

ANALYSIS OF THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT
EXPERIENCE IN THE FORMER TRANSKEI :
THE CASE OF XALANGA DISTRICT

By

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ABSTRACT

The period after World War II has witnessed an upsurge in the interest in the plight of the people entrapped in desperate poverty and deprivation in the Third World countries. However, even with the focus on underdeveloped countries, the number of rural poor in the Third World continues to increase and their living conditions degrade. The crux of the problem is that the rural poor cannot contribute significantly to their own development owing to the inherent inequalities in the distribution of production factors and the benefits of economic development and technological advancements under the umbrella of capitalism. In response to this, rural development is a deliberate intervention programme designed to augment the coping strategies of the rural poor by drawing them gradually into the mainstream of development action in an attempt to alleviate rural poverty and misery, and empower them to realise their potential and human dignity.

This thesis is a critical evaluation of the rural development process and its impact on the living conditions of the rural poor in the former Transkei with special reference to Xalanga District. Transkei and Xalanga District have been chosen for the study because the former is the poorest and most populous ex-homeland and the latter is the poorest district in the former Transkei. The roles of rural development functionaries, in terms of their policies, programmes, practices and achievements, and the living conditions, needs, aspirations and perceptions of the beneficiaries came under the spotlight. Rural development is a multi-faceted concept therefore the approach of the study was eclectic, rooted in the realist and structurationist philosophies; and the data solicited was analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively. The quantitative techniques employed were factor and discriminant analyses.

The study revealed that the rural development process in the sub-region is fraught with administrative, political and social, financial and technical constraints. Consequently, the process has not had any significant impact on the living conditions of the rural poor with regard to the alleviation of rural poverty, unemployment and inequalities in the distribution of incomes and assets. Besides, it has not created sound economic bases in the rural areas and has thus failed to empower the rural people to take effective charge of their lives. The development efforts continue to be concentrated in the urban and peri-urban areas, causing considerable imbalances in the spatial development of the territory. On the basis of the outcome of the research, some suggestions have been offered for a meaningful rural development programme for the former Transkei.

PREFACE

In spite of the enormous efforts of national governments, international donors and a host of development functionaries to alleviate rural poverty, an overwhelming proportion of the rural people in the Third World remains poor. In deed, the problem of rural poverty has become more acute in recent years in the peripheral areas of South Africa, especially in the black communities including the former bantustans. The rural development processes and programmes implemented in the black peripheral areas in the country over the past forty years, have seemingly had little or no impact on the living conditions in these areas..

The lessons and experiences gained from past programmes are essential not only for the choice of development policies and institutional structures, but also for the formulation, phasing and implementation of future programmes, if rural development efforts are to make meaningful impact on the socio-economic conditions in the rural areas. However, practical experience and data of past programmes are lacking in the former Transkei. It is therefore not surprising that rural development is misshapen throughout the territory.

A great variety of strategies and approaches have been tried in an attempt to formulate adequate and realistic guidelines for rural development. In the former Transkei, the development approaches adopted did not provide solutions to the problems of rural poverty and underdevelopment in the past. Most notably, the development policies based on the growth pole concept did not bring about development in the rural areas.

The research work was carried out in Xalanga District in the former Transkei. The field investigations and analyses were diversified enough to provide comprehensive information and evidence for assessing the rural development process and its impacts on welfare in the rural areas in the subregion. The

study was supervised by Mr. Geoff Willis (retired) and later by Ms Cathy Oelofse and Ms Shirley Brooks, all of the Department of Geographical and Environmental Sciences, University of Natal, Durban. None the less the whole thesis is my own work, and has not been submitted either in part or in whole to any other university.

I have been living in Xalanga District for the past twelve years. My isolation made my studies for the degree of Master of Arts very difficult. The problems I faced included lack of books and other academic materials and modern technology of transmitting and receiving information. The problems encountered are a reflection of the problems of development in the district.

C. Kodua-Agyekum

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I am deeply indebted to Mr. Lungisile Ntsebeza, a research fellow at PLAAS at the University of Western Cape and the Chairperson of the Board of Trustees of Health Care Trust, for providing me with plenty to think about in the initial stages of the research work. He has been extremely kind to me: he provided me with both published and unpublished materials, drew my attention to the latest developments and challenges in the field of social investigation, and reinforced my interest in rural development through long hours of discussions during his visits to Cala. I have much cause to be grateful to him.

A number of experts kindly offered me assistance. I am grateful to Mr. R. Akyea-Agbadzi, the Department of Statistics, University of Fort Hare, Alice, who sacrificed much of his time to assist me with the statistical analyses. I wish

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. THE PROBLEM

The years after independence have been a period of unprecedented change and progress in the former Transkei; however, 93,8% of the total population continues to be trapped in rural areas (Republic of Transkei, 1992), the majority of them in absolute poverty. Agricultural production has declined steadily over the last three decades and food production has not kept pace with the rate of rural population growth. The lack of development in the agricultural sector has had detrimental effects on the already precarious conditions in the rural areas. The magnitude of the problem is best appreciated if agriculture is seen as the mainstay of the economy of the territory, providing cash incomes, 30% of the food requirements of the rural dwellers and employment for over 80% of the rural labour force (Transkei Agricultural Study, 1991). It is no wonder that life in the rural areas is characterised by malnutrition, disease, landlessness, unemployment, poverty and illiteracy, all of which culminate in low life expectancy.

The low agricultural productivity is attributed to the distinctive feature of the former Transkei economy, namely the supply of largely unskilled labour to the South African economy. It is estimated that two-thirds of Transkeian labour force, mostly male, is employed by the South African economy (Transkei Agricultural Study, 1991). Elderly people, mostly women, bear the responsibility and the burden of production. The development potential of the territory is thus eroded away.

During the apartheid period, attempts at rural development merely focused on the objective of enabling the 'homelands' to absorb all the people forced to live there. There was no long term goal to integrate the rural areas with the

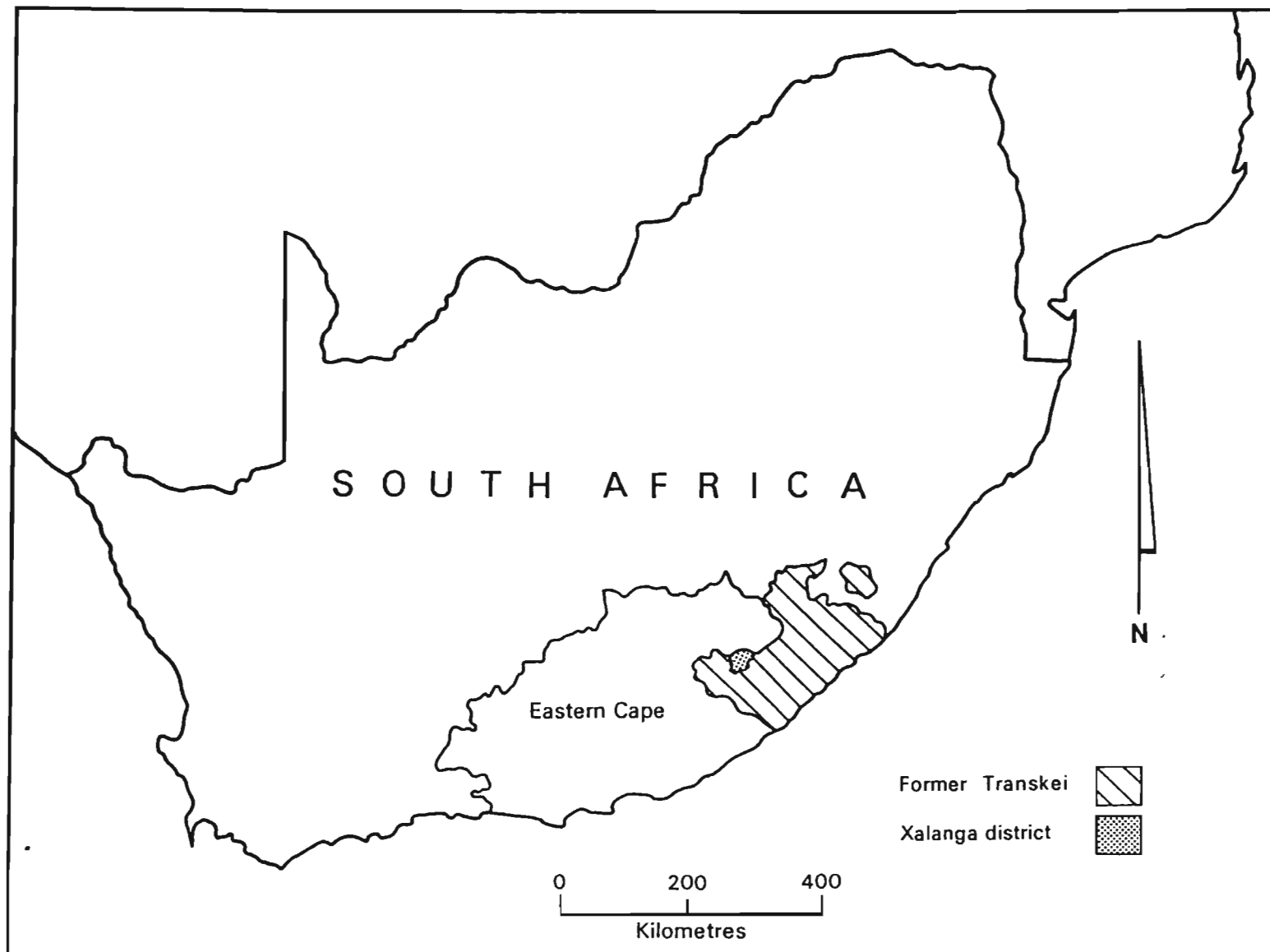


Figure 1.1 Locality Map of Xalanga District

greater South African economy (Wilson and Ramphele, 1989). In contrast, systematic programmes of rural development have been pursued in South Africa to improve the living conditions of the white rural dwellers. According to Bembridge (1988:89), the relatively higher standards of living in rural white South Africa has been achieved “through the provision of rural infrastructure, institutional support in the form of marketing and pricing, credit and farming inputs, farmer organisations as well as suitable technology developed by research, all of them conveyed to the farmers and their families by various extension and advisory services”. The lack of these facilities in the ‘homelands’ explains their poverty and underdevelopment.

Rural poverty in the former Transkei deserves special attention and careful evaluation because it affects a large proportion of the population. The problems in the rural areas are not focused upon because the rural peripheries are neglected and isolated. As a result, the needs of the poor rural people are seldom recognised and the nature of their poverty is not well understood. Consequently, some outsiders (urbanites) think the poorer rural people must help themselves; but trapped as they are, they often cannot do much to improve their situation. Extreme rural poverty is an outrage because it is avoidable through appropriate rural development strategies, and more so, it co-exists with urban affluence (Drummond, 1992).

The problems of rural poverty and underdevelopment are quite glaring in Xalanga District. The extent of deprivation experienced by its inhabitants is manifested in the state of the roads which lead to the district: they are untarred and dissected by erosion. The intra-district feeder roads are worse; they are potholed, and remain impassable for most part of the rainy season (Plate 1). Of the twenty-eight districts in the former Transkei, Xalanga is the only district without even a single track of tarred road. Telephone services are no better. The poor state of the communication network linking it with the rest of the country in particular and the outside world in general, has



Plate 1 A section of the feeder road linking Mtingwevu and Manzimahle



Plate 2 Source of domestic water in Mceula

had crippling effects on the economy of the district. The degree of economic underdevelopment is exemplified by the absence of banking facilities (Bank, 1992).

The infrastructure in the district is in an appalling state. Nowhere in the district is treated pipe-borne water available for domestic use, particularly, drinking. There are few windmills and most of the people rely on unprotected springs, fountains and ponds for their water supply from which livestock takes directly its daily ration (Plate 2). As a result, the incidence of gastro-intestinal diseases is high.

A great proportion of the people survives on low productivity agriculture which is oriented towards subsistence. The district faces persistent drought and farmers do not have the means to embark on large-scale farming. Unfortunately, the support services and assistance from the Department of Agriculture and Forestry and Transkei Agricultural Corporation (TRACOR) are woefully inadequate. The population pressure on the available land has been mounting rapidly with all the consequent effects on poverty.

Consequent upon the poor performance of the agricultural sector, malnutrition is widespread especially in the rural areas of the district. Although foodstuffs are readily available in the local shops and in nearby towns (e.g. Elliot, Engcobo and Queenstown), owing to low or a lack of income, either in terms of cash or in kind, a balanced diet is beyond the means of most of the households. The young and aged people are most seriously affected by malnutrition. It is estimated that nearly 50% of the patients in the Paediatric Ward of Cala General Hospital suffer from malnutrition related diseases (e.g. kwashiorkor and tuberculosis).

Unemployment is rife in the district. There is no vocational institution to train young school leavers to acquire basic trade skills to enable them to secure

employment elsewhere. Moreover, agriculture has not developed sufficiently to absorb the excess unskilled labour force, and the district lacks minerals and an industrial base. It is a common occurrence to see able-bodied young men and women roaming aimlessly around drinking bars and 'shebeens' (places where alcohol is sold and consumed illegally) during working hours, a clear indication of underdevelopment and misuse of human resources. For most of these people, remittances from relatives working elsewhere in the sub-region and begging form their main sources of income. However, remittances and begging intrinsically undermine initiative and self-esteem. Signs of apathy and frustration are apparent everywhere in the district. This condition has induced a passive attitude towards development.

The socio-economic conditions prevailing in the rural areas negate the promises made by the local politicians during the struggle for nominal independence of the territory between early 1950s and 1976. The people were made to believe that emancipation from the political tutelage of South Africa would usher in a period of growth and prosperity, freedom, human dignity and equality for all. On the contrary, the period after the bantustan independence has witnessed the emergence of two socio-economic classes - the privileged (being the elite) and the under-privileged (being the landless and unemployed). This has resulted in the subjugation of the latter by the former. To the majority of the former Transkeians in the rural areas, independence brought them poverty and misery because their current living conditions are worse than those of their grandparents several years ago. It is thus necessary to inculcate confidence in the rural communities and integrate them into the mainstream of the greater national economy via rural reconstruction and development.

1.2 SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEM

Finding appropriate and far-reaching solutions to the problems of the rural poor is a complex and difficult task because it does not only involve

reorganising both temporal and spatial resources of the society, but also restructuring the entire traditional structures including attitudes, values, perceptions and social relations. The prime objective of the exercise is to create viable economic bases and opportunities in the rural areas by integrating the peripheral economies with the greater national economy, and drawing the rural communities into the mainstream of the national development process.

The rural poor cannot initiate and sustain any viable process on their own to improve their living conditions and level of welfare because of the extent of their poverty and deprivation and the inequalities in the distribution of incomes, factors of production and the benefits of development under the free market system. Rural development, therefore, needs to be a deliberate intervention programme designed and executed by external development agencies to create conducive conditions to enable the rural poor to undertake productive economic activities to uplift themselves and realise their potential and dignity. The external development agencies in this context include the government and its departments, parastatals, non-governmental organisations (hereafter referred to as NGOs), private institutions and international development agencies and donors.

The complexity of the problems of the peripheral communities demands that any meaningful rural development effort requires careful and systematic planning, and political will and dedication, besides huge amounts of resources in the form of finance, capital and personnel to achieve its objectives. These requirements, unfortunately, are very difficult to meet in full in the former Transkei partly because of the widespread nature of rural poverty, scarcity of resources and the competing demands of both the rural and urban poor and partly because of the territory's former economic and power relations with South Africa (see Section 5.2.7). The rural development process in the sub-region faces an array of problems and thus constitutes a problem in itself.

1.3. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The study seeks to critically examine and evaluate the performance of rural development programmes and plans that were put into effect between the 1970s and first half of the 1990s when the territory was incorporated into greater South Africa, with reference to their objectives and achievements. The achievements will be assessed in terms of their ability to alleviate the problems of rural poverty, unemployment and inequality, and their capacity to generate and transmit growth impulses in the rural areas.

One other objective of the research is to come out with possible solutions to the basic and unique problems which prevent the rural development process in Xalanga District, in particular, and the former Transkei in the wider context, from solving the complex and interwoven problems of poverty, disease, and civic inertia in the rural areas.

It is believed that the solution of these problems is the prerequisite condition for the realization of the potential of the rural population to solve their own socio-economic problems.

1.4 THE RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY

Rural development is an arduous and delicate task which requires patience, care and knowledge. In order to achieve the objectives of any rural development strategy, it is necessary to evaluate past and on-going programmes and projects. Such an evaluation does not only aim at measuring the impact and inherent weaknesses of the programmes and projects, but also diagnosing rural development constraints as a basis for future planning. The insight gained could be employed in the planning, execution and monitoring stages of intended rural development programmes.

The failure of the past attempts at rural development in less developed countries (LDCs) is attributed partly to inadequate prior knowledge of the socio-economic conditions which prevailed in the target areas. The planning authorities do not adequately evaluate on-going programmes and projects to assess their impact and implementation problems to enable them project the future of rural development programmes. Even if evaluation does take place, Bembridge (1985:287) laments the fact that “such diagnoses do not, however, probe the question of whether the development strategy was ever likely to succeed in the first place”. As far back as 1975, Lele blamed the failure of rural development strategies in Africa to achieve their target, on the paucity of adequate data. Her observation is pertinent to the rural development process in the former ‘homelands’ of South Africa. According to Bernstein (1990:408), “South Africa’s rural areas and rural development issues have been under-researched in the past”. His assertion testifies to the neglect of black rural areas by both political decision-makers and academics, a direct manifestation of the apartheid policy. De Klerk (1990:417) however stresses the importance of rural development appraisal in South Africa’s black rural sector, and warns that: “If this is not done, rural development is likely to be misshaped”

The essence of the evaluation and consequent analysis of rural development plans, programmes and projects is to establish a data bank from which planners can draw both quantitative and qualitative information to formulate guidelines for the conception, planning, execution and management of individual programmes and plans in the future, be it urban or rural. Furthermore, it provides a yardstick for gauging the suitability and appropriateness of programmes in terms of the values, aspirations, resources and institutions of the target population.

Although the former Transkei can be equated with an LDC, its history, culture and geography present unique rural development problems. Most of the existing general rural development models, plans and programmes designed to suit Third World conditions are not wholly applicable to the Transkeian situation. Besides, Xalanga District is a smaller entity with peculiar micro-problems which need to be studied in detail. The rationale of this study is to identify the most appropriate rural development strategy for the territory and also to contribute towards the accumulation of data needed for rural development planning.

Presently, there exists a data gap between national economic development plans and the changes that really take place at the local level. For example, the Transkei Development Strategy, 1980-2000, emphasized the need for an integrated approach to rural development to raise productivity and increase infrastructure and employment of the landless. May (1984) concluded that the operational methods of this approach at the local level in terms of priority, objectives and the target population remained undetermined.

The study of Xalanga District provides an opportunity to bridge this gap by building a set of socio-economic indicators for the rural areas. These indicators will lead to a better understanding of the socio-economic aspects of 'change' in the rural areas, and the expectations and aspirations of the rural poor. The study, therefore, will be of much help to policy makers, planners and participants in rural development in their campaign to alleviate poverty and misery in the rural areas.

1.5. EXTENT OF THE STUDY

Ideally, the study should have covered all twenty administrative areas or villages which constitute the district of Xalanga. However, owing to constraints imposed by time and financial resources, five of the twenty

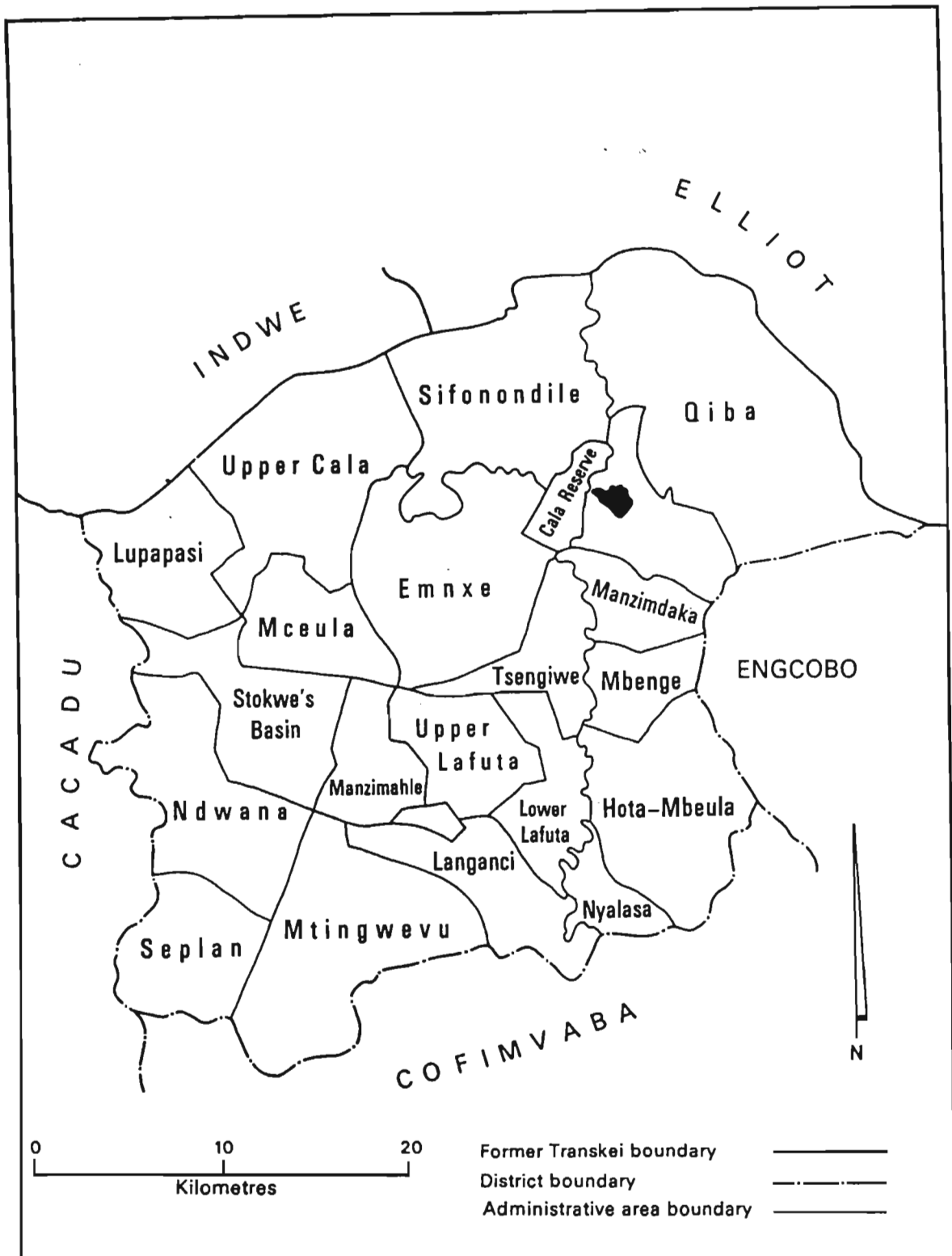


Figure 1.2 Xalanga District - Administrative Areas

administrative areas, namely Cala Reserve, Qiba, Mtingwevu, Lupapasi and Tsengiwe, and Cala Village, are covered in detail (Figure 1.2). The study covers the socio-economic aspects of rural life in Xalanga District from which inferences of the situation in the former Transkei are made. For example, it examines the economic activities pursued by the rural people in their attempt to make a living, the mode and scale of production and existing social relations.

The activities of development agencies (both government and non-governmental) operating in the district from the 1970s are evaluated with reference to manpower development and infrastructural and extension services. Since agriculture is the basic economic activity in the rural areas, efforts of the development agencies to help improve agricultural production and productivity are also appraised. The evaluation could enable one to conclude as to whether these development agencies have really assisted the rural dwellers to improve their living standards and whether the resources expended in the process are justifiable.

The study does not consider the technical details of plans and programmes of rural development because it does not intend to produce a structure plan for rural development.

1.6 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

When the field surveys commenced in June 1995, unexpected problems arose. The first problem was in connection with communication especially in the rural areas, because the researcher could not communicate in the local language, Xhosa. The researcher had to engage the service of an interpreter during interviews and the administration of the questionnaire, which added to cost.

The dispersed nature of the villages where the surveys were conducted meant that enormous distances had to be covered. Unfortunately, the roads were in such a poor state that the researcher, and his interpreter, and field assistants (interviewers) at times, had to cover great distances on foot.

The most frustrating experience was the reluctance of officials to furnish data on their institutions. However, persistent visits to these institutions and long hours of interviews with the officials produced the required data. Lastly, there was the problem of limited funds. Since no sponsorship was secured from any group or individual, the researcher had to rely on personal finance to undertake the fieldwork. Notwithstanding these constraints, the data obtained was sufficient to enable the researcher to undertake the necessary analyses and draw the consequent conclusions. These problems did not affect the accuracy of the study.

1.7. ORGANISATION

Chapter 2 defines the basic terms of rural development and isolates their main components. It also reviews the existing theories and concepts of rural development strategies and identifies the theoretical framework within which rural development strategy for the former Transkei could be planned and executed.

Chapter 3 explores the study area, viz. Xalanga District. It offers an overview of the physical, historical, human and socio-economic background of the district. In addition, it provides an insight into the real rural situation in the district and the sub-region of the former Transkei.

Chapter 4 discusses the methodology employed for collecting and analysing data used in the study. It seeks to justify the sample design and the data solicited.

Chapter 5 presents the outcome and analytical synopsis of the research. It examines the organisational structures and the role of the main actors in rural development in Xalanga District. Furthermore, it assesses the impact of development agencies on the socio-economic development of the district.

Chapter 6 discusses the implications of the conception, design and implementation of rural development plans and programmes for Xalanga District and the former Transkei. Proposals for improving the performance of rural development and development agencies are offered.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL BASIS OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

2.1 BACKGROUND DEFINITIONS

This section focuses specifically on different approaches to defining the terms 'rural', 'development' and 'rural development', and isolating their main components.

2.1.1 Defining 'rural'

The designation 'rural' has been used by academics and planners alike without adequately appreciating how the concept can be defined, because it defies a single, all-embracing definition. According to Cloke and Park (1985:6), many commentators believe that there is no unambiguous way of defining the term, and thus conclude that "any attempt at such a universally acceptable definition will *ipso facto* be sterile". The term is therefore defined to suit the interests and circumstances of the users.

Invariably, there are as many definitions of 'rural' as there are users. These definitions are, however, summarised into three categories, namely negative, positive and perception-based definitions. The negativists ^{*}define 'rural' in terms of anything which is non-urban in character. For example, Singh (1986:18) defines rural areas as "those areas which are not classified as urban areas. They are outside the jurisdiction of municipal corporations and committees and notified town area committees". This school of thought, directly or indirectly, transfers the burden and responsibilities of definition to urban researchers, while the students of rural environment are given little room to operate. In addition, the negative definition presumes that the rural environment has few or no specific characters and qualities of its own for which it can be distinguished and defined. Such an impression is quite

misleading, although the development of communication and technology has resulted in some of the distinctive features of rural areas being broken down gradually (Dixon, 1990).

The positive definitions cover a wide range of important elements of rural identity. As Wibberly (1972:259) puts it, "the word rural describes those parts of the country which show unmistakable signs of being dominated by extensive uses of land, either at the present time or in the immediate past". The positive stance represents an important contribution to the debate of rural definition by virtue of the prime consideration given to the visual components of the rural countryside.

The third type of definition is based on user-perception. According to the perception-based school of thought, rurality is defined in terms of what most people think of as rural (Thornburn, 1971). In the words of Moss (1978:101), "A village can be described as a place where the countryside meets the town and where distinction between rural and urban lies very much in the eyes of the beholder". Although the perceptive definition is attractive in some respects, it is simplistic and elusive in practice. Measurement of the perceived rural indicators presents a great deal of methodological problems because perception changes from one group to another; and even within the same group, it undergoes temporal changes.

The term 'rural' eludes an all-embracing definition on three grounds. Firstly, the need to demarcate the rural environment emanates from a series of specific functional purposes, and as a result, a variety of narrow perceptions on the countryside have produced different parochial definitions. For example, a rural environment defined for an agricultural purpose differs significantly from that perceived by administrators and planners. The rural definition thus depends on the functions assigned to the countryside (Cloke and Park, 1985). According to Clout (1972) and Cherry (1976), functional definitions of the

countryside are important because they provide an approximation of the overall concept.

Secondly, the changes in rural definitions over time are caused by the changes in people's attitude towards the rural countryside and the changing demand on the rural landscape. These changes are a function of social, economic and technological developments, and since they are continually taking place, it is true to say that the rural environment is undergoing considerable temporal changes. High levels of rural-urban and urban-rural migrations, for example, are bringing rural and urban areas closer together in terms of their characteristics.

Thirdly, the rural concept is subject to spatial variations. On a provincial scale in white South Africa, for instance, there is a marked visual contrast between the rural environments in the Free State and those of the Western Cape. However, on a wider national scale, when the former homelands are included, the local variations in the white South Africa become less significant as compared with the variations in terms of settlement and land use patterns found in the other parts of the country, for example, the wilderness of North-western Cape, and the former homelands of Transkei and Ciskei. Drummond (1992), for instance, has observed that the landscape in white South Africa's rural periphery is marked by both intensive and extensive land uses because of the institutional support the rural dwellers enjoy. In contrast, according to Drummond (1992), the most striking characteristics of the rural landscape in the former homelands, consequent upon the denial of institutional support services, are undercultivation of the available land, informal activities and a few discrete capital-intensive projects (e.g. irrigation schemes) of the parastatal agricultural development corporations established by the former bantustan governments to increase production and demonstrate self-sufficiency and bantustan independence.

Similarly, a variety of socio-economic indices are often employed to delimit rural areas. These include population size, spatial distribution and composition, functions, distribution and availability of modern social amenities, aesthetic differences in the environment, volume of spatial interaction and literacy rate. The inherent problem of this approach is how to operationalise these indices. For example, for census purposes an urban area is a non-village area with more than 1 000 people (Swanevelder et al, 1987). This criterion for rural-urban distinction is unrealistic because in some countries (e.g. Hungary), there are settlements with more than 10 000 people which can hardly be described as urban; whereas in South Africa there are towns with only a few hundreds of people but are undoubtedly urban in character, for example, Elliot and Maclear in the Eastern Cape.

The most widely used criterion for distinguishing rural and urban settlements is the nature of functions a particular settlement performs. Rural settlements are said to be predominantly unifunctional in that the majority of the inhabitants are engaged in primary economic activities (e.g. farming, mining, hunting, fishing and lumbering). Urban areas provide a variety of functions and greater proportion of urbanities are engaged in secondary and tertiary activities. This approach is not wholly perfect because there are some settlements which perform primary functions but are regarded as urban centres. For example, Welkom and Carltonville are no doubt urban centres, although the majority of their inhabitants are employed in the mining sector. This position is also complicated in South Africa, where peripheral areas have served as labour pools for urban capital, in particular, within the mining industry.

The explication of the various bases of defining the rural environment highlights the need to consider the basic elements of rurality simultaneously. For the purpose of this study, therefore, it is more meaningful to define a rural area as an area characterised by the criteria listed below:

- (i) An overwhelming majority of the people are engaged in agriculture and allied occupations. A large proportion of the farmers are peasants who use relatively simple forms of technology and cannot maximise their use of available resources. In the LDCs, the rural areas accommodate a larger proportion of the population (Singh, 1986);
- (ii) They are dominated by relatively extensive land uses or large open spaces of undeveloped land (Clove and Park, 1985);
- (iii) The per capita income is appreciably lower than the national average (Dixon, 1990);
- (iv) The population lacks basic social amenities such as quality drinking water, electricity, health and sanitary facilities, good roads and recreational centres (Clove and Park, 1985); and
- (v) The rural areas are characterised by poverty, ignorance, unemployment and out-migration of the youth (McNamara, 1975).

Certainly, this definition is open to criticism but it does embrace the essential features of the South African countryside. The rationale for adopting a much wider definitional framework for the rural environment is to focus attention on the nature of the task which faces planners and policy makers in their effort at transforming the rural area to a more comfortable and attractive place of human abode.

2.1.2 The concept of development

The establishment of capitalist society gave birth to the theories of development. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, European sociologists and political economists defined development as the progressive evolution of society. The emphasis of the early theories was on cultural and

economic development. The social theorists of the nineteenth century were preoccupied with the idea of progress and paid little attention to the causes of development. The axiom was that development was a natural state of affairs which would occur automatically. However, owing to inherent fluctuations of the capitalist system, which often resulted in depressions, the optimistic view of development came to be questioned (Hadjor, 1992).

Consequent upon the spread of capitalism to the underdeveloped countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America as a result of European colonisation, the need to 'develop' became widespread. The concept of development therefore assumed different and often enduring forms because it was seen and defined in terms of the environment in which it was used. Hence, the development discourse has become ambiguous and contentious.

With the issue of colonialism largely resolved after World War II, the development process became the major pre-occupation in response to the events in the LDCs. The common characteristics of the newly independent countries of Africa and Asia, and those countries in Latin America which became politically independent as early as the first quarter of the nineteenth century was overt poverty. These countries became known as Third World Countries or underdeveloped countries, and their problems of poverty became an overriding international issue (Mabogunje, 1980). After the attainment of political independence, there emerged a need for economic development in these countries. Economic stagnation and poverty could no longer be tolerated. The fear in the West was that the discontented nationalist movements might be drawn into the Eastern block. It was the threat of communism which stimulated Western academics to explore the problems of development in the LDCs (Myrdal, 1968).

A perennial problem in dealing with literature on economic development and social change is determining what constitutes the elusive concept

'development'. In the early post World War II period, the role of economic forces in initiating and bringing about economic development in a given society was given undue prominence in development literature. Hence, development became synonymous with economic growth, and the two terms were often used interchangeably. Economic growth is usually determined by reference to some quantifiable indices such as increase in the gross national product (GNP) per head (i.e. per capita income). Thus countries with high per capita income (e.g. USA. and Kuwait) are regarded as developed and those with low per capita income (i.e. Lesotho and Gambia), underdeveloped or backward.

This school of thought considers the welfare of the people involved in the production of wealth as less important compared to the total volume of production and the portion set aside for further investment in technological advancements. Technology, employed in the production process to improve the material conditions of life, was seen as the indicator (or measure) of development. For instance, in the 1960s the development aid from the developed countries and international organisations to the LDCs became known as 'technical assistance'.

In the early 1970s, a definitional framework which perceived the development process as human-centred emerged. This school of thought regards development as a comprehensive phenomenon which affects the totality of human existence, and that pure quantitative growth *per se* does not produce development. Development in this context implies some kind of structural and organisational transformation of society. Brookfield (1975:xi), for example, defines development "in terms of progress towards a complex of welfare goals, such as reduction of poverty and unemployment and diminution of inequality". It creates the necessary conditions for the realisation of human potential and personality. These conditions, especially in poor societies, include a minimum income needed to provide for the basic necessities of life,

employment opportunities and the lessening of inequality. Seers (1977) argued that if the levels of poverty, unemployment and inequality have declined, then there has been a period of development for the country concerned.

The contention is that development unfolds the creative potential inherent in the society and ushers in a period of social and structural transformations which render the society self-reliant and free from servitude. Human potential and self-expression could manifest meaningfully when the target population is involved in all the stages of the development process and the programmes adapted to the objectives and values of the society. Development is therefore seen as a social process, hence a new epithet 'social' came to be added to development. These tenets of development constitute the basis of the bottom-up approach to integrated rural development planning.

In South Africa, the development discourse has its roots in the state policy of apartheid or separate development of the various racial groups. The policy modelled development efforts in the disadvantaged communities on entirely crude capitalistic development strategy which regarded economic growth, as opposed to the structure of economic development, as the major concern. According to Tapscott (1995), the development discourse was used for rationalising and legitimating the state policy towards the bantustans and the African population in general. He maintains that "this emergent 'development' discourse formed part of a broader initiative to ~~restructure~~ the form of apartheid and to redirect the ideological discourse of the ruling white population. To that extent, the concept has performed an important legitimating function" (Tapscott, 1995:177). He concludes that the overall effect of the development discourse in South Africa under the Nationalist Party Government, the originator of apartheid, was "to mystify the courses of poverty in the bantustans" (Tapscott, 1995:189).

The development efforts therefore failed to maintain order and could not create the necessary conditions for real growth and development; rather they entrenched and deepened inequalities within and between the various racial groups in the country. As a result, the antagonists of apartheid (e.g., the former liberation movements) and dependency and underdevelopment theorists resorted to radical anti-development discourses. Frantic attempts were made by the government in the 1980s to depoliticize the development discourse and directly or indirectly search for a 'new development paradigm'. The rational was to unleash the concept of development from the obnoxious notion of separate development in order to solicit wider support and interest bases in the non-Afrikaner communities. A number of institutions (including the Development Bank of Southern Africa) were established to propagate 'development thinking'.

Although the project was elaborate and intensive it failed to secure the consent of the target audience. However, the 'new development ideas' of the democratic government instituted after the 1994 general elections are largely based on the old paradigm from which new strategies have been developed. This may imply that the new leaders could not find a better alternative paradigm to generate effective strategies to redress the past imbalances in the country. Crush (1995:19) holds similar opinion and thus declares: "Even political movements that once drew spiritual inspirational support from this 'alternative' discourse have increasingly found the development imaginary a far more appropriate and concrete vehicle for articulating their aspirations. The extraordinary metamorphosis of the African National Congress is only one case in point".

Almost all the important aspects of human existence in the post-war period in the Third World have been conditioned by the idea of development. Indeed, the Third World is defined by the development discourse: it regulates and defines relations (be it social, political, economic and human-environmental)

within the Third World countries and their relations with the Western advanced world. According to Escobar (1995) development has been accorded undue importance and attention because, it is believed, it paves the way for the poor countries to achieve the conditions which characterise the advanced and rich nations. 'Development' has therefore been politicized. The hegemony of development has contributed significantly to the automation of human societies where people act according to the impulses generated by the development discourse; hence it has lost much of its conventional objectives (the satisfaction of basic human needs and services), "in sum development colonised reality, it became reality" (Escobar, 1995:214).

Under capitalism, development has acquired exclusionary character, in that it does not foster greater participation. It has therefore resulted in increased fragmentation of society, general social decomposition and violence, the growth of informal sector, loss of confidence in the government and political parties, the breakdown of cultural mechanisms and precarious urbanisation (Escobar, 1995). It is not surprising that new movements have emerged, agitating for the replacement of 'development' with less subtle alternatives (Crush, 1995; Escobar, 1995). The debate between the protagonists of development and the new movements rages on while the rural poor continues to suffer in the Third World countries. Notwithstanding what the outcome of the debate might be, it is generally believed that theory produced in one place and applied in another is no longer acceptable practice. It is therefore necessary to depoliticize development, 'the devil we know', and reposition groups as cases for the development apparatus.

2.1.3 Spatial aspects of development

Until quite recently geographic space was not accorded importance in the definitional framework of development. The development process and its

objectives were defined in terms of economic progress and social relations. The importance of geographic space in the development process is realised when development is defined as spatial reorganisation. In other words, development is concerned with creation and organisation of spatial structures and forms and a new system of resource allocation. Spatial structures refer to the ordered relations which exist between individual spatial forms and the whole of which they are a part, (e.g. land tenure, settlement patterns, system of central places, etc.). They are the reflection of the behaviour of the people and are determined by rules, customs regulations and legislation.

Certain types of spatial organisation make better contribution to specified objectives than others. Outmoded spatial structures generate conflict and hamper development. For instance, in the rural communities any attempt to improve agricultural production on the bases of free market economy should consolidate small and scattered farmholdings, because the traditional farm holding system is not viable under the capitalist mode of production. The restructuring of farmholdings may even necessitate re-arrangement of settlements and the adoption of a new settlement pattern.

Spatial forms are the manifestations of the spatial activities of human societies in their attempt to secure a livelihood from the environment. They include farmlands, settlements, factories, shops and communication network. As development proceeds, the numbers, sizes, locations and arrangements of spatial forms change and adapt to the needs of the society.

Geographic space and land-based resources (minerals, land for agriculture and water) are essential requirements for human survival and partly determine the level of development. Marxist geographers became interested in the way that resources are unevenly distributed and allocated over space. In the 1970s, for instance, geographers paid attention the close interrelations between spatial forms and social and economic processes represented by the mode of

production (Harvey, 1973; Vielle, 1974) According to Johnston (1986), decisions about the allocation and use of spatial resources are often taken in order to minimise the cost of movements, and maximise profit and utility, and achieve the highest possible interaction at least possible cost. The spatial structures which result from such decisions include spatial landuse gradients, and spatial hierarchy of regions in terms of levels of development.

Spatial forms and arrangements in a given society are the direct result of the actions of individuals guided by the society as a whole. Therefore spatial forms are the manifestation of social processes. Thus development, to the extent that it is a social process, is a creator and organiser of space. The spatial reality provides a means of evaluating the nature of the process and influencing it in a desired manner. It is the spatial element which enables geography to provide new insights into the development process (Mabogunje, 1980).

Within a national spatial system, perennial spatial competition exists between the component regions which results in a real differentiation and marked disparities in regional development. In South Africa, for example, the regions which are competitively advantaged because they produce industrial raw materials (agricultural or mineral) receive most of the investments in transportation and social development. Higher and regular incomes of the workers make these regions more attractive for industrial development which reinforces the regions greater competitive advantage for future development. The conditions in the disadvantaged regions worsen because of out-migration of the younger and more energetic people and the loss of capital and entrepreneurship. Owing to the inability of market forces to correct the disparities in regional development, as long ago as 1965 Williamson, favoured a policy of deliberate intervention to correct disparities in the spatial competitive capabilities of individuals, groups, or regions in a country. For instance, the introduction of commercial agriculture in impoverished rural

areas should be planned in such a way that farmers with small farmholdings are not displaced.

The effects of spatial competition underscore the importance of spatial integration. Spatial integration involves the coordination of spatial activities within a national spatial system to achieve harmony and even development. It also ensures that spatial activities do not take place as discrete events but are determined and influenced by all other activities. The structural elements of spatial integration are human settlement system and the linkages through which integrations within the system occur (e.g. transportation and communication network). Spatial integration occurs at different levels, for example, those of the city, the district, the region or the total national space. The efficiency and effectiveness of the linkages that exist between places and activities determine the extent and nature of spatial integration, the stock available to the country, social distribution and national unity. A spatially integrated economy enables policies applied to any part of it to have nation-wide repercussions.

Spatial diffusion of innovation is central to the development of a country. It is a function of spatial integration in that it depends on transportation and communication network and the urban system. Improved accessibility increases contact and widens the information fields of individuals and enterprises. This explains the importance of efficient communication network in the development of a country. Resistance and barriers to innovation are often the results of inadequate and inefficient communication facilities.

Defining development as reconstruction of spatial structures implies that rural transformation cannot take place in isolation. It should be accompanied by the evolution of a new structure of urban centres. Secondly, in the LDCs, since land is the main source of wealth and the basis of social relations, the

goals of development cannot be achieved, at least in the rural areas, without some form of land reforms.

2.1.4 Introducing rural development

Like 'rural' and 'development', the term 'rural development' escapes precise and concise definition. Although it is widely acclaimed in both developed and developing countries and its ideas and ideals are invariably universal, it has no single universally acceptable definition. According to Singh (1986:18), it is a multifaceted concept and is therefore "used in different ways and in vastly divergent contexts".

The ambiguity of the concept of rural development does not preclude the need for a suitable working definition. This view is supported by Tapson (1990:562) when he asserted that: "The definition of rural development is contentious and consensus on the matter is unlikely. It is necessary nonetheless to provide a definition..... to create a framework to establish a legitimate platform". What one gleans from Tapson's observation is that any description (or definition) of rural development is better understood within the context in which it is used. In order to define the context in which it is used in this thesis, the views of some eminent authorities on the subject are considered below.

The conventionalists conceive rural development in terms of higher productivity, incomes and employment opportunities in the rural areas. Kocher (1973) who shared this view succinctly wrote : "Rural development implies generalised increases in :

- (i) rural labour productivity resulting in growing incomes, and
- (ii) rural employment opportunities sufficient to absorb the large numbers

of new entrants into the rural labour force at continually rising levels of living”.

The conventional strand is characterised by the importance it accords to economic growth. The implication is that if people's attitudes and values have to change in order to achieve economic growth, then such changes must be effected.

Lele (1975:20) perceived rural development as a strategy and defined it as “improving the living conditions of the mass of the low income population residing in the rural areas and making the process of their development self-sustaining”. Her definition implies reorganisation and mobilisation of the available resources, both human and physical, to attain a balance in time and space between welfare and production and ensure continued development in the rural sector.

Singh (1986:18-19) however sees rural development as a process. He thus defines it as “a process of developing and utilising natural and human resources, technology, infrastructural facilities, institutions and organisations and government policies and programmes to encourage and speed up economic growth in the rural areas to provide jobs and to improve the quality of rural life towards self-sustenance”. Singh's definition, though elaborate, does not differ significantly from that of Lele and reinforces the views of the latter on rural development.

Whatever definition is assigned to rural development, certain prime elements of the concept stand out quite conspicuously, and it is within these parameters that the term is used in this thesis. Firstly, the concept of rural development presupposes that there are problems in the rural areas to which urgent attention should be paid. Secondly, the essence of rural development is to reduce rural poverty and improve the living conditions of the rural poor. Its

primary concern is therefore the welfare of the rural people. Thirdly, it seeks to extend the benefits of development and technology to the people who earn their livelihood in the rural areas (World Bank, 1975).

