

FRIEMERSHEIM : A PROFILE

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1. INTRODUCTION

Friemersheim one of twenty-four Coloured Rural Areas (CRA) covers an area of 191 hectares and is situated in a fertile farming area at the base of the Outeniqua Mountain Range in the Southern Cape, some 490 kilometres from Cape Town. It is bordered on three sides by white farms and on the fourth by a state owned forest - Pine Grove. A high rainfall ensures lush foliage and a number of perennial streams.

Friemersheim comprises less than 1% of all 'Coloured Rural Areas'. Compared to the other 23 CRAs Friemersheim, in 1985, was amongst the smallest though it has one of the highest population densities (2,41 people per square hectare) (see Appendix A).

The N.G. Sendingkerk, the Management Board Office, clinic complex and shop - the only formal service structures in the community - are fairly close to one another and make up the village nucleus which serves as a congregation point for the local population (434 in 1986). Two major local towns are located at an almost equal distance (approximately 30 kilometres) from the village: George to the south-east and Mossel Bay to the south-west.

2. METHODOLOGY

Research was conducted in Friemersheim during 1986 and the aims included:

- i) assessing the community's basic needs;
- ii) intervention on the part of the community worker merely to concretize the perceived needs into action programmes;
- iii) initiating community based structures which could effectively meet the existing and future needs of the community;
- iv) addressing the question of community development.

The underlying rationale of the approach to community development adopted by the author was:

- i) people should be encouraged to solve major problems on their own;
- ii) intervention strategies should take place in a way that ensured that the interests of all community members, especially the poorest sector, would benefit from the endeavour;
- iii) any projects should be initiated and administered by the residents;

- iv) outside assistance should merely represent supplementary efforts to ensure that community members have the necessary skills, access to resources and knowledge to make projects working realities.

Information was collected in the following ways:

- i) household questionnaires;
- ii) in depth interviews with various leading figures in the community;
- iii) in depth discussions with different organisations/groupings e.g. the church, the unemployed, the Management Board, the aged, the peasant farmers, the youth etc.;
- iv) a survey and discussions with an extensive number of community members to ascertain what the major needs were and to facilitate discussion in the village around basic areas of concern.

In this paper the present socio-economic characteristics of the population are described, needs identified and some discussion on how these were/are to be addressed follows.

3. HISTORY

In 1898, the farm Friemersheim was bequeathed by a German lay preacher, Eerwaarde Kretzen, to the N.G. Sendingkerk to be established as a mission station. People migrated from the surrounding farms as well as from as far afield as Namaqualand to the station.

In order to be able to live in the area the Sendingkerk required residents to be church members and to adhere to a strict code of behaviour. Drinking and dancing were prohibited in the area and church attendance was compulsory. A local 'court' made up of senior church members tried transgressors and administered punishment. Punishment ranged from a warning to the eviction of the offender and family from the station.

The church subdivided the area into half acre plots which were provided to families at a nominal fee. Families originally built their own houses (scoi huisies) using locally available materials.

When small industries began to expand in the surrounding towns (especially in the Great Brak River area) the community changed from being rural agrarian in nature to what is basically a commuter suburb in a rural setting.

Up until the late 1940s blacks and coloureds lived side by side and inter-marriage occurred. Pressure exerted by the state led to the mission station forcing black families to move, thus ensuring that Friemersheim was solely 'coloured' and facilitating its designation as a 'Coloured Area' in terms of the Rural Coloured Areas Act of 1963.

In 1961 Friemersheim was sold to the state by the N.G. Sendingkerk for the token sum of R30 000. The church felt that it could no longer continue to subsidise the community. The provision of services to the community henceforth became the responsibility of the state and thus the hegemony of the church over the lives of the community was eroded. Though this was, and remains, a gradual process because most of the residents holding church leadership positions were elected onto the Management Board and consequently incorporated many of the old laws and norms into the structure. The role of the board is covered in more detail later.

4. PHYSICAL INFRASTRUCTURE

4.1 Transport

Very little public transport exists in Friemersheim. A combi travelling to Great Brak River costs R10 per week (or R2 per return trip) and departs daily at 6.45 a.m. and returns at 5.30 p.m. The bus travelling to Mossel Bay (via Great Brak River) departs at 6.45 a.m. and returns at 7.00 p.m. during weekdays. A single ticket costs 80c and a weekly return R8.

Although the bus is cheaper, older Friemersheimers refuse to travel on it for two reasons:

- i) they would have to spend the whole day in town and
- ii) they fear for their lives 'Die hel kan nie erger wees as daai bus' (77 year old Friemersheim resident).

Only 5,3% of the population have motor cars, hiring them to fellow residents

in cases of emergency. The going rate is R13 return to Great Brak River (+ 26 km.) and R25 return to Mossel Bay (+ 60 km.).

4.2 Water Supply

Up until 1985 Friemersheim obtained its water from the two sources: from furrows running almost through the centre and on one side of the village and from a river running along the village's border.

In 1983 the Regional State officials took a decision to supply Friemersheim with water. An underground tank was built in 1984 and a surface tank with 10 000 litre capacity in 1985. This was electrified in June 1986. Outside taps and metres have been supplied to 51 of the 82 households in Friemersheim. Residents pay R4 per month. Two major problems exist with this newly constituted system:

- i) the tank is too small to meet the village's present needs. Persons living in one section of the village receive no water at all due to low pressure in the tank, and
- ii) the source is unreliable, the furrow is small and in times of drought the water level has dropped considerably.

4.3 Electricity

Although electricity lines run through Friemersheim the village is not electrified. In 1982 the Raad made enquiries about the possibility of having power extended to the village but decided against it as it would be too expensive. In addition, state officials pointed out that the majority of houses were in too poor a condition to take the pipes.

Fuel used for cooking purposes varies from household to household: 54,9% of the households use woodstoves, 7,3% gas stoves (i.e. primus) and 37,8% use both gas and wood. Wood is bought from the local shop, or collected in the local forests. The majority of households use candles for light but some use is made of gas, paraffin or a generator.

5. DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

5.1 Population Trends

It is evident from Figure 1 and Table 1 that over a sixteen-year period fluctuations in population have been minimal though it has declined from a peak of 501 in 1978 to an all time low of 434 in March 1986. This decline may have been caused by:

- i) A drop in the birth rate. Two generations ago it was not uncommon for families to have between 7 and 10 children. Hester S. (aged 56) had 19 children. Susanne P. (aged 55) is the mother of 13 children. At present the average number of children for mothers between the ages of 20 and 39 is 4.

