. That is really helpful”.

Why is the food important for the pupils? Overall, farm workers and school personal showed a good knowledge when it came to food and its connection to learning. A women, who now is

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160 Interview nr: 20
161 Interview nr: 17
162 Interview nr: 17
a seasonal worker remembered from her time in school that the food was important. Without
it she would have felt tired.\textsuperscript{163} A principle working in a primary school in the rural areas of
Stellenbosch also explained the importance of food in school. “The food is really important
for the pupils. They don’t have any food at home, and their parent’s works on wine farms, and
some don’t work at all…Before a child can learn, he or she must get food…”\textsuperscript{164} A women
who finished matric 5 years ago also remember the importance of food. “If a person is hungry
they can’t concentrate, you are just thinking about how you can get food. I was lucky to have
something to eat and we used to share our food to others who still were hungry.”\textsuperscript{165}
“She food is important. Without it you can’t think, concentrate and work in a class room
when you have an empty stomach”\textsuperscript{166} Elna said.

This conclusion I also found in my background research. The relationship between nutrition
and school is a key to success in school.

As we have seen above, there are many reasons for winefarm workers to take part in the
NSNP. The economic and socialsituation for wine farm workers is the main reason to their
positive view upon the food program. The outspread poverty with consequences such as lack
of foodwas one of the main reasons to why the Mandela Government established the PSNP/
NSNP.

My interviews with the first generation shows that many farm workers sends their children to
school so they can eat something since the situation at home doesn’t allow that. Single parents
find it even more difficulty to support their children with food.

The first generation shows good knowledge when it comes to the connection between
nutrition and learning and how important it is to eat in school to cope with the long days in
class room. The government also indicates the importance of food and learning in school and
that children must eat to be able to learn and grow in school. So in many ways has the purpose
of NSNP really been helpful for people in the rural areas of Western Cape. Several persons
that I interviewed told me about the situation for single parents, and specially females living
alone with the children. Woman are more exposed in the society, and the once patriarchal
wine industry in rural areas can still affect woman and their living situation in more rural
areas.

\textsuperscript{163} Interview nr: 8
\textsuperscript{164} Interview nr: 12
\textsuperscript{165} Interview nr:15
\textsuperscript{166} Interview nr: 17
The Second generation

Despite positive effects of the NSNP given to me something surprised me during the interviews with the second generation. There is a lot of pupils who attends high school that don’t eat the food despite they might feel hungry. Why? Teacher working on a high school explained the situation to me. He said that many children are hungry in school but they don’t eat out of the food. The pupils have their pride he said. By eating out of the food it means that your parents don’t have any money the teacher said. He also explained to me that he thinks at this school more than 300 pupils are hungry every day and as a teacher you can see it later on during the day.\(^{167}\)

I asked two students attending the same school why it is like this. The male pupil told me that teenagers are ashamed of eating the food in school. By eating out of the food in the cafeteria they hear things such as “oh, you are poor” and “you don’t have food at home” from other pupils attending the same school.\(^{168}\) A girl at the same school said that it was the less fortuned kids that eats’ the food in school and that other student may insult them for doing that.\(^{169}\) “We don’t eat the food at all because it is for the children who don’t have anything” another girl said.\(^{170}\) Still, a 17 year old pupil, now attending school remembered from her time in primary school when she didn’t get any food that she often felt tired.\(^{171}\)

After hearing this I asked the 2 students and the teacher how this situation and the food can be improved so that more people eats the food and that no one falls a shame of doing that. The male pupil suggested more homemade food such as soup and that more “junk” food should be served in the schools, then more pupils would eat.\(^{172}\) The female pupil brings her own food to school, since she doesn’t like the food they serve in school. She thinks the reason for why no there are so few eating in school is due to the bad taste the food has. They should make the food better and make it taste better she says.\(^{173}\)

A solution to this problem according to the teacher working at the same school is if the pupils eats in the class rooms so that everybody don’t see which ones that takes food in school. They do it in primary school, eating in the class rooms he says. Due to this situation, some pupils