Fourthly, its functional role is to generate economic vigour and employment opportunities in the rural areas sufficient enough to absorb rural labour force and new entrants into the rural labour market, and thus prevent young people from migrating from the rural areas to the urban centres in search of jobs. Fifthly, rural development is designed to encourage the poor people in the rural areas to develop leadership skills, stimulate local initiative, self-reliance and local participation. These factors are, indeed, essential because they constitute the deciding factor for the success of any rural development effort. Lastly, it emphasizes the vital role government intervention and NGOs could play, at least in the initial stages of the rural development process, taking cognizance of the fact that the market *per se* is incapable of initiating and sustaining desirable changes in the rural areas.

The above exposition of the concept of rural development illustrates the extent to which the conventional views of development have changed since the early 1970s. Until then, economic growth constituted the basis of development policies, and the welfare of the people received little attention, if any. The basic assumption was that the poor would benefit from 'trickle down' effects as a result of overall growth. It has been realised that the benefits of economic growth never reach the poor; instead they widen the gap between the rich and the poor, making the latter poorer (Dixon, 1990). Similarly, the priorities of international development agencies shifted remarkably in the 1970s towards a direct assault on the problems of rural poverty. People are now the centre of development policies and any economic growth which is not at variance with the values (e.g. equality and human dignity) of the people is considered desirable.

In recent years, rural development has received a great deal of attention and featured prominently in development literature, national plans and the lending programmes of both local and international financial institutions and donors. It has clearly been accepted that all countries should have systematic programmes of rural development because the rural phenomenon is worldwide, although it exists in different proportions in all countries. Thus in 1979, governments and international organisations officially committed themselves to the tenets of rural development by adopting the 'Declaration of Principles' and 'Programme of Action' at the 'World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development' held in Rome (FAO, 1979). The axiom is that successful execution of programmes of rural development would help raise productivity and standards of living of the rural people, and ensure a balanced urban-rural development which is an essential element of any meaningful development programme (Brown, 1986).

Ironically, almost two decades after the commitment was undertaken, the socio-economic conditions in the rural areas, especially in the less developed countries, continue to deteriorate. The numbers of the rural poor, landless, and the malnourished have all increased, as has the inequality in the distribution of wealth. Agriculture has been neglected, particularly the food producing sector. This has resulted in low food productivity. A study by the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) in 1981 estimated that the total number of malnourished people would rise from an average of 435 million (1974-76) to 590 million by the year 2 000. The apparent contradiction between rhetoric and action has had tragic consequences on the well-being of the millions of people living in the rural areas. This reflects a moral crisis in policy commitment on the part of governments in the LDCs to reduce poverty and misery in the rural areas.

Heyer et al (1981) have advanced some reasons to explain the neglect of the rural sector by governments in LDCs. The peasants are seen as a threat

because their ownership of means of production (land and labour) and subsistence gives them a measure of independence. As their level of welfare increases, they may be in the position to refuse to supply certain markets, or to agree to supply only on terms that are favourable to them. Besides, peasant production conflicts with commercial farming enterprises. The farmers depend on wage labourers in the rural areas. The main source of such labour is the peasantry. The commercial farmers thus compete directly with the peasantry for land, labour and other means of production.

The paradox is that in the LDCs, the rural sector is larger than the urban sector, and the population is predominantly rural with rural activities constituting the basis of national income generation. The implication is that any attempt to modernise the economies of these countries requires the development of the rural sector. Rural development is therefore *sine qua non* of any worthwhile development effort to revamp the economies of the LDCs. Hence, it deserves the highest priority in terms of resource allocation. An overall balanced development of the national economy is attained when the growth rate of the rural sector catches up with the urban economy, and rural-urban inequalities are reduced in the process.

2.1.5. Objectives of rural development

The prime objective of rural development is ostensibly to reduce poverty in the peripheral areas. It seeks to create a viable and self-sustaining economy in the rural areas to enable the rural communities to uplift themselves and reduce poverty. In most cases, strategies aimed at raising productivity and production, and creating viable employment opportunities in the rural areas are pursued with vigour and enthusiasm. In order to accomplish these tasks, social and economic services are provided by the government and/or NGOs, and the people are encouraged to develop the spirit of cooperation and participation at all levels in the rural development process.

The ultimate aim of rural development is to develop the rural communities to such an extent that many people would like to remain, and possibly relocate and live in rural areas. The target population is not, as presumed by many, young school-leavers, rather those who are compelled by circumstances (e.g. socio-economic inertia) to live in and make a livelihood in the rural areas. The ensuing change in attitudes in general towards the reliance on science and technology would induce the farmers to practice commercial farming, increase their incomes and provide themselves with basic amenities. The young people would then be convinced to stay and participate in the activities of rural development. This is more likely to minimise rural-urban migration. None the less, the socio-economic environment should not create conditions conducive for the emergence of rural elite to capture the benefits of rural reconstruction. It must be noted that there are no universally valid guidelines for rural development. According to Singh (1986), the choice of guidelines and strategies is influenced by time, space and culture.

Rural development strategies and objectives presuppose four facts. Firstly, rural poverty is likely to worsen as population increases while limitations continue to be imposed by available resources, technology, capital, institutions and organisations. Secondly, if land, labour and the limited capital available in the rural areas are mobilised, poverty could be reduced and the quality of life improved. Thirdly, the rate at which people are transferred from low-productivity agriculture and related activities to more rewarding ventures is very slow. Lastly, the attainment of these objectives would enhance the quality of life in the peripheral areas and attract people and activities from the already overpopulated urban centres.

Rural development in this context is entirely different from agricultural development which is only one aspect of the productive life in the rural peripheries. The strategy of rural development should, therefore, be perceived as a broad based re-organisation and mobilisation of the rural masses and their

resources in order to enhance their capacity to cope effectively with the tasks of their lives (Mabogunje, 1980).

Land is basic to the viability of rural communities. Therefore a comprehensive spatial re-organisation is central to the attainment of the objectives of rural development programmes. This partly explains the failure of past attempts at rural development in which little attention was paid to the spatial dimension of rural development planning (Mabogunje, 1980).

In recent years, little or no attention is given to industrialisation in rural development programmes. Industrialisation involves huge initial capital outlay, depends largely on imported inputs, tends to cater for a small market of high-income consumers and requires skills and expertise which the rural population lacks. A rural development strategy which is based on the resources and know-how of rural communities is perhaps the best way of stimulating overall development (Chambers, 1983).

2.2 THEORIES OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

The theoretical framework defines and critically evaluates the dominant theoretical orientations of rural development. The theoretical orientation refers to a set of ideas, assumptions and methodological approaches that guides the examination of substantive issues. The logic of inquiry and foundations of methodological analysis require theoretical clarity for proper analysis. Hence, the theoretical framework determines the direction the study assumes. None the less, it does not constitute what is normally thought of as a theory in that it does not form a consistent system of interrelated propositions which are capable of being tested empirically, although it facilitates the formulation of such theory or hypothesis (Long, 1977).

The socio-economic problems of rural poverty are acute in many parts of the world including the so-called advanced countries such as Britain and the United States. Owing to the widespread nature of the problem, much has been written about it and the strategies aimed at solving it. Thus developing countries, in their search for appropriate development strategies, have come face to face with a number of diverging theories which have divided policy makers at rural planning levels. The key issue these theories seek to address is whether desperate rural poverty and inequalities could be alleviated by more effective functional integration, both on national and international scales; or whether internal territorial integration and greater degree of self-reliance with “selective spatial closure”, would be more effective (Stohr and Taylor, 1981:1).

The theoretical treatment of the rural development concept is a vital factor in understanding the resources offered by the rural areas, and of the needs and requirements of rural development planning and management. In order to determine the theoretical model suitable for rural development in the former Transkei, five theories are critically examined in this study, viz, development from above (the growth pole) theory, development from below (bottom-up), theory, secondary city approach, integrated rural development approach and the basic needs strategy.

As it could be inferred from the analysis some of the ideas and theories of rural development are now outdated. However, they are still of importance to the study because they influenced the planning and implementation of the rural development programmes executed in the past in the former Transkei. It is important to revisit the old ideas to find out whether the theories worked or not.

2.2.1 Development from above theory

The development from above concept had its roots in neo-classical economic theory and its spatial manifestation is the growth pole concept. The concept of growth pole was first enunciated by the French economist, Francois Perroux in 1955. Since then it has attracted so much popularity and interpretation that it has lost much of its original content and meaning, and has become almost elusive as a conceptual component of planning methodology.

In a nutshell, the growth pole theory stated that the development of selected core areas in a national spatial system could initiate and sustain development in the peripheral regions (Friedmann, 1972; Rondinelli, 1985). Rondinelli (1985), for example, argued that by investing heavily in capital-intensive industries in the largest urban centres, governments in developing countries could stimulate economic growth that would eventually spread outwards to generate regional development.

The rationale for the concept maintains that with limited resources, it is ineffective and inefficient to spread developmental investment thinly over the entire national territory. Rather, investment programmes should be concentrated in selected key urban centres that would benefit from economies of scale and external economies of agglomeration. From these centres, beneficial spread effects would flow to the lagging hinterlands. In the words of Perroux (1955:146) "development does not appear everywhere and all at once; it appears in points or development poles with variable intensity; it spreads along diverse channels and has varying terminal effects for the whole of the economy".

The primary assumption is that the peripheral population could be modernised through the diffusion of western values, capital, technology and

innovations via the major urban growth points (Reissman, 1964). The diffusion is presumed to occur in three main ways. The beneficial effects of economic growth are first experienced in the growth centre itself because the active labour force is provided with employment opportunities, incomes and infrastructural services such as housing, education and health facilities.

By and large, the benefits of economic development in the growth pole are spread into the surrounding rural periphery: foodstuffs and raw materials are purchased from the rural hinterland, workers remit their families in the rural areas, excess labour is absorbed off the land which facilitates the development of commercial agriculture, and finally capital, technology and infrastructural services spread into the surrounding rural areas.

Lastly, innovations originating in the growth centres propagate through the urban hierarchy. Initially, they spread to the towns which are of the same order as the growth centre, and thereafter, to settlements in progressively lower levels of the hierarchy in terms of size and functions.

The growth pole concept of development is externally oriented, tends to be urban and industrial in nature, capital-intensive and dominated by high technology and the 'massive project' approach to development (Stohr and Taylor, 1981:1)

2.2.1.1 The concept of growth pole and dependent development

In the developing countries, the development from above paradigm is not simply a matter of national economic growth: it involves elements of international economic relations. Since these countries lack resources to develop their growth centres, multinational corporations in the developed countries offer capital, technology, know-how and linkage with international markets. Thus development and innovations in the developing countries

emanate from the developed western countries, precisely from multinational corporations. The implication is that so long as the developing countries continue to depend on developed countries for technology, capital and innovations, it is difficult to envisage that the disparities between them would ever be reduced to any appreciable degree. Similarly, within the developing countries because the urban centres are the cradles of the adoption of technology and innovations, it is more difficult to assume that the disparities between urban and rural areas would be closed in the near future (Stohr and Taylor, 1981).

The efforts of the multinational corporations aim at accelerating the growth of a subsystem of the economies of the developing countries, oriented towards the demands of a small privileged section of the population without changing the status of the peasants. Often most of the industries established in the growth poles do not have any linkage with the economies of the hinterlands because they use mostly imported raw materials and highly skilled manpower (Stohr and Taylor, 1981). Besides, the capital intensive nature of their operations limits the number of people employed. The farmers in the hinterlands cannot take advantage of increased demand for foodstuffs in the growth centres because agriculture is neglected and has no place in the growth centre strategy.

Moreover, the rate at which the growth centres in the developing countries expand is very slow. It would be many years before disadvantages of agglomeration set in and industries find it necessary to look for cheaper labour and other opportunities in the hinterlands (Todes and Watson, 1984).

2.2.1.2 The performance of the growth pole strategy in the Third World.

In the former Transkei, few industries in the growth poles derive their raw materials locally. The bulk of the raw materials comes from major

metropolitan centres and developed agricultural areas in South Africa. Even where inputs are obtained locally, they are not supplied by smallholders as a result of severe obstacles to the development of the agricultural and informal sectors. Basic foodstuffs are often purchased from sources outside the territory, resulting in the leakage of purchasing power.

Limitations are equally placed on migrant remittances from the growth poles. Firstly, the wages are lower (see Section 5.2.5) and cost of living higher. Secondly, the number of workers in the growth centres is small in relation to the total number of people in the rural areas. In this regard, it is unlikely that migrant remittances will make any meaningful contribution towards the development of the hinterlands.

The assumption that the growth poles would absorb excess labour force from the surrounding hinterlands and thereby make the consolidation of farm units possible and induce development of commercial agriculture is quite erroneous. The mechanism has failed to operate because the proportion of the rural population absorbed by the growth centres is too small to trigger the expected chain reaction (Todes and Watson, 1984).

The process of passing on innovation to the rural areas assumes the existence of physical and functional connection between the growth centres and the hinterland. It is interesting to note that one of the most important factors inhibiting the development process in developing countries is poor communication network. In the former Transkei, for instance, outside the main urban centres, most of the national spatial system consists of an unmobilised periphery with poor infrastructure. The situation does not augur well for industries to migrate into the hinterlands. Furthermore, the few inter-regional linkages are woefully inadequate to occasion a subsequent spread from the growth centres to generate social transformation in much of the periphery and create an integrated core-organised economy.

The experience from Africa and Latin America where growth pole policies were adopted has shown that the beneficial 'trickle down' influences have on the whole failed to materialise, and have instead been replaced by adverse 'backwash' effects which have created increased inequality between cores and peripheries (Santos, 1975). McGee (1971) for example, sees the core areas as parasitic in nature. Educated people and resources are drawn away from the peripheries to the core areas thereby aggravating the poverty and misery in the rural areas.

As Gilbert (1975:30) has observed : "Large landowners who live in the major cities transfer capital from the rural to the urban centres; trade between the rural and the urban centres tends to favour the latter; industrial concentration, fiscal transfers and organisation of the banking system channel the economic surplus of the smaller cities into the metropolitan centres. From there, processes such as repatriation of profits by foreign companies and the gradual deterioration of terms of trade lead to the transfer of funds to the world metropoli". The incomes of the workers find their way back to the core without helping in any way to develop the economies of the peripheries. Thus McGee (1971) regards the core areas as centres of international capitalism, generating wealth for core elites and contributing to the poverty and underdevelopment of the peripheral populations.

Consequently, Nichols (1969) and Moseley (1973) argue that if the objective of regional policy is to benefit small towns and rural areas, then it would be advisable to invest directly in these places. They are of the opinion that some 'trickle up' to the large cities would take place but a converse 'trickle down' situation cannot be relied upon.

In the former Transkei, the settlement hierarchy does not augur well for the propulsive effects of the growth pole concept to be felt in the rural areas. The traditional settlement pattern consists of dispersed homesteads. The primary

basis of local clustering is social (usually common lineage). In some areas, the traditional settlement pattern has been replaced by some form of urban settlement (the consolidated villages) under the 'betterment scheme' (McAllister, 1988). Owing to the size of the population of these villages, which ranges from few hundreds to over 10 000 people, few basic infrastructural services have been provided. The third type of settlement in the territory consists of official towns which are the administrative centres of the twenty-eight magisterial districts. Few perform diversified functions and have developed into urban centres (e.g. Mt. Frere, Idutywa and Engcobo). The physical linkages between these centres and their hinterlands and growth centres are poor. The infrastructural services in the official towns are no better. It is apparent that no industry or commerce of substance will move from the growth centres to any of the settlements described above. The smaller towns are beset with major obstacles which hinder economic development. These obstacles include limited market, lack of capital, poor infrastructure, lack of industrial and agricultural raw materials and competition from industries (often subsidized) in larger cities.

2.2.1.3 Summary

✓ The simplistic attitude and the erroneous conceptions which have characterised the development from above theory as a tool for rural development planning in the developing countries have led some people to reject the concept altogether or, at least to suggest that it is inappropriate in the context of developing countries. However, the defenders of the policy in the 1970s argued that "the disenchantment with the growth centre policies in many developing countries is not evidence that the principle of polarization is wrong. On the contrary, it reflects the over-optimism and short-run time horizon of regional policy-makers, the failure of sustained political will, the use of deficient investment criteria, bad locational choices, and lack of imagination

in devising appropriate policy instruments". (Richardson and Richardson, 1975:169).

Notwithstanding the arguments and counter-arguments, it is apparent that in South Africa, where developmental initiative is urgently required (especially in the former homelands and the remote peripheral areas), the growth pole model has been least able to provide it; where it is least required (near the metropolitan areas and more established former 'white' towns) the spin-offs from the policy have been greater. In South Africa, the growth pole policy represented the desperate attempt of the Nationalist Party Government to make the former homelands look as if they were independent. The policy was therefore not too effective: the former homelands were still intended to provide migrant labourers for the greater South African economy. Its operation was thus governed by the needs and concerns of the apartheid regimes. The success of the growth pole policy in terms of achieving self-sustaining growth in the countryside in future will depend on rationalisation based on democratic principles.



2.2.2 Development from below

The theory which currently enjoys widespread acclaim and is receiving growing recognition is the rural-based 'bottom-up' rural development. The development from below paradigm is not new. According to Stohr (1981), the paradigm has been in existence since the days of the Greek city-states, when small-scale functional human interaction which was governed by societal norms, was predominant. The primary objective of the interaction was human conditions of 'loving', 'belonging to' and 'being'. Hence communal decision-making process was accorded prime importance.

As a result of population pressure, technological inventions and innovations, and the quest for power and glory, large-scale interactions and functional

activities emerged and eventually superseded small-scale interactions. Unfortunately, large-scale interactions and functional activities are governed by economic forces (e.g. returns on investments) and not human comfort nor happiness. Consequently decisions relating to human development are taken by remote governments and investors, and are imposed on the people, with their ensuing pressure to develop only a small portion of the people's capabilities and resources in order to attain a competitive position in the world's economic order.

In essence, the development from below paradigm proposes alternative criteria for allocating resources for development. It advocates a shift from the present principle of maximising returns for selected regions to one of maximising integral resource mobilisation. Stohr and Taylor (1981:1) maintain that "development 'from below' considers development to be based primarily on maximum mobilisation of each area's natural, human and institutional resources with the primary objectives being the satisfaction of the basic needs of the inhabitants".

The shift towards social rather than economic gains had also been observed by Friedmann and Douglas (1978:163) when they asserted that the "primary objective of [agropolitan development] is no longer economic growth but social development with focus on specific human needs". They are of the view that rural development planning must be decentralised so that the elements of the local environment could be considered to stimulate grassroots participation and interests. The change in the principle of factor allocation renders development more equitable because it is oriented towards the problems of poverty and deprivation. Besides, it is motivated and controlled initially from below.

Unlike the centre-down approach, development from below takes the development process to rural areas. It is a small-scale programme and is

based on the use of appropriate technology. It is determined from within local communities and is therefore unique to each society. It involves the local population right from the planning phase through the implementation phase so that their knowledge and resources of the environment could be harnessed and used efficiently.

- ✓ Development from below initially aims at full development of a region's human and natural resources and the provision of basic needs for the region's population on equal basis. Since economic infrastructure and production enterprises are locally owned and controlled, the greater part of any surplus is invested locally, thereby diversifying the local economy and making it viable and more self-sustaining. In this way, the peripheral region is transformed into a vibrant growth region with its own minor core. As the local economy progresses, development impulses are successively transmitted 'upwards' from the local through regional to national level.
- ✓ The development from below strategy requires some measure of "selective spatial closure to prevent transfers to and from the region which contribute to negative terms of trade and external dependence" (Seers 1977:5-6). The scale of production and size of industries are locally determined on the basis of the region's inputs and demand. This ensures that the requirements of the local population are catered for.

Notwithstanding the world-wide support development from below enjoys from both academics and planners, there seems to be no well-structured theory available for the paradigm, although in the 1970s some efforts in this regard were undertaken (Nerfin, 1977; Friedmann and Douglas, 1978). Stohr (1981) advances two reasons for the lack of coherent and systematic conceptual framework for the development from below paradigm. Firstly, such a framework requires cooperation and support from a variety of disciplines which are seemingly very difficult to secure. Secondly, there is neither a single strategy of development from below nor a uniform transitional process to

emulate. Hence each locality may devise its own strategy, although some basic features are identical.

The current equivalent of the development from below strategy in vogue is perhaps the Local Economic Development policy which encourages individuals and communities to mobilise themselves and their resources for community development without necessarily waiting for the government or outside assistance. The Local Economic Development policy is currently being pursued in the Xalanga District (see Section 5.5.2). The local communities are motivated to cooperate and pool their resources together in order to augment their coping strategies.

The aim of the policy is to alleviate rural poverty through the creation of viable employment opportunities in the rural communities. The unemployed and the landless people are offered education and training to acquire basic trade skills in agriculture, bakery, bricklaying and construction, carpentry, textiles and clothing, leather and tannery and trade and commerce. The successful trainees are encouraged to establish small-scale enterprises through the provision of basic infrastructure, subsidised capital and resources and adequate marketing facilities through cooperatives. The policy is likely to succeed because the programmes and projects are formulated, planned and executed by the local communities; they therefore have the support and enthusiasm of the local people. Besides, the projects are based on local conditions and resources and the know-how of the people.

2.2.2.1 Pre-requisites for the development from below strategy

Although there is no single recipe for development from below, and each locality devises its own formula, the fundamental guiding principle of the strategy is the same: the development of territorial units based on full mobilisation of natural, human and institutional resources. It thus follows that

there are some basic elements which should be present in a national spatial system for successful application of any form of the development from below strategy.

In developing countries, the rural communities are self-supporting and survive on agriculture and related activities; for example, they provide for their own food requirements, building materials and water. Therefore equal and broad access to land and its resources is essential to ensure mass participation in the development process. Moreover, the introduction of fairly equal access to land and natural resources (e.g. through land reform programmes) provides a means for equalizing income, achieving broad effective demand for basic services and creating broad rural decision-making structures essential for development from below.

The introduction of communal decision-making structures organised on territorial basis is a vital factor. Such structures afford the rural communities a chance to participate in decisions pertaining to the allocation of natural and human resources, the allocation of surpluses generated locally, the choice of adequate technology and the determination of projects. Administrators and politicians, at least at the local level, are made accountable to the people through these structures. Powers granting higher degree of autonomy should be devolved to the communal structures to enable them transform peripheral institutions to promote diversified development in line with community-determined objectives. These structures are essential for effective and efficient territorial governance and should be established at different territorial levels. The potential of lower territorial units should be exhausted before higher levels are approached.

The choice of locally adequate technology should be determined by the available natural, human and capital resources. In the Third World, such a technology would have to save capital which is in short supply and facilitate

full employment of human and natural resources. In addition, the technology should be simple to learn, easy to implement and should be able to cater for local demand. According to Lele (1975), the application of labour intensive technology and improvement of basic infrastructure are likely to create broad effective demand.

The satisfaction of the basic needs (food, clothing, shelter and basic services) of the entire population should be accorded the greatest priority. It would strengthen the local economy because it would reduce dependence on outside inputs and prevent leakages. Adequate provision of basic needs would eventually create opportunities for the establishment of rural industries (e.g. art and craft, food processing and the repair of agricultural machinery). It is therefore necessary that the national pricing policy should favour agricultural and rural products to sustain development at the local level.

In order to ensure growth and viability of the economy at community level, production should exceed demand at the local level. Small-scale labour-intensive activities should be promoted because they encourage the most efficient use of resources, maximise output with the available resources, and adapt well to specific changes in the pattern of demand. Increased output would encourage regional trade which would bring in more financial resources to the local communities for further investments.

The urban and transport systems should be restructured to improve and equalise access of the population in all parts of the country to them. The creation of a system of hierarchical settlements bridges the gap between employment and income levels in the few urban centres and the rural areas (Acquaye, 1986). Improved transport facilities widen the market for the rural communities, facilitate the extension of basic services to all parts of the country, promote decentralised administration and facilitate the flow of information.

2.2.2.2. Summary

Most developing countries adopted the centre-down development strategy (the dominant economic development theory of the time) after independence in an attempt to reverse functional and spatial disparities which characterised the colonial economies. However, owing to the inherent weaknesses of the strategy, the disparities in the post-colonial economies have been widened and entrenched, and the idea of solving the problems of spatial and social disparities through the development from above approach has widely been discarded. The development from below is seen as a possible alternative.

The task facing these countries is how to transform the past sectoral and spatial patterns of development from above to incorporate the elements of development from below in order to reduce the current social and spatial inequalities in living levels. Among the various issues affecting the success of development from below in the developing countries is the need for restructuring spatial distribution and functions of urban centres and linkages between urban centres and rural areas to make them responsive to the needs of development at the local, regional and national levels.

The restructuring process is very slow and painful because the national governments of the Third World Countries do not have sufficient financial resources to embark on swift and dramatic structural changes. Consequently, the structures instituted under the development from above strategy which ought to be transformed reassert themselves and further distort the already complicated social and spatial structures. In many cases, the developing countries solicit outside assistance to effect the desired changes. Unfortunately such assistance has not led to the establishment of more egalitarian structures in the poor countries. Where social change towards more egalitarian social and economic structures is initiated within national societies (e.g. Cuba) external influence from the developed world (e.g. USA) seeks to strangle the

development efforts of the former, especially where the changes are inimical to the interests of the latter.

In the former Transkei, the philosophy of development after independence in 1976 was based on the development from above strategy, a replica of the pattern of development in the former white South Africa. The result is that there are remarkable social and spatial disparities in the pattern of development: the rural areas are underdeveloped and rural poverty and unemployment are widespread. Although the planning authorities acknowledge the need to redress the imbalance in the pattern of development through the bottom-up approach (Republic of Transkei, 1983), no concrete efforts have been made to transform the existing structures and development policies to take the development process to the local level. This is contrary to the government's current agenda for decentralisation and grassroots participation in decision-making and the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

2.2.3. **Secondary city approach**

Owing to the difficulty in meeting the pre-requisites for the development from below, and also in restructuring the entire social and spatial structures in developing countries, the secondary city concept has been proposed as an alternative. The spatial manifestation of the concept is the secondary city strategy.

The secondary city strategy proposes that the decentralisation of investments in strategically located settlements could create the minimal conditions that would enable rural people to develop their own communities through 'bottom-up' and autonomous processes (Rondinelli, 1985).

The approach is based on the premise that the objectives of rural development programmes cannot be achieved in isolation from cities, or entirely through the 'bottom-up' strategies (Rondinelli, 1983). The linkages between urban centres and rural areas constitute a crucial element in the development of the latter. The urban centres provide markets for agricultural surpluses from the rural areas; most agricultural inputs come from organisations in the cities; social, health, educational and other services that satisfy basic human needs in the rural countryside are distributed from the urban centres (Lipton, 1982).

Hence, it is argued that governments in developing countries can achieve widespread development, in both social and spatial terms, by dispersing the pattern of investment geographically. This can be achieved through the creation of a deconcentrated, articulated and integrated systems of cities which provides potential access to markets for people living in any part of the country or region (Rondinelli, 1983).

The secondary city occupies a secondary position in the national urban hierarchy at a level just below the country's few primate metropolitan centres, but intermediate to them and the many smaller urban centres. It has an optimum population and a level of economic viability. These features provide it with an impetus to grow into a large city comparable to the country's major metropolitan centres. The functional role of the secondary city is to generate economic vigour and employment opportunities as a permanent means of livelihood for migrants who would otherwise move to the large metropolitan centres. It is multifunctional: the functions include commercial and service activities, informal sector enterprises, manufacturing, agro-based industries as well as administrative and government functions. Most of the ventures are labour-intensive and relatively small in size. The secondary cities therefore have the ability to create jobs and ensure their own viability.

Successful application of the secondary city strategy would provide some beneficial results. It relieves pressure in the largest cities in terms of the problems of housing, transport, employment and service provision. Besides, it reduces regional inequalities because the benefits of development and urbanisation spread to the rural areas. The rural economies are stimulated through the provision of services, facilities and markets for agricultural products, and the absorption of surplus rural labour force. Thus the secondary city strategy helps to alleviate poverty in both intermediate cities and rural areas.

In order to render the secondary cities generative to enable them achieve their objectives, certain basic conditions must be fulfilled. Firstly, there must be adequate infrastructural linkages between them and their surrounding hinterland. Secondly, the local leaders should invest in the intermediate cities and be capable of introducing innovations. Thirdly, the national government should support the internal growth of the secondary cities and their peripheral areas. The basic organisational structures should be established, for example, the creation of a new tier of government and the decentralisation of a large number of powers and functions to the intermediate cities. The powers should include the responsibility for planning and implementing local development programmes (Conyers, 1981). Fourthly, the economic activities in the cities should be linked to their hinterland through mutual beneficial processes of exchange. The activities should be organised to generate income for local residents and promote internal demand. Lastly, both public and private sectors should cooperate to promote economic activities that generate widespread participation and distribution of benefits.

✓ The secondary city approach is entirely different from the growth point theory in the sense that the secondary city's economic base does not depend on external stimuli for development, rather it generates its own inherent momentum in creating new work: it has internal growth potential. The

secondary city theory assumes that rural development can be engendered by careful manipulation of the urban settlement hierarchy, and it is implicitly based on the free market framework of exchange (Unwin, 1989).

The success rate of the performance of secondary cities in the developed countries (e.g. Britain and U.S.A.) is very high (Kontuly, 1988; Shepherd and Congdon, 1990). In the developing countries, however, not much has been achieved. The most important reason for the poor performance of the secondary cities is the selection of too many and wrong urban centres. Most of the centres do not possess internal growth potential. They are therefore unable to compete with the existing large metropolitan centres. They are selected for political expediency and self-interests rather than the interests of national spatial and economic needs.

The failure of the secondary city strategy is also attributed to the unwillingness of national governments in the developing countries to decentralise administrative functions and powers to intermediate cities. This reflects the natural reluctance of national politicians and senior public servants to relinquish a significant portion of their powers and privileges to another level of government. Secondly, centralisation of powers in the capitals also reflects the desire of the central authorities to curb secessionist activities. Therefore, the supply and maintenance of most of the essential services (e.g. water, electricity and security) are controlled and regulated by the national governments.

In the developing countries, long-term development policies often clash with the short-term expectations of the decision-makers. The situation is worsened by the fluidity of change of regimes through military coups which are usually accompanied by policy changes. Thus most of the development policies do not have sufficient time to show results.

The failure of the secondary city approach is probably due to the manner in which the policy is implemented. In many cases, the strategy lacks driving force: the financial resources of the governments in developing countries are too limited to fuse the ideal with practice. In addition, in some of these countries (e.g. Papua New Guinea), there is a severe shortage of skilled manpower to man the structures of the lower levels of government (Conyers, 1981).

Great uncertainty still surrounds the comparative advantages and success records of the growth pole and secondary city strategies. The confusion which surrounds the performance of these two urban-biased theories reinforces the assertion that the theories and policies designed for urban milieux create more problems in the countryside than they solve. Planning for rural areas therefore demands a new framework and tools quite different from those used in urban planning (Lefaver, 1978).

The secondary city strategy has not yet been applied in the development process anywhere in the former Transkei. The pre-requisite conditions are too stringent to meet. For instance, van de Merwe (1992) estimated the threshold population of the secondary city in South Africa ranges between a minimum of 50 000 people and a maximum of 500 000 people. Only three of the towns in the sub-region - Umtata, Butterworth and Ezibeleni - have populations of 50 000 people and over. Secondly, the incidence of unemployment in the former Transkeian towns is too high. This suggests that the towns are not economically viable and thus do not possess internal growth potential.

The latest incarnation of the secondary city strategy in South Africa is the small town approach proposed by the Centre for Development and Enterprise (CDE) in 1996. According to the CDE, small towns are located in the heartland of the areas of greatest need in the country and can therefore

promote and assist rural development by acting as channels for the distribution of welfare support to the destitute areas. The small towns are defined as the settlements with less than 50 000 inhabitants; they are neither urban nor rural and are therefore generally ignored by both the government and the planning authorities. There are 500 such small towns in the country and they accommodate approximately 8% of the total population. The Centre estimates that 75% of the country's poor live in the small towns and their hinterlands.

The infrastructural services and facilities are not fully utilised because the small towns do not possess sound economic bases which could attract people and activities. A considerable proportion of the development initiatives in these areas therefore needs to come from either the government or from the externally funded NGOs. When motivated, the small towns can promote their own development initiatives to maximise returns on existing infrastructure and facilities. According to CDE (1992:2), "any approach to rural poverty and underdevelopment which does not begin with maximising returns on existing small town infrastructure and investment seems wasteful". It proposes that the motivation for development should be based on the new 'bottom-up' approaches because they enable the small towns to benefit from local strengths and promotes socio-economic development. The CDE laments the dearth of information on the performance of the small towns and their relationships with their hinterlands because it limits the applicability of the approach.



2.2.4. The concept of integrated rural development

The concept of 'integrated development' became popular internationally in the mid-1960s. It originated as a result of the need to reduce rivalry and foster cooperation between the various specialised agencies of the United Nations so that their efforts might become mutually reinforcing (Chambers,

1974). The usage of the concept was extended to rural development in the 1970s when social objectives of rural development gained importance. Furthermore, the failure of earlier attempts by the organisations involved in rural development to make any significant contributions towards the elimination of rural poverty was blamed on the tendency of the organisations to pursue their goals independently and the rivalry between them.

The integrated development strategy advocates that rural development programmes should be planned and executed at local, district, regional and provincial levels within the framework of an overall national development plan to benefit the majority of the people (Chambers, 1974). There should be a central coordinating body to monitor, coordinate and regulate the functioning of the structures set up at the various levels. There is a need to establish guidelines for the various agencies involved in the development process. The participants should be integrated and coordinated so that their activities would become mutually reinforcing through the recycling of complementary resources, elimination of unwholesome competitions between them and duplication of efforts.

2.2.4.1. Requirements of integrated development

The strategy regards active participation of the target population, hitherto excluded from the planning processes of rural development programmes, as essential. Local participation provides a means of solving the problems of scale, resource scarcity, adaptation of development projects to suit local needs and conditions and local support and interest. The situation where rural development programmes are planned, nurtured and exported to the rural areas should be discarded. Such an approach rather alienates the rural people, and induces them to develop non-cooperative attitudes and in most cases, sabotage rural development efforts because of their suspicion of the

motives of the developers. Local participation is therefore the most important factor for the success of any rural development effort.

The integrated development approach is based on the proposition that the problems of rural areas cannot be solved in isolation but should be considered in relation to those of urban areas. The concentration of development efforts on urban and rural issues as separate entities has had disastrous consequences for the poor, and for the understanding of the processes involved in social and economic changes (Unwin, 1989). It does not focus attention on the interactions between the two. The contention is that if rural and urban development processes are undertaken in an integrated fashion, the interactions between them could be conditioned to be mutual. Gould (1985:1) sees the interaction as a “two-way flow of people, goods, money, technology, information and ideas”.

The integration of urban and rural development processes requires structural transformations at least in terms of administration and resource allocation. Thus Gould (1985:1) argues further that “these flows are not only symptoms of the development process, but are themselves active features in the transformation of rural and urban places”. Rural and urban changes should therefore be seen as products of deeper structural transformation in the society.

An interdisciplinary approach is one of the most salient features of integrated development. It ensures that all aspects of the socio-economic conditions in the society receive equal attention. The essence of development is to transform the entire society (both human and material resources) to enable the people to be self-reliant and realise their potential. In many instances, rural development agencies often emphasize the provision of the basic services while the other aspects of socio-economic advancement are left to the respective departments and ministries with their headquarters in the capitals.

As the name suggests, the integrated development approach seeks to tackle all the problems of the local community simultaneously and in an integrated manner. For instance, the integrated approach calls for greater attention to be paid to education and training of the people to acquire basic skills, besides the provision of basic services. It is therefore, necessary to integrate rural development activities into a comprehensive system. Invariably, the cooperation between the various specialised departments and agencies involved in rural transformation is indispensable to the success of the strategy.

2.2.4.2 Criticisms of the concept integrated development

The feasibility of devising an appropriate framework for integrated development and making it work successfully has been questioned by many commentators. Ruttan (1975), for instance, believes that integration would overburden the administrative structures and reduce the effectiveness of the parties to the integration. The cost of integration and coordination is so high in terms of staff time spent at meetings and the accompanying paper work that the actual output may be nil. Thus unless integration between programmes is regarded as an end *per se*, unconnected projects are best implemented in an unconnected fashion. When projects are integrated, the costs and benefits should be weighed when assessing whether the projects be implemented jointly.

Chambers (1974) is skeptical about the feasibility of implementing many different programmes in the same area simultaneously especially in the developing countries. Firstly, it creates spatial imbalance in the distribution of resources and waste. Secondly most of such programmes and projects are abandoned half way owing to depletion of resources. Lele (1975) advocates for sequential approach which entails the establishment of clear priorities and the phasing of activities.

2.2.4.3. Summary

Integrated rural development is a refinement of programmes of community development. Old programmes could be rejuvenated by incorporating new elements that were earlier overlooked, neglected or abandoned. When applied judiciously, integrated development can strengthen the manpower base of the community through education and training, optimise the use of resources and encourage participation in local decision-making and planning. However, it should not be regarded as panacea for all the problems of the rural poor. It should be conceived of as a tool for use in conjunction with those available to other agencies to uplift the conditions of the rural poor.

The integrated rural development strategy was not applied in the former Transkei on a territorial scale. The problem with the strategy is that a high degree of coordination is needed and new administrative structures have to be instituted. In a place like the former Transkei where structures are in disarray, the planning authorities might have realised that the strategy does not have much of a hope and therefore a chance to succeed. The integrated rural development strategy was widely applied in India in the 1970s; however, owing to the stringent requirements of the approach, it has not achieved as much as the people hoped (United Nations, Department of Technical Cooperation for Development, 1980).

Varied and limited forms of integrated development projects have been established in isolated parts of the former Transkei. They are mainly irrigation and agricultural projects (e.g. at Ncora, Qamata, Lubisi and Xonxa). Adequate provision of water and other infrastructural services such as roads, extension services, health centres, credit and marketing facilities have encouraged the people in these areas to step up production and thereby increase their earnings. These projects were somehow regarded as integrated because apart from the infrastructural facilities and services they created, they

incorporated education and training into their programmes. Besides there was an appreciable degree of coordination between the multidisciplinary structures which were put in place. The projects sought to tackle the socio-economic problems of the communities in which they were located in an integrated fashion. Unfortunately, these projects cannot be easily duplicated elsewhere in the sub-region because of huge capital and financial requirements. In the true sense, these ventures are not really integrated development projects because the local people were not consulted during the decision-making and planning stages: they were not based on the 'bottom-up' strategy. The local people were obliged to get involved at a later stage because of the material gains they hoped to enjoy in the future.

The integrated approach to development is still a popular theory in South Africa. For instance, the Government of KwaZulu-Natal is currently preparing an integrated rural development strategy for the province¹; moreover the Local Economic Development policy in the Eastern Cape Province bears a close resemblance to the integrated rural development strategy.

2.2.5. The basic needs approach to development

The failure of the economies of developing countries to live up to the initial expectations of development theory has raised concerns in many quarters, especially at the United Nations. The basic needs concept evolved out of humanitarian concern over the recent decades about the increasing poverty and inequality in the Third World. In June 1976, under the auspices of the United Nations, the World Employment Conference proclaimed that the basic needs strategy should explicitly constitute the core of national development plans of all member countries, and the developing countries in particular (Beguin, 1977).

¹ Discussion with Brooks, S., on 04 December 1997.

The basic needs strategy redefines the purpose of development. It advocates that the satisfaction of the basic human needs should be central to any meaningful development effort. Thus any process of growth which does not lead to their fulfilment constitutes a travesty of the idea of development.

The basic needs are defined as including, first, employment and certain minimum requirements of a family for private consumption: adequate food, shelter and clothing, as well as certain household equipment and furniture; and second, essential services provided for and by the community at large, such as safe drinking water, sanitation, public transport and health, educational and cultural facilities (Beguin, 1977).

The proponents of the strategy identify mass poverty as the most serious manifestation of mounting unemployment and underemployment. Employment creation, in this regard, is undoubtedly one of the most important measures for combating poverty, and should therefore be adopted as a key target of development strategies. Thus, Lee (1981), proposes that instead of allocating investment funds to projects which yield the highest returns, it is necessary to bias the choice in favour of projects which create the largest number of productive jobs (i.e. labour-intensive ventures). The implications of labour-intensive activities are far-reaching for the poor countries: they would save on scarce capital resources and foreign exchange. Moreover, increased labour absorption into productive and more humane activities would raise the incomes of the poor which would, in turn, increase their acquisition and consumption of the basic necessities of life and thereby promote greater equity and better health.

2.2.5.1 Why the basic needs are not met

In spite of the unprecedented growth in the world's economy in recent years, the number of people suffering from deprivation of the basic needs has grown

at an astronomical rate and destitution is widespread (McNamara, 1976). The destitute, in this context, are the people who do not have adequate access to basic human needs such as food, clothing, decent shelter, health care and education. This embarrassing fallacy of development offends humanitarian instincts and needs urgent solution.

The situation is blamed on the skewness in the distribution of factors of production (especially land in the Third World), mass unemployment and rapid population growth. Besides, there are other reinforcing mechanisms which ensure that the basic needs are not met. Owing to market forces (e.g. profits) economic activity is geared towards the production of luxury goods needed and consumed by rich people. In most instances, the supply of the basic goods needed by the poor does not commensurate with the demand for them because implicit in neo-classical economic theory, the market value of the destitute is zero.

In the Third World, the domestic pattern of production is distorted towards the production of minerals and cash crops for export, and away from the production of basic necessities (e.g. foodstuffs). However, the terms of trade of Third World products, usually primary products, fluctuate considerably. They are therefore unable to guarantee their exchange entitlement to basic necessities through international trade (Lee, 1981).

The provision of infrastructural services is also biased to suit the tastes and preferences of the rich in the form of airports, freeways, teaching hospitals and expensive technical education. Essential services such as preventive medicine, health care and education for the poor receive little attention although they are in the majority. These mechanisms render inequality self-reinforcing in the Third World. Infrastructural services are socially provided therefore an increase in the levels of income of the poor would not necessarily grant increased access to them if their availability is not increased.

2.2.5.2 Satisfying the basic needs

The satisfaction of the basic needs of the majority of the people in the shortest possible time would require state intervention to introduce fundamental changes in the pattern of development and the use of productive resources. The basic needs approach regards redistribution with growth as an integral aspect of the strategy. Redistribution with growth seeks to gradually eliminate poverty and create egalitarian societies through marginal transfers of incremental incomes and assets generated through growth (Ghai, 1977). The proponents of the strategy identify the lack of productive assets as the principal cause of poverty and inequality. It is therefore argued that the redistribution process should generate assets for the poor people, for instance, landless farm labourers, subsistence farmers, unemployed people and those in the informal sector in the urban centres. Such an amendment in the *status quo* would make the satisfaction of the basic needs self-sustaining.

Some elements of selectivity should be introduced into the system of production and distribution. The proponents of the concept advocate a shift in the composition of output away from luxuries towards necessities; and secondly, “attention should be focused on getting specific goods and services to specific groups, instead of relying only on income growth” (Lee, 1981:116). There is also a need to adjust the pattern of international trade to render it consistent with a new pattern of production under the basic needs strategy. According to Streeten (1977), these measures should be supplemented by the adoption of family planning techniques to reduce population growth.

The basic needs should be determined and catered for by the people at the local level: this would ensure greater self-reliance and sustainability of the process. Self reliance at the community level requires decentralisation of authority to the local communities to guarantee that the interests and preferences of the poor masses are fully taken into account in determining

their needs. The establishment of needs at the national level should flow from a consolidation and ordering of the needs as reflected directly by the people at the local level. In this connection, the basic needs strategy coincides with the 'bottom-up' strategy which stresses the importance of spatial aspects of development.

The local communities usually lack adequate knowledge of the full range of options available in expressing their preferences for the basic needs and services. In this regard, the observance of fundamental human rights is very necessary: it allows free flow of information and enables the people to join associations to be informed, and collectively press for their needs and privileges. It also gives the people the opportunity to change political leaders through free and fair elections when necessary, especially when the conditions necessary for the satisfaction of human basic needs are breached by political authorities. Human rights are inalienable and should not be violated in anyway by the satisfaction of the basic needs.

2.2.5.3 Summary

Superficially, the basic needs strategy is laudable because it considers the various factors which affect the well-being of people, and it also incorporates some elements of other strategies of development. It is therefore not surprising that it constitutes the cornerstone of the RDP (African National Congress, 1994). However, it does not offer simple short cut solutions for mass poverty and deprivation. The socio-economic conditions in the Third World present formidable obstacles to attaining the objectives of the strategy. For instance, decentralisation of authority encourages dissident and secessionist activities; and socio-economic restructuring is vehemently resisted by centralised bureaucracy and the structures instituted by the 'centre-down' development strategy.

In the former Transkei, there is no evidence of the adoption of the basic needs strategy: the development process is determined by the central authorities and is based primarily on the growth pole concept. The distribution of basic needs and services is centralised, lacks self-sustaining mechanisms and is the prerogative of the central authorities. Hence the basic needs of the peripheral populations are poorly catered for.

2.3 CONCLUSION

The development paradigms considered above are conceptual constructs which in practice rarely occur in pure form. The real world situations are highly interactive, hence development strategies consist of a mix of elements of these paradigms. In different national or regional situations, and also temporal sequence, there are considerable variations in the composition of these elements.

Of all the theories of rural development considered above the growth pole strategy is the approach which has been widely applied in the former Transkei. Investments and industries were concentrated in the few urban centres with the hope that development impetus would be generated and spread to the hinterlands. Unfortunately, the hope could not materialise because of the poor system of the hierarchy of settlements and inadequate infrastructure and communication network. In addition, the territory lacked adequate financial resources and could establish only a few industries in three enclaves, namely Umtata, Butterworth and Ezibeleni.