A rise in educational standards coupled with an increase in salaries has no doubt contributed to the drop in the number of children born. The majority of 'old timers' interviewed remarked on the fact that they (working as unskilled labourers) never earned as much as their children ('jobbe manne') who had learned a trade. A mother of four was recently sterilized. Her explanation was that she wanted her children to have the very best educational opportunities. Bringing up four children was making this goal difficult enough. A concerted effort on the part of the state to promote birth control has also affected the population. This occurs especially in the field of sterilization rather than contraceptive use.

- ii) A movement of the youth from the area to the towns in search of employment and a better standard of living. In the process Friersheim has become a commuter village.

5.2 Sexual Composition

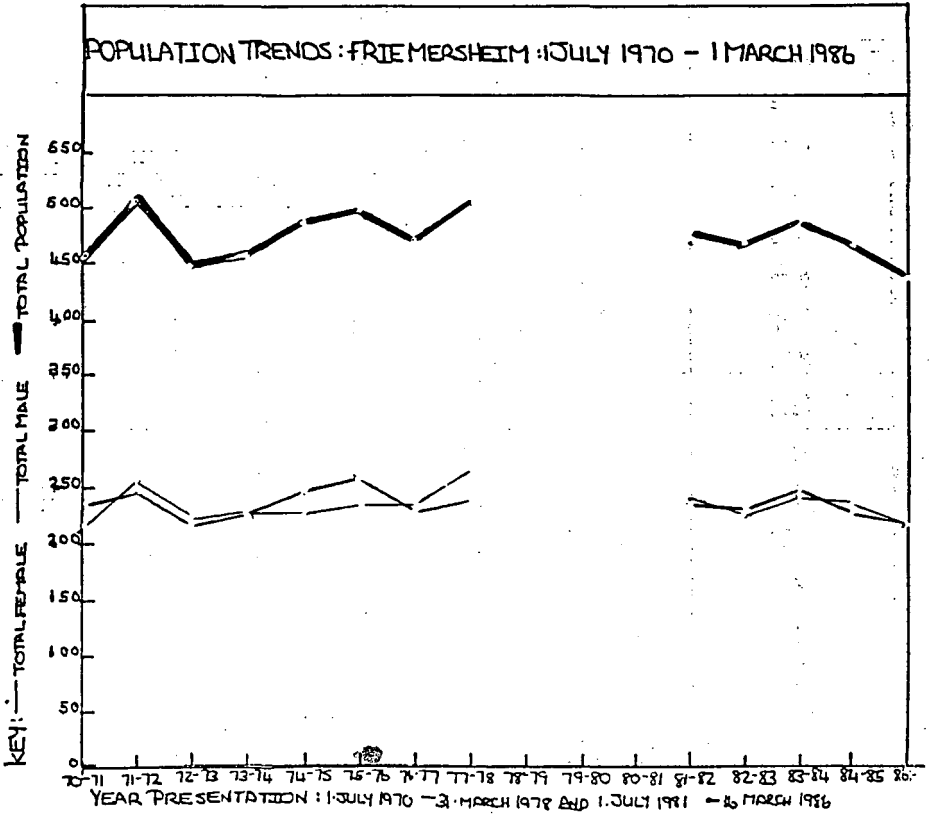
Little change has taken place in sexual composition and sexual distribution. (see Table 1).

5.3 Age Composition

The population pyramid (see Figure 2) shows an interesting pattern in age distribution.

FIGURE 1

POPULATION TRENDS 1971-1986¹



Source: Friemersheim Management Board.

1. Material for years 1978-1980 (incl.) was unobtainable.

Table 1 :

Population 1971 - 1986

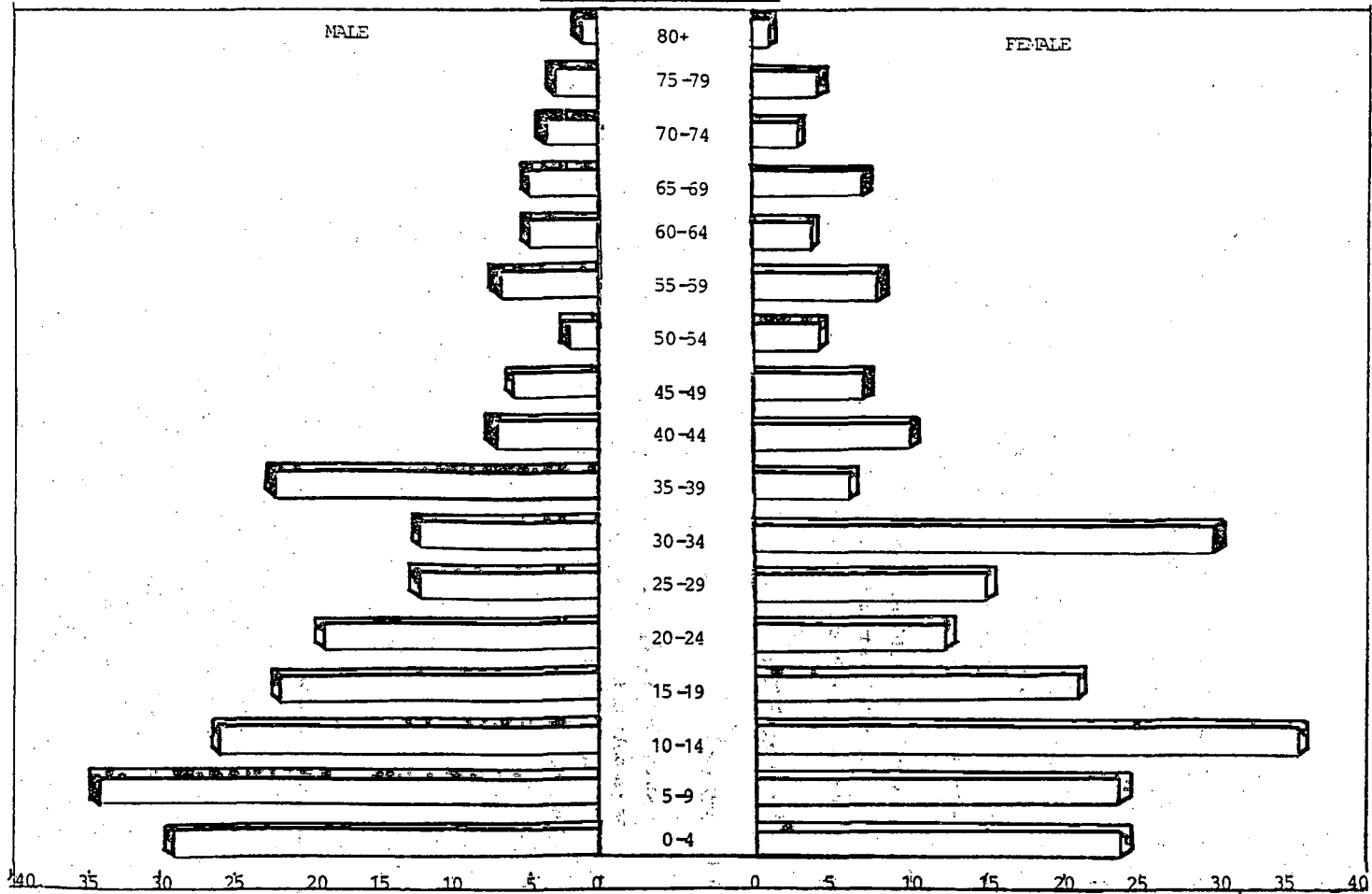
Year ¹	Total Population (Number)	Male %	Female %
1971	454	51,8	48,2
1972	501	48,9	51,1
1973	446	48,0	52,0
1974	456	48,7	51,3
1975	483	50,9	49,1
1976	496	51,2	48,8
1977	470	48,7	51,3
1978	501	47,7	52,3
1979	-	-	-
1980	-	-	-
1981	-	-	-
1982	467	50,1	49,9
1983	456	50,4	49,6
1984	487	50,1	49,9
1985	462	48,3	51,7
1986	434	-	-