\(^{167}\) Interview nr: 20
\(^{168}\) Interview nr: 18
\(^{169}\) Interview nr: 19
\(^{170}\) Interview nr: 21
\(^{171}\) Interview nr: 11
\(^{172}\) Interview nr: 18
\(^{173}\) Interview nr: 19
choose not to eat in school since the consequences are too high and some do it because they have no choice. They don’t know if they will get any food at home. 174

A headmaster working on a primary school expresses similar thoughts. Her teachers bring fresh spices and tomatoes to school and other food and give it to the kitchen there. For 300 pupils they only have 2L of cooking oil a day she said. They also get some help with food from NGO: s. 175 A social worker, working for an Christian organization deployed at the same primary school tells me more about the importance of food in school. According to her, the school food programs helps a lot. The food is the main reason for why the pupils come to school, because here you have something to eat she said. 176

Despite this situation the pupils express gratitude towards the NSNP. Students who don’t take part in the school food program can see the purpose of it and understand other pupil’s economic and social situation. “Financial problems and housing problems such as no support from the father or that the mother doesn’t have any job makes people eat in school.” 177

As I described earlier, farm workers are socially exposed and outside the society, this could also be seen at the schools. Elna at WFP told me that pupils growing up and lives in the rural areas of Stellenbosch are pupils who come with their problems to school. These problems are often expressed in ways such as quietness and violence. A better communication between the teachers and the pupils are important according to Elna. As it is today, there is a power relation between the pupils in the school. 178

As I mentioned earlier on a solution to solve the problems with students feeling being a shame and bullied for eating the food in school they should serve more junk food such as hamburgers or food with better quality. 179 This answer surprised me a lot actually. A part of the NSNP is nutrition learning. 180 So this answer does surprise me a lot actually since it doesn’t fit in with the nutrition learning. This could be an affect due to lack of work with these kind of subject in school or just ordinary teenage thoughts.

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174 Interview nr: 20
175 Interview nr: 12
176 Interview nr: 14
177 Interview nr: 19
178 Interview nr: 17
179 Interview nr: 18
180 An evaluation of South Africa’s Primary School Nutrition Programme 1997: 68-69
A male pupil attending the local high school outside Stellenbosch described the food programs as an important part in he’s relation to school. He’s father was never present in he’s life and her mother had severe drinking problems so it was good for him and he’s mother that the school served food.”

He also told me that before he attended grade 5 no food was served, and many times he felt tired. After grade 5 he saw a different pattern. Many of he’s friends started to concentrate better when the school started to serve food, and he could also see that more and more children started to attend school when food was introduced. After been talking to him for a while he said why the food was important for him.

In my interviews with the second generation emerge the class perspective more than in the first generation. The pupils tend to see differences between themselves even if they all live in rural areas and are “poor” compared to other groups in the society. The general view and situation given in the background part is that malnutrition is more common among the Colored and Black population compared to the White. Due to this situation schools are forced to serve some sort of nutrition meal in school according to government regulation. Despite this opportunity, my interview shows that many pupils don’t eat at all in school despite their malnutrition and economic situation at home. The class perspective is also present in this situation since if you eat in school, then you are poor, pupils said. Despite these thoughts, pupils are positive towards the NSNP and they can see the importance of it for pupils with lack of resources at home.

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181 Interview nr: 18
3.3. The effect of the National School Nutrition Programme (NSNP) on family life, children of farm workers and their school attendance in a rural area in the Western Cape Province

Through my stay in Western Cape, South Africa my experience and knowledge regarding an ordinary wine farm worker has been much improved. Books and government reports can give a picture of how life is for the wine farm workers of Western Cape but you really have to see it with your own eyes to understand their social and economic situation. My interviews with wine farm workers give me the workers perspective regarding the NSNP. By shifting focus from government reports to wine farm workers I get another perspective of the NSNP. In my interviews with the wine farm workers and pupils living on wine farms I have seen the importance of the NSNP and how it impacts on the everyday life of farm workers and their families. There is Particularly 3 things that these people talks about in how the NSNP has affected their life. Economy, school attendance and what happens to the pupils during the weekends when there is no school.