There is no concrete evidence which suggests that the 'bottom-up' approach was adopted by the former territorial government as a development strategy. Although the planning authorities appreciated the potential of the approach as long ago as the early 1980s (Republic of Transkei, 1983), they were preoccupied with the growth pole policy which was being pursued by their

mentors in South Africa. The 'bottom-up' strategy takes the development process to the rural communities: it encourages the rural people to formulate, plan and implement community development projects based on local resources and expertise. The strategy thus requires a measure of decentralisation of authority and decision-making. The most conspicuous feature of administration in the former Transkei was overcentralisation of authority in Umtata because of the need to suppress the activities of the opponents of the 'homeland' system. Obviously the 'bottom-up' strategy could not have been successful in the territory. The strategy was popularised in the former Transkei by NGOs.

The secondary city approach was not considered as an appropriate strategy for development in the sub-region. The strategy requires settlements with internal growth potentials and inhabited by a minimum of 50 000 people. None of the settlements in the former Transkei apart from the three industrial centres possessed the basic requirements of the approach. The approach could therefore not be applied.

Limited attempts were made to apply the integrated rural development strategy. The application of the strategy was limited to specific projects (e.g. agricultural development and irrigation schemes). It could not be employed on a national scale because of the multidisciplinary nature of the structures and coordination it requires.

Lastly, the basic needs strategy was not pursued anywhere in the territory. The basic needs and services were distributed by the central authorities in Umtata based on the growth pole approach. In most cases, the basic needs and services were supplied to the communities which displayed unquestionable support for the former bantustan regimes. Consequently, the basic needs of most of the peripheral communities were not satisfied. The effectiveness of the growth pole policy, integrated rural development strategy and the basic needs

approach in solving the socio-economic problems of the rural people in the former Transkei is considered in the rest of the study. These three strategies are central to the RDP thinking.

CHAPTER 3

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY AREA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Xalanga is the poorest and most neglected district in South Africa's largest ex-homeland of Transkei. The conditions prevailing in the district cannot be understood in isolation, and without recourse to historical literature. Firstly, it is located in the second poorest province in the country, the Eastern Cape Province; and secondly, the sub-region of former Transkei, within which the district is situated, was neglected and starved financially by the successive South African regimes operating under the apartheid policy (Keyter, 1994). At independence, the government of the former homeland used the limited resources to develop the relatively more prosperous centres such as Umtata, Butterworth, Ezibeleni and Qamata, thereby neglecting Xalanga District. Dilapidated buildings, hopelessness, drunkenness and unemployment which are widespread in the district are some of the manifestations of decades of neglect and maladministration.

It is the degree of deprivation and its effect in the district which motivated the researcher to embark on this study to identify the ways and means of redressing the problems which prevent the residents from realising their potentials. The introduction of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) by the Government of National Unity (GNU) after the 1994 April general elections was particularly welcome by the inhabitants of the district; they saw it as a way of redressing the past imbalances in the distribution of the national wealth.

3.2 HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS OF XALANGA DISTRICT

The district was first settled by white farmers and traders from the Cape Colony in the second half of the nineteenth century. Later in 1884, they were

followed by administrators and Cala was established as a magistracy. The Xalanga area was proclaimed a district in 1874 (Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa, 1978). Colonial rule was thus imposed over the area in the late nineteenth century and it became part of the Transkei which was administered successively by agents of the Cape Colony and South African state between the late 1860s and 1950s when the territory became a semi-autonomous enclave (self-governing state) within South Africa (Beinart and Bundy, 1987). At the time of colonisation, the Xalanga area was sparsely populated, and the local Xhosa tribes lived in dispersed villages which surround Cala where the whites settled². The name Xalanga was derived from the Xhosa word *ixalanga*, the generic name for vultures, which once abounded here.

The natives of the district are of the Southern Nguni stock and speak a common language, Xhosa. The Xhosas are thought to have migrated from East Africa between A.D. 300 and 500 (Earle et al. 1985). The relics of early human settlement and occupation in the district are the paintings and drawings in the caves in Tiwani (North-west of Cala). The Thembus, the predominant Xhosa tribe settled in the district first; they were later followed by the Mfengus. To an outsider, there is no significant difference between these two tribes because they speak a common language and appear to observe common norms, customs and rituals.

Initially, the white settlers pursued isolationist policies aimed at preventing the natives from Western influences. They tried to prevent firstly, missionaries (especially Roman Catholic) from establishing bases in the district, and secondly, the extension of railway services to Cala (Keyter, 1994). However, they were less successful in preventing missionaries from operating in the district because from 1884 onwards, the Roman Catholic missionaries

² Personal communication with Mr. Msengana, a native of Xalanga District and History teacher at Matanzima Senior Secondary School on 05 November 1995.

successfully established a number of mission farms in Xalanga. Later, the Wesleyan and Anglican Missionaries, Dutch Reform Church (now United Reform Church), Baptist and the Pentecostal churches also established bases throughout the district. The settlers somehow succeeded in preventing the extension of railway services to Cala. Their fear was that the railway workers would bring with them 'socialist' and 'communist' influences into the district. Eventually, the railway station was located on the north-western border with Elliot, about fifteen kilometres from Cala.

The advent of missionaries and their ideologies, like elsewhere in Southern Africa, introduced a division among the natives which assumed complex and enduring forms. The cleavage was between *amaqaba* (conservatives) and *amagqobhoka* (progressives). The *amaqaba* were the 'heathens' who resisted the ideas and practices introduced by the missionaries: they tried to protect their African identity. They painted themselves with clay, often of red colour, hence they were referred to as the 'Red People' (Meyer, 1980). Since the late 1970's the *amaqaba* cultures have been heavily diluted by the spread of urban-influenced cultures, tastes and preferences into the countryside. The *amagqobhoka* were the converts of christianity who accepted western education; they were thus called the 'School People'. The rural elite emerged mainly from the 'School People' who aspired to Western civilisation and greater mobility in terms of education, occupation and incomes (Beinart and Bundy, 1987).

Like in Pondoland (Beinart, 1982), the Thembuland's penetration by merchants, missionaries, magistrates and labour recruiters shaped the socio-economic life of its inhabitants. According to Beinart and Bundy (1987:2), the ideology, interests and activities of these groups of settlers eventually determined "what they [natives] produced and consumed, how they worked and for whom, what patterns of authority and power they recognised and how they sought to alter these". The process entrenched and deepened labour

migrancy that has structured social relationships for virtually a century, diminished the ability of the majority of the people to produce sufficient food for subsistence and intensified state control and constraints in everyday life.

This development is neither an accident of history nor the choice of the people; rather it is the consequence of deliberate policies initiated and executed by the settler regimes throughout Southern Africa, often accomplished through military conquest (Meyer, 1980; Davenport, 1986). During the precolonial times, traditional rural structures, to which land was central, were able to sustain the rural African population at a reasonable standard of living. The traditional rural structures refer to the elements in the rural production system which existed prior to the recent history of colonisation and modernisation. Colonial and capitalist distortions drastically reduced the capacity of these structures to sustain the rural communities, rendering the rural population impoverished (Mabogunje, 1980).

The situation in the former Transkei was worsened by the forcible concentration of the Africans in dry and barren areas called 'reserves' (Native Land Act of 1913): the 'reserves' later constituted the bases of the bantustan (Beinart and Bundy, 1987). This partly explains the fragmentation of the territory of the former Transkei (Brooks, 1993). The creation of the 'reserves' Brooks argued, made native resistance less coherent and thus less effective. The rationale behind the Native Land Act of 1913 was two-fold. Firstly, it was designed to make land available for appropriation by white settlers. Unlike the conditions in Lesotho, this objective was achieved quite easily because the resistance of the Africans was weakened by the Act in the former Transkei, and also land appropriation was conducted through the Mfengus, the allies of the settlers (Beinart and Bundy, 1987; Brooks, 1993). Secondly, it was intended to induce the Africans to provide cheap labour for the settlers.

After the discovery of minerals and the introduction of industrial capitalism into South Africa, the demand for labour became paramount and insatiable and has dominated the relations between whites and blacks ever since (Meyer, 1980). The displaced young and energetic Africans migrated to the urban centres (mainly white settlements) and white farms to look for employment. They were de-agrarianised and proletarianised in the process. Agriculture in the rural areas (African periphery) was left in the hands of old and aged people, mostly women. The rural population was pauperised and had to rely on meagre remittances from the poorly paid migrant workers. The migrant labour system still persists in the former bantustans and the African communities in general.

The period between the establishment of colonial rule in the former Transkei and the creation of the bantustans in the early 1950s was marked by revolts and struggles for land in the rural areas (Davenport, 1986). The settler agrarian barons exerted much control and influence in the rural areas. The Africans in the urban centres protested against their living and working conditions. The protests often resulted in sporadic and spontaneous revolts and clashes with the authorities (Mandela, 1994). The experience of the migrant workers diffused into the African periphery: efforts were made to mobilise the people for collective political action to reverse the processes which cause their impoverishment. The state with its coercive apparatus maintained the *status quo*. The whites progressed by capitalising on their comparative but unfair advantage to entrench their positions and improve their living conditions. The areas where the whites settled thus ascended as cradles of economic development. The whites in Xalanga District, for instance, established trading posts and farms throughout the district but developed infrastructural services and facilities only at Cala where they resided.

As the elders of the district recall, Xalanga was economically more prosperous and viable than Elliot (a nearby former white settlement) in the 1950s and 1960s. It was a renowned producer of fruits especially peaches, apricots and plums and also potatoes. The infrastructural services of Cala were equally developed : it had “two banks, a town hall, magistrate's courts, a prison, central bus station, a football stadium, good schools, two hotels, wide tree-lined streets and annual flower competitions” (Keyter, 1994:5). It is not surprising that in the years preceding the grant of independence to the sub-region of former Transkei, Cala was designated as the future capital of the territory.

Contrary to the expectation of the inhabitants of the district, later events assumed a downward trend. Both Cala and the district declined so steeply that today little evidence of its earlier prosperity and glory remains. Cala was a white municipality up to 1976 when the territory attained independence. At independence, the whites and some of the coloureds who formed the economic backbone of the district left. The political authorities of the then independent Transkei neglected the district as a result of the political opposition of the people of Xalanga to the ‘homelands system’, and the stubborn resistance of the people of Emnxe to the installation of Chief K.D. Matanzima (the then Chief Minister and later Prime Minister and President of the territory) as the Paramount chief of Emigrant Thembuland of which Xalanga forms a part. Social and political upheavals ensued between 1956 and 1988 and most of the local resistant leaders were detained, killed or had to flee to escape detention or banishment (Dingiswayo, 1992). Thus the events in the period prior to and after independence in Xalanga brought socio-economic disaster to the district and its people.

3.3 PHYSICAL BACKGROUND

3.3.1 Location and extent

The district of Xalanga occupies the south-western portion of the sub-region of former Transkei in the Eastern Cape Province of the Republic of South Africa (Figure 1.1). It is located between latitudes $31^{\circ}24'S$ and $31^{\circ}47'S$, and longitudes $27^{\circ}25'E$ and $27^{\circ}51'E$. The impoverished district is hidden away in the south-western outlying hills of the Drakensberg Range.

It shares the north-western and north-eastern borders with the relatively more prosperous districts of Indwe and Elliot (formerly white areas in South Africa) respectively; and to the east is the district of Engcobo. It is bordered in the west and south by Cacadu and St. Marks (Cofimvaba) districts respectively (Figure 1.2).

The nearest urban centre, Queenstown, is 102 km away from Cala, while Umtata, the former territorial administrative capital is 145 km distant to the south-east. Xalanga district covers a total surface area of approximately 963 square kilometres.

3.3.2 Topography, geology and drainage

The landscape is characterised by high mountains and deeply incised valleys (Plate 3). About 75% of the area is mountainous or hilly, and only 25% is either flat or gently undulating. The altitude ranges from 1400m in the west and north-west to 1700m in the east and south-west (Figure 3.1). Cala stands at an altitude of 1180m above seal level. The high-lying grounds are found to the east of Cala, Qiba, Mtingwevu and Hota-Mbeula. The lowland is found to the east and west of the Tsomo River. It is about a kilometre in width in the south and stretches up to approximately ten kilometres in width to the south-west of Cala.



Plate 3 Mountains and Valleys in Ngwalana (Qiba)



Plate 4 The offices of the District Magistrate, Cala

The physiology of the district has been shaped by the processes of uplift and erosion (Transkei Agricultural Study, 1991). The period of uplift was followed by a long period of quiescence in tectonic activities and prolonged erosion. These processes resulted in the formation of Xalanga Basin (on which Cala is situated), retreating escarpments flanking the basin and deep valleys found elsewhere in the district.

Sedimentary rocks are the most common rock type in the district, evident from rock outcrops and cliffs. The oldest building structures in the district were constructed with sedimentary rocks (Plate 4). These rocks are of the Karoo system and the most common types are sandstone and shale. There are significant amounts of deposits of recent alluvium along the Tsomo River which are quarried for construction. Patches of dolomite formations are found at Hota-Mbeula. Uneconomic deposits of low-grade coal occur at Lupapasi (on the border with Indwe). The coal is mined by the locals to provide domestic fuel for cooking and heating.

Tsomo River is the most important river draining the district because it is the only perennial river, although it dries up during severe droughts. Its source lies in the foothills of Drakensberg Range north-west of Elliot. The river once abounded in trout which is now virtually extinct owing to pollution and recurrent droughts. The major tributaries of the Tsomo River are spring-fed and flow intermittently because the springs dry up in the dry season. They include Cala, Emnxe, Mtingwevu and Ku-Hota Rivers which take their sources from the outlying highlands of the Drakensberg Range in the district (Figure 3.1). The Tsomo River is dammed at Ncorah in Cofimvaba District to the south of Xalanga to produce water for irrigation and the generation of hydro-electric power.

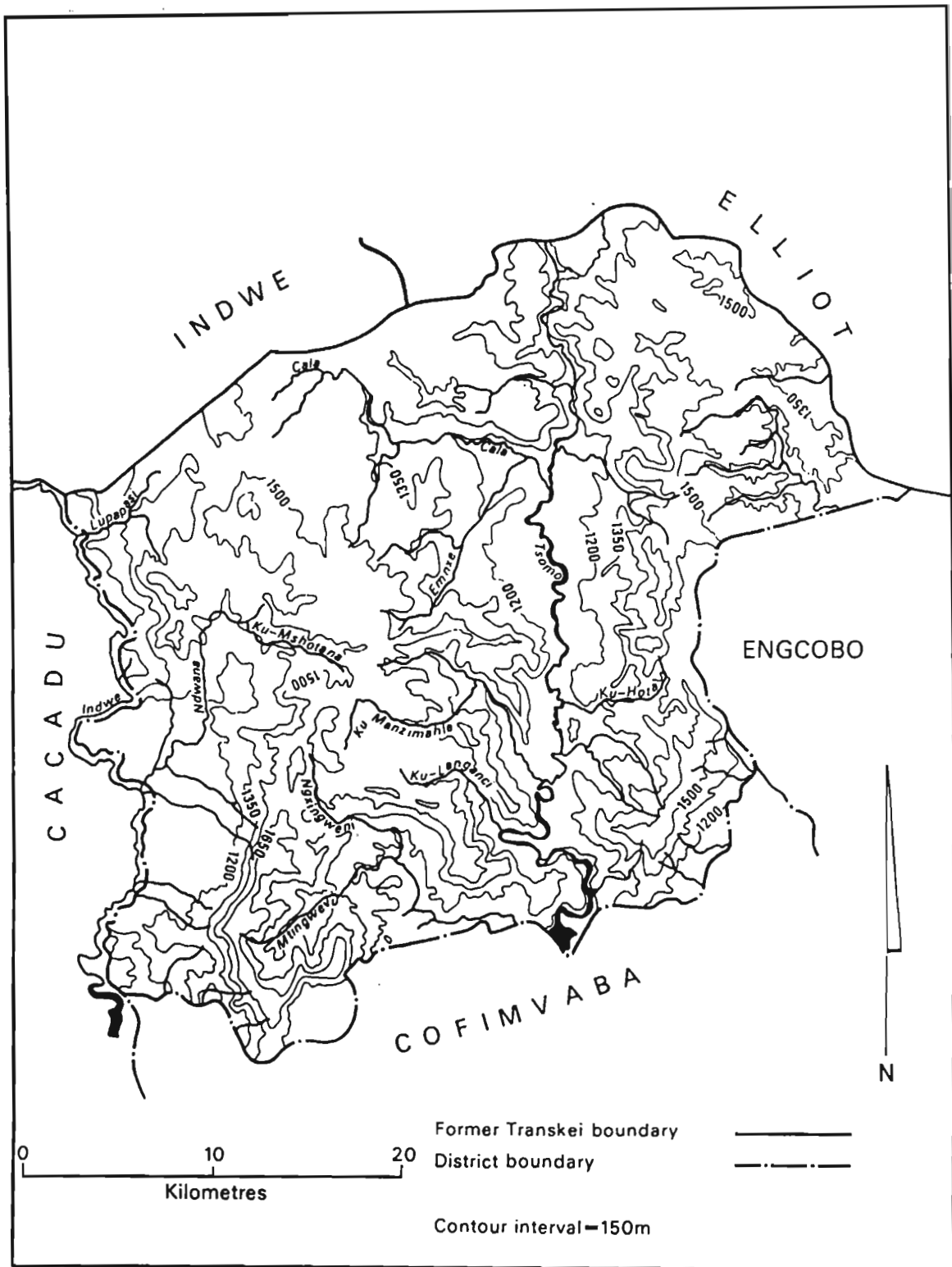


Plate 3.1 Xalanga District - Relief and Drainage

3.3.3 Climate

Xalanga District is located on the Great Escarpment in the interior of former Transkei. It thus experiences cool (temperate) continental type of climate. Thunderstorms are common (70 days per year) (Higginbottom, 1995); they bring rain and hail. Most of the rain falls in summer (from October to March); however it is unreliable in amount and distribution. The effectiveness of the rainfall is diminished by high run-off, high summer temperatures and warm Berg winds. The area is very dry with the average annual rainfall varying between 580mm and 800mm. It is one of the driest areas in the sub-region of former Transkei. This may be explained by its location in the rainshadow zone of the Drakensberg Range, and the domination of the atmospheric circulation by anticyclones for most part of the year. Recurrent droughts are a common feature. Snow occasionally falls in winter on the high-lying grounds, especially in the mountains to the east and north-east of Cala, and in Manzimahle, Ndwana and Qiba (Plate 5). It is caused by eastward moving frontal depressions which invade the sub-region in winter.

Summer is generally hot with January and February being the hottest months. The average summer temperature is 27°C. Winters are very cold. The mean winter temperature is 14°C. The lowest temperature is recorded in July when the level of the mercury occasionally drops to 4°C (Computing Centre for Water Research, Records for Cala 1960-1963). Frost is common in winter, occurring between early May and late August.

The district experiences extremes of temperature conditions because it is cut off from the moderating influence of the Indian Ocean in the east by the Drakensberg Range, and the Atlantic Ocean is too far. Thus, Cala situated in the relatively low-lying Xalanga Basin and almost surrounded by high mountains, experiences very low temperatures in winter with frost and high temperatures in excess of 35°C in summer.

Generally, winds of low to moderate speed and variable direction blow. However in August and early September, the district comes under the influence of strong south-westerly winds.

3.3.4 Natural vegetation

The natural vegetation consists mainly of grassy veld (Southern Tall Grassveld type) which extends over the entire district (Transkei Agricultural Development Study, 1991). The grassy veld is nutritious and thus suitable for grazing. In overgrazed and cultivated areas, the grass is dominated by less nutritious species. Because of overgrazing, the grass is relatively short and erosion occurs on the footslopes of the mountains. Besides, it has encouraged the encroachment of bush on the grassy veld.

Light forests are found along river valleys. The upper slopes of the mountains are dominated by Mesic Succulent Thicket (Valley Bushveld) and the False Thornveld of the Eastern Cape thrives on the middle and lower slopes (Higginbottom, 1995).

Thorn-bushes (e.g. Acacia and Caffra) occur in patches throughout the plains in the district; however, most have been cleared and burnt as domestic fuel. The poor plant cover has resulted in heavy silt load of the Tsomo River and its tributaries especially in the rainy season. Almost every drainage channel is gullied to the bedrock. There are a few permanent springs left to provide for stream flow in the dry season.

3.3.5. Soils and soil erosion

The topsoil consists primarily of sandy loam, interspersed with patches of heavy clay soils, which overlie slightly weathered bedrock. The topsoil is thin along steep slopes, the depth of which is evident along road cuttings. In the

grassland areas and on the plains, it is relatively deep (800mm) and in the low-lying areas, especially along the Tsomo River, it is more than a metre thick (Higginbottom, 1995). It is highly permeable and its moisture retention capacity is rather low.

The subsoils adjacent to the river channels are moderately permeable to impermeable. They become waterlogged during the wet season. They are therefore likely to become saline when irrigated and would require artificial drainage. In the hilly areas (e.g. Askeaton, Mazimahle and Ndwana), the surface is strewn with stones and rock outcrops.

Soil erosion is a severe problem in the district. The contributing factors are overstocking, the long and steep slopes of the mountains, occasional rainstorms and the erodible nature of the soils. Gullies scar the landscape especially along the channels of the non-perennial streams and the steep slopes of the mountains. Most of the banks of the streams have collapsed. Sheet and rill erosion is conspicuous in the overgrazed areas and where the plant cover disappeared during the recent drought. To date, no soil or environmental conservation measures have been introduced anywhere in the district although the Cala Structure Plan (1980) specifically indicated that such measures would be introduced. This observation is quite surprising because the whole motivation behind the betterment planning was to slow down soil erosion. The absence of anti-erosion walls in the entire district is an indication of the fact that the policy was not executed in the spirit of development. This confirms the popular belief that it was meant to punish those who fell out of favour with the authorities.



Plate 5 Snow on the High-lying lands in Qiba

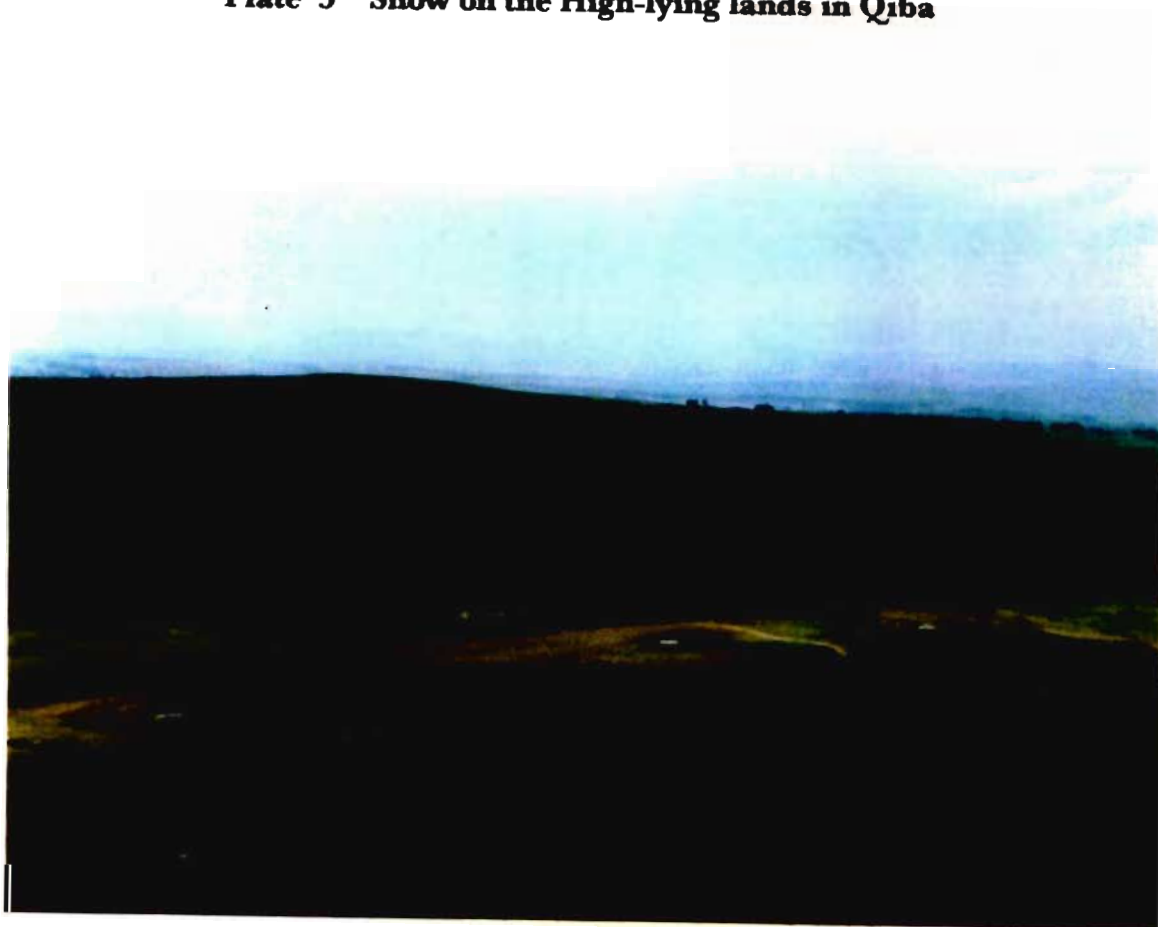


Plate 6 Rural Settlements in Lupapasi

3.4 HUMAN BACKGROUND

3.4.1 Size and composition of population

The estimated population of Xalanga District is 100 000 people³ spread across twenty administrative areas. The population is mainly African with the Xhosas as the predominant group. In the peri-urban and rural areas, the population is homogeneous in that it is composed of local Xhosa tribes and clans with an infinitesimal number of migrants, mostly traders and farm labourers from the adjoining districts and neighbouring countries (e.g. Lesotho and Malawi).

The population of Cala is relatively heterogeneous with the natives of Xalanga constituting over 90% of the total population. The non-natives are migrants from other parts of the country, Mozambique, Lesotho, Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda, India and Sri Lanka. The migrants are mostly employed by the government as doctors, nurses and teachers, and a few are engaged in commerce.

There are only two white men (ministers of United Reform Church) and their families who reside in the district but nineteen whites and a Chinese operate businesses (mainly retail shops) at Cala. These businessmen reside at Elliot and commute on a daily basis. The only settlement in the district worthy of describing as a town, and for that matter an urban centre, is Cala. It is the administrative centre, the seat of the district magisterial court and houses various government offices.

3.4.2 Population density and distribution

The population density of Xalanga District is estimated as 108,1 persons per square kilometre. It however varies considerably from one area to another.

³ There is no accurate current data for the district. The 1991 population was 92 391 people (de jure). The Town Clerk and the District Commissioner estimate the total population of Xalanga to be approximately 100 000 people.

Of the total resident population, 50,6% falls into the age groups 0-19 years, which compares favourably with the former Transkei national average of 56,5 % (Republic of Transkei, 1992). The concentration of the population in the age groups below 20 years is partly the result of the migrant labour system and teenage pregnancy. Of the people in these age groups, 52,1% are the children of migrant workers who live with their grandparents and guardians, and 33,3 % of the mothers who delivered at Cala General Hospital in 1996 were aged below 20 years⁴. This phenomenon has far-reaching implications for the district's economy in particular.

Table 3.1 Age/Gender breakdown of the total population of the communities surveyed (excluding migrants)

Age group	Males (%)	Females (%)	TOTAL (n=1499) (%)
0 - 9	24,2	22,9	23,6
10 - 19	25,9	27,9	27,0
20 - 29	15,8	20,8	18,2
30 - 39	9,8	11,9	10,9
40 - 49	6,7	7,6	7,2
50 - 59	6,6	5,8	5,7
60 - 69	4,4	5,0	4,7
70 and above	2,5	3,0	2,7

Firstly, the preponderance of young people in the population implies a high rate of dependency. It indicates that a relatively small active labour force provides for and supports a large number of unproductive people. Under such conditions, the probability of widespread poverty is high because the people cannot save any significant proportions of their earnings. The reality

⁴ Record of births in 1996, Cala General Hospital, Cala

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40 - 49	6,7	7,6	7,2
50 - 59	6,6	5,8	5,7
60 - 69	4,4	5,0	4,7
70 and above	2,5	3,0	2,7

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⁴ Record of births in 1996, Cala General Hospital, Cala

of the situation is best grasped when one considers the fact, as it came to light during the survey, that some of the migrant workers send little or no remittances to their families left behind.

Secondly, the social and infrastructural services (e.g. educational, health care and recreational facilities) required by the young people are always in short supply. Consequently, the infrastructural services needed to boost the economy of the district cannot be adequately provided for. For instance, 37,1% of the R7 000 000 the Eastern Cape Government allocated to Cala Municipality for the development of infrastructural services (e.g. water and roads) in 1996 was used for renovating and upgrading the Arthur Tsengiwe College of Education to increase its capacity to accommodate more students.⁵

Thirdly, child delinquency is a widespread problem in the district. The grandparents and the guardians of the children of the migrant workers cannot exercise effective parental control over the young people. They loiter in the streets and hang around public drinking bars and shebeens. Thus it is not surprising that 12,6% of the criminals apprehended by the South African Police at Cala for offences including theft, assault, rape and murder were between 12 and 19 years old.⁶ Besides, the pass rate at matriculation examination is very low. In 1995, 35,7 % of the school candidates who sat for matriculation examination passed, a figure which is far below the provincial rate of 49,7%.⁷

Lastly, there is an urgent need to expand employment opportunities because as the young people grow up and enter the labour market, the incidence of unemployment is likely to mount. Alternatively, the planners could delay

⁵ Personal Communication with Cala Town Clerk Mr Soga on 25 February 1997

⁶ Record of arrests in 1996 from Cala Police Station

⁷ Department of Education, Sports and Culture, Cala office, (1995).

entrance of the youth to the labour market by offering incentives to pursue further education and training.

Table 3.2 illustrates the gender and age structure of the total population of the administrative areas surveyed. Of the active labour force (20-59 age groups), 54,2% consists of females. The sex ratio is reminiscent of that of a country permanently at war and clearly linked to the entrenched migrant labour system. The preponderance of females in the population reflects the overall trend of the population structure of the sub-region of former Transkei. In 1991, for instance, females constituted 62,4% of the total potential labour force of the sub-region (Republic of Transkei, 1992). The imbalance in the sex ratio is probably the result of more permanent emigration of males from the areas: higher male mortality rates are unlikely to account for the high concentration of females in the population.

3.4.4. **Gender structure of the population**

Table 3.2 Age/sex ratios for the total population (excluding migrants)

Age group	Males (%)	Females (%)
0 - 9	49,9	50,1
10 - 19	46,5	53,5
20 - 29	44,7	55,3
30 - 39	43,6	56,4
40 - 49	45,4	54,6
50 - 59	47,7	52,3
60 - 69	45,1	54,9
70 and above	43,9	56,1

TOTAL: n = 1499

The low male/female ratio further reduces potential labour supply, especially farm labour. The conventional role of men in the traditional set up is to plough the fields and take care of the livestock. Hence the low male/female ratio imposes additional constraints on agricultural development, thereby retarding the potential of the people in the rural areas to be self-sufficient in food production. In the real rural situation, the pressure on women is enormous: they bear the burden of production besides their household tasks.

Rural development planners must take full cognizance of the preponderance of females in the population because the majority of the participants in rural development programmes are likely to be women. For example, 81,2 % of the people employed by Health Care Trust (HCT) to execute its rural development programmes are women. Moreover 97,0 % of the Community Health Workers trained in Qolombeni Tribal Area by the HCT is made up of women.⁸ In this case, women execute development programmes and utilise development assistance.

Lastly, the social effect of the low male/female ratio is apparent and widespread. Marriage is accorded dignity and respect in the traditional African society. Unfortunately most of the women are without husbands and are often abused by the men. They drown their anger and frustration in liquor.

3.4.5. Levels of education

The educational silhouette of the population of the areas surveyed is presented in Tables 3.3 and 3.4. Close examination of the tables reveals three characteristics of the district's levels of education.

⁸ Data supplied by the Coordinator of Community Health Workers of HCT, Cala

The profile of the standards of education is not satisfactory in comparison to other former Transkei districts: 21,5% of the respondents had had no form of formal education at all; and a further 32,5% had only had inadequate formal education to retain a reasonable degree of literacy. At least five years of formal education is required before an operational degree of literacy is retained permanently (May, 1984). The high drop-out rate reduces the real long-term benefit of education. The low levels of education retard the spread of modernisation and significantly reduce the ability of the rural population to participate in local development projects which require some degree of literacy and numeracy. The underdevelopment of the district and the consequent underutilization of labour can partly be attributed to the low rate of literacy. It prevents the rural people from improving their standards of living because the well-paid jobs require at least matriculation. The implication is that, at best, only 9,7 % of the total population of the communities sampled can participate in the process of nation building.

Table 3.3 Educational levels of respondents

Level of education	Males (%)	Females (%)	TOTAL (%)
No education	18,1	24,5	21,5
Std 1 - 2	13,8	9,4	11,5
Std 3 - 4	24,5	17,9	21,0
Std 5 - 6	12,8	23,6	18,5
Std 7 - 8	9,6	11,3	10,5
Std 9 - 10	14,9	7,5	11,0
Post Matric	6,4	5,7	6,0
TOTAL : n = 200	47,0	53,0	100,0

The low rate of literacy recorded may be partly the consequence of poor primary educational facilities: each of the five administrative areas surveyed has a poorly equipped and overcrowded primary and junior secondary schools. Only Qiba has a senior secondary school which in itself is a mockery of an educational institution. This limits the ability of the people to attain higher educational levels because primary education represents the first step towards any educational achievement. In addition, the lack of employment opportunities in the district for educated people does not encourage the people to go to school.

Women are slightly better educated than men. Of the men sampled, 43,6% had had sufficient formal education as compared with 56,4% of the women. The low rate of literacy among the male population is the consequence of the socio-economic demands made on the time of the young boys to herd livestock. The labour of the young boys is most needed during the early part of the wet season (between October and November), when herding is very important to prevent livestock from grazing on crops. This period, unfortunately, coincides with the end of the year examinations. Hence the higher drop-out rate among the male population. Furthermore, the young men from poor families are more likely to be induced to leave school and seek employment than their female counterparts. They aspire to support their families and accumulate sufficient capital which would eventually enable them establish households.

Finally, the migrants are better educated than those who remain behind (see Table 3.4). The better educated young men have a higher propensity to migrate because of the likelihood of securing better jobs. The absenteeism of the educated young males limits the development potential of the district.

Table 3.4 Educational levels of respondents and migrants

Level of education	Respondents (%)	Migrants (%)	TOTAL (%)
No education	21,5	5,2	13,1
Std 1 - 2	11,5	7,5	9,4
Std 3 - 4	21,0	12,2	16,5
Std 5 - 6	18,5	20,7	19,6
Std 7 - 8	10,5	17,4	14,0
Std 9 - 10	11,0	23,5	17,4
Post Matric	6,0	13,6	10,0

TOTAL : n = 413

3.4.6 Occupational distribution of the population

The occupational structure of the population gives a gist of the socio-economic conditions prevailing in Xalanga District. The source of income (occupations) of the sample illustrated in Table 3.5. indicates that the district is underdeveloped, symbolised by the absence of manufacturing industries and the severe shortage of employment. The district lacks modern infrastructural services and skilled manpower; consequently the Eastern Cape Development Corporation (ECDA), formerly known as Transkei Development Corporation (TDC), attracts investors to the growth points of the sub-region (e.g. Umtata, Butterworth and Ezibeleni) to the detriment of Xalanga. The unemployed constitute 23% of the total active labour force in the communities surveyed, which is better than the average of the former homeland which is around 50,1% (Keyter, 1994). The economically active labour force in this context is

composed of individuals aged between 20 and 59 years who are available for employment.

The intolerably high rate of unemployment is caused by three principal factors. The proximity of the district to the farming regions in the former white South Africa (e.g. Elliot, Ugie, Indwe and Dodrecht) is a major contributing factor. When the farm workers lose their jobs as a result of drought or farm mechanisation, they move back to the former Transkei. Most of the retrenched farm labourers settle in Xalanga because it is the nearest district. This influx consists of people with no money, no formal education, no skill and often with large families. The second group of the unemployed is made up of retrenched mine workers. Owing to the mass retrenchment of the mineworkers since 1987, many migrant workers (mostly labourers) have moved back to the district. They returned with little or no money because they are manual labourers with very little education and were therefore paid low wages. Consequently, on their return, they could not establish their own businesses. Unfortunately the already depressed local economy could not absorb them. The last group of the unemployed consists of young school leavers who could neither gain admission to tertiary institutions nor find employment elsewhere because of their poor performance at the matriculation examinations. The number of the unemployed school leavers increases annually because the pass rate is very low in the district.

The government is far and away the largest employer. It employs 12,5% of the sampled population. Those who describe themselves as government workers are largely concentrated in the hospital, schools and the few government departments in the district. The widespread lack of entrepreneurial skills and inadequate capital resources prevent the people from establishing sizeable private businesses to create local employment opportunities. None the less, private businesses constitute an important

Table 3.5 Occupational distribution of respondents

Employment/source of income	Percentage
Government workers	12,5
Private business (including informal sector)	6,0
Farmers	5,5
Pensioners	35,5
Housewives	3,0
Unemployed	23,0
Domestic Workers	1,5
Transport	2,5
General Labourers	8,5
Others (NGOs, cooks and shop assistants)	2,0
TOTAL (n = 200)	100,0

source of employment and income for 6% of the sample. This sector of the local economy is composed of the self-employed and the informal economic activities. The major employers are the wholesalers, supermarkets, cafes, hotels, dressmakers, auto-repair workshops, steel mongers, and the building industry. The general labourers who make up 8,5% of the sample are largely employed by the private businesses. The informal sector consists of petty traders who sell fruits and vegetables, snacks, jewellery and textiles along the streets and the major roads throughout the district. Some operate shebeens and spaza shops where basic groceries (e.g. cold drinks, salt, maize products and paraffin) are sold especially in the rural areas and in the informal settlements.

The transport industry employs 2,5% of the sample. They are bus, taxi and truck drivers and loaders. The taxi industry is very important because it is the only reliable means of transport for the rural commuters who visit Cala regularly to obtain services. As long ago as 1980, it was estimated that over 700 people visited Cala daily (Rosmarin, et al., 1980). Domestic service in the rural setting is an additional important source of employment for illiterate old women and men. The better-endowed people employ the women to keep their homes as maid servants whereas the men are employed to attend to their flower and vegetable gardens. This source of employment considerably reduces the rate of unemployment: 1,5% of the sample is made up of domestic workers.

Surprisingly, only 5,5% of the sample identified themselves as full-time farmers, who rely solely on incomes from agriculture. The communities surveyed exhibit a tendency to seek for jobs with regular remuneration. This suggests that they are gradually being proletarianized. The reason underlying this observation is that the district is extremely dry, hence large-scale full-time farming would require additional capital equipment for irrigation which the poverty-stricken rural population cannot afford. Moreover, 64% of the sample does not have enough land to enable them undertake farming on full time basis. The highest percentage of the sample, 35,5 % relies on pensions as the major source of income. Pensions of R750,00 are paid every alternative month. Unfortunately, only 46,7 % of the eligible elderly people receive a pension in Xalanga (Keyter, 1994), possibly because of illiteracy they are not aware of this right or do not know how to register for payment. The system should be overhauled and improved to ensure better distribution of income among the older households. Such a move would significantly increase the total income flow to the district and improve the standards of living because 36,0 % of the households sampled are headed by elderly people mostly women aged over 61 years.

There is a relatively low reliance on migrant remittances in Xalanga: only 20,5% of the sample relies on remittances from relatives working outside Xalanga for meeting the everyday needs for survival. This has accentuated the reliance of the households on pensions as the major source of income. The remittances from the migrant workers are not regular. Some households receive remittances once a year when the migrant workers return for holidays, usually between November and January. High rate of unemployment, meagre remittances, and the low percentage of the elderly people receiving pensions, have all conspired to make the Xalanga District the poorest in the former Transkei sub-region.

3.5. MIGRATION

Two forms of migration which influence the pattern of development in Xalanga District were identified during the survey, namely, migrant labour system and local migration of people from the surrounding villages to Cala.

3.5.1 Migrant labour system

This form of migration consists of people of Xalanga who work outside the district for a period of time and return home during holidays, the so-called migrant workers. Almost a quarter of the active labour force of the communities surveyed, 23,3% are migrants, working mainly in the manufacturing and mining industries on the Witwatersrand and agricultural and allied industries in the Western Cape because there are no job opportunities available in the district. They send remittances (either in cash or kind) to their families and relatives for survival. At the end of the contract, they return home, usually between November and January. Thus for a greater part of the year they are absent from the district. The migrant labour system is deeply entrenched in the district and has structured social relationships for almost a century.

This practice is undesirable because the district suffers loss of production factors which retards development potentials of the affected communities; moreover, it disrupts family life. This observation is exemplified by the fact that in Xalanga District where 23,3% of the active labour force who are better educated (Table 3.4) are migrant workers, only 20,5% of the households surveyed benefits from remittances. It, in part, explains the underdevelopment of the district (see Section 5.3.8).

3.5.2 Local migration

Since 1976, there has been a steady influx of people into Cala although employment opportunities are almost non-existent. At independence of former Transkei, the population of the town stood at 6660 people (Higginbottom, 1995). Within a period of three decades, the population has more than tripled: the Municipality estimates the current population of the town to be well over 20 000 people. The labour recruitment office of the Chamber of Mines in the town was closed in 1986, besides there are no industries to offer employment. It thus baffles Cala residents that people still stream into the town which becomes overcrowded when the migrant workers return during the Christmas holidays. The origins of the local migrants are the surrounding rural areas and the white-owned farms in Elliot and Indwe “where poverty and drought have become unbearable” (Bank, 1992:91). They happily join the substrata of the urban unemployed in the abiding hope of eventually finding a job in a better environment.

On their return, the retrenched mineworkers settle in Cala because of their exposure to urban life on the Witwatersrand. They are reluctant to move to the deep rural areas where the socio-economic environment is rather harsh, and seems backward to them.

The landless people who are discontented with the system of allocation of new residential sites in the rural areas migrate to Cala. The quest for residential sites has always been a source of tension between the younger generation on the one hand, and the chiefs and the headmen on the other. It is alleged that new residential sites are allocated to the favourites of the ruling classes.

Cala is an important educational centre in the district. The relatively better educational facilities attract immigrants especially from white-owned farms in Elliot and Indwe. They move into the town to enable their children to attend better schools.

The influx has created an acute shortage of housing in the town, and has offered the homeowners an opportunity for profiteering. In 1986, it was possible to rent a room for R50; as the years passed by, room rentals have skyrocketed to between R150 and R200. Houses for either renting or lease are virtually non-existent. The shortage of houses has compelled some well-to-do families to move to and reside in Elliot although the breadwinners work at Cala. To the poor and unemployed, informal squatter settlement is the only option. In June 1990, an informal settlement (later called Ndondo Square) sprang up on the commonage to the south-east of the town; later in 1993, another informal settlement called Phakamisani was established on the municipal land south-west of Cala (Figure 3.3).

The sudden increase in the population has created problems of environmental despoliation and pollution. The untarred streets and bushy green areas are covered in litter; the Municipality and existing resources cannot cope with the task of keeping the town clean. The residents of the informal settlements are clearing the trees on the commonage at an alarming rate to provide building materials and domestic fuel.

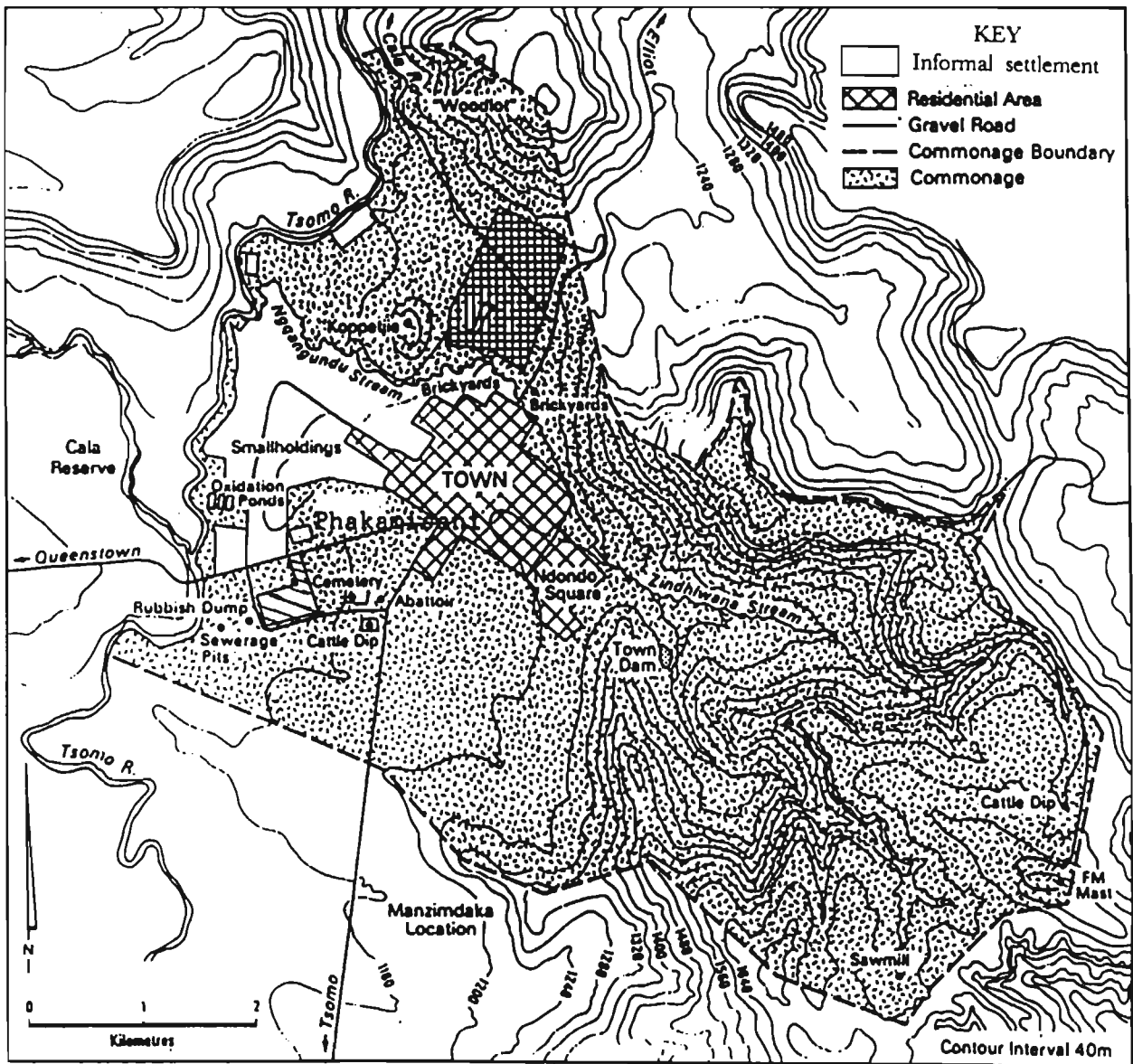


Figure 3.3 Informal Settlements on Cala Commonage

3.6 STRUCTURAL LINKAGES

The local economy of Xalanga is characterised by disarticulation and incoherence because there is neither spatial nor sectoral complementarity and reciprocity. A single economic activity takes place virtually throughout the district: over 94,5% of the sample are engaged in subsistence agriculture, be it pastoral or arable; and only 6% are engaged in private business (including the informal sector). Therefore the linkages in production between the rural communities, and the various sectors of the economy are extremely weak.