1. Data appears in the form 1970-1971 etc. and this is written as 1971 etc. in the Table.

2. - indicates data unavailable.

Source: Friemersheim Management Board.

AGE DISTRIBUTION - 1986



NUMBER OF PERSONS IN AGE GROUP

Source: Household Questionnaire - March 1986

The aged sector¹ account for 7,8% (34 persons) of the total population (434) with 52,9% (18 persons) being female. Due to a housing shortage many (79,4%) share their homes with married children, but still play an active role in village life - many are involved in village leadership, employed or supplementing household income (see Section 8).

The potentially economically active sector² accounts for 45,2% (196 persons) of the total population. Of the economically active population 58,2% receive some form of remuneration (see Section 8) be it in the form of salaries or state welfare payments.

Scholars (i.e. residents between the ages of 5 and 19) account for 34,8% of the total population and infants (children between the ages of 0 and 5) represent a fairly small segment (12,2%) of the total population.

6. EDUCATIONAL TRENDS

6.1 Pre-School

In March 1985 a playgroup designed for children between the ages of 3 and 6 was established. It was initiated by the village residents and receives assistance from the Sendingkerk and World Vision. The former assisted by donating the use of the church hall and ground and making a major financial contribution to the building of a playground, and the latter makes a monthly contribution towards maintenance costs.

The playgroup operates as a separate entity from the Sendingkerk, although the dominee and his wife are additional members on the school council. The playgroup is open 5 days a week from 9 a.m. to 12 p.m. Meals are not provided, however an attempt is made to give children milk, fruit or soup at least once a week. Parents pay 20 cents per day. This was reduced from a previous fee of 70 cents a day as parents were taking the children out of the group because they could no longer afford it. Two teachers run the group and attendance fluctuates between 12 and 34 children. The group has experienced tremendous apathy from parents. Enthusiasm has waned to the point where committee members struggle to get parents to attend meetings.

6.2 Primary School

In 1927 the state appointed a teacher in the village. Before that education had been the church's responsibility. Friemersheim Laerskool, the primary school which offers education up to Standard 5, is located on two separate sides. The sub A's and B's are located in two ramshackle classrooms which are hired from the local shop owner. The buildings are in poor condition with constant complaints made about damp and inadequate lighting. There is concern amongst the teaching staff that there will not be enough room in the school when the inhabitants of Stockenstroom³ move to the region. It is the state's intention to build a new school on these premises within the five years 1986-1991.

The building which houses Standard 1 to Standard 5 pupils was built in stages. In 1920 a stone structure was erected by a Friemersheim resident and in 1956 four additional classrooms were built using wood salvaged from dismantled army bungalows. It, too, is in poor condition and needs to be replaced.

In 1986 the school had a population of 160 pupils with a teaching staff of 7, giving a teacher/pupil ratio of 1:22,9. Table 2 gives a breakdown of the student population from 1971 to 1983.

Table 2 : Primary School Population 1971-1983

Year	Teachers	Total Pupil number	Children attending from out-lying areas	Children attending from Friemersheim
1971	7	277	70	157
1972	7	231	80	151
1973	7	227	54	173
1974	7	218	86	132
1975	7	215	100	115
1976	7	220	107	113
1977	7	231	113	118
1981	7	219	98	121
1982	7	215	93	122
1983	7	201	98	103

Source: Friemersheim Management Board.

There has been a small but steady decline in pupils over the years. The drop is more pronounced in the Friemersheim children, with a small increase in the number of children coming from surrounding farms. The decline experienced from 1983 to 1986 (i.e. from 201 pupils to 160 pupils) may be explained by the following factors:

- i) in 1986 a large number of farm children were redirected to a primary school in Great Brak River (26 kilometres from Friemersheim).
- ii) The migration of young people to urban centres.
- iii) The almost non-existent influx of new inhabitants to the area.
- iv) A general decline in the birth rate.

As a result of (i) the school is facing a possible down-grading and loss of state funds (used to pay teachers).

6.3 High School.

In 1984 a privately owned bus service was established to transport pupils to high school in Great Brak River. Before that children wishing to attend high school had to board in the area. As a result, many parents were forced to remove their children from school as they could not afford boarding fees. Today the majority of children catch the bus, which leaves daily at 6.45 a.m. and returns at 3.30 p.m. The fare is paid by the state. The service appears to have enabled more children to continue their education, and in 1986 Friemersheim had 34 high school pupils.

One aspect of access to educational opportunities which emerged in discussions with a number of inhabitants, especially those with larger families and older parents, is that whereby the eldest children are removed from school at a relatively early age and sent to work. Their earnings are then used to put younger siblings through high school and, in some instances, through college. Anna P., a standard 9 pupil, who intends to study nursing and whose education is paid for by her brothers and sisters, gave her family history.

'My broer G. - hy'd in standard 7 klaargemaak ... My ander sussie wat werk op Mossel Baai het in standard vyf klaargemaak. L - sy'd in standard 5 klaargemaak. B is in standard ses klaar.'