For many of the families I met the NSNP has been an important part in their life. With a father working on a wine farm and a home working mother doing only seasonal work on a wine farm has the food in school played an important role.\footnote{Interview nr: 17} With limited economic resources they send their children to school just to get something to eat.\footnote{Interview nr: 20} This situation is present for many families in the rural areas of Western Cape. This I have noticed in my interviews. The introduction of the PSNP, and later on NSNP was created partly to give those pupils food, and in that way increase school attendance.

A woman working permanent on a wine farm without any children remember her childhood when she got food in school. It was important for her father since he was the only one
working and that her daughter went to school. Financially it was positive for their family since “when they eat in school, they don’t eat so much at home” she said.184 This situation is still present today. A woman without work told me that some parents don’t have food at home, and then it’s great that the pupils can get food in school instead. These parents are often unemployed and they have no food at home meaning that their children have to wait for the next day before they get food in their stomach again.185

The opportunity for pupils to eat in school is as we have seen important for their ability to take part and to focus in school. There is also another perspective to this question. The main reason is that food in school is positive for the family’s economy since the pupils don’t have to bring their own food or eat at home. One woman expressed that it is good for her economy, because sometimes she doesn’t have enough money to buy food to her own children and then she sends her daughter to school instead.186

Another woman who is a seasonal worker on a wine farm said that sometimes when we don’t have the money it’s good that they get food in school instead. Good for the economy she said.187 One woman told me about her 9 year old child who attends the local school. According to the mother, the food programs are good for the family economy of farm workers families when they don’t have to feed their own children during daytime, but sometimes there is no food at all in school. On these special occasions her 9 year old pupil doesn’t want to go to school at all. And this due to that there is no food in school. Her daughter only goes to school when there is something to eat.188

A teacher working on a high school also sees the economic reasons. Children eating in school does it because otherwise they won’t be giving any at home and the socio-economic situation at home contribute to less money meaning that the family has to struggle in order to survive.189

Since the introduction of the PSNP and NSNP, it’s been more than positive economic effects. In my interviews, school personnel and people working close to youngsters have noticed an

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184 Interview nr: 2
185 Interview nr: 7
186 Interview nr: 6
187 Interview nr: 5
188 Interview nr: 5
189 Interview nr: 20
improvement when it comes to school attendance which was one purpose behind the introduction of these programs.

A principal working in a primary school and done it for more than 20 years, have seen some differences since the introduction of the food programs. Before 1994-1997 only 25 percent of the school children attended school regularly but since after 1997 this number has increased and according to her it has to do with the introduction of the food programs.\footnote{Interview nr: 12}

According to the social worker who also works at the same school the food is the main reason for many children to why they even go to school. If you go to school, than you have something to eat she said.\footnote{Interview nr: 14}

A teacher working at the high school confirms the picture described above. As said before, it is the same children who eats’ from the food in school because they have no choice. If they don’t eat here in the school they are not sure that they can do it at home he said.\footnote{Interview nr: 20}

A mother of 5 children says it’s good that less fortuned children get some sort of food in school.\footnote{Interview nr: 4}

Knowledge and education can solve many problems since many of the farm workers I talked to didn’t know their legal rights or labor rights.\footnote{Interview nr: 6} A way to solve this important subject is to make more pupils go to school and in this way increase knowledge on such things and the food makes the pupils alert during lessons.\footnote{Interview nr: 8}

My interviews with wine farm workers and pupil living and working in rural areas of Western Cape gave me the workers perspectives regarding the NSNP and its affects. The economic situation for many rural families is improved by the implementation of the NSNP since many wine farm workers and families’ can’t afford buying food to their children. By sending their children to school instead the parents know that they get some sort of nutrition. During high season, when the grapes are being harvested parents are working long days and can therefore not cook food to their children.

Also the school attendance has been approved by the implementation of the NSNP. Both a principle and school personal confirms that food in school increase school attendance.