Linkages in this context refers to the capacity of one sector of the economy to stimulate and sustain growth in one or more sectors. For instance, a backward linkage occurs when the agricultural sector expands and the expansion encourages the allied industries to produce more agricultural inputs. The linkage can also go forward, for instance when the growth of the agricultural sector triggers off growth and expansion in the agro-based industries which use agricultural raw materials (Ake, 1981). Such linkages generate and propagate economic growth impulses throughout the economy. Unfortunately the rural communities in Xalanga, like elsewhere in the former Transkei, produce identical agricultural commodities, and as subsistence producers, they cannot supply and replenish the local shops with stock. Besides, there is no local industry to supply the farmers with inputs or use agricultural produce as raw materials.

When farmers produce to feed themselves by producing use-values as opposed to exchange-values, then there is necessarily some degree of disarticulation. It also implies that there is limited functional specialisation, a critical factor for unifying the various sectors of the economy as an organic whole. Thus the future growth and viability of the local economy can only take place in an environment of high linkages between the sectors. There is the need therefore to develop the potential of small-scale non-farm economic activities. The

farmers do not produce enough to feed the people of the district; even the goods consumed daily such as vegetables, meat and dairy products, are imported from other districts especially Queenstown, Elliot and Ncorah. Hence there is a high capital leakage from the district. The incomes reaching the households in the rural areas in the form of pensions and remittances, find their way to Cala, the main shopping centre. The shops obtain their stocks and supplies from the wholesalers in Elliot and Queenstown and from the industrial and agricultural regions of the country. The multiplier effects of the incomes reaching the district are thus felt elsewhere. In this case small-scale entrepreneurs are wiped out of the local economy.

3.7 POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION

Xalanga District is divided into twenty administrative units known as administrative areas (Figure 1.2). Cala and its immediate environs constitute a separate administrative unit known as Cala Municipality.

3.7.1 Administration in the former homeland areas

The administrative machinery of the administrative areas is headed by the district magistrate, however the district commissioner is directly in charge of administration. They represent both the provincial and national governments at the district level. They are appointed by and are accountable to the governments through the Department of Justice. They maintain law and order and coordinate and supervise development activities in the district.

Like elsewhere in the former Transkei, the district commissioner administers the administrative areas indirectly through a system of chiefs and headmen, a legacy inherited from the apartheid era and before. A wide range of powers and functions are devolved to these structures in the rural areas. This tier of

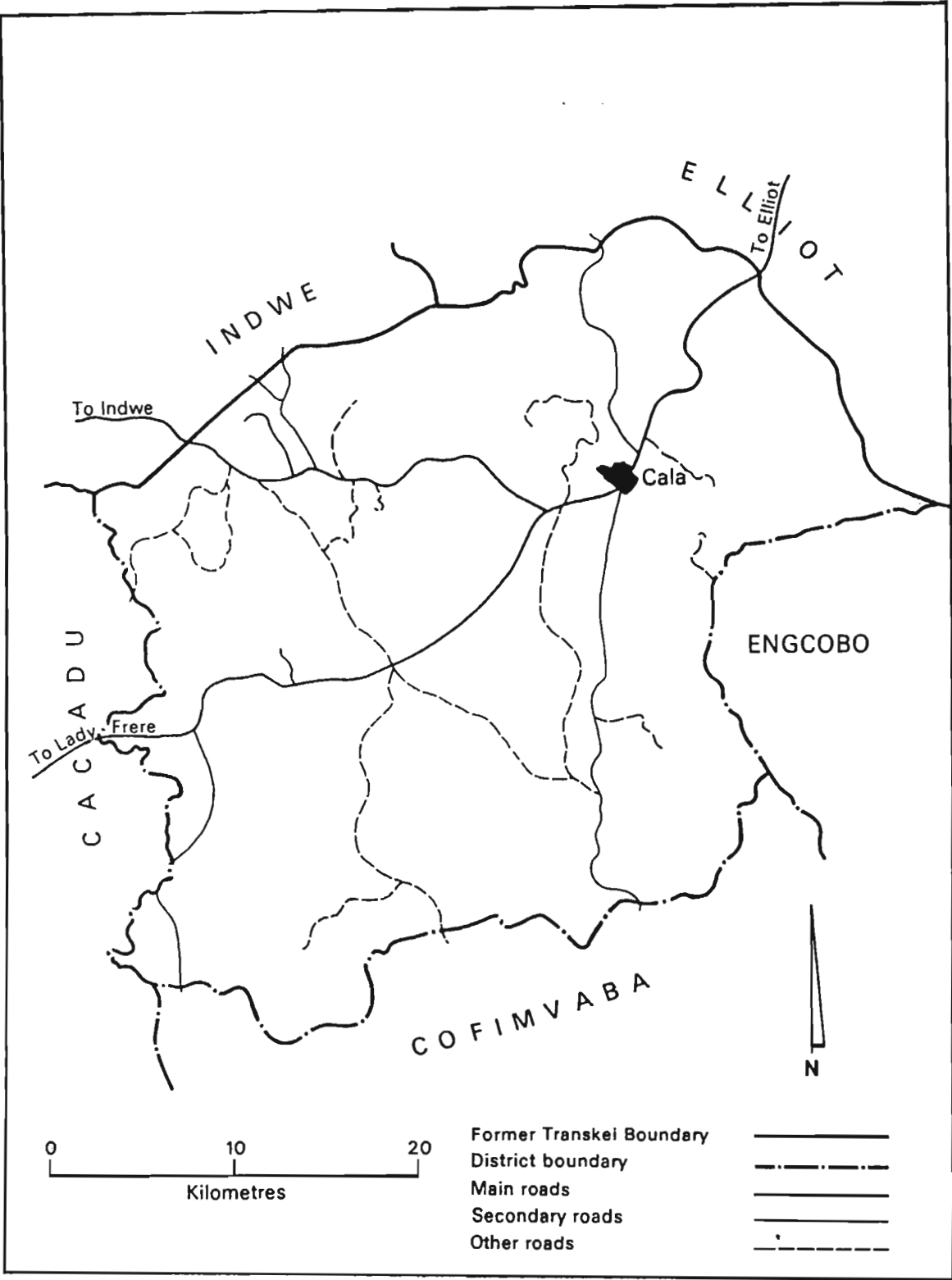


Figure 3.4 Xalanga District - Network of Roads

administration appears to be well suited to the area because the mountainous topography has fragmented the district and transport and communication are major problems (Figure 3.4). It is therefore practically impossible for the district commissioner to administer all the administrative areas directly from Cala.

For the purpose of effective administration, the twenty administrative areas are grouped into four tribal authorities, headed by two chiefs and two headmen. The tribal authority areas are based on chiefdoms, and villages are the basic components. Each of the administrative areas is further sub-divided into blocks headed by sub-headmen locally called *ibhodi* and each block is composed of a number of *umzi* (or households). The local community is represented by the *ibhodi* who is the last link in the chain of the state authority. The day to day administration of the local communities is executed by the sub-headmen who are accountable to the chiefs and headmen, and the latter to the district commissioner. The chiefs are also accountable to the Paramount Chief at Qamata: the district commissioner liaises between the Paramount Chief and the governments. The chiefs and headmen are remunerated by the state for the administrative functions they perform on behalf of the district commissioner. However, the sub-headmen are not paid: they are therefore more prone to resort to bribery and corruption in their blocks for survival. The sub-headmen are elected by a council of elders in each block, and the headmen by a council of sub-headmen and elders in each administrative area⁹. The district commissioner holds quarterly meetings with the tribal authorities to discuss issues affecting the rural areas.

The third tier of administration is applauded in some quarters in that it offers the people at the grassroots an opportunity to discuss national issues and government policies and to participate in their implementation¹⁰. According

⁹ Personal communication with Mr. H. M. S. Foloyi, The Principal District Commissioner of Xalanga District, 07:03:1997

¹⁰ Personal communication with Mr. G. Silinga, Treasurer of Calusa on 03 March 1997.

to Mr. Fotoyi, the Principal District Commissioner of Xalanga, the local administration functioned smoothly and efficiently because it enjoyed the support and cooperation of the people until the early 1990's when the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) appeared on the scene. SANCO draws its support and members from the unemployed landless people in the rural areas. It does not recognise the tribal authorities because they are not democratically elected and are therefore not representative of their communities¹¹. Secondly, SANCO argues that the vast majority of the chiefs and headmen lack training and skills in administration of development programmes. Finally it accuses the tribal authorities of corruption with regard to land allocation. According to SANCO the institution of chiefship and headmanship therefore serves to exacerbate the problems of the rural poor constraining their ability to organise and confront their poverty¹².

The situation was complicated by the election of Transitional Rural Council (TRC) in November 1995. There is no clarity as to the functions and role of the TRC. There is a struggle for power and supremacy between the TRC and the tribal authorities which adversely affect the administration in the rural areas. It is alleged that SANCO, through manipulative politics, put its members and sympathisers on the Rural Local Government Councils in order to secure contracts for SANCO Investment Holdings¹³. Until the government clarifies the role and functions of the tribal authorities and TRC in particular, the administration in the rural areas will remain problematic and a potential source of friction and intimidation; and any attempt to develop these areas would be futile. The struggle for power has been a major source of concern of

¹¹ Personal communication with Mr. G. Silinga, Treasurer of Calusa on 03 March 1997.

¹² Personal communication with Mr. S. Mbita the Treasurer of SANCO, Xalanga Branch on 10 March 1997.

¹³ Personal communication with Mr. G. Silinga, Treasurer of Calusa on 03 March 1997.

the rural people. As Mr Fani, the headman of Cala Reserve cautiously commented “when two bulls fight in the veld, it is the grass which suffers”¹⁴.

3.7.2 **Municipal administration**

Cala Municipality is administered by a Transitional Local Council (Act 108 of 1996). The council is composed of six elected members, headed by the mayor who is elected from within the council. However, the effective administration of the municipality is run by the Town Clerk, appointed by the councillors. The council makes bye-laws to regulate activities in the area under its jurisdiction and provides infrastructural services (e.g. sanitation, water and roads) to enhance the quality of life of the residents and also to attract businesses and investors to the area.

Cala was a white municipality until 1976. When independence was granted to the territory of the former Transkei, the whites left and the town deteriorated rapidly. Today, “the impression one gets when visiting Cala is one of decay and neglect” (Bank, 1992:90). The town’s infrastructure is in a pitiful state: the streets are untarred, potholed and dusty; there is litter almost everywhere and the supply of water (untreated) is woefully inadequate to meet the daily requirements of the residents especially in the dry season. Besides, there is an acute shortage of housing.

The appalling situation in Cala is blamed on maladministration tendencies of the Matanzima regimes. The situation has been, however, exacerbated by the ineptitudes of corrupt local government officials in the recent past (Bank, 1992). The municipality lacks resources. The former Transkei government did not subsidise the salaries of the municipal officials. The funds the municipality raised through the payment of rates and taxes went into the payment of salaries of the municipal employees and councillors. The wages

¹⁴ Personal communication with Mr. Fani, Headman, Cala Reserve 25 August 1995.

and salaries are so low that some of the officials often resort to bribery and corruption to survive. There has not been any remarkable improvement in the situation in Cala even under the new democratic government of South Africa because the municipal administration is still being run by the old corrupt structures and officials¹⁵. The residents refuse to pay rates in view of the poor quality of services they receive. The non-payment of rates has had a crippling effect on the municipality and the services it provides, and according to the Town Clerk, this has been the main factor contributing to the underdevelopment of the town¹⁶.

3.8 CONCLUSION

The physical and human resources of Xalanga present seemingly formidable problems to the development of the district. These problems are further complicated by a highly centralised administration of the former Transkei. The tribal authorities are not autonomous as they regularly receive directives and programmes of action from the central authorities via the district commissioner. Moreover, most frequently, the chiefs and pressure groups bypass all the established channels of redress and communicate directly with departmental heads or government ministers. Such practices generally lead to a series of *ad hoc* and issue-specific decisions which cut across more structured attempts at development. However development requires an intimate knowledge of local conditions and direct involvement of local officials and people themselves. It is therefore difficult to implement rural development programmes through a centralised and compartmentalised bureaucracy. The limited resources provided in the rural areas through centralised administration thus far have not been accompanied by any significant social, economic or political development among the rural people.

¹⁵ Personal communication with Mr. V. Nkomana, ANC youth activist, on 25 March 1997.

¹⁶ Personal communication with Mr. Soga, Cala Town Clerk, on 25 February 1997.

The spatial patterns of socio-economic development could be changed and improved through a decentralisation programme and the removal of autocratic tribal authorities from secular administration. This would guarantee much wider participation in decision-making and ensure that every part of the district has a great deal of autonomy in determining its own development priorities and programmes. If the provincial government could decentralise decision-making powers to the district, it could result in participation in government right down to the community or village level. It could also create a political and administrative structure at the community level which could provide an excellent base for the planning and implementation of integrated development programmes and could eventually improve the patterns and quality of socio-economic development.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Researchers have undertaken a number of studies on the impacts of rural development efforts in the former Transkei. Although the existing appraisals are essential to monitor progress in the development process in the rural areas, they are largely preoccupied with social phenomena which are directly observable and measurable, and provide general information about the achievements, problems and prospects of the organisations involved. For instance, Cook's report (1986) examines the impact of TATU's (now ECATU), cheap and simple technologies in the rural areas in terms of a general increase in output and incomes. By restricting the extent of social phenomena to that which is directly observable, there is a tendency to omit consideration of largely non-observable values, meanings and intentions which may be present in any given situation (Evans, 1988). The result is that vital information concerning attitudes with regard to societal organisation of temporal and spatial resources and its impacts is often missing. This implies that the generalisations based on such empirical studies cannot provide an understanding of how and why rural development agencies and their beneficiaries act in the way they do. Parochial descriptions and generalisations, however sophisticated, can neither elucidate the processes involved in rural transformation nor assess their impacts in the rural communities (Sayer, 1982).

Consequently, such generalisations associated with empiricist research based on positivism have come under increased criticisms, and emphasis is increasingly being placed on realist and structurationist approaches which abstract perception groups from a given population and provide vital information needed for analysis (Yirenkyi-Boateng, 1995). Realism and

structuration pay attention to the perception of the population in a survey and do not impose outside constructs on them. Social research should therefore be perception and theory-laden. Theories are essential to provide a framework for the researcher to produce a coherent analysis linking the empirical, actual and theoretical levels. The methodology used in this thesis assesses the impact of rural development effort in the former Transkei by incorporating the perceptions of the developers and the rural population in the research process. Therefore the methodology employed has its roots in the philosophical and theoretical orientations of realism and structuration. Invariably, the methodology subscribes to the realist and structurationist approaches and the theoretical framework of this study.

4.2 METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

According to Giddens (1984), transformation in a particular society at a given period occurs through conscious human actions guided by perception. Humans, by virtue of their nature pursue known subjective goals to facilitate their daily lives. The goals are subjective because action involves both unanticipated or unacknowledged conditions and unintended consequences (Evans, 1988). Thus research on social transformation from structurationist and realist perspectives must illuminate both perception and theory in a dynamic framework. Realism and structuration appreciate the roles of individuals as agents operating within both the context of local social systems and the wider social structures of which they are part. Social structures are human creations which are always changing. This implies that perceptions of human agents also change, together with their broader environments (Johnston, 1986). Structuration denotes flexibility and dynamism in research methodology to cater for the changing social structures and perceptions. It is thus argued that structuration “is ever a process, never a product” (Yirenkyi-Boateng, 1995:58).

The ontology of the realist approach is based on the belief that knowledge can be obtained from an understanding of the operations of mechanisms and

structures in relation to a particular agent's perception. The methodology of realism links the empirical world of outcomes to the perceptions of agent who are interpreting and acting within social structures (Johnston, 1985). To understand social phenomena, therefore, the methods which give access to the underlying experiences and meaning of people and places must be employed. According to Potter (1985), such subjectivist knowledge can be obtained through participant observation, interviews, open-ended questions and other texts that can identify the experiences and meanings of social phenomena.

The merits of the methodological framework for analysing the rural development experience in the former Transkei are as follows :

- (i) it enables the study to focus attention on the perception, needs, aspirations and values of the key players in rural development;
- (ii) it enables one to gain insights into the dynamics of rural development as an on-going process of rural transformation; and
- (iii) it recognises the fact that the key players in rural development have unique subjective values and needs which can serve as inputs for future decision making.

Thus in an attempt to provide the general background of Xalanga District and place the study in both theoretical and real world perspectives, quantitative and qualitative data were collected from primary and secondary sources. The combination of data from these sources provided the basis for comparisons. Furthermore, the multivariate nature of the data was conducive to the use of both factor and discriminant analyses to determine the pattern of relationships in the responses to the development issues affecting the district.

Data collection in a social survey is an arduous task which requires careful planning and execution. Social researchers deal with human beings who,

unfortunately, neither act rationally, systematically nor consistently even in similar circumstances. The situation is further complicated by the ignorance and suspicion on the part of the people from whom data is to be elicited. Moreover, since funds are invariably limited, the aim was to utilise them to the best advantage. The research methodology employed therefore aimed at solving four basic problems, namely, (i) what information to seek; (ii) from whom to collect the required data; (iii) what methods to use for collecting it; and, (iv) how to process, analyse and interpret it. The research methods were explicitly intensive and extensive.

4.3 DATA SOLICITED AND JUSTIFICATION

The evaluation of the socio-economic impact of the rural development process in Xalanga District required information on a variety of indicators (or variables) to present a comprehensive picture of the district's level of development and the living conditions of its inhabitants. The indicators should provide meaningful insights into the living conditions prevailing in the district particularly in the rural areas, and take into account the three linked criteria of development: whether there has been a reduction in (i) poverty; (ii) unemployment; and (iii) inequality (Seers, 1973). By this it is meant that the data should eventually bring considerable insight to bear on the rural development effort with specific regard to the creation of conditions for the realisation of human potential and personality in the rural areas of the former Transkei.

The data, therefore, probed into development components such as provision, availability and accessibility of basic needs and services, the resources available and their accessibility, the prevailing technology, the role of external assistance in the rural development process, the linkages between the various sectors of the local economy, and the integration of the local economy into the greater national economy. The socio-economic indicators selected for this purpose and for which data was elicited were population, income and expenditure, sources of income (economic activities), employment, education, health,

development projects, transport and communication, agriculture and the level of social and political participation.

The information framework is much wider and defines development in terms of human well-being, needs, values and aspirations which are invariably guided by perception. The perceptual data was collected largely through participant observation and informal interviews, and was thus analysed qualitatively. The outcome of the analysis was used as a basis for assessing and expressing how both the functionaries and beneficiaries of the rural development programme perceive the processes, strategies, constraints and the outcome of the programme in Xalanga District. The multivariate character of the data takes cognisance of the multifaceted nature of rural development which needs to be investigated from several perspectives to provide information for objective analysis.

Owing to the longitudinal nature of the study, part of the data was elicited from previous surveys conducted by research institutions, government departments and NGOs. Statistical information was poorly kept after independence in the former Transkei, and the territory lacks vital statistical data because of the shortage of trained manpower (Tapscott and Thomas, 1985). The choice of the variables was therefore determined by the availability of statistical data and their relevance to the study.

4.3.1 Population

The choice of population as a variable is justified on the grounds that the characteristics and quality (e.g. ingenuity) of the people determine the level and type of development which takes place in an area. An accurate interpretation of demographic characteristics provides useful information on human activities and ability to initiate and adapt to social transformation. In any case, the essence of the development process is to improve the living conditions of the people, the ultimate beneficiaries of any development effort. Thus if the improvement of the living conditions of the people is of prime importance in any development programme initiated, then it is appropriate to

propose that the people should be a subject of enquiry (Smith, 1977) and a source of data to provide information on the direction of movement of the entire social system.

The size of population of a community determines the amount of the labour force that would be available for development, however, a larger population in comparison to the available resources creates unemployment and disguised unemployment, and thus causes poverty. Where a substantial proportion of the adult male population migrate because of lack of viable economic bases and opportunities, female labour provides subsistence for affected households. A larger juvenile household population reduces the time available for production. Besides, more resources are expended to maintain and train the young people, leaving little for investment and development. The high population with a higher concentration of young people in Xalanga District partly accounts for its underdeveloped state.

4.3.2 Income and expenditure

The living conditions and levels of affluence of a society are a function of income and expenditure: the higher one's income, the higher the quality and quantity of goods and services that can be acquired and consumed. Here, it is assumed that the goods and services are readily available and accessible, and there is free flow of information as to where they are found and how they are obtained. The ability of a family to cater for the basic necessities, including education and training, thus depends on the family's income (e.g. salaries, wages, pensions or returns on investments). Highly specialised jobs with high output attract high incomes and vice versa. The higher one's income, the greater the proportion put aside as savings for future investments and development. This implies that in a society where incomes are generally low, there is little or no growth and development. Thus the knowledge of incomes could provide data on the living conditions, the proportion of the people who live below the poverty level and the nature of economic growth and development that would occur in the society (Singh, 1986).

4.3.3 **Economic activities and employment**

Economic activities are the occupations pursued by people to earn livelihood. The predominant economic activity determines the value of production, levels of unemployment and nature of goods and services available for the satisfaction of human wants. Primary activity (e.g. agriculture, mining, fishing, etc.) provides mainly low-value raw materials and is predominant in low-income developing economies. Primary products are susceptible to price fluctuations and their ability to create employment opportunities is limited.

As the society develops, structural transformations take place and secondary and tertiary activities assume prominence. These activities contribute high-value goods and services and create more and better employment avenues. They absorb the excess labour force from the primary sector and stimulate growth and expansion. A society with more diversified economy in terms of economic activities has a larger number of employment avenues and financial resources to provide infrastructure to enhance the quality of life. The remunerations of the employed enable the people to improve their living conditions. Therefore occupations and employment provide an indication of the level of welfare and development.

4.3.4 **Education**

Education is an important variable which provides information on a society's level of development and welfare. The educational and training system produces the required skilled manpower to provide know-how and spearhead innovations and inventions which eventually bring about development and self-sufficiency. Besides, the well-paid jobs require high level of education and training. In a society (e.g. the former Transkei) where majority of the people are illiterate, the incidence of unemployment is likely to be high and poverty is inevitable. For these reasons, it is necessary that developing countries, in their bid to develop and become self-sufficient, expend adequate resources to provide education and training for their nationals. However, the lack of resources causes these countries to cut their social spending. The current

debate in South Africa with regard to the retrenchment of some categories of educators because of over spending typifies the case (Daily Despatch, December 18 1997).

4.3.5 **Health**

Health facilities and services (including nutrition) available to people contribute significantly to the quality of human resources which, in turn, influences all facets of socio-economic development. In any meaningful reconstruction effort, the health needs of the people must receive attention : rural reconstruction without health inputs would not have the required impacts because the sick cannot be producers (Ampofo, 1978). Thus the success of rural development programmes can some how be assessed in terms of the availability and quality of health facilities and services and the nutritional habits of the people.

4.3.6 **Development projects**

These projects cater for the felt needs of the rural people. They are usually infrastructural projects which provide access roads, water and facilities for health services and education and training. They are planned and executed by the rural communities, occasionally with assistance from either government departments or NGOs. Self-help projects are a clear demonstration of and are congruent with the national policy of self-reliant development under the RDP. They provide jobs, facilities (e.g. vocational centres) for education and training, and health centres. These projects symbolise the mutual relationship and partnership between the rural communities on one hand and government departments and NGOs on the other. They create forums which enable the diffusion of new ideas, skills and knowledge, and improve the socio-economic bases of rural communities.

4.3.7 **Transport and communications**

The relationship between transport and communication and development in the rural areas is a subject of considerable importance. This is particularly true in the sub-region of the former Transkei which is predominantly rural with 93,8% of the population living in rural areas. The quality of transport and communication facilities and services is a critical factor affecting the socio-economic progress of a nation and the living levels of its population. Lord Luggard (1922) recognised the importance of transport in the development of underdeveloped areas over half a century ago when he asserted that the material development of Africa may be summed up in one word - transport.

The importance of transport and communication systems is best appreciated when it is likened to the circulatory system of a living organism. It links the rural areas with the urban centres in particular and the rest of the world. It facilitates the flow of goods, services, people, ideas, technology and innovations. Thus if the rural areas in the former Transkei (especially Xalanga District) remain isolated as they are, it would be absurd to envisage that such areas could benefit from the RDP in the near future.

4.3.8 **Agriculture**

In a predominantly agrarian society, like the former Transkei where over 90% of the population lives in rural areas and depends on agriculture and allied occupations for their livelihood, rural development is a *sine qua non* for any meaningful development programme, and agricultural development should form the foundation for the rural development efforts. By agricultural development, is meant a process which enhances the capacities of the farm people to produce more goods and services and thereby raise their standards of living and general well-being. Mere increases in agricultural output without corresponding changes in the techniques of production does not constitute development: it represents growth without development (Foust and de Souza, 1978).

Agricultural development occurs when an increase in output is initiated and sustained by the introduction and application of new techniques of production which are more efficient, cheaper and much easier to apply. Under such a condition, fewer people can produce enough to meet local and external demands for agricultural products at a lower cost. The excess labour force is released for the other sectors of the economy. The surplus from the agricultural sector could be siphoned off to procure capital goods to establish agro-based industries.

Thus information on agriculture concerning the percentage of people directly engaged in farming, techniques of production and value and volume of production can provide an insight into the general level of well-being and the development of a community.

4.3.9 Social and political participation

This variable considers the ease with which people participate in the running of their communities. The decisions affecting the welfare of the people should be taken directly by the people themselves or by their elected representatives. The tenets of democracy should be observed by both the people and government. The maintenance of law and order is essential for creating a just, stable and secure society where one pursues one's interests without fear but in accordance with the law. Such a society stands a better chance to develop because it is more likely to attract both external and internal investments needed to boost the local economy.

4.4. DEFINING THE POPULATION OF THE STUDY

Population, in statistical sense, denotes the aggregate of units to which the survey results are to apply. The target population of the study consists of all the people dwelling and earning their livelihood in the rural areas of the former Transkei and all the people, local and external agencies, government departments, parastatals and NGOs involved in the rural development

process in the territory. However, the survey population, the units actually covered by the survey consists of a proportion (0,2 %) of the total number of people residing in Xalanga District and the people and organisations engaged in their development.

The identification and collection of data from the government departments, parastatals and NGOs was relatively straightforward because they are conspicuous and few in number. The selection of the survey population resident in the district was tedious and time-consuming: the population is large and scattered over a vast area. The method by which this part of the survey population was drawn is described in this section.

A total coverage of the entire population of the district was ruled out by insufficient funds, time and manpower to assist in the fieldwork. None the less, since the results of the survey are to form the basis of inference about the target population, the survey population was selected according to the rules of statistical theory. A sampling technique was used since it enables the user to draw inferences of calculable precision. Beside a sample coverage often permits a higher overall level of accuracy than a full enumeration since a few cases makes an in-depth study and analysis possible.

4.4.1 Sample design and sample size

Random sampling forms the basis of the sample design adopted for the survey. Two reasons underlie the choice of random sampling method for the selection of the survey population in the rural areas: the first is the desire to avoid bias in the selection procedure; and the second, to achieve a higher level of precision at a minimum cost. The random method gives each unit of household in Xalanga an equal calculable and non-zero chance of being selected into the sample. It thus produces more precise estimators.

There are several rules of thumb for determining how large a sample should be in a social investigation. The most common among these rules is the 1/10th (one-tenth) rule which states that, "the researcher should try to obtain

1/10th of the population he studies in his sample” (Black and Champion, 1976:312). The estimated population of Xalanga District is 100 000 people, therefore 1/10th of it would give 10 000. A sample of 10 000 was regarded too large for the study in terms of the available time and resources. Experts in the fields of statistics and social investigation and literature were consulted for advice. It was agreed that in the case of Xalanga District, the efficiency of a minimum probability sample of 100 for estimating the population parameters would not differ significantly from that of 10 000. The contention is that the researcher can manage quite well with a sample representing a considerably smaller proportion of the population than 1/10th.

Efficiency, in this context, refers to the extent to which the sample statistics reflect the true elements of the universe (Black and Champion, 1976). Blalock (1960) argued that efficiency is relative because no estimate can be completely efficient since this would imply no sampling error whatsoever. However, increasing the sample size will increase the efficiency of the sample estimate. Hence, Keyter (1994) used a sample of 140 to produce a socio-economic profile of Xalanga District. In this study, a sample of 200 was used. The researcher considered the number manageable and adequate enough to produce sufficient elements, thereby increasing the efficiency of the sample estimate.

4.4.2 **Sample frame**

For the purpose of the survey, Xalanga District was divided into three strata (viz., urban, peri-urban and rural areas, Table 4.1) to provide the basis for selecting the administrative areas from which a total sample of 200 heads of households was to be drawn. In this context, settlement type is the stratification factor and the administrative areas are the sampling units. Stratification allows the knowledge about the population to be utilised to increase the precision of the sample. In addition, it provides a buffer against either choosing a sample consisting of members of one stratum or over and

under representation of some strata. It is a form of restricted random sampling: the method of selection within each stratum is random and the sample has a great deal of variations representative of the universe.

Human populations are heterogeneous in nature and tend not to be 'well mixed' in that similar type of persons are often found in clusters (e.g. villages). This tendency renders the stratified method more appropriate to the survey because it is more likely to produce a survey population representative of the target population.

TABLE 4.1 Stratification of the administrative units in Xalanga Districts

Stratification Factor	Sampling units/administrative areas	Communities Sampled
(a) Urban areas	Cala Village	Cala Village
(b) Peri-urban areas	Cala Reserve, Emnxex, Tsengiwe Sifonondile, Mazimdaka	(1) Cala Reserve (2) Tsengiwe
(c) Rural areas	Hota-Mbenla, Ndwana, Mbenge, Lupapasi, Langanci, Mazimanhla, Lower Lafuta, Mccenia, Qiba, Mtingwevu, Nyalasa, Seplan, Stokwe Basin, Upper Cala, Upper Lafuta	(1) Lupapasi (2) Mtingwevu (3) Qiba

The urban area, Cala, is made up of the area occupied by Cala and the informal settlements. The peri-urban areas compromise the administrative areas within six kilometre radius from Cala. The administrative areas beyond the six kilometre radius limit constitute the rural areas. Since Cala is the only urban settlement in the district, it was the obvious choice for the urban stratum. In the peri-urban and rural strata, five administrative areas (two from peri-urban and three from rural areas) were randomly selected.

From the six communities sampled, the survey population of 200 heads of households was proportionately drawn. Here, the individual households

constituted the sampling units and the heads of household, the units of enquiry from whom information was elicited by means of a questionnaire (Appendix 1). The method used for selecting the respondents was based on the sample design employed by the Bureau of Development Research and Training (BDRT) for the 1990 Population Development survey in the former Transkei: 10% of the respondents was drawn from the urban area, Cala, 25% from the peri-urban areas; and 65% from the rural areas. The sample allocated to the peri-urban and rural strata was selected proportionally according to the size of the estimated population of each of the five administrative areas in the two strata (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 Distribution of sample (Respondents)

STRATUM	LOCALITY	SAMPLE SIZE	%
URBAN	Cala	20	10
PERI-URBAN	Cala Reserve	24	25
	Tsengiwe	26	
RURAL	Lupapasi	35	65
	Mtingwevu	29	
	Qiba	66	
TOTAL		200	100

4.4.3 Selection of respondents

The register of voters and telephone directory could not be used for selecting the part of the survey population residing in the district. Firstly, a voters register was non-existent in South Africa by the time the research was conducted. Secondly, telecommunication service is poorly developed and there is no comprehensive telephone directory for the district. Even if there were any adequate telephone directory, it could not have been used because it is biased against the lowest income groups who generally cannot afford telephones. The next option was to number each individual in the survey

communities because there is no adequate population list for the district and then select the required number using the tables of random numbers. However, the population of the communities surveyed (approximately 36 055) is too large, and this method of selection would have been very tedious and time-consuming. Furthermore, there is no accurate map on which clusters of dwellings can be identified to form a convenient frame.

In the absence of a satisfactory sample frame, the systematic random technique was used for selecting the required sample from the six communities sampled earlier on. The technique was chosen because it is easy and convenient and adapted well to the variations in the survey communities.

A preliminary survey was conducted in the survey communities to estimate the total number of households in order to calculate the sample fraction for each of the communities (Table 4.3). The sample fraction (k) is defined as N/n , where N is the total number of households, and n is the sample size (Moser and Kalton, 1971). A number between 1 and k was selected at random to determine the first sample member in each case: every k th household in each community, starting with the randomly selected number, was chosen (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3 Determination of sample fractions and first sample members

Community	No. of Household	Sample size	Sample fraction	First sample member
Cala	2541	20	127	196
Cala Reserve	490	24	20	26
Tsengiwe	492	26	19	25
Lupapasi	819	35	23	32
Mtingwevu	510	29	18	23
Qiba	1120	66	17	28

4.5. METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

The accuracy of any social survey largely depends on the methods of collecting the required data. The method of data collection employed in a social investigation is decided upon in the light of what is practically feasible as well as the desire to increase accuracy and precision guided by experience in the field. The most widely used methods of eliciting data about a group of people in social investigations are documentary sources, observation, interviews and questionnaire (Moser and Kalton, 1971).

In this study, a combination of these methods was employed to make use of their different strengths. The approach subscribes to the opinion expressed by Trow (1957:33) when he argued that “different kinds of information about man and society are gathered most fully and economically in different ways”. It was thus possible to obtain different data relating to different phases of the research process, different settings and different informants. According to Sieber (1973), in a social survey, there is the need for statistical coverage for the organisation of the community under investigation; observation to discover the behaviour and conduct of individuals and collectivity; and ethnographic description based on conversation and interviews to elicit the culture of the people. In congruence with these observations, the methodological approach for collecting data for this study paved the way for both statistical (quantitative) and qualitative analyses of the data.

Research in human geography has undergone remarkable changes over the last three decades. These changes are the result of the attempts to render a more accurate and objective assessment of the geography of particular areas or problems, and thus win the discipline a scientific character or image. The 1960s witnessed the ascendancy of quantitative methods and analyses in geographical research. This was in response to the conviction that if geographical patterns are to be analysed with any degree of accuracy, then mere verbal accounts should give way to the more precise and objective methods of spatial analysis (Gregory, 1978).

In the 1960s, during the 'quantitative revolution', statistical techniques were regarded more important in determining the degree and patterns of associations between cases observed and variables in geographic research (Harvey, 1969). The importance of quantitative techniques in this regard cannot be over-emphasized. The empirical regularities resulting from statistical analyses constitute the basis of statistical inferences and generalisations which are widely used in the realms of social investigation.

The realists, for example, Sayer(1984) and Gregson (1987), advocate the use of qualitative as opposed to quantitative techniques in social investigations. It is argued that quantitative analysis does not differ from positivism because they both rely on observable social phenomena (Evans, 1988). The 1980s therefore saw the proliferation of competing 'isms' "in the search for something less mechanical and more in tune with the complexity of human existence than provided by positivism and structuralism" (Eyles and Smith, 1988:xi).

Owing to the inherent merits and demerits of the quantitative and qualitative techniques alike, some commentators are of the opinion that these techniques should be used together in a complementary fashion in a social survey in order to make relational distinctions. Duncan (1985) and Thrift (1986) argue that quantitative data and analysis are useful only when they are complemented by meaningful qualitative understanding of the context. The point of view of Duncan and Thrift has been the guiding principle in the choice of the methods of collecting data because it is compatible with the methodological framework of realism.

4.5.1 **Documentary sources**

Some documentary evidence in the form of government reports, newspaper accounts, publications by research institutions, maps, photographs, census reports and file materials from state institutions and NGOs were used. These sources provided useful information about the study area which offered a basis for comparison and also a statistical background against which the significance of the survey results was judged. Government departments, institutions such

as the hospital and the Police Station at Cala and NGOs have a wealth of information. These documentary sources provided useful primary and secondary data (e.g. teenage pregnancy, juvenile crime rate and pass rate at matriculation examinations) which would have otherwise been very difficult to secure through interviews, observation and questionnaire.

Archival materials (e.g. Cala municipal records) provided an important source of information on the history of the district and its people. Historical information gathered through oral accounts was checked against those contained in records, books and reports because as time wears on, people tend to forget and exaggerate facts and events.

Data from earlier socio-economic surveys conducted by research institutions in the former Transkei was also used because valid conclusions and generalisations cannot be based on the outcome of a single case study. Such data provided the basis for comparisons and was also used to supplement the data about the survey population wherever possible.

4.5.2 **Observation**

Some information regarding infrastructure (e.g. water supply and roads), climate, relief, landuse, labour migrancy and economic activities was obtained through observation. The long period of residence (12 years) in the district enabled the author to gather firsthand information on events and activities through observational methods. The distinguishing feature of this method of data collection is that the information required is obtained directly, rather than through the reports of others which may be unreliable because of their dependence on the memory of the informants. Besides, the accuracy of oral accounts of events and documentary evidence was assessed through observation. For instance, none of the roads leading to the district is tarred; however, some maps (e.g. Macmillan 1993) indicate that these roads are all tarred.

Being a member of the Board of Trustees of HCT, the author obtained some of the required data through the participant observation method. Meetings, workshops and visits to project sites provided insights into the perceptions and operations of the HCT and the local people with regard to their expectations and contribution to the rural development process in Xalanga District. All aspects of the social phenomena observed were confronted with a distinctly objective attitude: such a reflexive stance was critical in the interpretative process (Evans, 1988). The advantage of participant observation is that the researcher as a member of society has access to participation in social phenomena which in itself constitutes a method; the researcher is used as a methodological tool. Again, the method enabled the researcher to gain insight into the perceptions and values of the agents in order to reconstruct the impact of the rural development process in the district.

4.5.3 **Interviewing**

The method of data collection commonly used in social surveys is personal interviewing. Although observation and questionnaires could probably be employed more often, interviewing provides greater depth of understanding relative to the other methods. The extent to which the respondents feel about the issues in question and the accuracy of their responses could somehow be assessed from their facial expressions and gestures. However, the practices of questioning, listening and recording are central to obtaining data in interviewing (Moser and Kalton, 1971).

In-depth interviews were conducted with a wide range of individuals from state departments, parastatals and NGOs directly or indirectly involved in rural development based in the former territorial capital, Umtata, and Cala. The informants were drawn from the Departments of Local Government and Land Tenure, Agriculture and Forestry, Health and Social Welfare, Works and Energy and Trade and Commerce, ECDA, ECATU, Rural Development Branch of the former Office of the Military Council, African Initiative Development Trust, the University of Transkei's Bureau of Development

Research and Training (BDRT), TRACOR and Transkei Small Industrial Development Organisation (TRANSIDO). At the local level, interviews were conducted with respondents selected across the class spectrum. The respondents included prominent local officials such as the District Commissioner, Mayor, Town Clerk, chiefs and headmen of the tribal authority areas, and the ordinary people including the unemployed and landless. In addition, key informants from organisations and structures with direct interest in the development process in Xalanga District were interviewed. They represented the Xalanga Development Forum, Xalanga Entrepreneurial Development Centre, HCT, CALUSA, SANCO and ANC.

The respondents were contacted and briefed on the purpose of the survey and the nature of the interview in order to secure their cooperation. On the whole thirty-eight respondents were interviewed. An appointment was made with each of the respondents with respect to the date, time and venue of the interview for the convenience of the respondents and the researcher. The interviews were less formal (semi-structured): they were built and steered around a number of key points affecting the socio-economic development of the district and no set questionnaire was used. The interviewer (i.e. researcher) was therefore at liberty to vary the sequence of questions, to explain their meanings, to add additional ones, to probe for details and even to change the wording. The wording of the questions was tailored to each particular individual and the questions asked in an order appropriate for the interviewee. The approach was designed to reduce bias in responses: different people may interpret a particular question differently and thus give inaccurate responses. The objectives were to ensure that the questions had the same meanings for all the respondents and to engage in conversation to set the respondents at ease.

The flexibility of the structure of the interview motivated the respondents to answer the questions fairly accurately. The information obtained from the informants was largely qualitative. It represented a wide range of opinions, and identified conflicts and controversies especially with regard to issues relating to the RDP and the general welfare of the people. The data obtained

from the respondents was analysed in conjunction with the data elicited through documentary evidence, observation and the questionnaire.

4.5.4 Questionnaire

The questionnaire consisted of a sequence of questions designed to extract primary quantitative and qualitative data on the rural development experience in Xalanga District from the sampled population of the residents (see Table 4.2). The questions were sufficiently simple and straightforward to be easily understood. The language employed was chosen with the survey population clearly in mind. Ambiguity, vagueness and technical expressions were avoided because of the high rate of illiteracy in the rural areas.

The questionnaire had a brief covering letter. It indicated the sponsorship of the enquiry, informed the respondents of the objectives of the survey, and clearly told them what they were asked to do. Finally, the covering letter provided the assurance of anonymity and confidentiality which encouraged the respondents to be more willing to cooperate and more open in answering the questions (Moser and Kalton, 1971).

The questionnaire was carefully and clearly laid out: bold type and capitals were used to emphasize the socio-economic indicators for which data was solicited. The layout permitted editing and coding to proceed smoothly. The primary consideration in the design of the questionnaire was efficiency in field handling in view of the fact that field assistants (or interviewers) would be needed to assist in its administration. The document was therefore fairly formal.

A great deal rests on the quality of the questionnaire: omissions and ambiguities at the stage of questionnaire design can have a profound but undesirable influence on the responses which cannot be rectified at the data-analysis stage. None the less, questionnaire design is still largely a matter of art rather than science. The researcher's main tools at this stage were

knowledge acquired through careful reading of the relevant literature and a programme of informal interviews with experts and informed local people, and experience from a pilot survey.

The length of the questionnaire was limited to the essential questions since the length of a questionnaire affects the motivation levels of both the interviewers and the respondents and the quality of the data. As Moser and Kalton (1971:309) have observed, "lengthy and rambling questionnaires are as demoralising for the interviewer as for the respondents", and "too short a questionnaire gives little chance to create 'rapport' and secure full cooperation". Besides, Bentham and Moseley (1984:356) have also observed that "long questionnaires reduce the number of interviews possible in a day, risk eroding the respondent's interest and patience, slow down the process of data preparations, make the computer analysis expensive, and obfuscate the all-important analysis and interpretation of results".

4.5.4.1 Questionnaire content and format

The content of the questionnaire reflected the objectives of the study. The questions were vigorously examined and those which were not strictly relevant were excluded. By this it is meant that each possible question was checked against 'the need-to-know' principle: will the information the question will elicit be really relevant? It was equally important to ask whether the respondents were likely to possess the knowledge, or have access to the information, necessary for giving a correct response. The answer to such questions were considered very important because they went a long way in affecting the quality and efficiency of the questionnaire and the study as a whole. In answering these questions, therefore, it was necessary to refer constantly to literature and the objectives of the study, and also to talk to experts and people in Xalanga District.

The fallibility of memory on the part of the respondents to recall events can be an important source of error. In drawing up the questionnaire, attention

was paid to the difficulty in securing accurate answers to many survey questions involving memory. The period within which the respondents were expected to recall events was thus limited to twelve months.

Leading questions were avoided throughout the questionnaire because they introduce elements of bias in the responses. According to Moser and Kalton (1971:323), “a leading question is the one which, by its contents, structure or wording, leads the respondents in the direction of a certain answer”. Obviously, the answers to such questions do not reflect the point of view of the respondents: they merely react to the questions without giving much thought to their contents. Thus instead of using leading or loaded questions, simple questions requiring ‘yes or no’ answers then followed by a request to explain further were employed in the questionnaire.