7. EMPLOYMENT PROFILE

From the mission station's inception until the 1960s Friemersheim could have been described as a rural agrarian community. The majority of its residents were employed in the agricultural sector (as farm-labourers or as farmers) and the minority conducted informal sector activities or were employed as unskilled labourers in neighbouring towns.

The growth of local industry in the 1960s brought with it a concomitant demand for labour. Residents were lured to the towns by the higher salaries than those earned on the farms, or by independent production. These factors together with the precarious nature of informal sector activities, residents' lack of capital and the local job market's inability to meet the community's employment needs has established a pattern of out-migration.

Farming has steadily died out with the younger generation shunning the land. The result is that market gardening has become the occupation of elderly pensioners, the disabled and 'weekend' farmers. Produce is consumed by the household and any surplus is sold to neighbours or hawked by the farmers in the surrounding towns. The view expressed was that if sufficient money could be obtained from the sale of produce 'farmers' would make it a full time occupation.

Changes in work patterns have not necessarily led to an easier life. Dependency on the job market together with the rejection of the previous generation's eclectic approach to work has made present day labourers vulnerable.

'Die's baie wat nie werk. En gad hulle toe en kry hulle so 'n casual job. Maar toe'd ek van due pad afgekóm het - afgepension is, daarvandaan was daar nie mense wat jy kan sê rondgeloopt het nie. Nee toe'd die mense gewerk. En toe'd die mense gad leer carpenter werk doen. Nee hiers taamlike sulke manne wat as hulle werk loop staan, hulle het niks - kan hulle niks doen nie. Nou kry hulle sulke casual jobbies hierso en dan weer daar en dan weer hier en dar maar weer'n paardae by die huis lê-so gad hulle aan.

Nee in onse tyd kan jy so in die tuinery werk. Maar hedendaags wil hulle nie tuin werk doen nie. Hulle het nie lus. Hulle sukkel om die geld te kry want die koste is te duur om nou te loop van daai goed. Kyk die groot moeilikheid van vandag se mense wat is werkloos - Hy is met die goede wat hy nou het verplig van wat hy doen.

'Voorentoe kon hy wal raaskop maar nou - nou sukkel hy om'n pot regop te hou. Ja as jy nie werk het nie dan loop daar moeilikheid. Veral by die manne wat by die huise kinders het. In die jong dae kon jy altyd by die plase 'n bietjie inval. Maar daai plase is so - hulle het maar mense.'
(Friemersheim resident)

A number of disillusioned labourers have been searching for ways to break away from formal employment and establish their own enterprises but, to the author's knowledge, had not been successful at the time of writing.

The unquestioned norm is for a child to contribute a major proportion of his salary for the maintenance of his parents and younger brothers and sisters. Work shortage has made it almost impossible for many to fulfil these responsibilities. In 1986, 119 Friemersheim adults were employed (i.e. 27,4% of the population). A breakdown of employees according to employment sector is given in Table 3 and Figure 3. It is evident that the construction sector is the largest employer.

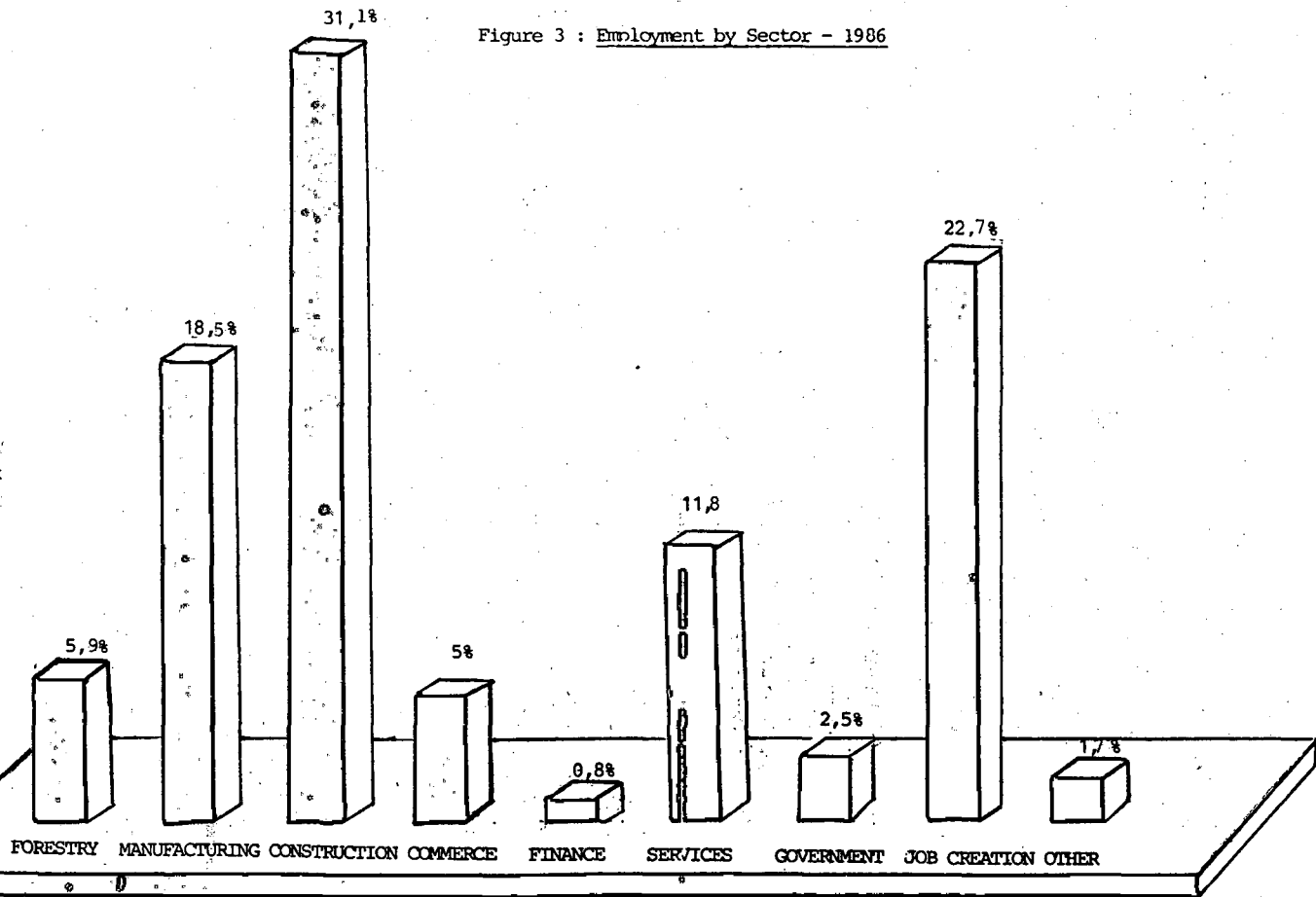
Table 3 : Employment by Sector - 1986

Employment Sector	Number Employed	Percentage
Forestry	7	5,9
Manufacturing	22	18,5
Construction	37	31,1
Commerce & Repair	6	5,0
Insurance & Finance	1	0,8
Services	14	11,8
General Government	3	2,5
Govt. Employment programme	27	22,7
Other	2	1,7
Total	119	100,0

Source: Household Questionnaire - March 1986.