During weekends when there is no school some of the hungry pupils end’s up selling their bodies for money or stealing food in order to survive. The alcohol consumption also rise...
during weekends and by Monday morning the teacher can see which pupils that have been drinking during the weekend.

Another problem connected to this question is that what happens to those pupils who must eat in school during the weekends when the schools are closed. How do they get food and what consequences does it have? I have mentioned before that some pupils steal and sell their bodies in order to survive.\textsuperscript{196}

During the weekends those pupils often gets into trouble. On reason for this is the easy access to alcohol nearby the farms.\textsuperscript{197} The pupil’s parents often drink a lot and especially women. These are the worst drinkers according to a woman living on a farm. During the weekends they don’t care about their kids, and the older sister or brother becomes the one responsible for taking care of the family she said.\textsuperscript{198}

In these situations many children are vulnerable. When pupils have to survive on their own without the help from their parents, they get into situations where they have to steal and sell their bodies. This pattern has been there for a long time according to Elna and she warns about the situation where males see the opportunity to take advantage of this situation, and in many cases we are talking about small children in many of these situations.\textsuperscript{199}

The food is important for those pupils who can’t eat during the weekends. I asked 2 girls attending the local high school and asked them what they think would happen to those pupils during the weekends. They told med the same story as WFP, that they will steal bread or other in order to survive, if they can´t do that they sell their bodies and through this way earn money.\textsuperscript{200}

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\textsuperscript{196} & Interview nr: 17 \\
\textsuperscript{197} & Interview nr: 14 \\
\textsuperscript{198} & Interview nr: 7 \\
\textsuperscript{199} & Interview nr: 17 \\
\textsuperscript{200} & Interview nr: 21 \\
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3.4. Result /Final Words

My 3 month stay in South Africa gave me a whole new perspective on this country. On one hand you have the beautiful shores, animals and wine yards stretching out in front of the sun. On the other hand you have the townships with thousands of unemployed people and endless of social problems such as drinking problems. In this study I have followed the wine farm workers and their struggles in life. Beyond the wine fields, on the small roads that surround the wine yard you can find the labor force working on the wine fields. As a tourist you will not find these places. But I did with the help from WFP.

Through my interviews I got to know that the NSNP has affected wine farm workers and pupils living in rural areas of Western Cape positively. By interviewing wine farm workers and their families I got the grass-root perspective with a special focus on wine farm workers, women’s situation, minorities and class perspective.

The Social Inequality is present every day in the rural areas of Western Cape, and especially among wine farm workers as described in my background chapter. Poverty, unemployment, lack of food and education are present in the rural areas and this make wine farm workers and their families more vulnerable than other groups in the South African society. My interviews reveal that poverty and unemployment force parents to send their children to school so that they can eat.

Wine farm workers and pupils in rural areas are more vulnerable. They are in many ways excluded from the living patterns that can be seen among the rest of the South African society. Again, the high unemployment and lack of education among the wine farm workers and in rural areas creates a large working force available to economic interest such as the farm owners. The working wine farmers have during my interviews expressed their worries when it comes to the relationship between them and the farm owner. Lack of resources to start your own business, previous regulations and the heritage from the parents working situation on wine farms can hold to the younger generation back when it comes to break old patterns such as leaving the wine farm.

The NSNP help families living under poverty and by offering some sort of nutrition in school the economic situation may be improved at home. This is one purpose behind NSNP.
The lack of education among the farm workers makes them vulnerable towards the White farm owner. Their knowledge and right to take part and create unions and labor rights is weak among the farm workers. This I have seen during interviews with wine farm workers and social workers. Therefore is education an important part to improve their living situation. By the use of Oral History I got access to the more unwritten history, the history of wine farm workers and focus on woman’s part in the wine industry. The grass-root perspective in my interviews gives me a complement to the government’s reports. My interviews show that a woman living in rural areas tends to be more vulnerable. The wine industry with its patriarchal history and lack of jobs affects woman more than man. A Single woman living in a rural area with children has tougher getting a job, and in my interviews I have seen how important the NSNP are for single parents and how it affects minority groups such as wine farm workers and women.