In a social survey, not all the people (respondents) are willing to answer the questions. The few who are willing are not keen to answer them accurately. After all, there is no formal reason why they should answer survey questions. It was thought that the innocuous nature of the questions themselves would induce the respondents to respond meaningfully. Consequently, the questions did not presume anything about the respondents because presumed questions often embarrass or even offend the respondents and put them off. Instead, the format of the questionnaire was designed on the ‘funnel sequence of questions’ principle of Kahn and Cannell (1957) to become conversational in order to induce and sustain the interest of the respondents. Therefore, more factual and less controversial questions (e.g. where do you live? occupation and general questions relating to population, health, agriculture, etc) were put at the beginning and more sensitive and specific questions (e.g. questions relating to social and political participation) were put near the end of the questionnaire when rapport between the interviewer and respondent should have been established. The subtlety of the approach helped to overcome the respondents’ temptation to mislead, to understate or to exaggerate their responses.

Certain basic information about the respondents (age, sex, marital status, occupation and income) was elicited and used to check for response bias and response patterns. For instance, the data revealed that in Xalanga District most of the participants in the rural development process are females with little income and are aged between thirty and sixty-nine years.

Finally, some of the questions were designed to provide answers to check for the validity of responses to certain factual questions. For example, the respondents were asked to state the number of people in their individual households. They were then asked to state the number of males and females in their household: the sum of the number of males and females should equal the total number of people in the household.

4.5.4.2 Open and closed-ended questions

Open-ended questions were used to encourage the respondents to express their views and perceptions openly on the issues contained in the questionnaire. These questions offered the respondents the freedom to decide the aspect, form, detail and length of their answers, and the interviewers were advised to record as much as they could. They did not have any pre-determined answers which would have limited the respondents to the given number of answers from which to choose. Some of the open-ended questions immediately followed simple closed-ended questions which required 'yes or no' answers. For instance, in an attempt to ascertain the importance of the remittances of migrant workers to the households in Xalanga, the respondents were asked to state whether or not they receive support from their relatives working outside the district, and it was followed by an open-ended question which urged them to explain their answer. The latter revealed the form the remittances assume, their regularity and reliability and even the perception of the respondents on the migrant labour system as a whole.

Because the questions did not have pre-determined answers, the respondents who had never considered the subjects were less likely to seize upon any lead

which would have been given by the mention of the possible answers. Without specified alternatives, the respondents could formulate their own ideas and reach a considered view. The answers therefore have a much greater chance of representing the genuine opinions and perception of the respondents.

The decision to use open-ended questions was also influenced by the analysis of the pilot survey. It was realised that the respondents possessed varied and divergent views on most of the issues, and that pre-coded questions would contain many alternative answers which would have certainly made the questionnaire much longer. It is interesting to note that when respondents are faced with many codes, either they are unable to make rational choice between the alternatives, or they have difficulty in making a choice at all (Moser and Kalton, 1971).

Closed-ended questions were used to break certain issues into simpler categories: they dealt with straightforward and uncontroversial issues. In order to reduce the length of the questionnaire, most of the closed-ended questions related to daily experiences which require short and simple factual answers which do not have pre-determined answers. The main advantage of these questions was that they sped up the interviews which, in part, became largely a matter of checking the appropriate boxes and writing short and simple factual answers. Besides, they simplified the preparation of the data for analysis.

4.5.4.3 The pilot survey

A pilot survey is necessary for the proper development of a questionnaire (Marsh, 1982). Lever (1981), for instance, is of the opinion that in the absence of hard and fast rules, tests of practicability play a crucial role in questionnaire construction. Accordingly, a pilot survey was conducted in the six sampled communities between 20 and 31 January 1995. It was administered to thirty households: five from each of the communities. The analysis of the pilot

survey provided a means of checking on the suitability and order of the questions and gave an idea of the sort of data that eventually emerged. In addition, it made it possible to estimate the resources of time, money and manpower needed to execute the main survey. Finally, it provided practical training for the interviewers engaged to assist in the administration of the main questionnaire.

4.5.4.4 The administration of the questionnaire

It was decided at the outset that the questionnaire would be administered by interviewers. The decision was consequent upon the high rate of illiteracy in the rural areas of the former Transkei: answering the questions required the ability to read and write in English. In order to secure the cooperation and participation of the respondents, it was deemed appropriate to engage interviewers to assist the former by translating the questions into Xhosa and writing their answers in English. In such a situation, the drop and collect method of administering questionnaire would create a high rate of non-response. The interviewers also accomplished the task of facilitating more open responses through the establishment of rapport with the respondents.

Less than 25% of the total number of questionnaires was handled by the researcher because he does not speak Xhosa. His participation was limited to a few respondents who could speak English and the availability of a reliable interpreter. He mostly supervised and observed the interview processes.

Four Xhosa-speaking senior secondary school teachers residing in the district were recruited and trained to administer the questionnaire. They possessed desirable personal characteristics: they were sufficiently educated, could make pleasant impression at first meeting and possessed tact and some social sense. Besides, they were accurate, reliable, honest and scrupulous. They were made aware of the fact that cheating, in the sense of complete or partial fabrication of a questionnaire response and unscrupulousness in following instructions, could adversely affect the quality of the survey results and such tendencies are

fairly easily detected. They were diligent and were prepared to walk long distances since the streets linking the widely spaced sampled households in the rural areas are mostly unmotorable. Being fluent in the local language meant that the interviewers could interpret and explain the contents of the questionnaire: the survey thus became more conversational.

The survey lasted for six weeks from 09 June to 18 July 1995. It was feared that if the duration of the survey extended beyond six weeks, most of the indicators and perceptions which ought to be measured would change because the period coincided with the implementation of some of the RDP projects in the district. The expectations of the people were invariably high and wanted to know if the outcome of the survey could lead to the creation of jobs. The question was answered by the covering letter of the questionnaire which clearly stated the objectives of the enquiry.

In each of the six sampled administrative areas, the interviewers and researcher worked as a team to identify and record the households which were in the sample before proceeding with the interviews. The heads of the households were interviewed. The chiefs and headmen played an important role in getting the rural people to cooperate. They were contacted in advance for permission to carry out the survey in the communities under their jurisdiction, and they informed the people and requested their cooperation on behalf of the team. Consequently, the survey enjoyed 100% response rate.

4.5.4.5 Editing and coding

After each day's work, the team scrutinised the completed questionnaires for omissions, errors and ambiguities. The corrections were made while the interviewers' memory was fresh. Since the interviewers were engaged purposely to assist in administering the questionnaires, their involvement ceased when the task was completed.

The answers contained in the two hundred completed questionnaires were coded to convert the results into quantitative form in order to facilitate both qualitative and statistical analyses. The purpose of coding was to summarize the data and classify the answers to the individual questions into meaningful categories to bring out their essential pattern. A set of coding frames (or categories) for each question was abstracted from the questionnaires. It covered the range of information provided by the individual respondents for each question. The captured data was recorded by a computer processing unit using a statistical packaged program known as 'Statistica'.

4.6 ANALYSIS OF DATA

To test the contentions and hypotheses of the study, both qualitative and quantitative methods of data analysis were employed to analyse the multiple sets of data gathered at different stages of the research. These methods of data analysis were used in a complementary manner to facilitate meaningful understanding of the process and direction of rural development in Xalanga District.

The qualitative method was employed mainly to analyse the data obtained through observation, documentary sources and interviews. This part of the analysis involved working out simple statistical distributions, diagrams and calculating simple percentages. By employing descriptive statistics it was possible to make longitudinal comparisons to attest the extent to which the NGOs participating in the rural development process, Masakhane and RDP projects have contributed to raise the quality of life in the district.

The data contained in the questionnaire was analysed quantitatively in order to reduce the volume of data and bring out the relationships between the variables and the underlying factors. Factor and discriminant analyses are the statistical techniques employed for synthesising the coded data.

4.6.1 Factor analysis

Factor and principal component analyses are the dominant techniques used for quantitative classification and data reduction in geographic literature. They are similar in many respects and are therefore often confused (Cattell, 1965). Kendall (1957:37) distinguishes between the two as follows: "In component analysis we begin with the observations and look for the components in the hope that we may be able to reduce the dimensions of variation and also that our components may, in some cases, be given a physical meaning. In factor analysis we work the other way round; that is to say, we begin with a model and require to see whether it agrees with the data and if so, to estimate its parameters". What one gleans from Kendall's observation is that from the point of view of classification, the difference amounts to classifying without any theory in the case of principal-components and classifying with theory in the case of factor analysis.

Factor analysis is a statistical technique whose common objective is to represent a set of variables in terms of a smaller number of hypothetical variables. As with most other scientific methods, it is based on certain assumptions called the postulate of factorial causation. The postulate imposes a particular causal order on the data (Kim and Mueller, 1978). It assumes that the observed variables are linear combinations of some underlying factors. It implies that there is a certain degree of correspondence between the variables and factors. Factor analysis seeks to 'exploit' this correspondence to arrive at conclusions about the factors. The first step in the analysis therefore involves the examination of interrelationships among the variables by preparing data matrix (or correlation matrix) (Manly, 1986). A factor analytic approach may then be used to address whether the observed correlations among the variables can be explained by the existence of a small number of hypothetical variables. For example one may ask whether the low literacy rate, low wages and unemployment which are widespread in Xalanga District may be explained in terms of politics (e.g. apartheid). One may then

consider whether potential political issues really do emerge from the data. Such kinds of questions are best handled by factor analytic techniques.

According to Kim and Mueller (1978), factor analysis performs both exploratory and confirmatory functions. It may be used as an expedient way of ascertaining the minimum number of hypothetical factors that can account for the observed covariations, and as a means of explaining the data for possible data reduction. It can also be used as a means of testing specific hypotheses .

Factor analysis does not assume a closed system and problems are often encountered when estimating communalities. The feature makes it particularly well suited to geographic surveys which deal with situations which can hardly be described as closed. In most of these surveys, not all the variables are gathered and contain some degree of error. According to Shaw and Wheeler (1985), factor analysis caters for such problems: any variance which cannot be accounted for by the underlying factors can be considered as residual errors because it deals with common variances through the data.

According to Rummel (1968) and Johnston (1980), the isolation of common variances for analysis simplifies the interpretation of the factors. The ease with which the factors (or dimensions) are interpreted is occasioned by the rotation of each factor. A certain degree of parsimony is achieved by selecting the minimum number of common factors which could produce the observed covariance structure.

On the strength of these reasons, the factor analytic technique has been employed in this study to extract the common factors underlying the observed variations in the 121 variables to explain the impact of the rural development process in Xalanga District. The technique has been used in similar circumstances by many people. Pal (1963), for instance, employed factor analysis to explain the variations in economic development in Southern India; Berry (1966) used the technique to regionalise economic development; and

Acheampong (1992) used it to analyse the multivariate regionalization of economic development in the former Transkei.

4.6.1.1 Extracting the principal factors

The basic data was captured and entered onto a computer processing unit after coding. It was arranged in a systematic manner to form a data matrix (Table 4.4). The data matrix had two modes: the entity mode represented the cases observed arranged in rows, and the variable mode represented by different columns. The resultant correlation matrix showed the relationships among the variables. Out of the 135 variables, the computer accepted 121 for the analysis: 16 variables were rejected because they did not display significant variations.

The correlation matrix was used as the basis to find the number of factors which could explain the correlations among the variables (Table 4.4). The multiple R-squared (or communalities) was employed at this stage to obtain the initial solution. The communality estimate measures the degree of 'fit' of the model by considering the variance of each variable in conjunction with all the other variables. The proportion of variation of each variable in the pattern formed is thus established. Very low communalities for some variables indicated that those variables were not well accounted for by the factor model. The communality estimates contained in Table 4.5 are very high indicating that the variances of the variables are well accounted for. For instance, the poorly explained variable in the table, methods of weed control, has 72,1% of its total variance accounted for, and the variable with the highest communality estimate, development organisations or agents identified, had 90,6% of its variance accounted for. Besides, 56,5% of the total variance in the data set was accounted for. The model therefore provides an appropriate description of the original data (Weinand, 1973).

The correlation matrix provided important information on relationships among the 121 variables. However, it was impossible to analyse each of the 7200 correlation coefficients: obviously, the correlation matrix contained

Table 4.4 Sorted Canonical Correlation Matrix

VARIABLE	Var 11	Var 17	Var 15	Var 20	Var 21	Var 31	Var 33	Var 34	Var 70	Var 73	Var 74	Var 75	Var 94	Var 95	Var 96	Var 97	Var 98	Var 100	Var 102	Var 106	Var 107	Var 113
Monthly income (Var 11)	1.00																					
Expenditure on energy and fuel (Var 17)	.39	1.00																				
Expenditure on rent (Var 15)	.46	.78	1.00																			
Amount paid on hire purchase contracts (Var 20)	.48	.31	.33	1.00																		
No. of people in household (Var 21)	-.13	-.05	-.09	-.02	1.00																	
Household with television set(s) (Var 31)	-.36	-.20	-.23	-.41	-.04	1.00																
No. of room occupied by household (Var 33)	.30	.16	.12	.39	.16	-.43	1.00															
No. of bedrooms per household (Var 34)	.00	-.01	.00	.12	.33	-.21	.51	1.00														
Household members attending school (Var 70)	-.01	-.04	-.10	.10	.66	-.11	.36	.35	1.00													
People with formal education (Var 73)	.04	.09	.04	.13	.40	-.14	.29	.34	.39	1.00												
Literacy in Xhosa (Var 74)	.07	.05	.02	.16	.41	-.16	.39	.38	.38	.75	1.00											
Literacy in English (Var 75)	.16	.09	.08	.22	.31	-.24	.40	.36	.32	.70	.84	1.00										
Presence of development organisation (Var 94)	-.14	-.07	-.02	-.11	-.06	.21	-.05	.03	0.2	-.05	-.10	-.15	1.00									
Development organisations identified (Var 95)	-.01	.09	.16	-.05	-.07	.08	.00	.06	-.01	-.05	-.08	-.11	.91	1.00								
Activities of the organisations (Var 96)	-.08	-.02	.06	-.07	-.03	.18	.01	.04	.03	.01	-.10	-.13	.87	.88	1.00							
Projects completed by the organisations (Var 97)	.02	.10	.09	-.08	-.11	-.03	-.01	.04	-.07	.03	-.03	-.03	.61	.62	.56	1.00						
Projects under construction (Var 98)	-.08	.09	.13	-.03	-.07	.14	-.10	.04	-.02	-.09	-.10	-.15	.84	.87	.78	.53	1.00					
Access to land (Var 100)	-.03	-.06	-.08	-.13	-.16	.10	-.21	-.19	-.13	-.09	-.18	-.16	.03	.03	.05	-.03	.06	1.00				
Size of homestead plot (Var 102)	-.02	.07	.00	-.11	-.09	.13	-.05	.02	-.07	-.08	-.09	-.07	-.02	-.01	-.05	-.07	-.01	.51	1.00			
Scale of cultivation (Var 106)	.0	.08	.05	-.04	-.17	.03	-.04	-.13	-.07	.01	-.01	-.03	.06	.09	.00	.07	.08	.51	.25	1.00		
Crops cultivation (Var 107)	.03	.03	.03	-.13	-.14	.11	-.13	-.10	-.04	-.03	-.05	-.02	.04	.09	.04	.08	.07	.50	.40	.53	1.00	
Methods of weed control (Var 113)	.04	.04	.04	.01	-.12	-.03	-.09	-.02	-.07	-.03	-.02	.02	-.07	-.02	-.05	-.05	-.01	.54	.39	.34	.43	1.00

Source : Statistica Basic Statistics Program, 1997 Updated Edition. Department of Statistics, University of Fort Hare, Alice, 1997.

redundant information which had to be grouped into sub-sets in order to render it more comprehensible and manageable. The factor analytic technique was employed to solve the problem of multicollinearity by grouping the variables on the strength of their relationships. In the process, the correlation coefficients were transformed into eigenvalues and eigenvectors. The operation therefore identified the variables which were highly correlated. The eigenvalues are the variances of the principal components, whereas the eigenvectors give the coefficients of the standardized variables (Manly, 1986). The eigenvalue for each of the principal components indicated the proportion of the variance that it accounted for out of the total variances of 22.80 (Table 4.6).

The eigenvalue criterion was used for determining the initial factors extracted; four factors emerged which accounted for 56,5% of the total variance (Table 4.6). The principal components extracted in the process represented the basic underlying factors of the data set. The main concern was that the principal component extracted could account for only 56,5% of the total variance in the data set.

This observation was caused by the low correlation coefficients in the matrix data (Table 4.4) which could not produce sufficient discernible pattern of variance in the data. The situation conditioned the use of discriminant analysis to complement the factor analytic technique to make the influences of the principal factors and the associated variables more perceptible by categorising them into spatial entities.

The data was rotated using the raw varimax (orthogonal) rotation to structure the variables into theoretically meaningful sub-dimensions. The orthogonal rotation is easier to understand and interpret, and is thus popular. The rotation loaded the original variables onto the principal factors and revealed the identities of the variables associated with each of the four factors (Table 4.7). The variables with eigenvector greater than 0,5% were considered significant. The minimum eigenvector selected was approximately half of the

maximum loading (close to unity) that could be assigned to the variables on any of the factors.

Table 4.5 Commuality estimates of variables loaded onto the factors extracted.

VARIABLES	ESTIMATES
No. of people in the household	.840477
No. of rooms occupied by household	.823991
No. of bedrooms	.782221
No. of household members attending school	.832742
People with formal education	.857838
Literacy in Xhosa	.905972
Literacy in English	.919650
Monthly income	.784009
Expenditure on rent	.899430
Expenditure on energy and fuel	.873891
Amount paid on high purchase contracts	.868733
Households with television sets	.745175
Presence of development organisations or agents	.969055
Development organisations or agents identified	.976019
Activities of the development organisations or agents	.938624
Projects completed by organisations or agents	.777417
Projects under construction	.924156
Access to land	.885510
Size of household plots	.758624
Scale of cultivation	.796547
Crops cultivated	.825727
Methods of weed control	.720589

SOURCE : Statistica Factor Analysis Program, 1997, Updated Edition.
Department of Statistics,
University of Fort Hare, Alice, 1997.

The rotation improved the degree of fit between the data and factor structure, and simplified the latter to explain as much covariance in the data as possible.

The data was rotated to a terminal solution. The first factor accounted for as much variance as possible, the second factor accounted for as much of the residual variance left unexplained by the first factor, the third factor accounted for as much of the residual variance left unexplained by the first two factors and the last factor accounted for as much of the residual variance left unexplained by the three factors. Thus each of the four factors introduced information not accounted for by any other factor. The component factors are composed of a combination of variables and are therefore interpreted in terms of the factor loading.

TABLE 4.6 Eigenvalues and proportion of variance explained

Factors	Eigenvalue	% Total Variance	Commulative % of variance in factor space	Commulative % of variance in data space
1	7.756532	19,23	34,03	19,23
2	5.940271	14,73	60,08	33,96
4	4.813708	11,93	81,20	45,89
4	4.285282	10,62	100,00	56,52

Source : Statistica Factor Analysis Program, 1997 Updated Edition
Department of Statistics
University of Fort Hare, Alice, 1997

A great deal of parsimony was achieved: the factor analytic technique reduced the size of the data from 7 200 correlation coefficients to 88 eigenvectors (Table 4.7). If one considers the fact that when interpreting Table 4.7 only the significant eigenvector are accorded prime consideration, then one would appreciate the fact that the data could further be reduced to mere 22 significant eigenvectors loaded onto the four principal factors. It is therefore appropriate to conclude that when the factor analytic technique is used for analysing data of surveys in the field of human geography, the outcome can be articulated with an admirable economy of language.

4.6.2. **Discriminant analysis**

The factor analytic technique was supplemented with discriminant analysis to present discernible spatial variations in the impact of the principal factors and

Table 4.7 : Sorted Varimax Rotated Eigenvectors

VARIABLES	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
No. of people in household	-.536530	-.255972	-.112559	-.271497
No. of rooms occupied by household	-.542713	.366763	.029091	-.141354
No. of rooms used for sleeping	-.641927	.048881	.056446	-.057908
Household members attending school	-.509742	-.010179	-.029536	-.136894
People with formal education	-.710723	-.030512	.000715	.012815
Literacy in Xhosa	-.767507	.032030	-.066917	-.004487
Literacy in English	-.730909	.173457	-.090383	.016037
Monthly income	-.079042	.679284	-.036518	-.012396
Expenditure on rent	-.033639	.612907	.038879	.025772
Expenditure on energy and fuel	-.053282	.569282	.022639	.062045
Amount paid on hire purchase contracts	-.161111	.626410	-.051301	-.132815
Households with television sets	.277223	-.515525	.125199	.068216
Presence of development organisations	.041841	-.112129	.919861	-.029837
Development organisations identified	.015426	.074199	.913296	.043913
Activities of the organisations	.003690	-.051505	.877032	-.023019
Projects completed by the organisations	-.000491	.078313	.655685	-.029807
Projects under constructions	.061492	.055673	.829800	.065647
Access to land	.144799	-.154049	.035424	.668074
Size of homestead plot	.016048	-.073011	-.003465	.563851
Scale of cultivation	.044990	.031135	.080932	.578074
Crops cultivated	.056171	.004472	.100173	.643920
Methods of weed control	-.043096	.068474	-.074421	.659013

Source : Statistica Factor Analysis Program, 1997 Updated Edition; Department of Statistics; University of Fort Hare. Alice, 1997

their associated variables on the socio-economic development in Xalanga District. The discriminant analytic technique was employed to distinguish the effects of the factors and their respective variables on the levels of development and welfare between the 'urban' area (Cala), the peri-urban areas and the rural areas. The basis for the classification was laid by the sample frame which stratified the survey population (see Section 4.4.2). The classification imposed some measure of order and coherence on the outcome of the factor analysis and thus rendered it more comprehensible and more open to interpretation and further analysis (Manly, 1986).

Although the factor analysis summarized the entire data and eventually reduced it to four factors loaded with 22 variables, it did not produce any spatial pattern in terms of the distribution of the influences of the factors and the variables on development and welfare. Discriminant analysis was therefore used to discriminate and classify the spatial entities surveyed into three pre-determined groups which demonstrated greater degree of internal similarities in terms of the magnitude of the discriminant scores of the variables. For example, in Table 4.8, the discriminant scores of the variables under Tsengiwe are of identical corresponding magnitudes as those under the rural areas (i.e. Qiba, Lupapasi and Mtingwevu,) although the former is in the peri-urban stratum and the latter in the rural stratum. According to the criterion used for the classification (situation within 6 km radius from Cala), Tsengiwe is a peri-urban area, however the constraints to its development are similar to those of the rural areas because of the poor communication network which links it with Cala. Indeed, it is closer to Cala yet it is remote and isolated and thus experiences the conditions which characterise the rural areas. The merit of the discriminant analysis in this study is that it reveals the variables which influence development and the magnitude of the influence in each of the six communities surveyed (Table 4.8).

The discriminant analysis was performed on the 121 variables which the computer processing unit accepted for the factor analysis. The canonical discriminant analytic technique was used to discriminate the variables. The

Table 4.8 Weights obtained by means of canonical discriminant functions

VARIABLES	URBAN	PERI-URBAN AREA		RURAL AREA		
	Cala	Cala Reserve	Tsengiwe	Lupapasi	Mtingwevu	Qiba
Projects completed by organisations	0.5539	0.5905	0.7422	1.0959	1.0226	1.1822
Presence of development organisations	10.2012	22.2033	23.6282	28.4244	25.1264	23.5044
Development organisations identified	-2.0492	-2.8942	-2.9262	-3.5893	-3.1205	-3.1431
Projects under construction	1.4431	0.7538	0.7204	0.7141	0.8060	0.6836
Scale of cultivation	9.3979	7.1691	7.0087	7.3644	6.9541	7.7023
Methods of weed control	0.2845	0.1559	0.1266	1.0546	0.5843	0.0186
Crops cultivated	2.3313	3.1307	3.5793	3.1294	3.4468	3.4840
Assistance from agriculture cooperatives	6.9626	8.3284	9.0271	8.3579	8.9721	8.2143
People with formal education	0.8968	1.6066	0.5920	1.4054	1.0708	1.5393
Literacy in English	1.0920	-0.6388	-0.3913	-0.1961	-0.2044	-0.3403
Children under 16 years not attending school	-0.5580	-0.5156	-1.9928	-0.0982	-0.3621	-0.7842
Reasons for not attending school	2.1077	2.2500	3.1836	2.2106	1.9419	2.3797
People working outside Xalanga District	0.5592	0.4222	0.4766	0.2894	0.1188	0.3901
No of unemployed females	1.0354	0.5412	0.7397	0.4915	0.8461	0.6254
No. of unemployed males	0.2511	-0.1840	0.3770	0.0223	-0.0535	0.2681
Monthly income	2.2516	1.2527	1.6320	1.6413	1.3759	1.3816
No. of rooms occupied by households	1.0088	0.8909	0.7154	0.0650	1.0450	0.7411
Number of bedrooms	7.9481	7.9819	8.847	9.6387	9.1069	8.7771
Constant	-59.9141	-59.0405	-69.9053	-69.3813	-70.7328	-65.1628

Source : Statistica, Discriminant Analysis Program, 1997 Updated Edition
 Department of Statistics
 University of Fort Hare, Alice 1997

computer processing unit used the same packaged programme, 'Statistica', to perform the discriminant analysis. The analysis extracted 18 variables, 12 of them formed part of the 22 variables with significant eigenvectors loaded onto the four factors in the factor analysis. The computer discarded the remaining variables because their variances were too low to be incorporated into the analysis. The variances of the 18 variables were converted to discriminant scores (or weights). The discriminant score of each variable in a given community (or column as in Table 4.8) indicates the magnitude of the influence of the variable on development of the community concerned. However, the direction of the influence (either favouring or restricting) of the variables on development is ascertained by comparing the score with the frequency distribution of the variable (presented in histograms in Appendix 3.)

The importance of the discriminant analytic technique in analysing data from surveys in human geography was stressed in the 1970s (King, 1970; Hiltner and Smith, 1974).

4.7 CONCLUSION

The rural development experience in Xalanga District has been investigated using different approaches and methods. The methodological framework was wide enough to incorporate both abstract and concrete research methods. The data elicited in the process was analysed with qualitative and quantitative techniques in a complementary fashion to strengthen the contentions contained in this study. The realist nature of the approach and the different analytic tools employed symbolise the attempt to lay bare the factors influencing the rural development process in the district.

In the subsequent chapter, the findings of the survey and analysis of data are discussed. It identifies the relationships between the variables and factors and the pattern of the relationships.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter sets out to present the outcome of the survey in both qualitative and quantitative terms. The essence of the approach is to provide insight into the development process in Xalanga District and the quality of life of its people which invariably, would provide the basis for evaluating and interpreting the rural development experience of the district. The prime reason underlying the mode of presentation is that different data sets were gathered at different phases of the research process, using different methods and from different informants. The data sets were subsequently analysed with different (qualitative and quantitative) techniques. The approach accords equal importance to the measurable and non-measurable elements of rural development and the socio-economic conditions in the district. Hence, the method of presentation of the outcome of the survey and the consequent analysis are aligned with the methods of realism.

The combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches makes it possible to employ the logic of verification and discovery to develop explanations grounded in concrete human realities for the impact and direction of the rural development process in Xalanga District. Many commentators stress the importance of the complementarity of qualitative and quantitative approaches in the presentation of research findings and analysis. Silverman (1985:xi), for instance, advises that “there is little analytic merit in choosing between many of the polarities current in theory and methodology, and we need not be either qualitative or quantitative researchers”. Quantitative and statistical models provide a useful means of calculating results and deducing assumptions from the outcome of surveys for the purposes of explanations and hypothesis testing. However, they do not reveal the causal mechanisms

at work and their effects. Thus relations which involve material connections between social phenomena become indistinguishable; for instance, causal relations may be confused with contingent relations. Besides, statistical 'probability' indicates the expectations about the occurrence of future events rather than their causes. Hence, qualitative analysis is required to provide the missing links and coherence in order to present a comprehensive reflection of the real rural situation and the impact of rural development in Xalanga District.

The qualitative (descriptive) presentation of some aspects of the research findings is intended to facilitate better understanding of the characteristics of the district and its people, the impacts of rural development programmes and projects and the nature of the relationships between the observed variables and the underlying factors revealed via quantitative (correlation, factor and discriminant) analyses. The act of describing, therefore, involved preparation and analysis of the outcome of the survey, with regard to the observed social phenomena and an account of the relationships among the variables.

5.2 PROFILE OF THE SURVEY POPULATION

It is appropriate to commence the presentation and analysis of the research findings with the characteristics of the survey population. The characteristics provide insights into the capacity of the people of Xalanga to develop coping strategies to undertake socio-economic activities to uplift themselves, the quality of life, the prevailing technology, the available resources and the institutions and organisations which assist and guide them. The capacity of the rural people to develop meaningful strategies depends, among other factors, on their composition, level of education and training, settlement systems and power relations in terms of individual's participation in decision-making and community development (Development Bank of Southern Africa, 1993). How these factors are shaped and directed to yield beneficial results in

rural communities is essentially within the realms of rural development; wherever they are adequately cultured, there is marked improvement in the quality of life and the general socio-economic characteristics of the people. The knowledge of the characteristics of the survey population therefore offers a means for assessing the ease with which the rural people cope with their daily tasks of life and thus reflects the performance of rural development in the district.

5.2.1 **Household Composition**

In investigating the size of households in Xalanga District, it was found that the average number of people in a household is 7,5 people. In Cala (a service centre) where the households comprise of largely nuclear families, the average size of a household is 5,4, whereas in the peri-urban and rural areas, where an extended family system is the norm rather than the exception, some households have up to 12 people. Table 3.1 indicates that 34,5% of the households surveyed has more than 9 people each. The factor loading of the number of people in a household loaded onto the first factor in the factor analysis is -0,54 (Table 4,7). This indicates that household size exerts some influence on the level of development and living conditions in Xalanga District. However, the influence of this variable is negative which means that it hinders development: overcrowding creates unhealthy living conditions which affects the productivity of the people. Table 2.1 shows that 50,6% of the household members are aged below 20 years. The implication is that the larger the size of a household, the higher the number of young people who are supported by adult's wages, and aged people's pensions, disability grants and remittances. This observation is buttressed by the high correlation coefficients (0,66) between the size of the households and the number of people attending school, and the inverse relationship between the size of the households and development projects completed in the district (-0,11) (Table 4.4). Most of the scarce resources are expended on the requirements of the young people

(e.g. food, clothing, education, health and recreational facilities) and little is left for investment and development.

Table 5.1 : Size of Households.

No. of people in Households	% of Households (N=200)
1	1,5
2 - 4	17,5
5 - 6	25,0
7 - 8	21,5
9 and above	34,5

The presence of young children and infants also prevents most of the adult females from working. According to a recent study by Health Care Trust (1997), 24,6% of household members in Xalanga District are grandchildren whose parents are migrant workers and 9,2% are parents and grandparents who are too old to work (Figure 5.1). It is thus obvious that the basic unit of societal organisation (i.e. the household) in Xalanga District militates against development because its composition and structure allow little or no savings to be invested either in the creation of opportunities for the realisation of human potentials or in education and training to develop the capacity of the people to cope effectively with the demands of modern economic order.

The issue of population should receive serious attention of the planning authorities. It should constitute the instrument and objective of development because high population growth rate has deleterious effect on both individual welfare and national efforts towards economic and social development. It is therefore apparent that any meaningful rural development in Xalanga District should address the problem of the size of the households through family planning techniques and education. The high population relative to the available resources is the result of the past policies of the apartheid system

(e.g. the creation of the 'reserves' and later bantustan system, see Section 3.2). The high concentration of young people in the population is blamed on the migrant labour system: the migrant workers leave their children behind. Restructuring the household composition and size would have far-reaching consequences for the district and the nation in general. The solution is not all that simple and easy because the factors which caused the problems also initiated and maintained some reinforcing practices which are deeply entrenched in the society (e.g. migrant labour system and subsistence production). In the context of this proposition, the rural development process has not achieved much in the district. Firstly, the household size is very large in the rural areas. Secondly, the population growth rate is high as indicated by the high composition of people aged under ten years (Figure 2.3)

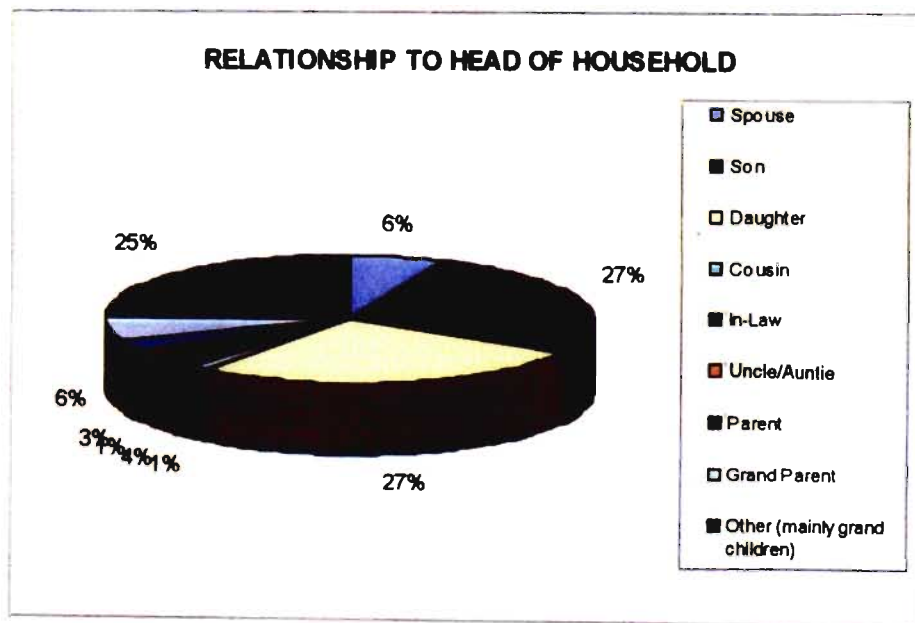


Figure 5.1. Household composition by person staying with the head of household and their relationships.

5.2.2 Housing

Overcrowding is a crucial problem facing the people in the district especially in the peri-urban and rural areas because of the extended family system. The problem of overcrowding is exemplified by the high factor scores for the

number of rooms and/or huts occupied by a household (-0,54) and the number of rooms and/or huts used for sleeping purposes (-0,64) of the factor analysis (Table 4.7)

The intensity of the problem of shortage of accommodation in the six sampled communities is revealed by the sorted factor scores of the discriminant analysis presented in Table 5.2 below. Firstly, the discriminant scores of the variables are generally closely related which implies that the problem of shortage of housing is widespread. Secondly, the pattern of the discriminant scores for the number of bedrooms suggests that the problem is more acute in the rural areas. Thirdly, Lupapasi shows discriminant scores of 0,07 and 9,64 for the number of rooms occupied and the number of bedrooms respectively. The scores are at the extreme ends of the spectrum. The problem of shortage of accommodation is likely to be worse in Lupapasi as compared to the other areas (refer to Appendix 3).

Table 5.2 Discriminant factor scores depicting varying degrees of overcrowding in the sampled communities.

Settlement type	Communities	No. of rooms occupied	No. of bedrooms
Urban	Cala	1.0088	7.9481
Peri-urban	Cala Reserve	.8909	7.9819
	Tsengiwe	.7154	8.8479
Rural	Lupapasi	.0650	9.6387
	Qiba	.7411	8.7771
	Mtingwevu	1.0450	9.1069

Source: Statistica, Discriminant Analysis Program, 1997 Updated Edition.

Department of Statistics,

University of Fort Hare, Alice, 1997.

It is interesting to note that 96,9% of the houses in the peri-urban and rural areas are owned by the households (Health Care Trust, 1997). The problem of overcrowding in these areas therefore neither relates to the ownership of the buildings nor access to homestead plot: rather it is directly related to rural poverty. Simply put, the people living in overcrowded households do not have the financial resources to erect more building structures to accommodate the household members adequately. Similarly, if rooms or houses were readily available for rent or lease, these families would be able to afford to move into them. The correlation matrix (Table 4.4) indicates 0,33 correlation coefficient between the number of bedrooms and the size of the household. This means that these two variables are not related by any appreciable degree: an increase in the household size does not necessarily mean a corresponding increase in the number of bedrooms available for the households members. The correlation matrix reveals a rather interesting relationship between expenditure on rent and the size of the household (-0,09): As the size of the household population increases, expenditure on rent decreases. It implies that as the population of the household increases, the demand for certain goods and services considered by the household as more essential increases. Owing to poverty, the only way of meeting the additional demand for goods and services is by curtailing the expenditure on rent which is accomplished through the reduction of the number of rooms or huts occupied by the household.

Therefore, it is not surprising that 24,5% of the households have access to only one bedroom (Table 5.3). This has social implications since it makes it impossible for these households to have visitors and denies the household members the right to privacy. As Wilson and Ramphela (1989) have observed, if people live under overcrowded conditions they tend to lose respect for each other and develop passive attitude towards life. A further problem is that the houses are constructed from non-durable materials such as mud, sticks and grass and have inadequate ventilation. The result is that tuberculosis (a communicable and airborne disease) is more prevalent and more disturbing

than even AIDS in the district (Health Care Trust, 1997). Hence, poor housing conditions also have health implications which impact on development (see Section 4.3.5). Although the accommodation facilities in the district are inadequate, homelessness does not constitute a major problem because of the prevalence of the extended family system in the peri-urban and rural areas and the development of informal settlements in Cala.

Table 5.3 Distribution of households by the number of rooms used for sleeping purposes

NO. OF BEDROOMS	% OF HOUSEHOLDS (N=200)
1	24,5
2 - 4	70,5
5 - 6	4,0
7 - 8	1,5

Shelter is one of the three basic necessities of life and if the majority of the people are poorly housed, as is the case in the rural areas in Xalanga District, then one can hardly conclude that there has been any improvement in the living conditions of the people: the rural development process has not achieved anything in this direction. It was realised during the survey that there is no organisation which is directly or indirectly involved in providing decent and affordable housing in the rural areas. As the Headman of Lupapasi laments, "the Masakhane and RDP projects aimed at providing affordable housing units are all concentrated in the urban areas"¹⁷. He blames the current moral decadence of the youth on overcrowding in the households.

¹⁷ Interview with the Headman of Lupapasi in 12 June 1995.

5.2.3 Age and sex structure

The dearth of viable economic opportunities in the rural settlements has profound impact on the age and sex structure of the district's population. A significant proportion of the active labour force, mostly males has migrated (see Section 3.5.1). There is therefore a high concentration of young and old people and females in the population.

The age-sex structures of the total population of the households surveyed and respondents are presented in Tables 3.1 and 5.4 respectively. The outcome of the survey shows that 53% of the heads of the households were females. A sizeable proportion of the respondents, 33,5%, comprised of people over 60 years, of which 56,7% was made up of males. The predominant age groups were 51 to 60 years (26,5%) and 61 years and over (20,5%). The minimum age of the respondents recorded was 21 years, a wife of a migrant worker; and the maximum age was 88 years, a former male migrant worker.

Table 5.4 : Age/Sex Structure of Respondents (heads of households)

Age group	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%) n=200
21 - 30	20,0	80,0	7,5
31 - 40	51,7	48,3	14,5
41 - 50	41,7	58,3	18,0
51 - 60	43,4	56,6	26,5
61 - 70	53,7	46,3	20,5
71 and over	61,5	38,5	13,0
			.
Total	47,0	53,0	100,0

The age-sex structure of the communities surveyed reveals three characteristics of the district's population:

- (i) the population of Xalanga District is young: approximately half of the entire population resident in the survey communities is under the age of 20 years (Table 3.1);
- (ii) the proportion of old people aged over 60 years is high: 33,5% of the respondents (Table 5.4); and
- (iii) the preponderance of females in the population: 51,6 % of the total population (Table 3.1) and 53,0% of the respondents (Table 5.4).

The preponderance of young and aged people reflects a high rate of economic dependency. The small active adult population has to support the young and old people by providing food, clothing, shelter and medical care (Table 5.5). In addition, the young people require facilities for education and training and, in time, employment avenues. The problems of dependency are exacerbated by the high rate of unemployment. The pressure on household income (salaries, wages, pension and disability grants and remittances) is considerable: the propensity to spend is high therefore there is little savings for investment and development.

Table 5.5: Economic dependency rate: Number of non-economically active adults per 100 economically active adults.

Settlement type	Xalanga in 1994	Former Transkei average in 1990
Urban	167	234
Peri-urban	580	360
Rural	345	398
Average	348	385

Source : Keyter, 1994.

The high concentration of females in the population of Xalanga is the result of the out migration of adult males. This feature is common to the populations of the former homelands in view of the dearth of employment opportunities (Development Bank of Southern Africa, 1993). The high female/male ratio implies that women bear the burden of household maintenance and production. Therefore production cannot expand beyond subsistence level to strengthen the economic base of the rural communities for development. It is apparent that women execute rural development programmes; hence development assistance and strategies should be directed to them, taking cognizance of their peculiar circumstances otherwise scarce development resources will be inefficiently used or wasted.

5.2.4 **Marital status**

The marital status of the adult population is probably influenced by the sex structure of the population and the availability of viable employment opportunities in the district. Marriage is regarded as an important and sacred institution in the district. This is evident firstly by the fact that 76,0% of the respondents were married either in the traditional and customary way or in the orthodox and legal tradition (Table 5,6); and secondly by the relatively low incidence of divorce among the respondents. Only 1,5% of the total sample consisted of divorcees and 66,7% of the divorcees were single female parents.

However, widowhood was relatively high: 11,5% were widowed. It was higher among the female population. It came to light that most of the widows lost their husbands through road and industrial (mainly mining) accidents rather than illness. Again, the widowers, in traditional society, more easily find new wives than the widows find new husbands.

A small number of respondents (11%) were single; 77,3% of this category were females partly because most of the prospective suitors have migrated to

the mining and industrial centres, or those who remain behind are too poor (because of unemployment) to establish households. It was realised, through observation that drunkenness and drug abuse are higher among the adults of both sexes without spouses. Table 5.6 indicates the marital status of the respondents.

Table 5.6 Distribution of respondents by marital status.

Status	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (n=200)
Single	22,7	77,3	11,0
Married	57,3	42,7	76,0
Divorced	33,3	66,7	1,5
Widowed	4,3	95,7	11,5
Total	47,0	53,0	100,0

5.2.5 Level of education

The educational profile of the respondents is contained in the data given in Table 2.3. The level of education and training of the economically active population gives an indication of the skills composition of the labour force. The higher the level of education and training of the labour force, the greater the contribution it makes to production and development. The level of education of the study area is very low: 21,5% had never had any form of formal education and 32,5% had had formal education ranging from Sub-standard A to Standard 4. If a minimum of five years of formal education is required to retain a reasonable level of literacy (May, 1984), then only 46,0% of the respondents can be regarded as literate. Moreover, only 6% of the respondents has had tertiary education. The capacity of the people to contribute to development and nation building is therefore low.

Table 3.4 also reveals the general tendency of females to be slightly better educated than their male counterparts. However, the proportion of males

who had obtained tertiary (post matriculation) education and training, 6,4%, is higher than that of the females, 5,7%, who drop out either because of poverty or unwanted pregnancies or simply to marry. The latter case is exemplified by the twenty-one year old mother who was a housewife and head of a comparatively younger household whose husband was a migrant worker.

Education and training is widely regarded as one of the few avenues of escape from rural poverty especially in communities which lack sound economic bases and opportunities. In Xalanga District, the extent to which people benefit from education and thus escape from rural poverty is limited. The contribution of education towards the alleviation of rural poverty is illustrated by Table 5.7 indicating the eigenvectors of the number of people with formal education, literacy in Xhosa and literacy in English in the factor analysis. The loadings are high. It means that education is an important factor which influences development in the district. However the direction of the influence is negative because of the low level of education in the district. By this it is meant that education constitutes a limiting factor to the development process in Xalanga District: less than 50% of the people can participate in ventures which require high degree of literacy and numeracy. It implies that the majority of people are likely to be employed in occupations which are below their highest potential skills. Consequently, the potential wages that could be earned are drastically reduced.

The people of Xalanga District have reasonable access to education: there are fifty-nine primary and junior secondary schools, ten senior secondary schools, a college of education, three adult education centres and a finishing school in the district. Besides, CALUSA provides educational support services including a library, adult literacy programmes and pre-school projects throughout the district. However, the quality of education is poor due to inadequate

facilities, shortage of qualified teachers, equipment and textbooks. For instance, of all the educational institutions in the district, only Arthur Tsengiwe College of Education and Matanzima Senior Secondary School have libraries but even then they are poorly equipped.

Table 5.7 Loadings on Education Factor

Variables	Loadings
People with formal education	-.710723
Literacy in Xhosa	-.767507
Literacy in English	-.730909

Source: Statistica Factor Analysis Program 1997 Updated Edition
Department of Statistics
University of Fort Hare, Alice, 1997

In investigating the causes of low level of education, 76,0% of the respondents cited poverty, poor health and nutrition and household obligations as the primary inhibiting factors preventing the people from taking maximum advantage of the existing educational facilities. These factors are basically the manifestations of rural poverty. Hence, rural poverty and a low level of education and training are mutually reinforcing; the cycle can be broken by comprehensive and well articulated rural development strategies in which education and training is accorded the highest priority.

The lowest rate of literacy was recorded in the rural areas, where the discrimination factor scores exceeded unity (Table 5.8). In the rural areas, there is a great demand for juvenile labour to herd livestock because of the outmigration of the young and energetic people, therefore fewer people attend schools. In addition, the educational facilities are the poorest in the district. There is not enough space for the people who attend schools: the schools are thus overcrowded. Owing to their remoteness and inaccessibility, the schools

in the rural areas are unable to attract qualified teachers. The educational facilities are relatively better in the urban and peri-urban areas. However, the literacy rate was higher in the peri-urban areas than in Cala because of the recent influx of illiterate people from the surrounding rural areas and nearby white farms (see Section 3.5.2).