A survey in the area revealed that all workers in the construction sector were employed in the building industry, a breakdown according to occupation is given in Table 4.

Figure 3 : Employment by Sector - 1986



Source: Condensed from Table 3.

Building contractors were contracted to build luxury holiday homes along the coastline and employed the local 'coloured' population - training most of them on the job. Such construction is particularly sensitive to economic trends and 1986 appears to have been a bad year for the building industry with eleven workers being laid off during the nine month period in which research was conducted. Three of these workers were re-employed, the remainder found work in other sectors, were employed in the state employment programme, did odd building jobs or remained unemployed. The proposed expansion of Mossel Bay and the resulting need for housing was quoted as one hope for the building industry and its employees.

Table 4 : Occupational Distribution - Building Industry - 1986

Employment Type	No. Employed	No. Laid Off
Labourer	7	-
Carpenter	5	6
Painter	3	-
Plumber	2	1
Builder	10	1
Bricklayer	8	2
Foreman	2	1
Total	37	11

Source: Household Questionnaire - March 1986

The state employment programme administered by the Friemersheim Management Board for the Department of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture, employs 27 people (i.e. 22,7% of the work force). The programme began in April 1986 and was scheduled to run until the end of September 1986.⁴ Labourers were paid R5 per day and were employed 5 days a week. The majority of persons employed on the programme were women with small children at home. The programme offered women the opportunity of supplementing their household income without having to leave Friemersheim. The programme, in addition, attracted youth who had not left Friemersheim in search of work elsewhere and served as a transit base for persons who were laid off work and who were looking for alternative sources of employment. The work involved is menial and many employees expressed frustration at the futility of the tasks allotted to them. The general attitude to the programme is summed up in the following statement: 'Dis beter as niks, dit bring in 'n bietjie geldjies'.

The manufacturing sector accounts for 18,5% of those employed. Watson's shoe factory employs 21 of the 22 manufacturing sector employees. Eighteen are employed as semi-skilled operators on the factory floor, 2 as skilled pattern cutters and one as a typist.

Nine of the employees within the service sector provide infrastructural services (i.e. are teachers, ministers, etc.) and the remaining five are employed as domestic workers. The majority of domestic workers are employed once or twice weekly, receiving an average wage of R6 per day. Given that transport costs often come to R2 to R3 per day, one can question the benefit of such work. A domestic worker provided one explanation '... dit bring so 'n bietjie geldjies in ... en die werk is nie so hard sienjy?'

Given the large forests surrounding Friemersheim it is surprising that only seven residents are employed in this sector. Inhabitants stated that work was not readily available to 'outsiders' and it required hard, physical labour which they chose to avoid.

Some seasonal labour is generated by Friemersheim farmers during the bean and potato picking seasons. This type of work is regarded as womens work and is seen as a social occasion by the pickers - a break from the tedium of their daily existence. The hours are long (13 hours per day) and the wages low (+ R4 per day for potato pickers and + R15 per day for bean pickers. The latter are paid by the weight picked and hence the higher wages).

8. INCOME STATUS

It is evident from Table 5 that low levels of income are dominant in Friemersheim with 65,1% of the income earners earning less than R300 per month. Of the population 61,8% is dependent on income generated by 38,2% of the population. Of the income earners 68,7% (114 persons) fall into what we referred to as the economically active sector (see Section 5.3). The remaining 31,3% (52 persons) are either youths below the age of 19 or pensioners over the age of 60 (in the case of females) and 64 (in the case of males).

Of the 114, 64% are male and 36% female, and 83% receive their income in the form of salaries and 17% in the form of social welfare payments.

Table 5

Income Distribution - 1986

Income R's per month	Number	%
0-99	10	6,0
100-199	72	43,4
200-299	26	15,7
300-399	27	16,3
400-499	16	9,6
500-599	5	3,0
600-999	6	3,6
1000-1300	4	2,4
Total	166	100

1 - Included in this category of income earners are persons who receive remuneration from (a) employment or (b) pensions or (c) maintenance grants (d) disability grants.

Source: Household Questionnaire - March 1986

Table 6

Earners and Non-Earners - 1986

Category	Number	%
Non-Earners	268	61,8
Earners	166	38,2
Total	434	100

Source: Condensed from Table 5.

As most households have more than one source of income, it is more useful to consider household incomes. Hester S's household consists of six family members, five of whom have some form of remuneration amounting to a total of R644 per month, as opposed to their average individual monthly remuneration of R128,80 - a considerable difference.

Table 7 showing household income indicates that 52,5% of the households earn less than R500 per month. What becomes clear is that households would find their income severely curtailed if a family member lost his/her source of income.

Table 7 Household Income - 1986

Income R's per month	Household	
	Number	%
0-99	0	0
100-199	4	4,9
200-299	13	15,9
300-399	12	14,6
400-499	14	17,1
500-599	14	17,1
600-699	12	14,6
700-799	6	7,3
800-899	2	2,4
900-999	1	1,2
1000 or more	4	4,9
Total	82	100

Source: Household Questionnaire - March 1986.

9. HOUSING

The 82 houses in Friemersheim are monuments to the lifestyles of the different generations who have and do live in the village.

The oldest form of housing evident in Friemersheim is the 'sooihuise'. These houses were built by the original inhabitants (who often possessed little more than their labour) and used locally available material. Bricks were made from a mixture of grass, mud and clay. Walls were built using locally obtained yellowwood and stinkwood (cut in the surrounding forests) and stone to reinforce the structure. Ceilings were made from handcut stinkwood and thatched with locally picked 'biesies'. The average

Table 8

House Type - 1986

Type	Number	%
Sooi	30	36,6
Stone	4	4,9
Brick	24	29,2
Wood	20	24,4
Asbestos	4	4,9
Total	82	100

Source: Household Questionnaire - March 1986.

house had small dark, badly ventilated rooms leading into each other. The kitchen had an inbuilt hollow for a woodstove which generally heated the whole house. They are said to have a lifespan of between 60 and 90 years.