The Black and Colored wine farm workers living on/nearby on wine farm are 2 groups who’s history not been told enough despite their long history in South Africa. This I have noticed since I only found a few reports or books telling their history. The government reports upon NSNP is missing the workers perspective and by comparing 2 generations of people living and working in the rural areas of Western Cape, I got their perspective and how their life situation has been affected by the NSNP. Wine farm workers have for a long time been excluded from the society and still are, for example when it comes to the lack of confidence towards the state and law enforcement. Wine farm workers life situation is being used by economic interest such as from farm owners which is creating a base of working force with low wages.

The NSNP has become a crucial part to cope with problems such as mal-nutrition, poverty, low school attendance and health problems. My interview with the 2 generations reveals that the NSNP has affected life among farm workers and pupils living in rural areas of Western Cape. More than I could imagine. A parent which is unemployed or has long work days on the wine yard sends their child to school so it get something to eat. My interviews also reveals that during weekends when there is no school, and thereby no food, many pupils are forced to steal food and sometimes even sell their bodies in order to survive. The school attendance is higher compared to before the introduction of the NSNP according to my interviews with school personal. So the
government’s purpose of the NSNP for example to help people out of poverty and create a higher school attendance seems to also be the case in the rural areas of Western Cape.

My background chapter regarding nutrition reveals that nutrition is important for those who attend school and that lack of nutrition affects the students’ possibilities to learn and take part in school. My interviews with students also confirm the connection between nutrition and learning and how important it is to have something to eat in order to take part in school and be an active student.

My interviews with wine farm workers and pupils’ living in rural areas of Western Cape show that the NSNP helps them in their daily life in many aspects. It can be anything from economic factors such as reducing poverty to save those pupils who has nothing to eat at home.

After coming back to Sweden I have mixed feelings regarding the South African society. I am glad to have met pupils and to see how they really fight in school to get a good education and hear them talking about their dreams and how the NSNP has affected life in rural areas of Western Cape.

Still I can see how little the society has changed for certain social groups such as for the farm workers and other groups living in the more rural areas. During my stay a few Black and Colored people expressed feeling like “at least we had a job during the apartheid” and so on. The need for change was so big in 1994, but still it hasn’t change much at all for certain groups. During Apartheid, the color of your decided what you can or couldn’t do. Today it is the money who decides your opportunity in life. It has shifted from color to money and it is still the Colored and Black population, especially in the rural areas of Western Cape who has less opportunities in life due to lack of education during Apartheid and high unemployment. Is this an explanation to why ANC has lost its majority in the Western Cape, and especially in the previous election?

The introduction of PSNP and later on NSNP are important steps towards a better education system, and therefore a better democracy and a possibility for less fortunate pupils to get an honest chance in school. Without these two major programs many pupils wouldn’t go to school. In my interviews I have seen some patterns at farm workers families. Those who only have one parent working, as I said before, send their children to school for two reasons, to
receive a formal education and get something to eat. In a household with limited resources I do understand why school and NSNP are important.

Another experience connected to school was the ones regarding pupils who eat in school and how they get food during the weekends. Those who eat the food in school have a tough environment at home. That’s my experience after talking to farmers. The school can work as a sanctuary for them and they should not get bullied at school just because they eat the food given to them. Other students are too fast to mark them as another social class. This has led to that some students don’t eat at all in school which affect their grades and situation in school negatively I think. During the weekends when there is no school the most exposed pupils with limited resources at home has a tough time and social workers has expressed their worries when it comes to those children during the weekends.

Another story that stroked me was the life inside the wine farm at the houses they live. They live in a small isolated community with limited contact to the society a few kilometers away. The socio-economic situation contributes to this pattern. Lack of education and high unemployment numbers force them to stay in certain patterns. The local police is tired of constantly visit their area due to violence caused by alcohol, this according to the farm workers. The world for them is small and everything that happens inside this little village stays there. A woman I talked to in one of my interviews told me that she got raped by a close member in her family when she was young. The man had sneaked inside her room during the evening/night when her grandma and grandpa were in the room next door. This has affected her life for many years and still does, since she still meets the person who did this to her.