Table 5.8 Discriminant factor loadings on education factor

Settlement type	Communities	People with formal education
Urban	Cala Village	.8968
Peri-urban	Cala Reserve	.6066
	Tsengiwe	.5920
Rural	Lupapasi	1.4054
	Qiba	1.5395
	Mtingwevu	1.0708

Source: Statistica Discriminant Analysis Program, 1997 Updated Edition.
 Department of Statistics,
 University of Fort Hare, Alice, 1997.

5.2.6 Settlement systems

According to Dewar (1994), rural poverty and the consequent overcrowding, in part, emanate from the nature of the settlement systems in which these households are found. Like elsewhere in the former homeland of Transkei, the settlement systems in Xalanga District are distorted in that they were not shaped by economic forces but rather by political and administrative considerations of the apartheid policy. Dewar (1994:5) argues that “the traditional pattern of land allocation ensures that people move not necessarily to where they most want to be, but to where they can gain the commitment of a headman and chief to the allocation of a land parcel”. In most cases, the size of the parcels of land allocated to the households does not exceed one

hectare. In the six communities surveyed, 41,5% of the households has access to homestead plots which cannot provide for their subsistence requirements, although they live in rural areas. Furthermore, the settlements are not located around irrigation projects or perennial water sources to provide water for intensive agriculture, or along major roads to promote trade and commerce, or around industries and mines to offer employment. Consequently, the settlement systems lack sound economic bases to generate viable economic opportunities to support the people at a reasonable standard of living.

The situation is further complicated by the dispersed nature of the settlement pattern in terms of provision of utility and infrastructural services to the rural population. These services, when available, augment the capacity of the people to undertake many informal activities (e.g. welding, sewing and dressmaking and shoe and tyre repairs). The dispersed settlement pattern renders the provision of these essential infrastructural services inefficient and expensive. Thus to date, only three of the twenty administrative areas (Cala Reserve, Mazimdaka and Mbenge) have been supplied with electricity under the RDP.

Earlier attempts at consolidating the rural settlement into economic units (Soil Conservation Act No. 10 of 1966) failed dismally, firstly because of the suspicion on the part of the rural people with regard to the intentions of the government owing to their opposition to the homeland system; secondly because of the force (as opposed to dialogue and incentives) with which the policy was implemented; and lastly because the policy failed to offer viable options (McAllister, 1989). The relocation of people and the consolidation of their land holdings had markedly adverse effects on agricultural production and other aspects of rural life. The worst affected community in Xalanga District was Emnxe. The land restitution policy of the 'democratic government of South Africa is gradually encouraging the affected people to return to their original areas.

Besides the betterment policy of the 1960s, there has not been any comprehensive and systematic programme or attempt to create economic bases and opportunities in the rural settlements in Xalanga District. However, the general axiom is that the creation of economic opportunities in the rural areas would not only empower the rural people to become self-reliant and assume effective control of their destiny, but also integrate the rural economies with the greater national economy and thereby reduce the rate of rural-urban migration (Drummond, 1992; Dewar, 1994). On the contrary, the government departments and other development organisations operating in Xalanga District pursue *ad hoc* policies to treat the symptoms of age old problems. Their activities are mainly limited to the supply of humanitarian assistance to the rural population while abandoning the crux of the problem: restructuring the socio-economic foundations of the rural settlements to transform them from purely consumer societies to producer societies. Thus if the aim of development is to empower the people to realise their potential and become self-sufficient, then the rural development process in Xalanga District is a mishap.

It is important to note that because the settlement systems were politically organised, the extent to which the people mobilised themselves and their resources for development was determined by the power structure which created the communities. The influence of power relations on community development and the behaviour patterns of the people is discussed in the section which follows.

5.2.7 Power relations and popular participation for development

The power relations in a community interact and permeate all the other facets of the society, either positively or negatively. In South Africa, the power relations assumed the form of apartheid and had profound negative effect on rural development in black communities. The extent to which power relations

have influenced the rural development process in Xalanga District in particular and the former Transkei in general is manifested in the relationship between the South African Government and the governments of the former homelands. In the past, the South African Government employed fiscal measures to 'discipline' the political authorities in the former homelands. These measures were designed to render the former homeland governments subservient to the political tutelage of South Africa (Development Bank of Southern Africa, 1993). Consequently, the financial grants were not sufficient to mobilise the entire population and resources for self-reliant development in the former homelands. Whatever little development the grants could support was concentrated in the few industrial enclaves and urban centres (Keyter, 1994). Thus the development efforts of the former Transkei over the last four decades have left the vast majority of the population outside the mainstream of the development process. The result is that over 90% of the population lives in environmentally depressed, physically inaccessible, socially stagnating and politically disintegrating rural areas.

In the former Transkei, a community's relation with the government was important in that the provision of infrastructural amenities and services was frequently linked to the support for political authorities. The communities (c.g. Xalanga District) which resisted the homeland system were neglected socially and economically, and repressed politically. The paternal relationship between the former Transkei government and the local communities killed the spirit of popular participation in community development because the development projects were planned and executed by the central authorities with little or no grassroots participation. In this context, therefore, the development process was not based on the ideas of human dignity and fulfillment since it did not allow the people to take charge of their lives. According to Lappe and Collins (1977), to develop is to gain increasing power and skills to define, analyse and solve one's problems. In the dissident

communities, the people were denied the fundamental right of association and could not mobilise themselves and their resources for community development. For instance, in Xalanga District, the founding members of HCT and CALUSA were persecuted.

Power relations at the community level in the former Transkei were marked by corruption and acquiescence because of the incorporation of traditional structures into state bureaucracy. The need to ensure effective administration and maintain law and order in post independent Transkei resulted in the birth of autocracy, despotism and nepotism in the rural areas. With the blessing of the government, the chiefs and headmen exercised a wide range of discretionary powers and were not directly or indirectly accountable to their subjects (Haines and Tapscott, 1989). Owing to illiteracy and their remoteness, the rural people were not aware of their rights and could not insist on them. Thus the ability of the individuals (or families) to secure access to tribal land and other services (e.g. state pensions) depended on the nature of relationship with the tribal officials. The officials withheld favours from those who fell into disfavour and dissidents were coerced. Consequently, the rural peasantry was drawn into the realm of bribery and corruption because of the need for social security and survival.

The rural people competed for the patronage of the tribal authorities, and individualism was reinforced in the process. The competition created social cleavages and tensions in the rural communities and culminated in the perpetuation of passivity. Unfortunately, passivity militates against collective action for community development and thus reinforces rural poverty. Women became more passive because they were excluded from developing cordial relationship with the tribal authorities and were therefore disadvantaged (Development Bank of Southern Africa, 1993). Hence, the passivity which has permeated the very fabric of the rural communities is the direct consequence of the administrative policies of the government of the

former Transkei and illiteracy and powerlessness on the part of the rural people.

Popular participation in community affairs and development began to flourish in Cala and spread to the rural areas in 1987 because political repression and surveillance in the district ceased with the fall of Chief George Matanzima as the Head of the State of the former Transkei. For instance, in 1987, Xalanga Youth Club was formed to promote the culture of learning and greater tolerance and respect for the older generation (Bank, 1992). In the wake of political liberation in South Africa in the early 1990s, scores of social organisations with political undercurrents emerged to educate and waken the people about their rights and obligations. Apathy and passivity are gradually being rooted out: 74% of the respondents are members of political and social organisations; 98% exercised their franchise during 1994 general elections; and 95,5% registered for the 1995 local government elections. Furthermore, the rural people are now more open to the assistance and advice of government departments and NGOs than previously. In each of the administrative units, there is some kind of village development committee. The villages in Qiba have moved further ahead in this respect: they have established a rural development forum to mobilise the people and their resources to improve water supply, sanitation and roads. However the social and political transformations which have occurred in the district were not accompanied by structural economic changes in the rural areas. The old system of production and distribution of wealth still persists. The rural development process ought to integrate the rural economies with the greater national economy by creating opportunities in the rural areas to reduce rural poverty and foster economic emancipation.

5.3 LIVELIHOOD AND INCOME GENERATION

The households in Xalanga District undertake a number of economic activities to earn a livelihood (Table 3.5). However, the range of the activities

available is limited, symbolised by the absence of manufacturing activity and a poorly developed informal sector. The absence of manufacturing industries in the local economy exemplifies its underdeveloped state which is consequent upon the prevalence of certain inhibiting factors. Firstly, as a result of decades of neglect (see Sections 3.1 and 3.2), the requisite infrastructure is inadequately provided for: there is no treated water, the inter- and intra-district roads are untarred and potholed, electricity supply is unstable and intermittent, and there is no banking facility anywhere in the district. Secondly, the people lack entrepreneurial skills as a result of the low quality of education and training. These factors are mutually reinforcing and their sum effects have eventually culminated in unemployment, disguised unemployment and low wages which erode away the ability to accumulate capital.

Obviously, the growth pole concept which constituted the basis of the development policy of the former Transkei failed to generate impetus for growth and development in the rural areas. The 'trickle down effects' of the investments in the industrial enclaves could not be realised in Xalanga District because of the poor state of infrastructure facilities, poor resource base and the nature of the hierarchy of settlement in the territorial spatial system.

At independence of the former Transkei, the white-owned businesses and assets in Xalanga District were purchased by a few blacks mainly from Cape Town and Witwatersrand (Higginbottom, 1995): the local residents obviously did not have the financial resources to acquire these income generating assets. It is therefore not surprising that the public sector is the single largest employer, employing 12,5% of respondents as teachers, nurses, policemen and women, and officials, clerks and labourers of the few government departments in the district.

The private sector comprises of the well established (formal) businesses (such as wholesales, supermarkets, hotels, cafes and auto repair garages), the informal sector, transport industry, NGOs and domestic service (housemaids and garden attendants). Together, the private sector employs 11,5% of the respondents. In advanced economies, the private sector offers a wider range of services and employs greater proportion of the labour force. It is, therefore, apparent that in Xalanga District the potential and initiatives of the people have not yet been developed to enable them establish viable small-scale enterprises.

5.3.1 **Employment and incomes**

Rural poverty and unemployment are directly related. If there is an area where development planning has failed woefully in Xalanga District (and the former Transkei as a whole) in terms of alleviating rural poverty, then it is in the field of employment creation. The opportunity for employment in the district is limited. Table 3.5 reveals that only 38,5% of the respondents is employed by the public, private and agricultural sectors of the local economy, and 61,5% is made up of pensioners, housewives and unemployed people. The paucity of employment in the district is exemplified by the absence of manufacturing and mining activities, and the smaller proportions of the respondents engaged in agriculture (5,5%) and private business (11,5%). The unemployed constitute 23% of the respondents. The proportion of the unemployed compares favourably with the average of the former Transkei, 50,1% (Keyter, 1994). This may be the result of the employment of unskilled and semi-skilled people by the RDP and Masakhane projects in Cala, or the proportion of the unemployed has been masked by disguised unemployment in the agricultural and private sectors.

The people interviewed blamed the shortage of employment opportunities on four main factors. Firstly, the district is poorly endowed with natural

(especially mineral) resources. Two minerals, low grade coal and nickel, have been discovered in the district. Unfortunately, they have not been exploited to generate employment and create the basis for industrial development because they occur in uneconomic deposits. Secondly, agriculture, which is mainly oriented towards subsistence production because of neglect, can neither absorb the unemployed nor produce raw materials for the establishment of agro-based industries to offer employment. Thirdly, the poor quality of infrastructural facilities and services resulting from decades of mal-administration and neglect repel rather than attract businesses including manufacturing enterprises to the district. Fourthly, the low levels of education and training mean intermediate technology is lacking and the capacity of the people to establish viable small-scale enterprises to create employment opportunities in the local economy is restricted. Lastly, the shortage of employment opportunities in the district can be blamed on crime and violence and the attacks on businesses in Cala between 1990 and 1994. The attacks led to the flight of both capital and business enterprises to Umtata and Elliot nearby.

It is therefore not surprising that 56% of the households depended on state pensions and disability grants and remittance from migrant workers for their incomes, and 5,5% did not have any reliable source of household income (Table 5.9). The households without incomes experienced the real taste of poverty. They relied on backyard gardens (because they did not have access to land for subsistence farming), the sale of primary products (e.g. grass for thatching and weaving and firewood) and piece jobs for incomes and subsistence. The household which depended on remittance and state pensions supplemented their incomes with subsistence agriculture. It is estimated that a household in Xalanga District produces 27,1% of its subsistence requirements (Keyter, 1994).

Table 5.9 Percentage distribution of households by sources of income

SOURCE OF INCOME	% OF HOUSEHOLDS (N = 200)
Salary	24,5
Pension and disability grant	35,5
Remittances	20,5
Private business	8,5
Agriculture	5,5
None	5,5

The preponderance of the households which depend on state pensions and remittances suggests that incomes are low in the district. Firstly, a sum of R750,00 is paid to a member of the household who is on state pension every alternative month. This amount is very low considering the average size of the household in the peri-urban and rural areas (see section 5.2.1). Secondly remittances are generally lower, less than R300,00 on the average per month, and in most cases, they are not regular. Hence, 50,6% of the respondents receive up to R500,00 per month. Owing to the low level of education and training, salaries and wages are very low. For example the monthly wages paid to cooks, shop assistants and general labourers do not exceed R750 per month. Figure 5.2 attests to the fact that the flow of cash into the district's economy in the form of pensions, remittance and wages is very little: 86,5% of the respondents receive between nothing and R1 000,00 per month. This means that the incomes of overwhelming majority of the respondents are much lower than the recommended minimum living wage of R1 500,00 per month. Judging from the income distribution of the respondents (Figure 5.2) and the notion that only 27,1% of the household requirements is met through subsistence production, Xalanga District faces severe problems of poverty.

The factor analysis identified monthly income as one of the variables influencing development in Xalanga District. The factor score of the variable

therefore appropriate to conclude that if the rural development process in the district should be of any value to the majority of the people, then it should be directed towards expanding their capacities to create viable jobs to reduce rural poverty.

The diffusionist concept could not generate income and employment opportunities in rural areas because it does not seek to expand and improve the two potentially largest sectors of the rural economy, agriculture and the informal sectors. The rural communities could therefore not be made productive and remained consumer societies.

Table 5.10 : Factor loadings of monthly income

SETTLEMENT TYPE	COMMUNITIES	MONTHLY INCOME
URBAN	Cala	2.2516
PERI-URBAN	Cala Reserve	1.6413
	Tsengiwe	1.6320
RURAL	Lupapasi	1.2527
	Qiba	1.3816
	Mtingwevu	1.3759

Source : Statistica Discriminant Analysis Program, 1997 Updated Edition.
Department of Statistics,
University of Fort Hare, Alice 1997.

5.3.2 Primary household activities

The households encountered in the peri-urban and rural areas undertake certain basic subsistence activities to supplement their incomes. These activities are related to the fetching and gathering of natural resources from the veld and nearby forests. They provide building materials, firewood, water, plants for traditional medicine, materials for craftwork and dietary

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supplements. Unemployment and low incomes have conspired to increase the competition and demand for these products which often exceed the natural regenerative capacities of the veld and forests. These activities have become more tedious and time-consuming because the people are forced to gather products further afield, with the consequent spread of environmental degradation. Besides, it is a risky venture because over 90% of the gatherers are females and are often raped or arrested by forest rangers. The gatherers appear to be immuned to these threats because of the harsh economic realities in the rural areas, as a wood gatherer in Zikhonkwane defiantly explained, "we move in groups to reduce the risk of being raped; as for the forest rangers we care less about them, if they do not want us to destroy the forest and the animals, they should provide us with alternatives, more especially jobs."¹⁸

5.3.3 Agriculture

Agriculture does not constitute a major source of income and employment in the district: a mere 5,5% of the respondents claimed to be full-time farmers. This figure compares poorly with the proportion of the total number of households which has access to land, 80,5% (Table 5.11).

Table 5.11 : Distribution of households per scale of cultivation and access to land.

Scale of agriculture	% of households (n = 200)
Commercial farmers	5,5
Subsistence/part-time farmers	75,0
No access to land	19,5

The subsistence and part-time farmers do not regard themselves as farmers in the true sense although they live in the rural areas and have access to land.

¹⁸ Personal communication with Miss N. Balintulo on 15 June 1995, at Zikhonkwane

They depend on state pensions and remittances from relatives for their income rather than on agriculture. They remain attached to their land holdings because they regard their holdings as a buffer against possible future reductions in state pensions and remittances. Their attitude towards agriculture has been conditioned by the problems which the industry faces in the district (Table 5.11).

Table 5.12 Loadings on variables influencing agriculture.

Variables	Loadings
Access to land	.668074
Size of homestead plot	.563851
Scale of cultivation	.578074
Crops cultivated	.643920
Methods of weed control	.659013

Source : Statistica Factor Analysis program, 1997 Updated Edition,
Department of Statistics,
University of Fort Hare, Alice, 1997.

Table 5.12 shows the variables influencing agricultural development in the district selected by the factor analysis. The high factor loadings of the variables indicate that they exert significant influence on agricultural production in the district. The directions of influence of these variables are explained below. Although a higher proportion of the households (80,5%) has access to land, land availability for agricultural purposes still remains one of the significant factors restricting agricultural development in the district. A significant proportion (41,5%) of the households has access to homestead plots only, the size of which ranges between 0,1 and 0,2 hectares (Transkei Agricultural Study, 1991). Because of apartheid-induced overcrowding, the size of arable allotments ranges from 1 hectare, or less, to 3 hectares. Thus the basis for commercial agriculture does not exist in the rural areas. It is

therefore not surprising that 75% of the households is engaged in subsistence agriculture, The phenomenon does not augur well for agricultural development, the basic ingredient for rural development.

Subsistence crops (e.g. maize, beans, potatoes and vegetables) are cultivated for household consumption because the primary target of subsistence agriculture is to feed the members of the household. The absence of cash crops is an indication of how poor the subsistence farmers are: they do not get income from agricultural activities. The farmers cannot acquire modern tools to improve production. The rudimentary methods of production employed by the farmers is exemplified by the methods of weed control (Table 5.12). It was observed that 17,5% of the farmers do not control weeds at all on their farms and 68,5% employ manual techniques (e.g. hoeing) to control weeds. Thus if land was readily available, production could not be expanded because of the primitive tools and methods of agricultural production.

The factor scores of the types of crops cultivated and the scale of cultivation in the discriminant analysis (Table 5.13) indicates that, apart from Cala, each of the variables has similar influence on agricultural development in the communities sampled. The discriminant scores of the variables in the peri-urban and rural areas are closely related. The implication is that subsistence agriculture is widespread and most of the farmers cultivate similar subsistence crops mainly vegetables, maize and pumpkins. One can therefore assume that a greater proportion of the food consumed in Xalanga District is imported from nearby districts and agricultural regions. It is therefore inaccurate to say that agriculture constitutes the basis of development in the district.

The opportunity for commercial agriculture is adversely affected by the environmental conditions particularly erosion caused by overgrazing, veld fires and drought: the landscape is scarred by gullies. To date,

no organisation or government department has instituted soil conservation measures anywhere in the district. The value of the land available for agricultural use is thus gradually being reduced. The plight of the rural people is further complicated by the fact that suitable agricultural land is not available because only 25% of the district is either flat or gently undulating.

Table 5.13 Sorted discriminant scores variables influencing agriculture.

Settlement type	Communities	Scale of cultivation	Crops cultivated
URBAN	Cala	9.3979	2.3313
PERI-URBAN	Cala Reserve	7.1691	3.1307
	Tsengiwe	7.0087	3.5793
RURAL	Lupapasi	7.3644	3.1294
	Qjba	7.7023	3.4840
	Mtingwevu	6.9541	3.4468

Sources : Statistica Discriminant Analysis Program, 1997 Updated Edition
 Department of Statistics,
 University of Fort Hare, Alice, 1997.

The quality and quantity of manpower available in the rural areas also limit agricultural development. The outmigration of young men from these areas places the burden of agricultural production on women and old people. Those left behind are mainly illiterate and cannot cope with the demands of modern techniques of intensive agriculture in view of the fact that suitable agricultural land is in short supply. In the rural areas, the farmers (mainly females) spend little time on their farms; much time is spent on fetching and gathering resources from the forest to supplement agricultural production, and on other household maintenance activities (e.g. cooking, child care and the maintenance of the buildings).

The basic infrastructure necessary for agricultural development does not exist anywhere in the district. Firstly, it is a common knowledge that Xalanga

District is one of the driest areas in the subregion of the former Transkei (Keyter, 1994), yet no systematic effort has been made to supply the farmers with water for farming. The district has abundant permanent sources of water including springs and the tributaries of the Tsomo and Mtingwevu rivers which could be dammed and the water canalized to the adjoining fields for irrigation. In the absence of irrigation water, the farmers rely on the vagaries of the weather for agricultural production. The farmers therefore consider it economically not viable or even risky to embark on large-scale cultivation because in times of unseasoned drought, losses would be high. Secondly, the rural areas are isolated and inaccessible (Plate 1). The feeder roads become impassable in the wet season which unfortunately coincides with the planting season when agricultural inputs such as seeds, fertilizers, spare parts and fuel for agricultural machinery are needed most.

Institutional resources, especially the agricultural support services, are not readily available to assist the poor subsistence farmers. Of the farmers interviewed 20% were not aware that an agricultural extension service exists in Xalanga District, while 47,5% knew of the existence of the service but had not made contact with the officials in Cala. This observation presupposes physical separation of the location of agricultural support services and where the services are actually needed, and the absence of coordination and communication between the extension officers and the rural poor. It is thus difficult to envisage how the isolated rural farmers can change their traditional methods of farming to make the agricultural industry productive and lucrative.

It is apparent that the development policies in the former Transkei did not provide the requirements for agricultural development in the countryside. Agricultural development has no place in the growth pole concept because the approach does not advocate direct investment in the agricultural sector. In the former Transkei, over 90% of the population lives in the rural areas and 80%

of the rural labour force is employed by the agricultural sector. Any meaningful strategy to alleviate rural poverty should therefore emphasize direct investment in the agricultural sector in the rural areas. In this regard, the basic needs and integrated rural development approaches would be more appropriate.

Lastly, finding markets for surplus agricultural produce is a problem which haunts the so-called commercial farmers. There is no central public or private agency which purchases farm produce directly from the farmers in the district. The main channel of disposing surplus farm produce is the local informal market where there is no official producer price. The local market points are the trading stores owned and run by individual rural elites, who sometimes insist on barter: farm produce (especially wool, hides and skins) are exchanged directly for agricultural inputs or groceries. The terms of exchange depends on the bargaining power of the farmer involved and how urgent the money (or product) is needed. In any case, the terms of trade is often far lower than the official producer price of the agricultural product. However the trading posts are not a guaranteed avenue for disposing farm produce. Sometimes the traders refuse to buy from the farmers because they cannot dispose of their stock in either Queenstown or Elliot as a result of glut in the market, or the poor roads have made the urban markets inaccessible. An informant, who claimed to be a commercial farmer at Qiba, offered the following reason for using a small portion of her arable land for planting maize: "I plant maize to feed my family and livestock and not for sale because there is no market for the crop: the maize board does not buy from Transkei."¹⁹ It is thus obvious that the difficulty in finding buyers for agricultural produce in the rural areas makes marketing highly time-consuming and often discourages commercial production which could form the basis for agricultural development.

¹⁹ Personal communication with Miss E.O.T. Makiwane at Cala on 18 June 1995.

Again, the difficulty with which the farmers dispose of their surplus produce challenges the appropriateness of the growth pole strategy in the former Transkei. The urban growth points were supposed to provide ready markets for agricultural products. However, the industries use mainly imported raw materials; and where local substitutes are used, they are supplied by commercial farmers who produce the raw materials at a much lower cost. The constraints to agricultural production in the rural areas, poor access routes and competition from commercial farmers prevent the small-scale farmers from supplying the urban population with foodstuffs. Agriculture therefore has no chance to develop and ensure self-sufficiency in the rural areas in the former Transkei. (see Section 2.1.5) The appropriate strategy for rural development, in this context, is the one in which agro-based industries generate backward linkages for the agricultural industry providing ready markets with fixed prices for agricultural commodities.

5.3.4 **The informal sector**

The informal sector consists of small economic units of production which are not functionally linked with the large and medium firms. It is difficult to define the term precisely because the sector assumes different forms in different societies. The term 'informal sector' gained international currency in development literature in the early 1970s when it was used in the ILO/UNDP Employment Report on Kenya (ILO/UNDP, 1972). According to the report, the informal sector possesses unique characteristics which enable it contribute towards development:

- (i) it is easy to enter because most of the enterprises are neither registered nor licensed;
- (ii) it relies on the use of local resources;
- (iii) the enterprises are usually owned by individual families;
- (iv) it involves small-scale operations which do not require huge capital; and
- (v) the enterprises are labour intensive and employ adapted technology.

In Xalanga District a heterogeneity of informal economic activities was encountered during the survey; they are conveniently divided into four subsections:

- (i) small-scale production and service units, e.g. shoe repairs, sewing, carpentry, auto repairs and welding;
- (ii) petty trading, e.g. shebeens, spaza shops and hawkers;
- (iii) small-scale construction, e.g., brick-making and brick-laying; and
- (v) transport services, e.g. taxis, buses and trucks.

As much as 80% of the enterprises surveyed employed less than six people, usually members of the extended family. These enterprises use apprentices who learn on the job and are a cheap source of labour. The most outstanding feature of the enterprises in the informal sector is their youthfulness. Of the enterprises encountered, 60% were less than five years old, suggesting high birth and death rates among the enterprises. They were mainly 'one-man' enterprises that lacked adequate financial and managerial backup.

The role of the informal sector in rural development cannot be over-emphasized. It has the capacity to generate employment and income for the rural people, especially the landless. In India, for example, small-scale enterprises contribute significantly to the total employment generated in the economy (TATU, 1986). Employment generation is an essential component of development because apart from the financial reward, it gives a person the chance to contribute towards the development of the entire society and the recognition of being engaged in something worthwhile, and thus human dignity. Since the requirements for employment or entry into the informal sector are relaxed, it is usually the stepping stone for job seekers wishing to enter the formal sector and the surplus labour in the formal sector. These enterprises support the local economy as well as the greater national economy. The wages and earnings of the employees and operators inject cash into the

local economy which stimulates growth in the agricultural, commercial and industrial sectors not only through the purchases of inputs, but also through increased demands for consumer goods and services.

On the contrary, in Xalanga District, the contribution of the informal sector to the local economy is minimal. For instance, privately owned businesses (including the formal and informal sectors) employed 11.5% of the respondents. Besides, none of the employees of the informal enterprises surveyed earned more than R600,00 per month (none of the operators interviewed was prepared to disclose his or her monthly or yearly turnover). The enterprises were all in their infant stages of development. The development of the informal sector in the former Transkei as a whole started quite late: TRANSIDO, for example, was established to offer development assistance to small industries in the territory in 1983. Until then, the informal sector was regarded illegal and the operators especially shebeen owners were constantly harassed. Thus in 1985 there was only one fruit hawker who operated at the taxi rank in Cala.

The retail section of the informal sector expanded rapidly after the trade liberalisation in South Africa in the 1990s. Of the small enterprises encountered, 60% were engaged in trade and commerce, retailing mainly fruits and vegetables, snacks, secondhand clothes, and jewellery in front of the well established shops and at the taxi and bus ranks in Cala and along the major roads and junctions throughout the district. Although petty trading forms a major part of the distribution network, it does not contribute significantly towards development. The turnover is very small suggesting that most of the petty traders are diguisedly unemployed. Besides, it does not improve the skills of the people in terms of production.

Inadequate financial resources are the major constraints to the survival, expansion and development of the informal enterprises. The operators

generally have little or no access to credit from commercial banks and other financial institutions. They usually depend on their savings, gratuity and funds raised from informal sources. These sources of finance often tend to be inadequate. The operators interviewed at TRANSIDO complex at Cala complained about the ineptitude of TRANSIDO officials and questioned the continued existence of the organisation: as the proprietor of a welding enterprise at TRANSIDO complex at Cala laments, “we have been lured into debts by TRANSIDO which has turned deaf ears to our call for redemption.”²⁰

According to de Wilde (1971), the financial institutions in the third world are not adapted to the development needs of these societies and cannot therefore process the applications from the numerous small-scale entrepreneurs. Besides, the small-scale operators do not have sufficient collateral, and in view of the high death rate of these enterprises, the financial institutions are reluctant to offer them loans when there is no guarantee for their repayment.

The financial constraints limit the quantity and variety of inputs which the small-scale enterprises can procure at a time. The lack of spare parts and materials and their high cost disturb the working schemes and schedules of the small-scale enterprises, and for that matter their reputation and turnovers. For instance, the dressmakers interviewed complained of the difficulties they encounter in procuring enough fabric and other materials to offer their customers a choice and produce more clothes to sell in the other districts. Most of the operators buy inputs in bits and pieces and from different sources and do not therefore obtain discounts. They depend on retailers and brokers who charge exorbitant prices for their supplies. Since the suppliers do not deliver inputs on credit, the operators are unable to acquire inputs and materials when there are shortages. The operators are aware that if they pool

²⁰ Personal communication with Mr. Tulelo on 30 May 1995 at Cala.

their resources together, they can procure large consignments and gain from the discounts associated with such purchases; however their lone wolf attitudes resulting from unwholesome competition, petty jealousy and distrust prevent them from coming together.

The operators of the small businesses interviewed acknowledge the fact that there were not enough customers to sustain their enterprises. Most of them provided similar goods and services and thus competed with one another for customers. In addition, they competed with the firmly established large-scale sector which purchased inputs in bulk and could afford to sell its products at much lower prices. Unfortunately, the local market is limited because the purchasing power of a greater proportion of the resident population of the district is very low: 76,5% of the respondents earned up to R500,00 per month. The small-scale enterprises therefore disposed of their products on credit to attract more customers. Their working capital ended being locked up because most of their customers did not honor their payment obligations on time. Inadequate patronage for the small-scale enterprises means that the opportunities for making profits are bleak in the informal sector. Most of the operators therefore give up and their enterprises disappear.

In the informal sector, training is mostly acquired through the traditional apprenticeship system which lacks managerial inputs. For instance, the retailers had not had any formal training in trade and commerce, and the artisans learn their trades on the job in either the formal or informal sector. They could hardly keep accurate records; in most instances they could not estimate their profits or turnovers. These enterprises do not follow formal organisational procedures. The proprietor takes charge of all the management aspects including personnel, finances, procurement of inputs and marketing of output. Due to a lack of training in bookkeeping, most of the operators cannot separate business expenditure from personal and family expenditure. They cannot recognise losses quickly. In the event of the death

of the proprietor, the small-scale business is likely to disappear. This partly explains the high death rate among the small-scale informal enterprise.

The people entrapped in the small-scale informal sector were skeptical about the growth prospects of the sector. Their observation was based on the feeling that the governments (both provincial and national) do not support them, and even when they do, their assistance is inadequate. They cited the poor state of the infrastructural services and facilities in the district, deterring attitudes of local and municipal officials, excessive bureaucracy, and lack of access to credit to support their contention. Until the establishment of TRANSIDO in the early 1980's, the government did not show active interest in the informal sector. Thereafter, it did not institute any comprehensive programme of assistance for the sector in the rural areas: the substrata of the urban unemployed became the focus of attention. The operators of small-scale enterprises interviewed concluded despairingly that the government's motive for recognising the informal sector was not developmental in the rural areas, rather it was designed firstly to absorb the labour force redeployed from the civil service, and secondly to solve the problem of unemployment in the urban areas.

The informal sector has not achieved much in the rural areas in terms of its impact on the living conditions of the rural poor. The conceptual basis of the development policies of the territory, the growth pole theory, does not favour direct investment in small-scale enterprises in the rural areas. The concept is urban-based, large-scale and capital-intensive. It thus appears that the main features of the informal sector in this context (e.g. rural-based, small scale, and labour-intensive) are polar opposite to the fundamental principles of the growth centre strategy. Consequently the diffusionist strategy could not generate impetus for growth in the informal sector in the rural areas. The informal sector would have performed much better under the basic needs

approach because the tenets of the latter are congruent with characteristics of the small-scale enterprise. For instance, the basic needs approach seeks to alleviate rural poverty through direct investments in small-scale labour-intensive activities and the provision of basic infrastructural service in the rural areas.

5.3.5 : **Expenditure pattern and capital assets**

The high incidence of poverty resulting from unemployment and low incomes has influenced the survey population to adopt a survival expenditure pattern. Food, rent, fuel and clothing constituted relatively a larger part of the expenditure while the expenditure on education, medical and transport services was the least. The lower expenditure on educational and medical services may be explained by the fact that these services are highly subsidized by the government. Besides, the rural poor sparingly travel to Cala or the nearby urban centres for services, thereby reducing the expenditure on transport services.

It is apparent that the greatest proportion of rural income was spent on procuring the basic necessities of life. The factor analysis identified rent, energy and fuel and hire purchase contracts as the main items of expenditure (Table 5.14). However, the expenditure was very low. It indicated that demand for goods and services was low. The implication is that the expenditure pattern could not contribute towards development because of limited local markets (see Section 5.3.1). For instance, 94,5% of the respondents did not pay rent; 73,5% spent an amount not exceeding R50,00 per month mainly on clothing; 92,5% spent a similar amount on fuel and energy, mainly paraffin for lighting-up at night because firewood and cow dung were the sources of energy for cooking and heating and could be gathered from the forests and veld; while 89,5% spent an average of R450,00 on food per month. The average amount spent on food was quite substantial in terms of rural incomes in the wake of the revelation that 76,5% earned up to only R500,00 a month.

Table 5.14 Factor Loadings on Expenditure factor

ITEMS	LOADINGS
Rent	.612907
Energy and fuel	.56928
Hire purchase	.626410

Source : Statistica Factor Analysis Program, 1997 Updated Edition.
University of Fort Hare, Alice, 1997

The pattern of expenditure induced by low incomes have a direct impact on the nature of capital assets available to the rural households. The respondents and their households did not have mechanical ploughs nor tractors. The subsistence and the so-called commercial farmers used animal driven wooden ploughs and hand hoes although during the planting season, they often hired tractors from the rural elite who charged higher rates. This implies that an extremely small proportion of the rural population in the former Transkei have high technology capital assets.

The pattern of expenditure also has a clear repercussion on the quality of life of the rural household. There were no grain grinding mills in the communities surveyed and the individual families did not have mechanical handmills. Thus the maize produced on the subsistence farms was milled by grinding stone or stamp milled by female labour with mortar and pestle. There was little investment in family entertainment. The main source of family entertainment and information was the radio: 85% of the respondents owned radio sets, 34,5% of the households had television sets which ran on battery power but none of these households had a video cassette recorder.

5.3.6 Access to credit

The rural poor in Xalanga District have limited access to credit facilities. The absence of commercial banks and other financial institutions gives

countenance to this contention. Furthermore, the rural people lack financial creditworthiness because they do not possess land-based collateral, experience in business and savings. These inhibiting factors are the direct result of rural poverty and the deliberate policy of dis-empowerment of the majority of the people executed under the guise of apartheid. Money-lenders, burial societies and saving clubs have sprung up as alternatives to commercial banking institutions in the district. For instance, 48% of the respondents were members of burial societies. However, the interest rates of these alternatives are higher and their services and facilities inadequate. ECDA and TRACOR discriminate against small-scale undertakings in the rural areas in their bid to minimise the incidence of bad debts. Sometimes, HCT offer group loans to villagers who successfully complete their training in income generating activities e.g. poultry, piggery, brick making and wire-net making. In most cases, the financial assistance offered by the organisation assumes the form of tools and materials because micro-lending does not form part of its portfolio.

5.3.7 Distribution of wealth

The distribution of subsistence factors of production in the rural areas is uneven. Attention was focused on the distribution of arable land and capital equipment because these factors determine the production capacities of the rural households. The distribution of arable land, like elsewhere in the former Transkei, is skewed: 19,5% of the respondents did not have access to arable land (64% of the landless were females aged over 50 years), the size of arable land allotments did not exceed 4 hectares in 71,5% of the cases; and 9% had arable landholdings in excess of 4 hectares. The households without arable land allotment, from rural perspectives were destitute because they could not participate in subsistence production. They relied on pensions, remittances, informal employment or outright charity for survival. The fact that 5,5% of the respondents were commercial farmers (Table 5.11) indicated that the rural

communities did not benefit from the distribution of arable land because 9% could have participated in commercial agriculture considering the size of their holdings.

The poor performance of agriculture in the district is partly due to the shortage of modern tools and implements. A greater proportion of the farmers had tools such as hand hoes, spades and rakes. According to Keyter (1994), only 9,4% of the adult population in Xalanga District have agricultural machinery (e.g. tractors, ploughs and planters) and 41% do not have any tools and equipment whatsoever. The agricultural machinery and implements are owned by former migrant workers now residing in the rural areas and the rural elite who benefited from the *status quo* which existed prior to the birth of the new South Africa.

Consequent upon the distribution of arable land, capital assets and equipment, the income distribution pattern in the district is markedly skewed: 5,5% of the households did not have any form of income (e.g. wages, pensions and remittances) and arable land. They constituted the poorest subset of the household sampled. The majority of the households (76%) depended on state pension and remittances for their incomes which barely exceeded R500,00 per month. At the top of the wealth scale is 3,5% of the respondents, who received over R3000,00 a month. The distribution of wealth revealed that absolute poverty and affluence coexist in the rural countryside with the affluent being in the minority.

5.3.8 Migrant labour system and development

Of the adult population of the communities surveyed 23,3% were working outside Xalanga District mostly in the Witwatersrand conurbation and Western Cape Province. Table 5.15 indicates the age/gender structure of the migrants: 66,2% were males and 88,2% were aged between 20 and 49 years.

Table 3.4 shows that the migrants were better educated than those who remained behind, thus confirming the contention that the propensity to migrate is determined by the level of education. Of the heads of household interviewed, 70% explained the causes of the high incidence of outmigration of the more energetic and better educated people in terms of the dearth of employment opportunities and the poor state of infrastructural facilities and services in the district.

Table 5.15 Age/Gender Structure of Migrants

Age Groups	Males	Females	Total (n=213)
10 - 19	0,7	1,4	0,9
20 - 29	28,4	26,4	27,7
30 - 39	36,9	44,4	39,4
40 - 49	22,0	19,5	21,1
50 - 59	10,6	8,3	10,0
60 - 69	1,4	-	0,9
70 and over	-	-	-
Total (n=213)	66,2	33,8	100,0

The large-scale absenteeism of the young and energetic people has seriously stunted the development potential of the district. The supply of adult male labour has drastically been reduced, placing the burden of production on females besides their traditional chores of household maintenance and child care activities. May (1984) is of the opinion that the migrant labour system and agricultural production are negatively related because adult male labour is lost and agricultural development is held at bay.

The impact of labour migrancy on development and growth of Xalanga District is best appreciated when one considers the fact that it is the better educated people who have migrated away from the area. They include

research fellows, university lecturers, geophysicists, lawyers, economic planners, technicians and engineers. Such skilled people have the capacity to identify and discuss development problems confronting the district and its people and thus offer appropriate solutions. The people left behind cannot contribute effectively to development because the bulk of them are poor and lack knowledge and skills.

Moreover, remittances contributes only 10,0% of the total cash income which flows into the district (Keyter, 1994). The amount remitted to the families is usually too small to sustain these households at reasonable standards of living or to undertake profitable economic ventures. Because of the meagre support the households receive from their relatives working elsewhere, the respondents were of the opinion that the migrant labour system has outlived its usefulness. Of late the economic conditions in the urban centres have become so severe that the migrant workers often tend to forget the families they have left behind

5.4 FULFILLMENT OF BASIC NEEDS AND SERVICES

The problems of rural poverty and development in Xalanga District are so complex that in order to understand the issues and processes involved, it is necessary to go beyond income, wealth and productivity. This section therefore examines how the rural communities meet certain minimum needs in order to survive. The basic needs are grouped into: (i) those needs which are essential for day-to-day human survival e.g. food, water, shelter (or housing discussed in section 5.2.2) and fuel; and (ii) the essential services provided for and by the entire society e.g. health, education (discussed in Section 5.2.5), recreation and transport.

5.4.1 Energy and fuel

The energy consumption in the communities surveyed was confined to domestic use, mainly cooking, heating and lighting. The communities (except

Cala Reserve and Cala which had electricity) did not have access to adequate, affordable and safe sources of energy. The dominant source of energy identified was wood, paraffin and cow dung. Wood was the primary source of energy for over 90% of the respondents, and wood and cow dung accounted for the total energy consumed by the poorest households (5,5%). Paraffin was used on a much more limited scale by 94,5% of the households for lighting, and occasionally in stoves for cooking and heating because it is relatively more expensive and not readily available in the rural areas. Candles, crop wastes and dung served as back-up sources; and batteries were used for operating television and radio sets.

Although wood was used by all the rural households, woodlots were not within easy reach. The females walked between 3 km and 5km to collect head loads of wood from the forests. The fulfillment of fuel and energy requirements in the rural areas was thus inhibited by distance and labour time needed for collecting wood from the forests; and in Zikhonkwane and Mtingwevu, additional constraints were presented by the risk of being apprehended by forest rangers. To date, no government departments or organisation is assisting the communities surveyed to cope with their fuel requirements either by introducing cheaper and safer alternatives or educating them as to how to use the existing energy resources efficiently.

5.4.2 Water

Water is one of the most essential requirements for daily living. The basic needs approach to development therefore proposes that every community be supplied with adequate clean water. The rationale is that if water is easily available the labour time required to collect water would be reduced. Moreover, the availability of clean water would contribute immensely towards the eradication of water borne diseases (e.g. cholera) which account for a higher proportion of infant mortality in under-privileged communities.

Lastly, adequate supply of water would permit irrigation of fields for both arable and stock farming which could increase agricultural productivity.

The supply of water in Xalanga District is inadequate. It experiences recurrent droughts and is poorly serviced by infrastructure. Besides, the available water sources are usually contaminated by livestock and other domestic animals and are far away from the households. The main source of water in the rural communities is unprotected springs (Plate 2). In a recent study by HEALTH CARE TRUST (1997) in the rural areas in Xalanga District, it was revealed that 51,1% of the rural households relied on springs as the main source of water supply (Table 5.16).

Table 5.16 Distribution of households by their main source of water

Main	% of Households (n=325)
Spring	51,1
Community tap	26,0
River/pool	12,4
Public supply	0,3
Hand pump	7,1
Borehole	1,5
Tap within compound	0,9
Other	0,6

Source : HEALTH CARE TRUST, 1997.

The boreholes and windmills constructed by government departments broke down frequently and it took the officials a very long time to repair them or sometimes they were left unattended. However, the communities were forbidden to repair them even if they could. The projects undertaken by NGOs such as HCT to provide water for some of the rural communities were not viable because they were not based on thorough feasibility studies. Consequently the sources of water for these projects dried up in the dry season

leaving the rural people without water. They therefore resorted to fetching water from pools in the dry river beds. Majority of the respondents, 61,3%, felt that the water available for domestic use was not clean.

The provision of water for the household was the task of the females. The marginal cost of the task depended on the number of adult females in the household and the labour time required to accomplish other assignments (May, 1984). The water sources of 90,4% of the respondents were within half of a kilometre, 7,4% travelled up to a kilometre for water; and 2,2% travelled over a kilometre to reach the source of their water supply. Because of the scarcity of water and absence of water storage dams, 86% of the farmers did not irrigate their fields and experienced crop failure quite frequently. Since the basic water requirement for household consumption could not be met adequately and conveniently, one can conclude that the rural communities surveyed suffered deprivation.

5.4.3 Food and nutrition

Adequate food and nutrition is an essential aspect of the basic needs strategy and has profound effects on the conditions of health of the rural population. The fulfillment of the nutritional needs should ideally consider the quality of food in terms of calories, proteins, vitamins and other vital nutrients. In Xalanga District several factors have conspired to militate against the fulfillment of the food and nutritional requirements of the rural communities. These factors include low incomes, lack of skills to cope with the extreme climatic conditions to increase food production and inadequate land. The staple food crop in the study area was maize. However, its calorific content is low and does not therefore contribute significantly to nutrition. The consumption of milk and vegetables was seasonal: in summer (the wet season) the grass flourished and provided grazing for cattle thus milk was plentiful; moreover vegetables were planted in the backyard gardens. The rural

households seldomly consumed meat and other animal products although they kept livestock. The animals were reserved for special occasions such as funerals, weddings and customary rituals, and were sold under extreme conditions of poverty when money was needed to satisfy pressing needs.

A balanced diet was beyond the means of majority of the rural households. From focus group discussions at Hota, Lupapasi, Emnxe and Cala Reserve in August 1995, it was learnt that 62% of the participants had meals once a day in the evening (supper), consisting of maize meal, and occasionally with milk when it was available, 18% had full meals with meat and vegetables on every Sunday; and 12% ate meat and vegetables only at social functions. The households in which nobody had a regular job nor subsistence farm and depended only on casual labour could not meet their food and nutrition requirements. These households were in a desperate situation and were constantly haunted by the spectre of starvation. For these households, diet was considerably worse than it was for their grandparents. The younger and older members of the households were mostly affected by inadequate food supplies. It is therefore not surprising that 11,1% of the households surveyed by HCT in Xalanga District experienced malnutrition related problems including kwashiorkor (HEALTH CARE TRUST, 1997). Hence it is apparent that the rural development process has not had any significant impact on the fulfillment of the food and nutrition requirements of the majority of the rural communities.