Most of the original 'sooihuisies' have been renovated or rebuilt. Those remaining are in a poor condition: walls are crumbling and are patched on an ad hoc basis and ceilings have been replaced with bits of metal sheeting.

The four stone houses were built at approximately the same time as the sooihuisies but by people who were skilled masons using locally quarried stone and clay. These houses like the 'sooihuisie' have small dark rooms with tiny windows, large woodstoves in the kitchen and are in urgent need of repair as the clay used to cement the stone has eroded over the years.

Most of the 24 brick houses are 'sooihuisie' renovated by the present generation. Cement bricks are cast in the village. Residents generally have small quantities of bricks made at a time which are then stockpiled until there are enough to build on a new section. On average it takes between 6 - 10 years to build a house in this way. The rooms are much larger, windows have been installed and ceilings are a lot higher - making most of these houses very comfortable dwellings.

The most recent example of a self-built house is the wooden house ('bungalow'). The first house was built in 1973 and in 1986 there were 20 such houses in Friemersheim. Generally they are hastily erected (using treated wood)

and are regarded as temporary structures providing some form of housing to meet the housing shortage. Two are in excellent condition with large rooms and well fitted interiors.

In 1984 the state, using money from the Orange Fund,⁵ built three asbestos houses with wooden facades at a cost of R6 000 each. These are rented out to residents at R60 per month by the Management Board. The rent is to be used to build more houses.

A breakdown of housing type according to house size reveals that wooden structures tend to be smaller houses (i.e. two rooms or less) and sooihuise and brick structures tend to be larger (i.e. three rooms or more).

It is evident from Table 9 that some degree of overcrowding exists though it is not severe.

Table 9 House Size and Occupancy Rates - 1986

Number of Rooms	Number of Houses %	Population	Average no. of Persons per Room
2	25,6	104	5,2
3	26,8	118	5,3
4	35,4	155	5,3
5	11,0	46	5,1
6	1,2	11	1,8
Total	100	434	100

Source: Household Questionnaire - March 1986.

Lack of land tenure poses a major area of concern for a number of residents. As the land does not belong to residents they possess no legal right of tenure. Upon the death of a registered occupier the spouse or other family members have to reapply for the right to stay in the house.

A number of parents of young children have expressed the concern that if they died their children would officially be without a roof over their heads when in all fairness they should be able to inherit. The lack of ownership tends to act as a disincentive to invest further in one's property

and is perceived as a major problem by the more affluent sector of the community. 'Hoekom moet ek my bloed in die plek sit as hulle dit mōre kan wegvat' was the general opinion of residents.

The poorer sector of the community

- i) are unable to afford the rent on the asbestos houses provided by the state,
- ii) lack funds and time (due to work commitments) to build their own houses,

as a result they perceive a need for the provision of affordable housing by the state or some similar body.

10. SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE

10.1 Postal Services

Friemersheim has no post office and post is collected every Wednesday (from a post box in Little Brak River) and distributed by the Management Board Secretary.

State pensions have to be collected in Great Brak River. The majority of pensioners monthly installments are collected by the Chairman of the Management Board.

10.2 Recreational Facilities

Recreational facilities in Friemersheim are virtually non-existent though the church does offer a number of programmes for congregation members (games evenings, other concerts, etc.).

Iris sketched the scenario of a typical weekend in Friemersheim:

'Vrydaggaand is daar kerk speeletjiesaad. Ons sing en speel 'n paar speeletjies. Maar die res van die tyd - ons stap rond in die strate en gaan kuier vir mekaar. As ons klaar gekuier het dan stap ons net.'

Two important needs perceived by the residents are the re-establishment of the library and the provision of additional recreational facilities (see

Section 14.3). The only formalised recreation that exists is a rugby club for males and a netball club for females. A small library was run from the church up until 1981 when the service was disbanded due to poor management. The Provincial Administration, when approached about the possibility of re-establishing the service were unwilling to agree until they were absolutely confident as to the sound management of the facility.

10.3 Shopping Facilities

Friemersheim has only one shop-cum-butcher which is owned by a local white farmer. General discontent was expressed by residents about the high prices of goods. 'Daai winkel is net duur - dis net verskriklik duur!' As a result community members who have access to transport (their own or public) buy groceries in the nearby towns. The older residents, more specifically the pensioners, are unable to do this and are forced to buy on credit from the store.

10.4 Medical Facilities

Provision of health services in the area is shared by the Provincial Administration and the Mossel Bay Divisional Council. A clinic was built in Friemersheim in 1911 and is used by the Provincial Administration medical personnel and the Outeniqua Divisional Council sister when they visit on alternate Tuesdays. Two doctors, three nursing sisters and a family planning adviser constitute the former and see all patients present (this usually takes between one and two hours).

Consultancy fees range from 50 cents (for pensioners) to R18 for those on medical aid schemes. Persons needing hospitalisation are fetched by ambulance and taken to Mossel Bay hospital.

The sister spends approximately two hours in the village and concentrates on health education, ante and post-natal check-ups and immunization. There is no follow up between the brief sojourns of medical personnel. On other days residents may go either to the District Surgeon's rooms in Great Brak River or, in the case of emergencies, to the hospital in Mossel Bay.

Old age pensioners receive free medical attention from the District Surgeon but have to pay their own transport costs. Many of the older generation express suspicion and mistrust of the clinic and place greater value in home-made medicinal remedies passed down through the generations. This is in stark contrast to the younger generation who shun the old remedies.

11. LOCAL GOVERNMENT

11.1 The Management Board

The Management Board consists of ten elected members and an appointed secretary. Voting is staggered with five members being elected at a time for a two-year term of office. A chairperson is elected by the board members from amongst themselves. Registered occupiers⁶ over the age of 21 are eligible to vote.

The Management Board is empowered with municipal functions and is responsible for the administration and development of the community. This includes the provision of basic services (e.g. refuse removal), infrastructural development and the setting of regulations (e.g. the prevention and prohibition of 'nuisances', the preventing of overcrowding, etc.).

On paper it appears as if the Board has far reaching power, but in reality it is completely reliant on the state for financial backing, equipment and manpower to ensure the provision of services.

During the course of field work numerous allegations were made in regard to misappropriation of public funds, inefficiency and misuse of power but it was not possible to substantiate these claims.

11.2 Other Offices

An agricultural extension officer appointed to Friemersheim is also expected to serve three other CRAs - Zoar, Kraanshoek and Haarlem - and as a result service is inadequate and not frequent.

Welfare services, too, are inadequate with Friemersheim rarely seeing a welfare officer or social worker.