As I have noticed they are not keen to share their story with the rest of the society or the police. The belief in a better life and a strong trust that God will help them through the day makes them hope for a better future. And they get no help from the farm owner. The government’s purpose of the NSNP and its effects in the rural areas of Western Cape are similar, and it is pleasant to see how much this program affects the farm workers and their family. In this way has the government really understand the situation for many families living in the more rural areas. There really is a connection between school attendance and the NSNP. Without this program the ordinary life for many farmers would have been very harsh.
Therefore is the future for the NSNP very important, and it is crucial that more schools and pupils can take part in this program without any risk of being bullied at school. To improve the life situation for the farm workers the government has to make structural changes by targeting money for education and social programs, but also to cope with alcoholism and drug problems among pupils. Farm workers within the wine industry deserve an improvement of their life situation.

What can be done from Sweden to improve their situation? It is not an easy question to solve. Should we stop drinking South African wine or do we then increase the chance of making the farm workers unemployed? Can the Swedish Systembolaget, who owns the entire market when comes to sell alcohol in Sweden increase the pressure on the farm owners when it comes to fair salaries and working hours?

Now, after been working with this thesis for 5-7 months, it feels strange to have come to an end. All impressions that I got in South Africa and all the farm workers and pupils that I met have affected me deeply. Their stories and life situation gave my life another perspective. I have seen the backside of a society. A backside many in South Africa don’t seem eager to solve. Now, when I have seen the importance of the NSNP it would have been interesting to see how similar programs have affected rural family life in other countries around the world. What can other countries learn from South Africa, and how can South Africa improve their NSNP? I hope in the future, that this is possible for me.

I would like to finish this work with the same man I started it with, Nelson Mandela.

“Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world” – Nelson Mandela.
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4.2. Sources


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4.3. Interviews

1. 38 year old woman with 3 children between 11-21 years who lives and works on a wine farm
2. 44 year old woman with no children living and working on a wine farm
3. 49 year old woman living with her grandchild on a wine farm
4. A woman with 5 children between 4-14 years. Living and working as a seasonal worker on a wine farm
5. 48 year old woman with 4 children between 9-28 years. Lives and works on a farm
6. 46 year old woman with 4 children between 12-28 years who are living and working as a seasonal worker on a wine farm
7. A woman with 5 children with two of them in school. Lives on a farm but has no job Started to work after grade 7 due to lack of money at home
8. 29 year old woman with no children. Living and working on a wine farm
9. Woman with 3 children between 6-13 years, living and working as a seasonal worker on a wine farm
10. 28 year old woman with a 2 year old daughter living on a wine farm
11. 17 year old pupil attending Cloetesville High School. Lives on a wine farm
12. A woman working as a principle on a primary school outside Stellenbosch
13. A woman working as a teacher on primary school outside Stellenbosch
14. A woman working as a social worker on a primary school outside Stellenbosch for a Christian organization
15. 25 year old woman with part times job living with her child on a wine farm
16. 34 year old woman with 1 daughter living in her mother’s house on a wine farm
17. Elna Lindoor, working with youth programs at WFP in Stellenbosch
18. 20 year old male pupil attending Cloetesville High School. Lives with his mother on a wine farm. The mother used to work on the wine farm
19. Girl pupil attending Cloetesville High School. Both parents’ in the wine industry
20. Male teacher working at Cloetesville High School. Grew up upon a wine farm.
21. 2 pupils, 13 and 14 years old. Lives nearby a wine farm
4.4. Websites


4.5. Other references

Nelson Mandela Exhibition, Slave Lodge Museum Cape Town 2011-02-10

4.6. Interview questions – First generation

- Township / Village:
- Family:
- Age
- Number of children and their age:
- School:

1. Could you please tell us a little bit about yourself? (Work, home, family)
2. How would you describe Kayamandi?
3. How would you describe growing up in Kayamandi?
4. What are your interests and what do you like to do on your spare time?
5. What were they when you were younger and went to school?
6. How would you describe your school / education?
7. For how many years did you go to school?
8. How long were your schooldays?
9. Did you get any food during schooldays?
10. How and to what extent do you consider getting food in school affects learners attendance in school?
11. What do you think about the food program in schools of today in general?
12. In what way have the introduction of the food program had any effect on your family and your daily life?
13. How many learners were there in your class / school?
14. How would you describe a good teacher / a bad teacher?
15. What are your thoughts about the teachers that you had?
16. How are they compared to teachers of today?
17. How far was the distance to your school?
18. What kind of subjects did you prefer?
19. What did you usually do after school?
20. Describe what you did and how your daily life was during the weekends?
21. Did you miss school during the weekends? Why, why not?
22. How and to what extent do you think that school and education has changed since you went to school?
23. To what extent do you think that children’s opportunities and situation has changed since you grew up?
24. What are your plans for the future regarding family and children?
25. What did you want to become while growing up?
26. Where did you want to live?
27. What did your parents do?
28. Did you have a summer job or did you do any kind of work in addition to school?
29. How and to what extent did you assist your family when it comes to things that needed to be done?
30. How would you describe your relationship with your parents?
31. Who decides what in your family?
32. What are your assignments or things to do in your home and within your family?
33. What were they while growing up?
34. What are your thoughts about the high unemployment rates in this area?
35. How do you think that the unemployment rates could be changed?
36. What is your relation to liquor and spirits?
37. What is your view regarding alcohol issues here?
38. To what degree do you recognize any changes through time regarding this issue?
39. Did you get alcohol back home while growing up or in other ways?
40. What were your parent’s relation to liquor and spirits?
41. How has that that effected your relation to liquor and spirits?
42. The Western Cape Province is an area where the so called dop-system used to be a reality. What are your thoughts about the system and the abolition of it?
43. What are your thoughts about any ongoing effects of that system, considering the fact that it was abolished quite a long time ago?
44. To what extent, and within which areas, do you see obvious changes in the situation for you and the inhabitants in this area since the apartheid regime?
45. What are your own experiences from the apartheid regime?
46. What are your own experiences from the abolition and the changes that were made when the system went down?
4.7. Interview questions – Second generation

- Township / Village:
- Family:
- Age and generation:
- School:

47. Could you please tell us a little bit about yourself?
48. How would you describe Kayamandi?
49. How would you describe growing up in Kayamandi?
50. What are your interests and what do you like to do on your spare time?
51. How would you describe your school / education?
52. How long are your schooldays?
53. How many learners are there in your class / school?
54. How would you describe a good teacher / a bad teacher?
55. What are your thoughts about the teachers that you have?
56. How far is the distance to your school?
57. What kind of subjects do you prefer?
58. What are your thoughts about the food in school?
59. What do you think about the food program in schools in general?
60. In what way have the introduction of the food program had any effect on your daily life?
61. What do you usually do after school?
62. Describe what you do and how your daily life is during the weekends?
63. Do you miss school during the weekends? Why, why not?
64. What are your plans for the future?
65. What do you want to become?
66. Where would you like to live?
67. What do your parents do?
68. Do you have a summer job or do you do any kind of work in addition to school?
69. How and to what extent do you assist your family when it comes to things that need to be done where you live?
70. How would you describe your relationship with your parents?
71. Who decides what in your family?
72. What are your assignments or things to do in your home and within your family?
73. What are your thoughts about the high unemployment rates in this area?
74. How do you think that the unemployment rates could be changed?
75. What is your relation to liquor and spirits?
76. What is it like in general with people in your age regarding alcohol?
77. Do you get alcohol back home or in other ways?
78. What is your parent’s relation to liquor and spirits?
79. How does that effect your relation to liquor and spirits?
80. The Western Cape Province is an area where the so called dop-system used to be a reality. What are your thoughts about the system and the abolition of it?

81. What are your thoughts about any ongoing effects of that system, considering the fact that it was abolished quite a long time ago?