5.4.4 Transport and communication

In view of the revelation that the rural communities are not self-sufficient in terms of the provision of basic needs, adequate transport and communication facilities would improve their access to goods and services in the nearby central places to the extent allowed by their limited cash incomes. Therefore transport and communication can be considered intrinsically as basic needs.

However, the infrastructural facilities and services (e.g. roads, post and telecommunication services) which link the rural communities and the central places are mainly provided by the state because of the huge capital required for their construction and maintenance.

The access roads to the communities surveyed and the other administrative areas were untarred and poor. Most of the villages could not be reached in the wet season, and not all the villages were linked with roads possibly because of the dispersed nature of the settlement pattern. The people in these villages had to walk some distance ranging between a kilometre and five kilometers to reach places from which motorised transport could be caught. The predominant modes of conveyance of people and goods were taxis and buses, although animal-drawn carts provided alternative means of transport for some rural households. Subsidized bus services which were provided by the defunct Transkei Road Transport Corporation and later by Chilwans has disappeared from the roads. The absence of subsidized transport services and the poor state of the roads made communication with Cala and the other nearby towns difficult and expensive. The taxi and bus services were unreliable because they did not have departure and arrival schedules.

The rural communities did not have access to telephone and postal services in their localities. They relied on Cala and Elliot for these services. It thus follows that any event could precipitate a journey to the nearby towns; considering the poor state of the access roads and the high transport fares, one can hardly dispute the fact that the rural people acquired these services at a much higher cost. The respondents unanimously identified transport and communication as prime factors restricting the development of Xalanga District.

5.4.5 Health

The purpose of adequate health services in a community is to improve the physical health of the people and increase life expectancy. The objective is attained through the eradication of mass diseases, the provision of medical care in case of ill-health or accidental injury and the prevention of the development of diseases through preventive medicine and health education. The provision of adequate diet and clean water is a major pre-occupation of the health authorities in poor communities because the most common diseases are related to malnutrition and the use of contaminated water.

The people in the study area did not have adequate physical access to health services. There is one general hospital located in Cala which serves the entire population, and only five of the twenty administrative areas have a poorly equipped clinic each. Besides, the mobile clinic was not regular and could not reach the distant rural areas because the vehicle broke down quite often and most of the rural access roads were impassable. Thus the physical accessibility to health facilities and service for majority of the rural people was determined by the availability and affordability of transport.

The medical services available in the districts were unsatisfactory and woefully inadequate. The Cala General Hospital and the clinics were plagued with chronic shortages of staff, equipment and medicines. The district with approximately 100 000 people was served by three resident doctors employed by the Department of Health and a private doctor operating a surgery in Cala. The doctor/people ratio was 1: 25000 and the hospital bed/people ratio was 1:505. In addition the hospital experienced an acute shortage of nurses: there were 180 nurses as compared with the recommended 600 staff nurses. In the words of Keyter (1994:15), "The hospital, in fact, constitutes a health hazard: there are no surgical beds, for post-operative purposes, only one toilet for the 180 nursing staff, only 3 toilets for over 200 patients; and to

make matters worse, the upstairs ablution block sometimes leaks onto the kitchen stove below". Consequently, the well-to-do households sought medical services from private doctors in Cala and nearby Elliot. The members of the poorer households, who could not afford transport fares and the fees charged by the private doctors, sought treatment from traditional healers. Indeed, 1,5% of the respondents were traditional healers from whom 11,6% of the respondents solicited health and spiritual services.

Preventive medicine was a myth which could not be realised in the rural areas. A majority of the respondents (62%) claimed that neither health inspectors nor health educators visited their communities; and there were no health centres anywhere in the district. Thus it was not surprising that diseases (c.g. tuberculosis, sexually transmitted diseases, diarrhoea and measles) which could be prevented were commonly prevalent in the study area. Tuberculosis, diarrhoea and measles were perceived by 51% of the respondents as the top three diseases which affected the people. According to HCT, only 11,6% of the children were immunised by the mobile clinic service (HEALTH CARE TRUST, 1997).

The infant mortality and life expectancy rates reflected the inadequate health care coverage in the district. The rate of infant mortality (number of live babies dying before one year as a percentage of total live births) in Xalanga District is estimated to be 77,4%, higher than the average of the former Transkei (72,5%); and the life expectancy rate (number of years a new born is expected to live) is 50,8, lower than that of the former Transkei (51,9) (Keyter, 1994). However, it would be simplistic to blame the low life expectancy and high infant mortality rate on health care alone because food and nutrition, employment, crime, violence and the general life style of the people have profound impact on longevity.

On the positive side, initiatives were underway to improve the quality, accessibility and affordability of health care in the district. For instance a new hospital with modern facilities and equipment is being constructed in Cala. Furthermore many government departments and NGOs were involved in the promotion of good health in the district through the provision of health services and education. They include Departments of Health and Education, HCT, CALUSA, SANCO and African Co-operative Action Trust (ACAT).

5.4.6 Sanitation

Three aspects of the state of the home environment were studied to establish the sanitary conditions which prevailed in the rural areas. The toilet system, storage and disposal of household refuse and household surroundings were the main targets. The sanitation facilities were of poor standards and inadequate. For instance, 32,7% of the households studied by Health Care Trust in Xalanga District did not have toilets: the household members used the 'dongas' (gullies) and bushes in the veld as lavatories. The younger members of households which had toilets also used the veld. Due to their poor construction, the toilet systems were inaccessible to the children and often dangerous because they might fall into the pits (Health Care Trust, 1997).

The health and sanitation status was also indicated by the way the rural households disposed of their refuse. Most of the households stored their refuse in uncovered containers before final disposal; and a small proportion left it on the compound. Since there was no refuse collection service and public incinerators in the rural areas, refuse was thrown around the house or in nearby dongas. The household surroundings were generally considered to be clean and satisfactory except that on windy days when the refuse dumped elsewhere was scattered around the neighbourhood. The surrounding compounds of the household surveyed were bushy and had neither ornamental trees nor flowers.

5.4.7 Recreation

Recreational facilities are important in any society because they have the capacity to bring people together to share ideas and thus foster family and community bonds and ties. These facilities also provide a means for people to engage in pleasurable activities for the purpose of entertaining and refreshing themselves after a period of hard work. The facilities include sport fields, community centres, hotels, nature reserves and swimming pools. The nature of these facilities in a community partly determine the level of welfare enjoyed by its people.

In the rural areas of Xalanga District, there was almost a total lack of recreational facilities: none of the above-mentioned facilities was found in the rural communities except poorly developed and managed sport fields of the rural schools where adult males converged on weekends to watch football matches. The most widespread recreational facility which could be found in every village was the shebeen where people met to buy and consume alcoholic beverages at any time, be it day or night. The proliferation of shebeens in the rural areas had led to unlimited and uncontrolled sale and consumption of liquor and drugs. At the focus group discussions referred to earlier, 92% of the participants admitted that at least a member of the household consumed alcohol and about a third of the youth (mainly males) out of school smoked dagga (marijuana). It was apparent that some proportion of the small household income was selfishly spent by some of the adult members of the household on alcohol and drugs which reduced their employability. The tranquillity and peace which marked rural community life was often breached by alcohol and drug abusers, resulting in unrest, domestic violence against women and children and loss of employment.

5.5 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES AND PROJECTS

The essence of community development programmes and projects is to assist the local people to develop their potential, talents, resources and civic awareness to improve their conditions of living and also to ensure spatial balance in national development. Biased development based on apartheid and the growth pole concept has left the rural people in the black communities with a myriad of problems. The need to redress the imbalance in uneven spatial development and its associated problems has given credence to community development in which the efforts of the local people, government and NGOs are combined in a joint venture to improve the socio-economic well-being in the rural areas. The need for assistance from the government and NGOs is based on the axiom that the rural people are poor and deprived and cannot do much on their own to improve their conditions of living (Chambers, 1983; Reconstruction And Development Programme, 1994).

The recent history of community development in Xalanga District dates back to the early 1980's when CALUSA and HCT were established to redress the problems of education and health in the district. The establishment of these organisations in Cala , practically manifested the widespread desire of the people to improve their level of welfare. Since then, many government departments, private organisations and NGOs have joined the process of rural development in the district; their role and impacts in the rural communities are presented and analysed below. Community development is a strategy which takes the rural development process to the micro or grassroots level in the rural areas.

5.5.1 Government policy and participation

Rural development planning in the former Transkei is characterised by patchy, unrelated and specialized investments on *ad hoc* basis because there

was no national policy with a comprehensive strategy and a consistent ideology. All the development plans did not have clearly defined set of rural development policies backed by appropriate strategies. For instance, 'The Development Strategy 1980-2000' which was acclaimed and ratified by the defunct Parliament of the territory in 1979 and the Five Year Plan which was reviewed on a regular basis lacked institutional direction: they failed to spell out the methodological and ideological orientations of the development they were designed to initiate and sustain. 'The Development Priorities and Public Sector Spending 1983-1988' (White Paper, Republic of Transkei, 1983) also suffered a similar fate; although it earmarked rural and agricultural development for special attention, in reality this was not given the attention and driving force it deserved. In the absence of a national policy, the emphasis on the various aspects of rural development shifted with the changes in regimes.

Moreover, the sectoral approach was adopted for rural development planning. The portfolio of rural development was not the responsibility of any government department. According to the state officials interviewed, the National Planning Board collected data, programmes and projects from all the government departments concerned with the various aspects of rural development and then aggregated and compared with the available resources. The 'shopping list' technique of rural development planning was inappropriate and doomed to fail because it did not consider the close interrelationship between the various sectors of the economy. The result was that the projects were sporadic, unconnected and uncoordinated and could hardly make any impact on the development in the rural areas. The 'shopping list' technique reduced the art of planning to a set of sterile exercises since plans and programmes were formulated mechanically without considering the resource base, development potential, needs and aspirations of the people at grassroots. Furthermore, the sectoral planning was centralised in Umtata and did not involve the rural people and their resources in the

assessment of local needs, formulation and planning of the projects. Therefore, in most cases, the programmes and projects did not measure up to local aspirations and enthusiasm for self-improvement. Lastly, the system of administration was highly centralised: the local representatives of the government departments often lacked the authority to take decisions to effect prompt execution of the programmes and projects, or repair broken down facilities.

The establishment of the Rural Development Branch of the Office of the Prime Minister in 1986 (and later attached to the Office of the Military Council) did not improve the rural development process in the territory. Up until 1994 when the author visited the Branch, the 'shopping list' technique of rural development planning was still being used. The Branch was manned by two officials who appeared not to know the job descriptions of the posts they held. They claimed the Branch was new and they were in the process of gathering data from the government departments and parastatals concerned with the various aspects of rural development, and even solicited data from the author who had visited the Branch for information.

In Xalanga District, the range of activities undertaken by the government departments in the rural areas was limited. The Department of Works and Energy was engaged in the construction and maintenance of roads and school buildings in the rural areas, although it occasionally repaired water reservoirs and windmills when directed by the central authorities in Umtata. The tasks of agricultural development, provision of water and environmental conservation were performed by the Department of Agriculture and forestry. TRACOR was supposed to assist the department to develop the agricultural industry in the rural areas. Unfortunately TRACOR had no office and representative in the district and no project could be attributed to it anywhere in the survey area. The other departments which operated in the district whose functions have already been discussed were the Departments of Health

and Education. All the other departments which have not been mentioned were represented by the Department of Justice which, in collaboration with the Police at Cala, maintained peace and order throughout the district.

The Eastern Cape Appropriate Technology Unit (ECATU) formerly known as the Transkei Appropriate Technology Unit (TATU), also operated in the district. The aim of the establishment of the Unit, as is implied in its name, was to promote self-help development in the rural and peri-urban areas by developing and demonstrating culturally appropriate lower cost technologies to meet the social and economic needs of the people. The activities of ECATU in Xalanga District did not reflect the stated objective of the Unit because they were limited to the construction of infrastructural facilities in the rural areas (Table 5.17). The projects were designed in Umtata and the construction was done by its technician, using limited unskilled labour from the rural communities. The projects therefore did not help to improve the skills of the rural poor.

Table 5.17 ECATU Projects in Xalanga District as at December 1994

Projects	Number
Roads	2
Domestic water supply	2
Schools built	1
Clinics	4
Bridges	1
TOTAL	10

Source : Yirenkyi-Boateng, 1995.

The presence of TRANSIDO and ECDA in the districts was only felt in Cala because they did not operate in the rural areas. The projects they sponsored struggled to survive due to financial constraints and could not establish any linkage with the economies of the surrounding rural communities.

The living conditions in the rural areas have not yet improved under the new system of government of the country. Although the government appreciated the role of popular participation in decision making and community development, to date, it has not been able to provide a national policy to offer the necessary framework for effective grassroots participation in rural development. Consequently, controversy rages over the question of leadership and popular participation in the development process: should it be SANCO who claims to represent the voice of the masses in the rural areas or the traditional leaders and the rural elite? In the absence of national guidelines, the rural people cannot determine the kind of development they aspire to. For instance, the water projects earmarked for Lupapasi and Qiba were determined by a central institution, the RDP.

There has not been any remarkable departure from the old system of rural development administration in Xalanga District. The limited resources available continue to be wasted through duplication of efforts and projects because the activities of the main actors in rural development are still not coordinated and there is a severe lack of communication between them. For instance, the HCT has completed feasibility studies to supply water for the Qolombeni Tribal Area of which Lupapasi forms part; the Office of the RDP, unaware of this development, decided to undertake a project to provide water for Lupapasi. In addition, the development process in the district is urban biased because a great deal of the RDP projects are concentrated at Cala and little is being done to improve the living conditions in the rural areas.

5.5.2 The Role of NGOs

A number of non-governmental organisations and private organisations participate in community development programmes and projects in Xalanga District. The involvement of these organisations in rural development reflects

the failure of the central authorities to render certain basic services in the rural areas. The NGOs have a greater comparative advantage because of their micro-level experience in the local environment, grassroots participation and integrating women into their projects. Furthermore, they tend to listen and learn from each other; such networking enables them to identify common needs as a means of fostering self-reliant development in the rural areas.

There are three main NGOs operating in Xalanga District, namely: Health Care Trust (HCT) established in 1980, Cala University Students Association (CALUSA) established in 1983; and Xalanga Entrepreneurial Development Centre (XEDC) established in 1996. HCT and CALUSA historically functioned as an opposition to the governments of South Africa and the former Transkei because most of their founding members were political activists who were opposed to the apartheid policy and the homeland system. Their activities were brutally suppressed and the members persecuted. The relationship between the government of former Transkei and these NGOs deterred people from either joining them or establishing similar organisations. Thus HCT and CALUSA were the only NGOs which operated in the district until 1996. With the advent of democratic government in South Africa, they are now seen as playing a crucial role in the strengthening of the civic society especially in the rural areas.

Since its inception, the main objectives of HCT have been the improvements of the health of the rural people in the district through preventive medicine and primary health care approaches. By and large, it has diversified its activities to include income generation, communal gardening and the provision of welfare services (e.g. water and sanitation) to the rural communities because good health cannot be maintained in sea of poverty. It offers training in income generating activities such as dressmaking, poultry, piggery and crop farming. The successful trainees are encouraged to set up

their own businesses. Some private organisations (e.g. Electricity Supply Commission) channel their assistance through the Trust.

CALUSA was established to inculcate the spirit of learning in the people due to the low literacy rate in the district. In pursuit of this objective, it runs a number of educational backup services and objectives. It offers library services with audio-visual aids, bursaries to students from poor families and adult literacy programmes. The influence of CALUSA in the field of education is felt throughout the district because it operates pre-school projects in all the administrative areas. With its local radio broadcasting facilities, it plays a crucial role in the dissemination of information and thus contributes immensely towards the formation of public opinion with regard to issues affecting the district in particular and the country as a whole. Of late, CALUSA has undertaken a number of income generating projects (e.g. leather works, clothing and textiles and agriculture) to impart survival trade skills to the unemployed (especially females) in the rural areas to enable them earn incomes on their own to support their households.

The dearth of entrepreneurial skills in the district inspired the Xalanga Development Forum (a pressure group constituted by 'Traditional Local and Rural Councils, Chamber of Commerce, Taxi Association, SANCO, Chiefs, political organisations, churches and community leaders) to establish the Xalanga Entrepreneurial Development Centre to create an enabling environment conducive for the development of entrepreneurial skills. The centre offers free training programmes for basic trade skills in bakery, trade and commerce, textile and clothing and leather works. It provides the successful participants with financial services to enable them to establish their own small enterprises and provides marketing facilities for their products. The first groups of trainees who passed out successfully have established a bakery at Nyalasa and dressmaking and leather works at Cala Reserve.

5.5.3 Impact of community development projects

The factor analysis identified the presence of development organisations (NGOs and government departments) and their programmes and projects as the cardinal variables influencing development of Xalanga District (Table 5.18). The factor loadings were very high denoting that these variables exerted profound influence on the level of development of the district. The direction of the influence was however negative. For instance, 47,5% of the respondents claimed that there were no organisation or government department engaged in development programmes or projects in their communities. It might be that such agents of development were operating in the communities but the respondents were not aware of their presence. Whatever the case might be, their activities did not have any direct impact on the livelihood and level of welfare of the respondents, otherwise their presence would have been felt (c.g. in the form of employment, high incomes or availability of clean water).

Table 5.18 Factor loadings on community development factor.

Variables	Loadings
Presence of agents of developments	.919861
Types of agents of development	.913296
Programmes and projects	.877032
Projects completed	.655685
Projects under construction	.829800

Source: Statistica Factor Analysis Program, 1997 Updated Edition.
Department of Statistics,
University of Fort Hare, Alice, 1997.

The main agents of development operating in the district were NGOs (Figure 5.3). Most of the respondents (75,2%) who acknowledged the presence of agents of developments in their communities identified NGOs as the only

development agents was very low, meaning that the projects did not have any significant influence on the wages and salaries of the respondents. According to the respondents interviewed, the local people who were engaged in the projects of the NGOs were not employed by the organisations: they volunteered their services in support of the projects designed to benefit their communities, and very few of the volunteers were given meager allowances of R250.00 per month. Besides, the government departments usually brought their workers from either Umtata or Bisho. The projects did not therefore introduce cash incomes into the rural economies. Such core-periphery relations which emanate from the policies based on the growth pole concept do not create conducive environments for the development of rural economies.

Table 5.19 Factor scores for the presence and types of agents of development

SETTLEMENT TYPE	COMMUNITY	PRESENCE OF AGENTS OF DEVELOPMENT	TYPES OF AGENTS OF DEVELOPMENT
Urban	Cala Village	10.2012	-2.0492
Peri-urban	Cala Reserve	22.2033	-2.8942
	Tsengiwe	23.6282	-2.9262
Rural	Lupapasi	28.4244	-3.5893
	Qiba	23.5044	-3.1431
	Mtingwevu	25.1264	-3.1264

Source: Statistica, Discriminant Analysis Program, 1997 Updated Edition.
Department of Statistics,
University of Fort Hare, Alice, 1997.

The projects did not restructure and strengthen the economic bases of the communities because their income generating capability was very low. For instance, only 22,9% of the respondents identified income generating projects

development agents was very low, meaning that the projects did not have any significant influence on the wages and salaries of the respondents. According to the respondents interviewed, the local people who were engaged in the projects of the NGOs were not employed by the organisations: they volunteered their services in support of the projects designed to benefit their communities, and very few of the volunteers were given meager allowances of R250.00 per month. Besides, the government departments usually brought their workers from either Umtata or Bisho. The projects did not therefore introduce cash incomes into the rural economies. Such core-periphery relations which emanate from the policies based on the growth pole concept do not create conducive environments for the development of rural economies.

Table 5.19 Factor scores for the presence and types of agents of development

SETTLEMENT TYPE	COMMUNITY	PRESENCE OF AGENTS OF DEVELOPMENT	TYPES OF AGENTS OF DEVELOPMENT
Urban	Cala Village	10.2012	-2.0492
Peri-urban	Cala Reserve	22.2033	-2.8942
	Tsengiwe	23.6282	-2.9262
Rural	Lupapasi	28.4244	-3.5893
	Qiba	23.5044	-3.1431
	Mtingwevu	25.1264	-3.1264

Source: Statistica, Discriminant Analysis Program, 1997 Updated Edition.
Department of Statistics,
University of Fort Hare, Alice, 1997.

The projects did not restructure and strengthen the economic bases of the communities because their income generating capability was very low. For instance, only 22,9% of the respondents identified income generating projects

which were completed at the time of the survey (Table 5.20). The HCT and CALUSA could not expand the scope of their income generating activities to assist more people because their limited financial resources were stretched across a spectrum of equally important projects.

Table 5.19 Distribution of respondents by projects completed and projects under construction in their communities.

PROJECTS	Percentage of household	
	PROJECTS COMPLETED	PROJECTS UNDER CONSTRUCTION
Income generation including agriculture	22,9	46,7
Infrastructure (e.g. roads, water)	30,5	39,0
Income generation and infrastructure	-	8,6
Redressing grievances	1,9	-
Pre-school	3,8	-
Clinic	-	5,7
None	40,9	-
Total	100,0 (n=105)	100,0 (n=105)

Peasantry was common in the district. The farm size was small and the farmers were still slow in adopting modern techniques of agriculture possibly because extension services were scanty and the farmers did not have adequate financial resources to adopt the techniques. Agricultural production was therefore low: maize yield per hectare was 3.4 bags lower than the average of 6.2 bags of the former Transkei (Keyter, 1994).

There was a remarkable improvement in the health and sanitation habits of the people. A majority of the people interviewed (61%) appeared to know of the AIDS epidemic and how to prevent the spread of the disease. However, none of the respondents boiled their drinking water although the sources of

domestic water in most of the rural communities were contaminated. The activities of the NGOs have influenced civic society and responsibility. Most of the people belong to associations and clubs which have paved the way for conscientisation and development of stronger community bonds.

5.6 CONCLUSION

The results of the survey presented in this chapter illustrate the degree of poverty and deprivation in the rural communities in Xalanga District. The use of both qualitative and quantitative techniques of analysis facilitates a greater understanding of the dynamics of the factors responsible for the impoverishment of the district and its people. The underdevelopment of the district was caused by:

- (i) decades of neglect by the government of the former Transkei;
- (ii) poor performance of the centre-down development policy which the authorities blindly imported from South Africa and implemented in the subregion;
- (iii) the harsh physical environment of the district in terms of climate and terrain; and
- (iv) the absence of mineral and agricultural raw materials required to stimulate industrial development.

The consequences of the combined effects of these factors in the district are:

- (i) widespread poverty resulting from mass unemployment;
- (ii) large-scale out migration of the young and better educated people;
- (iii) appalling state of infrastructural facilities;
- (iv) absence of banking and credit facilities;
- (v) low rate of literacy;
- (vi) low agricultural productivity resulting in malnutrition and poor health;

- (vii) widespread sense of frustration and hopelessness accompanied by drunkenness; and
- (viii) health problems and poor quality of life for majority of the inhabitants.

As the factor scores of the discriminant analysis indicate, the most affected groups in the district are the people residing in the rural areas. Their conditions of desperate poverty and deprivation have become a matter of great concern for the government, NGOs and private organisations. The government and the NGOs seek to alleviate the problems of the rural communities through the rural development process. Their efforts have not achieved much because the development process is fraught with formidable problems. Firstly, the absence of an overall national rural development policy and plan (even under the RDP) indicates that the efforts of the agents of development are not coordinated and regularised. The limited resources available are therefore wasted through competition and duplication of efforts and projects. Secondly, the development agents do not tackle the root cause of the problem of rural poverty by creating sound and viable economic bases in the rural communities to enable the rural people to establish sustainable enterprises to improve their living conditions. Thirdly, the rural poor compete with their urban counterparts for the limited resources of the state. However, the former is remote and powerless and therefore receives little attention from the government because the planning authorities have not prioritised the development objectives.

Government's investments in development projects are limited because of its reliance on the diffusionist concept as the basis of development policy. The diffusionist concept does not favour direct intervention in the rural areas: rather it relies on the action of market forces. Hence, the burden of rural development is shouldered mostly by NGOs who, unfortunately, do not have adequate financial resources and expertise to tackle the multifaceted problem of rural poverty in a satisfactory manner. In Xalanga District, NGOs have

not achieved much because they have only recently started operating as development agents free from suspicion and persecution. Lastly, the struggle for power between the traditional leaders and elected representatives prevents the people in the rural areas of the district from presenting a united front for development. This problem emanates from the recognition accorded to these structures by the national constitution. Until these problems are resolved rural development in Xalanga District and the former Transkei will continue to be an illusion.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The prime objective of the study was to evaluate the rural development process in Xalanga District in particular and the former Transkei as a whole to assess the impact of development approaches adopted, identify the constraints which mitigate against the successful planning and implementation of rural development programmes, recommend solutions to the constraints and provide data for the planning, execution and monitoring of future rural development programmes. Since the major preoccupation of governments and agents of rural development has always been the reduction of rural poverty, deprivation and the improvement of the socio-economic conditions in the rural areas, the study devoted much attention to investigating what has been happening in Xalanga District. It focused on: (i) rural poverty; (ii) unemployment; (iii) inequality; (iv) the fulfillment of basic needs and services; and (v) the socio-economic characteristics of the district and its people thereby providing insights to the prevailing living conditions in the area. The need to present an objective and accurate analysis of the rural development process and the real rural situation necessitates the adoption of eclecticism as the fundamental principle of the study. Therefore the study was carried out in the realist tradition by employing a combination of methods to solicit data on both measurable and non-measurable aspects of the socio-economic phenomena in the district, and the data was analysed qualitatively and quantitatively.

6.2 OBSERVATION

In the course of the presentation of the research findings and analysis, a number of conclusions relating to the performance of the rural development

process in the Xalanga District with regard to its impact on the living conditions of the rural poor was reached. The most important of these are summarised in this section. The discriminant analysis performed on the data revealed spatial variations in the rural development process in the district: most of the development efforts are concentrated at Cala and in the surrounding peri-urban areas, while the remote and inaccessible rural areas are virtually neglected. It is interesting to note, however, that the rural areas are more populous than Cala and the peri-urban areas, accommodating over 60% of the district's population. Thus a greater proportion of the districts population still continues to be left outside the mainstream of development action. There is a general lack of infrastructural facilities and services and basic resources for subsistence production in the rural areas. Consequently, life in the rural areas is marked by malnutrition, disease, unemployment, desperate poverty, illiteracy and frustration. Indeed, the way of life of the majority of the rural people is quite reminiscent of that of a pre-industrial society. It is no wonder that infant mortality rate is very high and life expectancy lower than the average of the subregion. It is thus obvious that the rural development process has not been able to extend the benefits of development and technology to the rural areas to improve the living conditions of the rural people.

Instead of encouraging the rural poor to develop leadership skills and the spirit of self-reliance, the rural development process has bred rural elite who sap development assistance designated to the rural areas. Local participation has been misconstrued to mean the involvement of chiefs, headmen and activists in community development. Consequently, development assistance is often channelled through these powerful social groups who appropriate it to improve their conditions and entrench their positions in the rural communities. In the local communities, those who are powerful and well-known, are referred to as the elite. They are relatively well-off in terms of income and assets and are often regarded as exploitative and thus malevolent.

They intercept the benefits intended for the poor, pay low wages for the labour of the landless and low prices for the surplus produce of the poor farmers, and charge exorbitant rates for their services and goods they offer to the rural poor. The absence of service centres in the rural areas in Xalanga District has offered the elite, especially the owners of trading stores, an opportunity for profiteering. The emergence of a privileged class in the rural countryside attests to the fact that inequality in the distribution of income and assets exists in the rural communities.

The objective of the rural development process is achieved only if a significant majority of the rural poor and their households perceive real improvement in their living conditions and life chances including greater economic opportunities, freedom from servitude, reduction in income inequalities and environmental stability (Seers, 1973; Chambers, 1983). In Xalanga District only a handful of people (mainly the rural elite) have somehow benefited from the rural development process through corruption, appropriation of communal resources and profiteering. The condition of life of the vast majority of the rural people is so degraded by illiteracy, deprivation and squalor that, the rural poor can best be regarded as victims rather than beneficiaries of the rural development process. Ranked on the scale of poverty, the rural areas are the most backward in terms of per capita income and access to basic human needs. The rural development process in the district cannot abate the forces generated by the dynamics of the political economy of development of the entire sub-continent, which marginalise and pauperise the rural people.

From the analysis of the research findings, it is logical to conclude that the rural development process in the Xalanga District has not had any significant impact on the living conditions of the rural poor. The process has failed to create economic bases in the rural areas to render the rural economies self-sustaining and viable in order to reduce unemployment and widespread

poverty. Thus the ostensible aim of the rural development, to empower the rural poor to realise their inherent potential and become self-reliant, is yet to be realised. The inability of the rural development process to initiate and sustain far-reaching structural transformations in the rural communities is blamed on a number of seemingly formidable constraints which are discussed in the section that follows.

6.3 CONSTRAINTS TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

The study identified a number of factors which constitute constraints in the conception, planning, execution and monitoring of rural development programmes in the subregion of the former Transkei as a whole. The factors are summarised into four categories :

6.3.1. Administrative constraints

The administrative constraints revolve around the fact that there is no national rural development policy with a set of consistent ideologies and strategies for the subregion and the entire country. Consequently, the portfolio of rural development is not charged in its entirety to a specific department or ministry: the aspects of rural development are handled by different government departments. The 'shopping list' approach to rural development planning presupposes the absence of national guidelines to accustom the agents of rural development to a specific set of goals. There is a severe lack of coordination of the activities of the agents. The government departments and institutions and NGOs involved in rural development pursue isolated and often contradictory programmes which fail to achieve the desired objectives of rural development . The fundamental problems of rural poverty, ignorance and disease interlock and interweave; therefore their successful solution demands well coordinated efforts.

The development programmes of the government departments and institutions are based on the conceptual framework of 'development from above'. Generically, the 'top down' administration of development does not involve the local people (target population) in the conception and planning of rural development programmes because centralization of both political and administrative authority is a necessary complement of the development from above paradigm. However, the felt needs in the local communities can be effectively identified only by the local people; and they need to effectively plan their realization in partnership with the administrative authorities elected to serve them. Therefore centrally formulated development programmes and projects stand a greater risk of failure of execution and realisation at the local level. Besides, the hierarchy of settlements, infrastructure and the growth centres in the former Transkei are inadequate to facilitate the spread of impetus for development to the rural communities.

Lastly, the shortage of competent and skilled manpower also bedevils the rural development process in the subregion. Because the problems afflicting the rural poor are interwoven, their solution requires professionals who are multidisciplinarians and are prepared to live and work in the rural communities. However, the conditions in the rural areas are appalling and due to financial constraints, the agents and institutions of development cannot offer higher remunerations and better conditions of service to attract adequate manpower. Thus employment in such agencies and organisations is usually regarded as a stepping stone for job-seeking young school leavers and professionals, and retired people who are not fully committed to the objectives of their employers.

6.3.2. Political and social constraints

The state departments and institutions often locate projects in wrong environments for political expediency and self-interests. In most instances the

projects are not viable because they do not have linkages with the local economies and cannot generate the expected multiplier effects. The conception and design of the projects do not consider the central problem of rural poverty, but rather focus on the provision of humanitarian assistance to the rural poor (e.g. the provision of domestic water to Qiba as opposed to the supply of electricity or water for irrigation). Therefore the projects cannot augment the production and coping strategies of the rural poor to improve their overall living conditions.

The position and role of rural local government in the former Transkei in terms of rural development administration have never been clear. The problem is further complicated by the creation of elected rural councils and their juxtaposition with the traditional rural authorities. The jurisdictions of these two structures overlap and are both recognised by the 1996 constitution (Ntsebeza, 1997). They compete vehemently for hegemony in the rural areas. The contests often result in bitter conflicts which obliterate the plight and aspirations of the rural people and also obstruct development efforts in the rural areas.

The absence of nation-wide guidelines for rural development accounts for the fluidity of change in the rural development priorities. In the past, changes in the regimes in the former Transkei were accompanied by changes in development priorities, and in some cases, by an outright abandonment or neglect of projects already started. Moreover, the NGOs and private institutions on one hand and the government departments and parastatals on the other, pursue different and often conflicting priorities. Thus instead of their policies being complementary and mutually reinforcing, they rather clash and create a conducive atmosphere for rivalry and suspicion; and the limited resources available for the improvement of the living conditions in the rural areas are wasted in the process.

The rural development personnel do exhibit inadequate commitment to the programmes they execute. Their remuneration do not commensurate the efforts, sacrifice and dedication their task demands. They are therefore unwilling to live and work under trying conditions in the rural communities. Most of the rural development projects are designed and planned in the offices in the urban centres therefore they tend to conflict with the needs and aspirations of the target population. Worse of all, the projects are exported to the rural areas to be implemented by the rural people who lack education and training and sometimes with little or no assistance from the rural development workers.

6.3.3. Financial constraints

Before 1994, it was easier for the NGOs operating in black communities in South Africa to solicit sponsorship directly from international donors (e.g. the European Economic Community, EEC) and international development agencies (e.g. Canadian International Development Agency, CIDA), who regarded their donation as their contribution towards the dismantling of apartheid. The donation constituted a major source of finance of the NGOs. With the cessation of apartheid, these sources of finance are drying up or being directed to the RDP and other national government initiatives and the process of securing financial assistance from outside donors has become cumbersome. Besides, the government has imposed stringent measures on the use of donations by NGOs in the wake of allegations that rural development workers and their officials appropriate greater part of the donations they receive from abroad.

However, the current period of dwindling financial resources coincides with the growing desire of the NGOs to broaden their objective and diversify the activities to attack rural poverty and deprivation on all fronts. Poor as they are, the rural people cannot be made to contribute any significant proportion

of the funds needed for the completion of the rural projects; even when the target population offer to contribute, they are unable to generate the required funds except unskilled manual labour. Moreover, the NGOs are unable to secure logistic support (e.g. materials) from the government and its departments because the resources are also stretched to a breakpoint by the urban-based RDP Projects. The NGOs therefore "take a long period to complete their projects and sometimes their promises go unfulfilled. The situation has dampened the aspirations and hopes of the rural poor for redemption, and apathy is gradually reasserting its influence in the rural communities.

6.3.4. Technical constraints

The prospects for rural development in the Xalanga District, like elsewhere in the former Transkei, have not been thoroughly researched and studied. Thus rural development projects are designed, planned and executed without adequate understanding of the physical environment, and the perceptions, needs, values and aspirations of the people. Such projects are unable to solicit the interest, commitment and participation of the local people. Some of these projects are abandoned shortly after their implementation; for instance many bore-holes in the rural areas in the district have dried up and have been abandoned. The HCT, for instance, has been operating in the district since 1980, it was only in 1996 that the trust undertook a baseline study to develop a curriculum for its health programme.

The gap between traditional techniques of production and the modern technology introduced by the development agents causes delays in the implementation of projects and the adoption of such technology. Huge sums of money are expended in the training of the rural people; where the available funds are not sufficient, the rural people receive inadequate training to carry on the projects after the agents of development have withdrawn.

6.4. ORGANISING FOR MEANINGFUL RURAL DEVELOPMENT

The main weakness of the rural development programme in the entire subregion of the former Transkei, as revealed by the study, is that there is no effective central coordinating body to guide and direct the rural planners and developers to a definite set of goals through the provision of nationwide guidelines and backup services. Consequently the various organisations (including government departments and parastatals) involved in rural development criss-cross each other causing a great deal of confusion in the development process and wastage of resources and cannot therefore make any appreciable impact on the living conditions of the rural poor. In order to render rural development programme meaningful, there is an urgent need to design and institute appropriate organisational structures to facilitate the development of desirable human behaviour and strategies such that the stated goals of the programmes are achieved as efficiently as possible. The functional aim of the proposed reorganisation is to achieve a satisfactory integration between the needs and desires of the developers and the beneficiaries of the rural development programme, mindful of the resources available (Singh, 1986).

6.4.1 The need for a national policy

It is necessary to formulate a clearly defined and consistent policy for rural development for the entire country. A sound rural development programme requires major political and administrative changes, however, bureaucrats are often reluctant to accept profound changes in the *status quo*. According to Waterston (1974), the existence of a national rural development policy facilitates bureaucratic structures and procedures to adjust according to the changes in the organisation of government and respond effectively to the requirements of a national rural development programme. The new organisational structure will inevitably require a shift from sector planning

towards integrated planning in which grassroots participation is accorded prime importance. It is essential that the national rural development programme is planned in an integrated manner by the various government departments, institutions, organisations, parastatals and NGOs engaged in rural development along with the rural people. Such an ambitious initiative requires a proper coordinating mechanism. A national committee should be established to provide coordination for the rural development programme.

6.4.2. Rural Development Coordinating Committee

The Rural Development Coordinating Committee should be structured in such a way that it would be able to perform the cross-function of coordinating both vertical and horizontal programmes and projects of the numerous agents of rural development. The organisational structure of the committee should consist of five morphological levels, namely, national, provincial, regional, district and community or grassroots level. The National Rural Development Committee would need to be at the summit of the organisational structure and should be composed of representatives of the provincial committees. The Provincial and Regional Committees are constituted by representatives of all the agents of rural development operating in the provinces and regions respectively. The membership of the committees at the district and grassroots level is broadened to include traditional leaders and the representatives of the rural people.

The main function of the National Committee is to formulate a national rural development policy and integrate the various provincial, regional, district and community programmes into a comprehensive national plan. The national action plan points out the precise way to reach pre-determined goals within a given period with the resources available. According to Singh (1986), the planning process should involve the application of a rational system of choices among feasible courses of investment and other development possibilities

based on the consideration of economic and social costs and benefits. The planning functions of the National Committee should consist mainly of defining the goals of rural development, projecting population growth and demand and supply of basic goods and services, estimating and mobilizing domestic and foreign resources and allocating them to specific uses which are likely to make the greatest contribution to achieving the national goals. In consultation with the structures in the lower levels of the hierarchy, the National Committee should formulate programmes and projects and establish their spatial and temporal linkages within an integrated framework. It should provide a mechanism for monitoring and evaluating development policies, plans and programmes, modifying the programmes in the light of experience gained. In order to solve the problem of mass unemployment in the rural areas, it should devise plans for better utilisation of human resources, and reduction in the population growth rate through family planning techniques.

The provincial committee should supervise and coordinate the functions of the branches of the central government departments and agencies, and coordinate regional development issues within the province and harmonise them with national and provincial policies. To avoid chaos and disparities in the national programme, the provincial committee should synchronise its programmes and plans with those of the other provinces. It is essential that the provincial committee is given sufficient constitutional authority and adequate budget because of the colossal task it has to attend to. The Regional Coordinating Committee is the intermediate level in the organisational structure. It should coordinate regional development plans and policies and harmonize them with national and provincial development issues. Besides it should ensure that information and resources flow to and from the other levels in the organizational structure upwards and below it.

The district coordinating committee should be composed of the representatives of the agents of development operating in the district, traditional leaders, district council, elected rural councils and representatives of identifiable local organisations. The committee should coordinate the activities of the various village and town development committees within the district and direct them with regard to the necessary action to be taken to achieve an overall development of the district within the confines of the national rural development plan.

The last level in the organisational structure is the Community (a village or town) Development Committee. It is an important structure because it is at this level that grassroots or local participation would take place and propagate through the entire organisational network. The committee should be constituted of chiefs and headmen, elders of the society, representatives of pressure groups, NGOs and the local people. It should determine the basic needs and services which should be catered for. Therefore the national needs would represent the consolidation and ordering of the needs of the people at the grassroots level.

6.4.3. The need for a Rural Development Research Institute

Planning for sound rural development requires accurate data. It is thus essential to establish an institution with branches at all the morphological levels of the organisational structure to appraise the quality and quantity of the natural, human, capital and institutional resources available locally and from outside for planning and implementation of rural development programmes and projects. Resource appraisal is a multidisciplinary endeavor which requires the collaboration of physical, biological and social scientists. The aim of the process of resource appraisal is to prepare a comprehensive resource inventory of the biophysical and socio-economic phenomena to provide the basis for effective planning. It also facilitates the identification of constraints to

the development process which could be removed or taken care of at the stages of planning and implementation (Singh, 1986). The research institute should bear the responsibility of evaluating development projects and plans at all levels of the organisational structure. In addition, it should undertake feasibility studies for development projects to assess their likely impacts on the environment and the rural people and their chances of success. It should collaborate with government and university research institutions to promote rural development research.

The Rural Development Research Institute should be charged with the responsibility for developing and importing appropriate, simple and affordable technology to meet the socio-economic needs of the people in order to increase the level of human comfort and productivity. It should ensure that imported technology suits and adapts well to local conditions. Periodic short courses could be organised by the institute at all levels for both functionaries and beneficiaries to augment their capacity to adopt and apply new technologies, inventions and innovations which would be introduced by a comprehensive rural development programme.

However, any viable rural development intervention must be based on people's perception of their problems, needs, resources and know-how (SEARCH, 1994). The Rural Development Research Institute can assess rural development programmes by developing and applying Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) techniques. The methodology of PRA involves the people in collecting and analysing the required data. It makes information-gathering more cost-effective, quick and accurate, and can create the basis for participatory planning by inducing attitudinal changes on the part of the functionaries and beneficiaries through the development of rapport amongst them.

6.4.4 **Actuation**

Actuation denotes the art of influencing the behavioral patterns of functionaries and beneficiaries in order to accomplish the objectives of rural development. Rural development initiates fundamental changes in social relationship in the society in terms of allocation of resources, development priorities and the distribution of the benefit of development especially in the rural areas. Obviously, the beneficiaries of the previous system of development are likely to resist the changes and thus frustrate the rural development efforts. Ideological orientation which reflects the needs, aspirations and the perceptions of the people could provide the force to break up the resistance, and ensure widespread acceptance and adherence to the new order. The essential elements of the concept of actuation includes communication, education and training, participation and democracy and decentralisation of authority.

Effective communication can arouse and sustain interest in a rural development programme. It includes the language and the means of receiving and disseminating information and messages, for example, radio, press, newsletters departmental circulars, reports and periodic meetings. There should be free flow of information, both vertically and horizontally, to educate the people on the aims and objectives of rural development and the processes and practices involved. The participants including the rural people should be kept fully informed about plans, policies and regulations so that their activities can be properly oriented towards the goals of the programme. The flow of information should be a two-way process: the National Committee should receive field reports and suggestions from the lower echelons of the organisational structure at regular intervals and should be followed by frequent visits, and the reports and suggestions and resolutions emanating from field visits as to how to solve problems and implement policy decisions and projects determined at grassroots level. An effective communication

system simplifies routines and introduces flexibility in the control of funds and other resources for rural development.

Education and training provide a means of sensitizing the people to rural development programmes. The training programme should be designed to impart to the beneficiaries the skills required to manage and use projects, new technologies, equipment and machines so as to derive maximum benefit from them when the developers leave. Besides, vocational training centres should be initiated to equip the landless and unemployed people with skills and resources to enable them establish small businesses in the informal sector. The small landholders and unskilled farm labourers who would be displaced by the introduction of modern techniques of farming could also be trained in allied activities. The principal objective of the training in vocational and trade skills is to remove unemployment among the rural youth and the landless.

Suitable training programmes should be designed for the functionaries at all levels so that they could improve their technical, management and administrative skills in order to discharge their responsibilities efficiently. The rural development personnel should have skills in human relations and the teaching of adults. Furthermore, they should have a clear understanding of the conditions in the rural areas and the circumstances of rural people among whom they work.

The interest of the people at the grassroots level could be aroused and sustained through popular participation in rural development. Local participation can create a viable developmental relationship between the functionaries and beneficiaries: the latter when motivated, could contribute local knowledge concerning the environment, resource and know-how which could form the basis of planning. The local people should be given the chance to work out relevant areas of leverage in the formulation, design and

implementation of project. The involvement of local people in development projects offers them a chance to develop personally. As they mature, their needs, goals and desires tend to move in a specific direction: they seek to be in a position of relative independence and eventually take total charge of the project.

However, local participation does not start by itself. It requires persistent guidance and stimulation from the centre through the delegation of authority and responsibility. Therefore, decentralisation of authority and responsibility is a logical requirement of a viable rural development programme. It permits the wider involvement of people in the processes of planning and implementation, and reduces discrepancies between national and sub-national plans which arise from local characteristics which differ from national average conditions. The programme should provide for checks, balances and correctives so that target groups in weaker communities are not deprived of the benefits meant for them. It is therefore necessary that the fundamental principles of democracy are strictly observed. Lastly, the National Rural Development Committee should accelerate the development of lagging areas and reduce spatial disparities in development and growth.

6.5 PROSPECTS FOR DEVELOPMENT IN XALANGA DISTRICT

In spite of the daunting physical and socio-economic problems confronting the rural development process, Xalanga District still exhibits favourable prospects for development. A prominent manifestation of its potential for development is the high level of motivation among its people. This is exemplified by the proliferation of development forums in the district. A coordinating committee was established in 1995 to coordinate the efforts of the forums in order to formulate a common set of goals. The committee has proposed an integrated development programme for the district which revolves around the meeting of basic needs (ANC Youth Wing, 1995).

The efforts of the committee have already started bearing positive fruits: following the presentation of the problems of the district and proposed solutions to the Office of the RDP. Xalanga District has been included in the list of five districts in the former Transkei to be developed by the Presidential Task Force. The Task Force is charged with the responsibility of providing infrastructural facilities throughout the district. To date, Cala has been provided with an automatic telephone facility, which in course of time would be extended to the other administrative areas in the district. It is hoped that when the infrastructural facilities are laid, investors would be attracted to the district.