Applications for, and the maintenance of, pension grants is the responsibility of the Management Board. Much discontent is expressed as regards to inconsistent and incorrect payments. If and when a post office is installed in Friemersheim the task will be the responsibility of the pension officer and hopefully will become more effectively and efficiently dealt with.

Serious social work cases e.g. child abuse/neglect, incest etc., often go unnoticed as the social workers visits are infrequent (twice in 1986), and George, where the local office of the Department of Health and Welfare is situated, is some distance away.

12. COMMUNITY PROFILE

No formal research into social problems was conducted but it was evident that excessive drinking (and associated violence) and drug misuse does take place, particularly at weekends. In addition some suicides have occurred and there are some single (unmarried) parents.

Residents have little spare time on weekdays as many commute making the day long (i.e. 4 a.m. - 7 p.m.), thus leaving little time for socialising.

Residents appear to be politically neutral and unaware of the broader struggle. Many did not vote for the 'new constitution' or their political representatives - not in protest but merely because they are disinterested. This may be due to their isolation (there are very few radios, televisions and newspapers) - as a result their perception of life remains rooted in Friemersheim.

Some political awareness is evident among the youth, due perhaps to their contact with politically active youth in Oudtshoorn and Mossel Bay. Racial tension does exist and is evidenced in the following statement by a Friemersheim youth: 'Kyk daai skool (an empty white farm school) - kyk ons skool - ons kleurlinge is net weggoilappe in die oë van die witman!'. In this particular incident anger was expressed in vandalism of the farm school.

Residents appear hesitant to bring about changes in their lifestyles.

'Maar die mense hier - ek is ook maar inkomer hier - maar ek ondervind hulle dag vir dag dat hulle leef nog op daai ou tradisie - Hulle wil graag nuwe beginsels maak, maar hulle wil nie saamstap daarmee. Dis net in rukkie en dans alles in puine.' (Friemersheim resident).

'Poverty is a way of life for them ... They cannot see what holds them down (the system). They are too settled in their ordinary day to day lives. I used to fight for them. I used to fight against all those little injustices we had to endure. But they just sat in the shadows and watched with indifference.'

13. FRIEMERSHEIM WOMEN

The role of women in Friemersheim is a contradictory one. From the author's experience of working in the community it is evident that women take the initiative. This was confirmed by the following statement made by a Friemersheim resident:

'As hier iets begin word, dan word die vrou eerste geplaas. Ek bedoel die kerk werk ook - as daar iets moet gebeur dan word die vroue eerste geplaas om te kyk of die man nie wil later kom.' *

But whilst they play a leadership role in the village they simultaneously accept, without question, a submissive role at home.

'Die vrou het nie seggenskap nie. Die man is hoof van die huis. Die man moet sy seggenskap gee om sy vrou te laat om lid van die vrouebond te word. Met die kerkraad sou dinge heelwat beter gevaar as meer vroue daarop sit - maar die mans sê eenvoudig nee.'

It is possible that the submissive role of women has its origins in church doctrine which stresses such a role for women in society.

On the one hand women play a prominent role in certain strategic aspects of domestic life:

'Die weet - as dit nie vir die vrouens van die plek was sou die meeste - ja die meeste van die manne in die tronk beland het vir skuld. Hulle weet nie hoe om met geld te werk nie.'
(Friemersheim woman who had bailed her husband out of financial difficulties)

But on the other hand they allow themselves to be physically abused by drunk husbands/lovers without demanding an apology, reporting the incident or leaving the partner.

Few of the women work full time and the remainder complete their daily chores and spend a large amount of the day socialising and gossiping. The latter is said to have led to a breakdown of trust amongst village members. The village is small and everyone can be sure that their actions are monitored and reported to others. 'Die hele dorp weet wat jy dink voor jy dink' (Friemersheim resident).

14. NEEDS PROFILE

A number of major needs emerged during the course of research, these are identified below, some are discussed in detail focussing on projects suggested/implemented that would meet these needs. They are as follows:

- i) the need for locally-based employment opportunities;
- ii) obtaining land ownership rights;
- iii) the provision of recreational facilities;
- iv) the improvement of educational facilities;
- v) knowledge of outside organisations and individuals with skills to facilitate training in the community.

14.1 Employment Creation

The need for locally-based employment opportunities emerged as a top priority. Of Friemersheim's potentially economically active population 39,3%⁷ are unemployed. This figure would increase to 53,1%⁸ were the state employment programme to be terminated. In addition the number of earners will be reduced by 16,3%⁹ having severe repercussions in the community.

A number of women expressed a desire for job opportunities and to start a home based clothing industry. They were encouraged to start informal discussions on realising this objective. By November 1986 ideas had been formalised and a co-operative was established. Although small it is fully operational, producing tracksuits and other garments as well as cushions and blankets. The produce is sold to residents in the community and people living in the surrounding community as well as at a market in a small town nearby. The group, although producing, is currently involved in a training programme. The programme is designed to teach basic dress-making skills to the members. The training programme is based on the principles of experiential learning. Thus the women learn and produce at the same time.

Skills necessary for the day to day operation that are not available to the group through the trainer are taught by a Saldru representative who comes to the area fortnightly. These skills include bookkeeping, marketing, management/leadership skills etc. Teaching takes place in such a way that the group can easily identify and relate to the information imparted.

The Saldru researcher also carefully monitors the progress of the group, and is available for consultation at any time. This takes the form of sessions, group discussions or telephonic consultation.

Some interest was displayed in forming a farmers co-operative to purchase seed jointly and assist one another with harvesting and the sale of their produce through a centrally co-ordinated body. An agronomist from Elsenburg Agricultural College was taken to the area at Saldru's expense. Soil was tested and suitable cash crops were discussed. Pamphlets on the production of various herbs, vegetables and flowers were obtained and distributed and likely local markets were explored. The farmers drew up a constitution which is being examined by legal advisers. The greatest drawback to realising the agricultural potential of the village is the system of land tenure which is aggravated by the traditionalist responses of the elders who control the Management Board.

A need was expressed for a carpentry workshop which could be used as a training centre and a means of income generation for the community. Little development has taken place in this area.

14.2 Ownership Rights

Attempts to find an agreeable solution to the question of ownership rights (see Section 9) have been hindered by the fact that the community had left the task to an individual. Priority should therefore be given to the involvement of community members in decision making processes. To facilitate this and to enable members to negotiate together as a community, projects should be initiated and members nurtured and trained in the process of responsible decision making.

14.3 Provision of Recreational and Educational Facilities

A need for these facilities was expressed by all members but more specifically by those between the ages of 13 and 21. The youth were encouraged to meet, a committee was elected and a number of meetings held with residents to establish what facilities were required and how these could be provided. The facilities are listed below in descending order of priority:

- (a) The planning and establishment of a library resource centre which would encompass the training of librarians, the acquisition of books and the necessary infrastructure to ensure a self-sufficient service to the community.

In early 1987 a resource group was begun. A few resident high school pupils visited Saldrū on two occasions to receive on the ground training in selecting, cataloguing and managing a small resource centre. The group has begun collecting a range of relevant information and has worked on retrieving oral histories in the area. It is envisaged that perhaps in the future, the group could develop further into an advice group providing the necessary service in the form of an advice office.

- (b) The establishment of a study facility to meet the requirements for a quiet place, with readily available reference material to study.
- (c) The establishment of a recreational hall to meet the social needs of the community (e.g. showing of videos/films, a games room for younger members).

As in all projects the location from which these projects can operate is crucial. The sewing group initially used church premises and buildings, but this proved to be a major problem as other functionary constituencies in the church also use these buildings. This led to many grievances between the group and the constituencies. The result was that the group moved to the homes of members. This proved to be a major burden as machinery and material had to be moved constantly.

It was envisaged that if premises were obtained they could be used as a multi-functional facility; housing the resource group, the sewing group and other small scale co-operative ventures. Another way of utilising the ground

would be to make space available for a crèche thus enabling the women to 'bring their children to work' and place them in the caring hand of a crèche teacher.

Two additional options (i.e. apart from the church facilities) were considered:

- i) a community centre built by the Department of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture;
- ii) the purchasing of an unused white farm school adjoining the community which was in immaculate condition and could be used immediately.

The former was rejected as the Department could not envisage providing such a facility for at least another five years, and the latter was rejected as it did not satisfy all the various groups' requirements.

Several group members had also considered purchasing land within Friemersheim and building the centre using local residents as employees. As a result at a meeting held in April 1987 a letter was drafted to the Management Board requesting details on the availability of land for the erection of a building. At a subsequent meeting between the Saldru researcher and the chairman of the Management Board held in May 1987, it was accepted in principle to make a plot available to the group. The chairman even pinpointed the location of the plot to the researcher. The only conditions for buying the land are:

- i) the land be bought by the group and not an outside organisation;
- ii) the land be registered either in the name of the group or held in community trust.

Although the sewing group generates enough funds to buy material and other necessities, it is not possible for them to meet this big financial demand. Community members have drawn up fundraising programmes but monies obtained in this way would not be sufficient and it would be necessary to apply for alternative funds if one wished to continue with the proposed plan of a community centre.

14.4 Training and Skills Resources

The need expressed in (v) on page 27 is in itself self explanatory, but it is necessary to mention that a number of organisations have been approached for assistance with drawing up training programmes and giving training, should the need arise (see Appendix B).

15. CONCLUSION

In many senses Section 14 is a conclusion in itself. It is perhaps merely necessary to mention that the Friemersheim project has been confronted with daunting problems, which are still being addressed and it has sparked off a debate in Saldru as to what Saldru's role should be in co-operative development. In addition, the land tenure problems have induced Saldru to appoint a further researcher to examine the law relating to land tenure and co-operatives. Four inter-related documents have been produced and work in this connection continues.

NOTES

1. This group is defined as all persons eligible to receive a state pension i.e. men 64 years old or older and women aged 60 or older.
2. Conventionally the potentially active sector is defined as females between the ages of 15 and 60 years, and males between the ages of 15 and 64 years. However the majority of Friemersheim residents within the 15 to 19 age group are in the process of completing their schooling and cannot be considered as economically active.
3. Sixty families from the village of Stockenstroom in the Eastern Cape are to be 'resettled' in Friemersheim. Stockenstroom is a mission station and the land has been sold to the Ciskei government and new land (a farm) has been bought adjoining Friemersheim. The Stockenstroom community has a population of approximately 1 000.
4. By February 1988 the state employment programme was still in operation.
5. De Beers who mine along the Orange River pay a royalty to the Department of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture which is referred to as the Orange Fund.
6. 'Registered Occupier' refers to the person who has been admitted as a registered occupier of an erf or property in that area in terms of Act 24 of 1963, or of this Law or any repealed law and whose name appears on the prescribed register of registered occupiers.
7. This figure was calculated as follows:

Potentially economically active population	=	196 persons
Currently employed	=	119 persons
i.e. 39,3% (77 persons are unemployed).		
8. This figure was calculated as follows:

Twenty-seven people are employed on the Government Employment Programme, when this terminates the number of employed will reduce to 92 persons (i.e. 53,1% - 104 persons - are unemployed).
9. This figure was calculated as follows:

At present 166 persons earn some form of remuneration. If the employment programme is terminated this will reduce to 139 persons (i.e. it will have reduced by 16%).

APPENDIX ARanking of 'Coloured Rural Areas' in Respect of Size, Population and Density¹

	Extent ² (in has.)	Size	Population	Density
Concordia	63383	5	1	13
Ebenezer	18297	9	17	15
Eksteenskuil	2013	18	18	9
Enon	10262	11	21	16
Friemersheim	191	22	23	3
Genadendal	4821	14	4	6
Haarlem	1416	19	16	7
Komaggas	62604	6	9	18
Kranshoek	245	21	20	2
Leliefontein	192720	4	5	20
Mamre	7952	12	6	10
Mier	398789	2	8	22
Oppermansgronde	34186	8	13	17
Pella	48277	7	14	19
Pniël	57	23	15	1
Richtersveld	513919	1	11	23
Rietpoort	15092	10	19	14
Saron	3152	17	2	4
Slang River	1124	20	12	5
Steinkopf	329301	3	3	21
Suurbrak	4790	15	7	8
Thaba Patchoa	3625	16	22	12
Zoar	5883	13	10	11
Total	1722089			

1. Friemersheim has been compared to the other 23 CRAs and the categories ranked 1 to 23, with 1 representing largest surface area, population and density (whatever the case may be) and 23 representing the smallest in each category.

2. All figures have been rounded up to the nearest hectare.

3. Also known as Anhalt.

4. Previously Askraal.

Source: Annual Report of the Administration : House of Representatives 1985.

APPENDIX B

The following Organisations have offered training assistance:

Betterment

Build a Better Society

Centre for Management Development

Department of Accounting - UCT

Eisenburg Agricultural College

Graduate School of Business

Self Help for Development Economics (SHADE)

SHAWCO

Small Business Development Corporation

South African Association of Trainers and Development

World Vision