Moreover, the locally based NGOs are gradually diversifying their activities to include income generation and job creation to solve the problems of rural unemployment and poverty. The Xalanga Entrepreneurial Development Centre in collaboration with the Eastern Cape Government, for instance, has established vocational training programmes to impart skills to the unemployed and landless people to enable them to establish small-scale enterprises.

There are potentials for agricultural development: excellent conditions for fruit-growing and small-scale irrigation of orchards and vegetable farms exist in the district. The perennial tributaries of the Tsomo River can be dammed to provide water for irrigation. The sweetveld which is common in the district provides good grazing for stock farming. If properly developed and managed, sheep-farming can provide an excellent base for a cottage wool industry (Keyter, 1994).

The coal and nickel deposits could provide an impetus for growth and development. These deposits need to be explored and their potentials established. The rural areas in the former Transkei have similar potentials for growth which need to be explored and exploited to improve the living

conditions in the rural communities. Economic development in the rural areas could be accomplished if the recommendations suggested in the study are considered and heeded vis-à-vis their growth potentials.

It is interesting to note that past policies based on the concept of growth pole could not develop the potentials of the rural communities. Resources were invested in far away urban centres which were poorly linked with the countryside and investment decisions were at variance with the resources and capabilities of the rural communities in that they emphasized capital intensive industrialisation as opposed to labour intensive agricultural development. Besides, centralised administration and the general political climate before 1994 precluded grassroots participation. The involvement of the private sector in community development was limited; most of the infrastructural facilities were funded by the government. Either the integrated approach or basic needs strategy could have performed better because they favour popular and mass participation and also cater for the needs of the poor.

Under the new political dispensation, a strategy, known as the Spatial Development Initiatives (SDI) is being implemented nationally by the government and particularly the Ministry of Trade and Industry to improve the socio-economic conditions in the underdeveloped areas. The SDI, incorporates characteristics of the integrated rural development and basic needs approaches. It thus appears the SDI could provide the vehicle for the realisation of the potentials of the rural people. The SDI is a deliberate intervention strategy to correct spatial imbalances in the level of development of the various sections of the country. According to Jordan et al, (1996), the aim of the programme is to generate sustainable economic growth and development in relatively underdeveloped areas, according to the locality's inherent and underutilised economic development potentials. The SDI takes cognisance of diversities in resource endowment. It therefore bases the development initiatives of a particular locality on its potential and special

circumstances. The strategy intends to mobilise private sector investments for the implementation of community development projects because it realizes that the public sector and the parastatal agencies alone cannot provide all the impetus for development. Courting the confidence and support of the private sector paves the way for the 'crowding-in' of investments to create jobs and provide a wide range of socio-economic activities, services, infrastructure and goods for the satisfaction of the basic needs.

The SDI strategy has been applied in KwaZulu-Natal and in the Wild Coast area in the Eastern Cape. Its spatial manifestation is the development corridor (e.g. Maputo Development Corridor). It is a remarkable departure from the earlier strategies of development; it needs to be based on past experience of rural development because the country cannot afford to repeat past mistakes. The future of rural development thus, at present, seems to lie in the SDI. It is very important that the SDI strategy works because it is necessary to eliminate rural poverty which afflicts the greater proportion of the population: rural poverty and deprivation constitute a time bomb waiting to explode in the faces of our children.

Both the SDI and the growth pole approaches are spatial development strategies; however the latter did not work in the case of former Transkei. It is therefore interesting to note that the new government is once again trying a spatial focus in development planning.

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APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL - DURBAN

NAME OF RESEARCHER : COLLINS KODUA-AGYEKUM

This survey is concerned with Rural Development in the Xalanga District of the former Transkei. It covers a wide range of social and economic issues.

The aim of this investigation is to obtain information that would enable :

1. the researcher to write a thesis for MA Degree; and
2. Institutions engaged in rural development to direct their actions in a meaningful way.

Information on your household is very important in this survey. It would therefore be appreciated if you could answer all the questions.

Your name does not appear anywhere in the questionnaire. In addition, you do not have to sign the questionnaire or any other document. You remain entirely anonymous.

N.B: Where alternative answers are provided, mark with **X** next to the most appropriate answer.

1. PERSONAL DETAILS

(a) Where do you live ? Administrative area :

(i) Cala Village (.....)

(ii) Location/Village (.....) Name :

.....

(iii) Farm (.....) Name :

(b) (i) Age :

(ii) Sex :

(iii) Marital Status :

(c) (i) Occupation :

(ii) Highest academic qualification :

(iii) Trade skills or professional qualification :

.....

2. INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

(a) Which of the following income grades applies to your monthly salary ?

Income per month	Mark with X next to your income range
up to R500.00	
R501.00 to R1 000.00	
R1001.00 to R1 500.00	
R1 501.00 to R2 000.00	
R2 001.00 to R2 500.00	
R2 501.00 to R3 500.00	
R3 501.00 to R4 000.00	
R4 001.00 and above	

(b) State any sources of monthly income and amount(s).

Income ranges	Agricultural Activities	Pension or Disability Grant	Remittances from relatives	Other : Specify
up to R500.00				
R 501.00 to R1 000.00				
R1 001.00 to R1 500.00				
R1 501.00 to R2 000.00				
R2 001.00 to R2 500.00				
R2 501.00 to R3 500.00				
R3 501.00 to R4 000.00				
R4 001.00 and above				

(c) How much do you spend on each of the following items monthly ?

- (i) Food Amount : R
- (ii) Rent Amount : R
- (iii) Water Amount : R
- (iv) Fuel and energy (eg. electricity, paraffin) Amount: R
- (v) Any other : Specify (i) Amount : R
- (ii) Amount : R

- (d) (i) Do you have any hire purchase contract(s) : YES (.....) or NO (.....)
- (ii) If YES, state the amount you pay per month. Amount : R

3. POPULATION

- (a) How many people are there in your family ?
- (b) Complete the table below with respect to the members of your family :

Age group of family members	Number of males	Number of females
0 - 9 years		
10 - 19 years		
20 - 29 years		
30 - 39 years		
40 - 49 years		
50 - 59 years		
60 - 69 years		
70 years and above		

- (c) Have any of you (i) a motor car? YES (.....) or NO (.....)
- (ii) Television set ? YES (.....) or No(.....)
- (iii) Radio set ? YES (.....) or NO (.....)

- (d) (i) How many rooms or huts does your family occupy ?
 (ii) How many rooms or huts are used for sleeping purpose ?.....

4. EMPLOYMENT

1. (a) How many people in your family are working (employed)
 Number of males : Number of females :
 (b) How many of them (above 16 years) are not working and are not
 in school ?
 Number of males : Number of females :
2. (a) How many of your family members work outside Xalanga District ?.....
 (b) Complete the table below on family members working outside Xalanga
 District.

SEX	AGE	EDUCATION	PLACE	RELATION	OCCUPATION

3. Do they support the family ? YES (.....) or NO (.....)
 Explain :

.....

4. Complete the table below on employment in your family.

Age of the unemployed	Sex	Qualification/skills

5. EDUCATION

- A. (i) How many members in your family are attending school ?.....
 (ii) How many children of school-going age in your family are not
 attending school ?

(iii) Why are they not attending school ?
.....

B (i) How many members of the family have had formal education ?
.....

(ii) How many can read and write ?

1. Xhosa ?
2. English ?
3. Afrikaans ?
4. Other specify :

6. HEALTH

(a) (i) Is there any clinic in your area ? YES (.....) or NO (.....)

(ii) If 'NO' how often does the mobile clinic come to your area ?
.....

(iii) How much does it cost to travel to the General Hospital in Cala ?
.....

(b) (i) Do health inspectors visit your area ? YES (.....) or NO (.....)

(ii) List three of the most common diseases in your area :

- i
ii
iii

(iii) Do the conditions in your area affect the health of your family ?
YES (.....) or NO (.....)

(c) Details all deaths which have occurred in your family during the last 12 months.

Age of death	Sex of deceased	Cause of death
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		

7. DEVELOPMENT

- (a) Are there any organisations or government department involved in development project in your area ? YES (.....) or NO (.....)
- (b) If 'YES', name the organisation or government departments:

- (c) What are they doing in your area ?

- (d) Name the projects already completed by the organisations :

- (e) Name the projects still under construction :

- (f) Comment on the operation of the organisations and the government departments :

8. AGRICULTURE

- (a) (i) Does your family have access to any land: YES (.....) or NO (.....)
- (ii) Specify the type(s) of land size(s) :
1. Homestead plot (.....) Size :.....
 2. Arable field (.....) Size :.....
 3. Grazing field (.....) Size :.....
- (iii) Is the size of the land available enough for your agricultural needs?
 YES (.....) or NO (.....)
- (b) (i) State the scale of cultivation :
 Commercial (.....) Subsistence (.....)
- (ii) List four crops your family usually plants .
- 1
 2
 3
 4

- (iii) State yearly income from cultivation :
- (iv) State yearly farming cost incurred :
- (c) (i) How do you prepare your land cultivation :
1. No preparation (.....)
 2. Hand hoe (.....)
 3. Draught animals (.....)
 4. Tractor (.....)
- (ii) What type of fertilizer do you use ?
1. None (.....)
 2. Kraal manure (.....)
 3. Commercial fertilizer (.....)
- (iii) What type of weed control do you use ?
1. None (.....)
 2. Hand hoe (.....)
 3. Chemical spray (.....)
- (iv) What type of pest control do you use ?
1. None (.....)
 2. Manual pest control (.....)
 3. Chemicals (.....)
- (v) What type of irrigation methods do you use ?
1. None (.....)
 2. Flood or furrow irrigation (.....)
 3. Other. Specify
- (vi) If you Not use any type of irrigation methods, explain why ?
-
-
- (d) (i) Do you purchase seeds ? YES (.....) o r NO (.....)

Type of seed(s) purchased

- A. Maize (.....)
 - B. Beans (.....)
 - C. Potatoes (.....)
 - D. Sweet Potatoes (.....)
 - E. Tomatoes (.....)
 - F. Cabbages (.....)
 - G. Pumpkins (.....)
- H. Other : specify
-

- (ii) List the help your family gets from agricultural cooperative(s) in your area:
- (e) (i) Does your family have any live stock ? YES (.....) or NO (.....)
- (ii) Specify the number of each of the following your family has :
- A. Cattle
- B. Sheep
- C. Goats
- D. Pigs
- E. Poultry
- Other. Specify
- (iii) Specify your family's yearly income from the sale of livestock and animal products :
- (iv) Do you have access to veterinary service ?
YES (.....) or NO (.....)
- (f) (i) Which organisation(s) or government department(s) assist farmers in your area ?
- (ii) Mention three agricultural problems and mark off who should be solving these problems.

Problems	Community should solve	Government should solve	Both should solve them

10. LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION

- (a) (i) Do you belong to any association(s) YES (.....) or NO (.....)
- (ii) If 'YES' name the association(s).....
- (iii) Do you attend meetings ? YES (.....) or NO (.....)
- (b) (i) Does the headman/chief of your area call the members of your community for meetings ? YES (.....) or NO (.....)
- (ii) If 'YES', do you attend such meetings ? YES (.....) or NO (.....)

- (iii) If the answer to (ii) above is 'NO', why do you not attend the meetings
- (c) (i) Did you vote during the last (April 1994) General Elections ?
YES (.....) or NO (.....)
- (ii) If 'NO', why did you Not vote ?
.....
- (d) (i) Will you vote during the forthcoming government local elections ?
YES (.....) or NO (.....)
- (ii) Have you registered for the local government elections ?
YES (.....) or NO (.....)

THANK YOU

APPENDIX 2

CODED QUESTIONNAIRE

A. PERSONAL PROFILE

1. Where do you live ?

- 1 = Administrative area
- 2 = Location/Village
- 3 = Farm
- 4 = Administrative area/Location/Farm
- 5 = Administrative area/Location
- 7 = Other

2. Name the administrative area in which you live.

- 1 = Lupapasi
- 2 = Qiba
- 3 = Cala Reserve
- 4 = Tsengiwe
- 5 = Cala Town
- 6 = Mtingwevu.

3. Name the location / village in which you live.

- 1 = Cala Pass
- 2 = Lupapasi
- 3 = Cala Reserve
- 4 = Cala Village
- 5 = Zikhongwane
- 6 = Guata
- 7 = Tsengiwe
- 8 = Mtingwevu
- 9 = Other

4. If you live on a farm, what is its name?

- 1 = Tsengiwe
- 2 = Tikama
- 3 = Vuyiswa Wamma
- 4 = Solomon 'A' Farm
- 5 = Gagela Farm
- 6 = Other
- 7 = Colani
- 8 = Tembelani Soyiti

5. How old are you?

- 1 = 20 and below years
- 2 = 21 - 30 years
- 3 = 31 - 40 years
- 4 = 41 - 50 years
- 5 = 51 - 60 years
- 6 = 61 - 70 years
- 7 = 71 and above

6. Sex

- 1 = Male
- 2 = Female

7. Marital Status

- 1 = Single
- 2 = Married
- 3 = Divorced
- 4 = Separated
- 5 = Widow / Widower
- 6 = Cohabiting

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

8. Occupation

- 1 = Civil servant / government worker
- 2 = Self employed
- 3 = Farmer
- 4 = Pensioner
- 5 = Rely on remittances
- 6 = Unemployed
- 7 = Domestic worker
- 8 = Driver
- 9 = Labourer

9. Highest academic qualification

- 1 = std 2 and below
- 2 = std 3 - 6
- 3 = std 7 - 9
- 4 = std 10 (matric)
- 5 = Diploma
- 6 = Degree

10. Trade skills or professional qualification

- 1 = Dressmaking
- 2 = Apprenticeship
- 3 = Diploma : Teaching / Nursing
- 4 = Certificate in engineering
- 5 = Bricklaying
- 6 = Other
- 7 = None

11. Which of the following income groups applies to your monthly salary?

- 1 = R 500 and below
- 2 = R 501 - R1 000
- 3 = R1 001 - R1 500
- 4 = R1 501 - R2 000
- 5 = R2 001 - R2 500
- 6 = R2 501 - R3000
- 7 = R3 001 and above.

2. State any other source of monthly income.

- 1 = Agricultural activities
- 2 = Pension/Disability
- 3 = Remittances from relatives
- 4 = 1, 2 and 3
- 5 = 2 and 3
- 6 = Other
- 7 = 1 and 3
- 8 = 1 and 2

13. What is the amount you earn from the other sources?

- 1 = R 500 and below
- 2 = R 501 - R1 000
- 3 = R1 001 - R1 500
- 4 = R1 501 - R2 000
- 5 = R2 001 - R2 500
- 6 = R2 501 - R3 000
- 7 = R3 001 and above.

14. How much do you spend on food monthly?

- 1 = R 50 and below
- 2 = R 51 - R100
- 3 = R101 - R150
- 4 = R151 - R200
- 5 = R201 - R250
- 6 = R251 - R300
- 7 = R301 - R350
- 8 = R351 - R400
- 9 = R401 and above

15. How much do you spend on rent monthly?

- 1 = R 50 and below
- 2 = R 51 and R100
- 3 = R101 - R150
- 4 = R151 - R200
- 5 = R201 - R250
- 6 = R251 - R300
- 7 = R301 - R350
- 8 = R351 - R400
- 9 = R401 and above.

16. How much do you spend on water monthly?

- 1 = R 50 and below
- 2 = R 51 - R100
- 3 = R101 - R150
- 4 = R151 - R200
- 5 = R201 - R250
- 6 = R251 - R300
- 7 = R301 - R350
- 8 = R351 - R400
- 9 = R401 and above

17. How much do you spend on energy and fuel monthly?

- 1 = R 50 and below
- 2 = R 51 - R100
- 3 = R101 - R150
- 4 = R151 - R200
- 5 = R201 - R250
- 6 = R251 - R300
- 7 = R301 - R350
- 8 = R351 - R400
- 9 = R401 and above.

18. How much do you spend on any other things monthly?

- 1 = R 50 and below
- 2 = R 51 - R100
- 3 = R101 - R150
- 4 = R151 - R200
- 5 = R201 - R250
- 6 = R251 - R300
- 7 = R301 - R350
- 8 = R351 - R400
- 9 = R401 and above

19. Do you have hire purchase contract(s)?

- 1 = Yes
- 2 = No

20. If yes, what amount do you pay per month?

- 1 = R50 and below
- 2 = R 51 - R100
- 3 = R101 - R150
- 4 = R151 - R200
- 5 = R201 - R250
- 6 = R251 - R300
- 7 = R301 - R350
- 8 = R351 - R400
- 9 = R401 and above

C POPULATION

21. How many people are there in your household?

- 1 = 1
- 2 = 2 - 4
- 3 = 5 - 6
- 4 = 7 - 8
- 5 = 9 and above

22. Number of people in your household aged between 0 and 9 years.

- 1 = 1
- 2 = 2 - 4
- 3 = 5 - 6
- 4 = 7 - 8
- 5 = 9 and above

23. Number of people in your household aged between 10 and 19 years.

1 = 1
2 = 2 - 4
3 = 4 - 6
4 = 7 - 8
5 = 9 and above.

24. Number of people in your household aged between 20 and 29 years.

1 = 1
2 = 2 - 4
3 = 5 - 6
4 = 7 - 8
5 = 9 and above.

25. Number of people in your household aged between 30 and 39 years.

1 = 1
2 = 2 - 4
3 = 5 - 6
4 = 7 - 8
5 = 9 and above

26. Number of people in your household aged between 40 and 49 years.

1 = 1
2 = 2 - 4
3 = 5 - 6
4 = 7 - 8
5 = 9 and above.

27. Number of people in your household aged between 50 and 59 years.

1 = 1
2 = 2 - 4
3 = 5 - 6
4 = 7 - 8
5 = 9 and above

28. Number of people in your household aged between 60 and 69 years.

1 = 1
2 = 2 - 4
3 = 5 - 6
4 = 7 - 8
5 = 9 and above

29. Number of people in your family who are 70 and over years old.

- 1 = 1
- 2 = 2 - 4
- 3 = 5 - 6
- 4 = 7 - 8
- 5 = 9 and above

30. Do you have a car?

- 1 = Yes
- 2 = No

31. Do you have a television set?

- 1 = Yes
- 2 = No

32. Do you have a radio?

- 1 = Yes
- 2 = No

33. How many rooms/huts does your household occupy?

- 1 = 1
- 2 = 2 - 4
- 3 = 5 - 6
- 4 = 7 - 8
- 5 = 9 and above

34. How many rooms / huts are used for sleeping purpose?

- 1 = 1
- 2 = 2 - 4
- 3 = 5 - 6
- 4 = 7 - 8
- 5 = 9 and above.

D. EMPLOYMENT

35. How many people in your household are working?

- 1 = 1
- 2 = 2 - 4
- 3 = 5 - 6
- 4 = 7 - 8
- 5 = 9 and above.

36. Number of males working:

- 1 = 1
- 2 = 2 - 4
- 3 = 5 - 6
- 4 = 7 - 8
- 5 = 9 and above

37. Number of females working:

- 1 = 1
- 2 = 2 - 4
- 3 = 5 - 6
- 4 = 7 - 8
- 5 = 9 and above

38. Number of males (above 16 years) not working and not schooling.

- 1 = 1
- 2 = 2 - 4
- 3 = 5 - 6
- 4 = 7 - 8
- 5 = 9 and above

39. Number of females (above 16 years) not working and not schooling.

- 1 = 1
- 2 = 2 - 4
- 3 = 5 - 6
- 4 = 7 - 8
- 5 = 9 and above

40. How many members of your household are working outside Xalanga District?

- 1 = 1
- 2 = 2 - 4
- 3 = 5 - 6
- 4 = 7 - 8
- 5 = 9 and above.

41. How many males are working outside Xalanga District?

- 1 = 1
- 2 = 2 - 4
- 3 = 5 - 6
- 4 = 7 - 8
- 5 = 9 and above

42. How many females are working outside Xalanga District?
- 1 = 1
 - 2 = 2 - 4
 - 3 = 5 - 6
 - 4 = 7 - 8
 - 5 = 9 and above
43. State the age(s) of your family members working outside Xalanga District:
- 1 = 19 and below years
 - 2 = 20 - 29
 - 3 = 30 - 39
 - 4 = 40 - 49
 - 5 = 50 - 59
 - 6 = 60 - 69
 - 7 = 70 and above.
44. How many have junior certificates only? (those working outside Xalanga District)
- 1 = 0 - 1
 - 2 = 2 - 4
 - 3 = 5 - 6
 - 4 = 7 - 8
 - 5 = 9 and above
45. How many have senior certificates? (those working outside Xalanga District)
- 1 = 0 - 1
 - 2 = 2 - 4
 - 3 = 5 - 6
 - 4 = 7 - 8
 - 5 = 9 and above
46. How many have diplomas or junior degrees? (those working outside Xalanga District)
- 1 = 0 - 1
 - 2 = 2 - 4
 - 3 = 5 - 6
 - 4 = 7 - 8
 - 5 = 9 and above

47. How many have senior degrees? (those working outside Xalanga District)

1 = 0 - 1
 2 = 2 - 4
 3 = 5 - 6
 4 = 7 - 8
 5 = 9 and above.

48. How many are teachers? (those working outside Xalanga District)

1 = 0 - 1
 2 = 2 - 4
 3 = 5 - 6
 4 = 7 - 8
 5 = 9 and above.

49. How many are nurses? (those working outside Xalanga District)

1 = 0 - 1
 2 = 2 - 4
 3 = 5 - 6
 4 = 7 - 8
 5 = 9 and above.

50. How are many are drivers? (those working outside Xalanga District)

1 = 0 - 1
 2 = 2 - 4
 3 = 5 - 6
 4 = 7 - 8
 5 = 9 and above.

51. How many are labourers? (those working outside Xalanga District)

1 = 0 - 1
 2 = 2 - 4
 3 = 5 - 6
 4 = 7 - 8
 5 = 9 and above.

52. How many are clerks? (those working outside Xalanga District)

1 = 0 - 1
 2 = 2 - 4
 3 = 5 - 6
 4 = 7 - 8
 5 = 9 and above.

53. How many are domestic attendants? (those working outside Xalanga District)

1 = 0 - 1
 2 = 2 - 4
 3 = 5 - 6
 4 = 7 - 8
 5 = 9 and above

54. How many are mechanics? (those working outside Xalanga District)

1 = 0 - 1
 2 = 2 - 4
 3 = 5 - 6
 4 = 7 - 8
 5 = 9 and above

55. Skipped through coding.

56. How many are unemployed? (those working outside Xalanga District)

1 = 0 - 1
 2 = 2 - 4
 3 = 5 - 6
 4 = 7 - 8
 5 = 9 and above.

57. How many are engaged in other activities not specified above? (those working outside Xalanga District)

1 = 0 - 1
 2 = 2 - 4
 3 = 5 - 6
 4 = 7 - 8
 5 = 9 and above.

58. Skipped through coding

59. How many people aged between 16 and 19 years in your household are unemployed?

1 = 0 - 1
 2 = 2 - 4
 3 = 5 - 6
 4 = 7 - 8
 5 = 9 and above.

60. How many people aged between 20 and 29 years are unemployed?

- 1 = 0 - 1
- 2 = 2 - 4
- 3 = 5 - 6
- 4 = 7 - 8
- 5 = 9 and above.

61. How many people aged between 30 and 39 are unemployed?

- 1 = 0 - 1
- 2 = 2 - 4
- 3 = 5 - 6
- 4 = 7 - 8
- 5 = 9 and above.

62. How many people aged between 40 and 49 years are unemployed?

- 1 = 0 - 1
- 2 = 2 - 4
- 3 = 5 - 6
- 4 = 7 - 8
- 5 = 9 and above.

63. How many people aged between 50 and 59 years are unemployed?

- 1 = 0 - 1
- 2 = 2 - 4
- 3 = 5 - 6
- 4 = 7 - 8
- 5 = 9 and above.

64. How many people aged between 60 and 65 years are unemployed?

- 1 = 0 - 1
- 2 = 2 - 4
- 3 = 5 - 6
- 4 = 7 - 8
- 5 = 9 and above.

65. How many unemployed people in your household have junior certificates

- 1 = 0 - 1
- 2 = 2 - 4
- 3 = 5 - 6
- 4 = 7 - 8
- 5 = 9 and above.

66. How many have senior certificates?

1 = 0 - 1

2 = 2 - 4

3 = 5 - 6

4 = 7 - 8

5 = 9 and above.

67. How many have junior degrees?

1 = 0 - 1

2 = 2 - 4

3 = 5 - 6

4 = 7 - 8

5 = 9 and above.

68. How many have senior degrees?

1 = 0 - 1

2 = 2 - 4

3 = 5 - 6

4 = 7 - 8

5 = 9 and above.

69. How many have other qualifications?

1 = 0 - 1

2 = 2 - 4

3 = 5 - 6

4 = 7 - 8

5 = 9 and above.

E. EDUCATION

70. How many members of your household are attending school?

1 = 0 - 1

2 = 2 - 4

3 = 5 - 6

4 = 7 - 8

5 = 9 and above.

71. How many children of school going-age are not attending school in your household?

0 = None

1 = 1

2 = 2 - 4

3 = 5 - 6

4 = 7 - 8

5 = 9 and above.

72. Why are they not attending school?

- 1 = No money
- 2 = Got sick
- 3 = 1 and 2
- 4 = No vacancy at the tertiary level
- 5 = Got pregnant
- 6 = No reason.

73. How many members of your household have had formal education?

- 1 = 0 - 1
- 2 = 2 - 4
- 3 = 5 - 6
- 4 = 7 - 8
- 5 = 9 and above.

74. How many can read and write Xhosa?

- 1 = 0 - 2
- 2 = 3 - 5
- 3 = 6 - 8
- 4 = 9 - 11
- 5 = 12 and above.

75. How many can read and write English?

- 1 = 0 - 2
- 2 = 3 - 5
- 3 = 6 - 8
- 4 = 9 - 11
- 5 = 12 and above.

76. How many can read and write Afrikaans?

- 1 = 0 - 2
- 2 = 3 - 5
- 3 = 6 - 8
- 4 = 9 - 11
- 5 = 12 and above.

77. How many can read and write other languages?

- 1 = 0 - 2
- 2 = 3 - 5
- 3 = 6 - 8
- 4 = 9 - 11
- 5 = 12 and above.

F. HEALTH

78. Is there any clinic in your area?

1 = Yes

2 = No

79. If no, how often does the Mobile Clinic come to your area?

1 = Very often

2 = Often

3 = Rare

4 = Very rare

5 = Does not come at all

6 = Other

7 = Do not know.

80. How much does it cost to travel to the General Hospital?

1 = R 0 - R 1

2 = R 2 - R 4

3 = R 5 - R 7

4 = R 8 - R10

5 = R11 and above.

81. Do health inspectors visit your area?

1 = Yes

2 = No.

82. List three most common diseases in your area.

1 = T.B., Cancer, Measles

2 = T.B., Cholera, High Blood Pressure

3 = T.B., Chicken Pox

4 = T.B., Diarrhoea, Measles

5 = Diarrhoea, T.B., Eye Diseases

6 = T.B., High Blood Pressure, Strokes

7 = T.B., High Blood Pressure, Diabetes

8 = T.B., Cancer, Diabetes

9 = Diarrhoea, T.B., Pneumonia

10 = Chicken Pox, Diarrhoea, Cough

11 = Other.

83. Do the conditions in your area affect the health of your family?

1 = Yes

2 = No.

84. How many males in your household died during the last 12 months?

- 1 = 0 - 2
- 2 = 3 - 5
- 3 = 6 - 8
- 4 = 9 - 11
- 5 = 12 and above.

85. How many females died during the last 12 months?

- 1 = 0 - 2
- 2 = 3 - 5
- 3 = 6 - 8
- 4 = 9 - 11
- 5 = 12 and above

86. Number of dead people aged between 0 - 9 years.

- 1 = 0 - 2
- 2 = 3 - 5
- 3 = 6 - 8
- 4 = 9 - 11
- 5 = 12 and above.

87. Number of dead people aged between 10 and 19 years.

- 1 = 0 - 2
- 2 = 3 - 5
- 3 = 6 - 8
- 4 = 9 - 11
- 5 = 12 and above.

88. Number of dead people aged between 20 and 29 years.

- 1 = 0 - 2
- 2 = 3 - 5
- 3 = 6 - 8
- 4 = 9 - 11
- 5 = 12 and above.

89. Number of dead people aged between 30 and 39.

- 1 = 0 - 2
- 2 = 3 - 5
- 3 = 6 - 8
- 4 = 9 - 11
- 5 = 12 and above.

90. Number of dead people aged between 40 and 49 years.

1 = 0 - 2

2 = 3 - 5

3 = 6 - 8

4 = 9 - 11

5 = 12 and above.

91. Number of dead people aged between 50 and 59 years.

1 = 0 - 2

2 = 3 - 5

3 = 6 - 8

4 = 9 - 11

5 = 12 and above

92. Number of dead people aged 60 and over years.

1 = 0 - 2

2 = 3 - 5

3 = 6 - 8

4 = 9 - 11

5 = 12 and above.

93. How many died of sickness?

1 = 0 - 2

2 = 3 - 5

3 = 6 - 8

4 = 9 - 11

5 = 12 and above.

G. DEVELOPMENT.

94. Are there any organisations and/or government departments involved in development projects in your area?

1 = Yes

2 = No.

95. If yes, name the organisation(s) or government department(s).

- 0 = None
- 1 = Health Care Trust
- 2 = Dept. of Social Welfare
- 3 = Masakhane
- 4 = Poultry
- 5 = Sanco
- 6 = Calusa
- 7 = 1, 2, and 6
- 8 = 2 and 6
- 9 = Others
- 10 = Cala Municipality.

96. What are they doing?

- 1 = Health Education
- 2 = Water Supply
- 3 = Literacy Campaign
- 4 = 1 and 3
- 5 = Planting Trees
- 6 = Feeding Students
- 7 = Poultry Keeping
- 8 = 1, 2, and 3
- 9 = 2 and 3
- 10 = Operating Piggery
- 11 = Roads.

97. Name the projects already completed by the organisation(s).

- 0 = None
- 1 = Brick-making, Sewing, Poultry, Piggery
- 2 = Spring Protection
- 3 = Pre-school Project
- 4 = 1, 2 and 3
- 5 = 1 and 3
- 6 = solving grievances.

98. Name the projects still under construction.

- 1 = Water Supply
- 2 = Poultry, Piggery, dress-making, Pre-school Projects and Brick-making.
- 3 = Community Gardens
- 4 = Roads
- 5 = Masakhane
- 6 = 1 and 3
- 7 = 1 and 4
- 8 = Clinic
- 9 = Town Hall Construction
- 10 = 4 and 9.

99. Comment on the operations of the organisation(s) or government department(s).

- 1 = Teaching Self-reliance
- 2 = Doing Nothing
- 3 = No hope in their activities
- 4 = Cannot fulfil promises
- 5 = The government is doing good work
- 6 = 2 and 4
- 7 = Must help people at the grass-root level.
- 8 = Not moving fast enough.

H AGRICULTURE

100. Does your household have access to any land?

- 1 = Yes
- 2 = No.

101. What type of land?

- 1 = Homestead Plot
- 2 = Arable Land
- 3 = Grazing Field
- 4 = 1, 2, and 3
- 5 = Do not know
- 6 = Others
- 7 = 1 and 3
- 8 = 1 and 2
- 9 = 2 and 3.

102. If homestead plot, state the size.

- 1 = 0 - 1 ha
- 2 = 2 - 3 ha
- 3 = 4 - 5 ha
- 4 = 6 - 7 ha
- 5 = 8 ha and above.

103. If arable land, state the size.

- 1 = 0 - 1 ha
- 2 = 2 - 3 ha
- 3 = 4 - 5 ha
- 4 = 6 - 7 ha
- 5 = 8 ha and above.

104. If grazing land, state the size.

- 1 = 0 - 1 ha
- 2 = 2 - 3 ha
- 3 = 4 - 5 ha
- 4 = 6 - 7 ha
- 5 = 8 ha and above.

105. Is the size of the land available enough for your household needs?

- 1 = Yes
- 2 = No

106. State the scale of cultivation.

- 1 = Commercial
- 2 = Subsistence.

107. List the crop(s) your family usually plants.

- 1 = Vegetables
- 2 = Fruits
- 3 = Maize
- 4 = 1, 3, and 5
- 5 = Pumpkins
- 6 = Others
- 7 = Wheat
- 8 = 3 and 9
- 9 = 3 and 5.

108. Yearly income from cultivation.

- 1 = R 0 - R 100
- 2 = R 101 - R 300
- 3 = R 301 - R 600
- 4 = R 601 - R 900
- 5 = R 901 - R1 200
- 6 = R1 201 and above
- 7 = I don't know.

109. Yearly farming cost.

- 1 = R 0 - R 100
- 2 = R 101 - R 300
- 3 = R 301 - R 600
- 4 = R 601 - R 900
- 5 = R 901 - R1 200

110. How do you prepare your land for cultivation?

- 1 = No preparation
- 2 = Hand hoeing
- 3 = Draught animals
- 4 = Tractors
- 5 = Others
- 6 = 2 and 3

111. Skipped through coding.

112. What type of fertilizer do you use?

- 1 = Kraal manure
- 2 = Commercial fertilizer
- 3 = None
- 4 = Others
- 5 = 1 and 2

113. What type of weed control do you use?

- 1 = Hand hoeing
- 2 = Chemicals
- 3 = Mechanical inter-row tillage
- 4 = None
- 5 = 1, 2, and 3
- 6 = Others

114. What type of pest control do you use?

- 1 = Manual pest control
- 2 = Chemicals
- 3 = None
- 4 = Others
- 5 = 1 and 2.

115. What type of irrigation do you use?

- 1 = Flood or furrow irrigation
- 2 = Sprinkler irrigation
- 3 = None
- 4 = Others

116. If you do not irrigate your field explain why.

- 1 = No money
- 2 = A lot of rain
- 3 = Not enough water for irrigation
- 4 = Land too small to irrigate
- 5 = 1 and 3
- 6 = 1, 3 and 4.

117. Do you purchase seeds?

- 1 = Yes
- 2 = No.

118. What type of seeds do you purchase?

- 1 = Maize
- 2 = Beans
- 3 = Potatoes
- 4 = Cabbage
- 5 = Tomatoes
- 6 = Others
- 7 = Pumpkins
- 8 = 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 7
- 9 = 1, 2, 3, 4 and 7
- 10 = 1 and 7
- 11 = 1, 3 and 4.

119. What assistance does your family get from agricultural cooperatives In your area?

- 1 = Supply tractors
- 2 = Supply manure/fertilizers
- 3 = Supply insecticides and pesticides
- 4 = None
- 5 = Supply seeds
- 6 = Others.

120. Does your family have any livestock?

- 1 = Yes
- 2 = No

121. Number of cattle

- 1 = 0 - 5
- 2 = 6 - 10
- 3 = 11 - 19
- 4 = 20 - 29
- 5 = 30 - 39
- 6 = 40 and above.

122. Number of sheep.

- 1 = 6 - 10
- 2 = 11 - 19
- 3 = 20 - 29
- 4 = 30 - 39
- 5 = 40 and above.

123. Numbers of goats.

- 1 = 0 - 5
- 2 = 6 - 10
- 3 = 11 - 19
- 4 = 20 - 29
- 5 = 30 - 39
- 6 = 40 and above.

124. Number of pigs.

- 1 = 0 - 5
- 2 = 6 - 10
- 3 = 11 - 19
- 4 = 20 - 29
- 5 = 30 - 39
- 6 = 40 and above.

125. Name of poultry

- 1 = 0 - 5
- 2 = 6 - 10
- 3 = 11 - 19
- 4 = 20 - 29
- 5 = 30 - 39
- 6 = 40 - above

126. Number of the others

- 1 = 0 - 5
- 2 = 6 - 10
- 3 = 11 - 19
- 4 = 20 - 29
- 5 = 30 - 39
- 6 = 40 and above.

127. Yearly income from stock farming.

- 1 = R 0 - R 100
- 2 = R 101 - R 300
- 3 = R 301 - R 600
- 4 = R 601 - R 900
- 5 = R 901 - R1 200
- 6 = R1 201 and above.

128. Do you have access to veterinary services?

- 1 = Yes
- 2 = No.

129. Which organisation or government department assists stock farmers?

- 0 = None
- 1 = Cooperative dipping
- 2 = Veterinary Services Dept.
- 3 = Dept. of Agriculture.

130. Name the agricultural problems in your area.

- 1 = Drought, Stock theft, Poverty
- 2 = Stock theft, diseases, drought
- 3 = No money, drought, diseases
- 4 = Drought, No land, Poor roads
- 5 = Soil Erosion, Stock theft, and drought
- 6 = Others
- 7 = Fencing, theft, drought
- 8 = No money, Pest, Drought.

131. Who should solve the problems?

- 1 = Community
- 2 = Government
- 3 = 1 and 2.

I. PARTICIPATION

132. Do you belong to any organisation?

- 1 = Yes
- 2 = No

133. If yes, name the organisation.

- 1 = ANC, Cala Farmers Association.
- 2 = ANC, Cala Farmers Association
- 3 = Burial Society
- 4 = Burial Society and ANC
- 5 = P. A. C.
- 6 = 5 and 3
- 7 = AZAPO
- 8 = Farmers' Association
- 9 = Church Society
- 10 = Grocery Bulk Purchasing Society
- 11 = 4 and 10
- 12 = Chitibunya
- 13 = SADTU
- 14 = 1 and 13
- 15 = Cala Chamber of Commerce
- 16 = Contralesa.

134. Do you attend meetings?

- 1 = Yes
- 2 = No

135. If no, why do you not attend meetings?

- 1 = Undemocratic tendencies of the association
- 2 = AZAPO against elections
- 3 = SANCO against chiefs
- 4 = Pressure on time
- 5 = Health problems
- 6 = No progress in my area.

136. Did you vote during the last (April 1994) general elections?

1 = Yes

2 = No

137. If no, why?

1 = Violence

2 = No access

3 = Not interested

138. Have you registered for the local government elections?

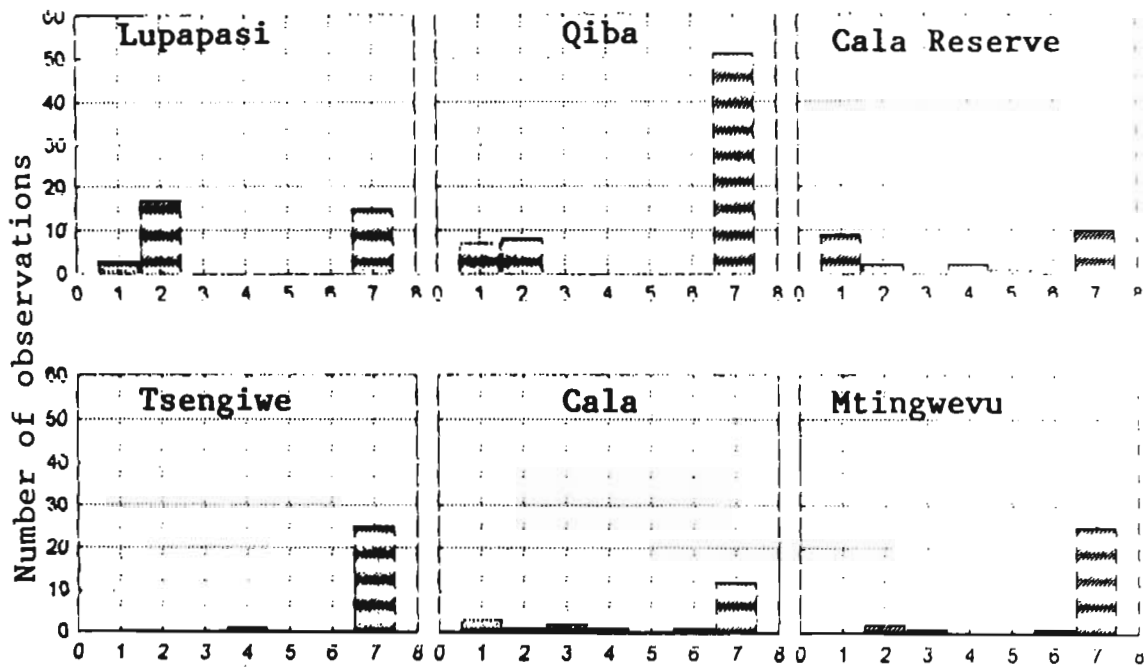
1 = Yes

2 = No.

Thank You.

APPENDIX 3

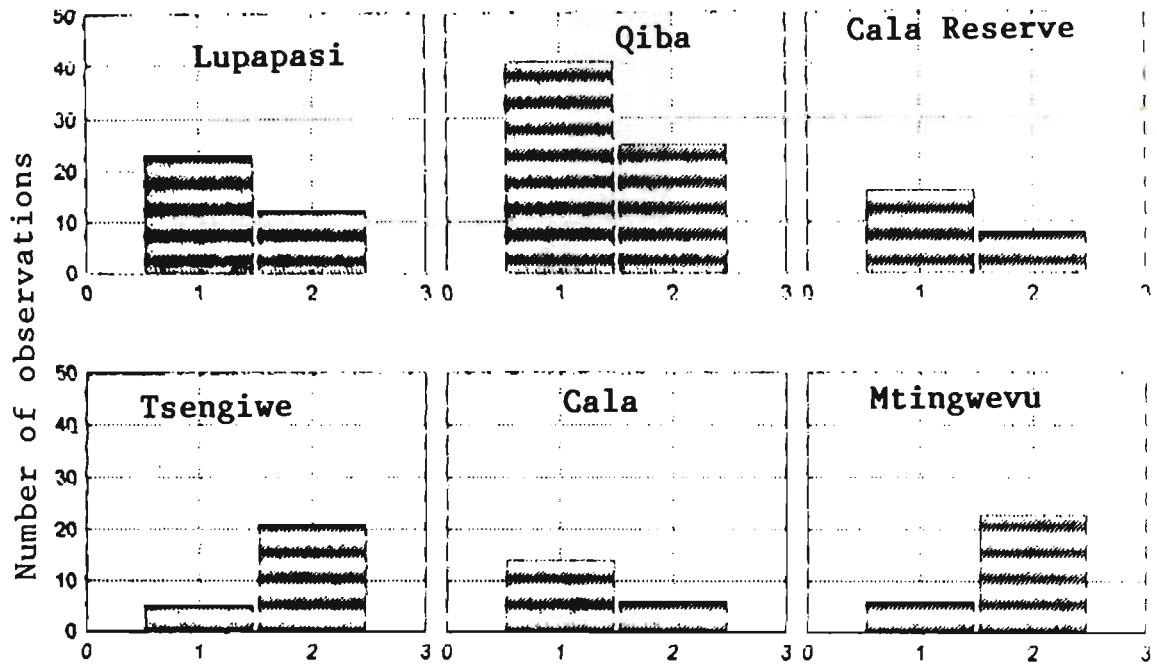
CATEGORIZED HISTOGRAMS (Discriminant Analysis)



Appendix 3.1 Projects completed by organisations

Key to the scales on the horizontal axes

- 1 = brick-making, sewing, poultry and piggery
- 2 = spring protection
- 3 = pre-school
- 4 = 1, 2 and 3
- 5 = 1 and 3
- 6 = solving grievances
- 7 = none

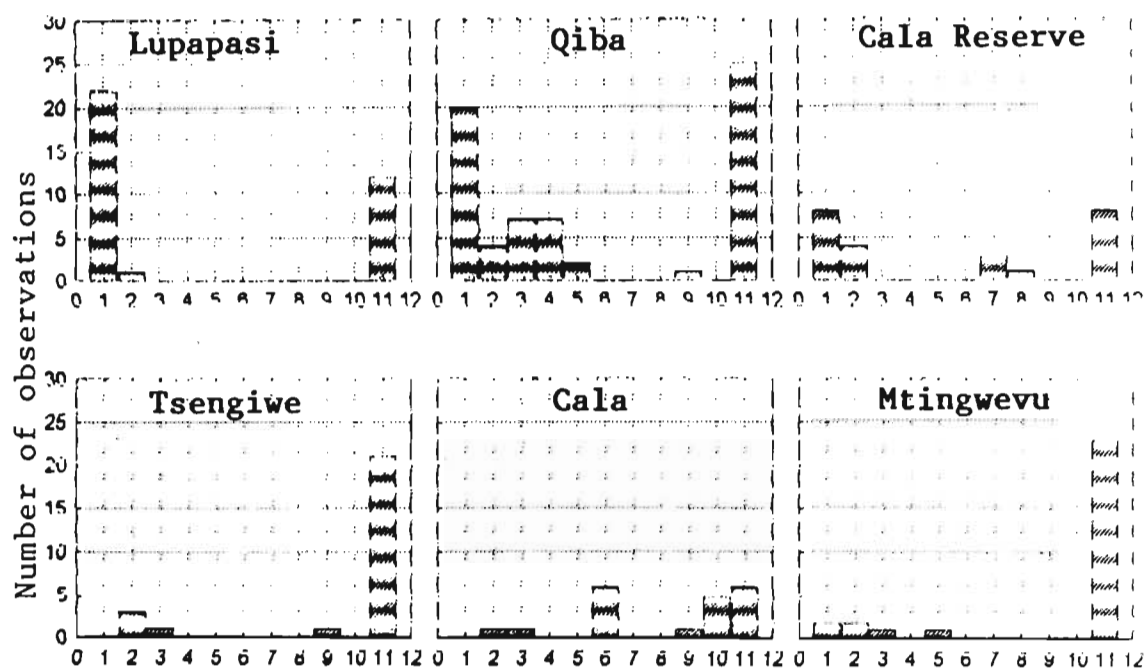


Appendix 3.2 Presence of development organisations

Key to the scales on the horizontal axes

1 = Development organisations operating in the communities

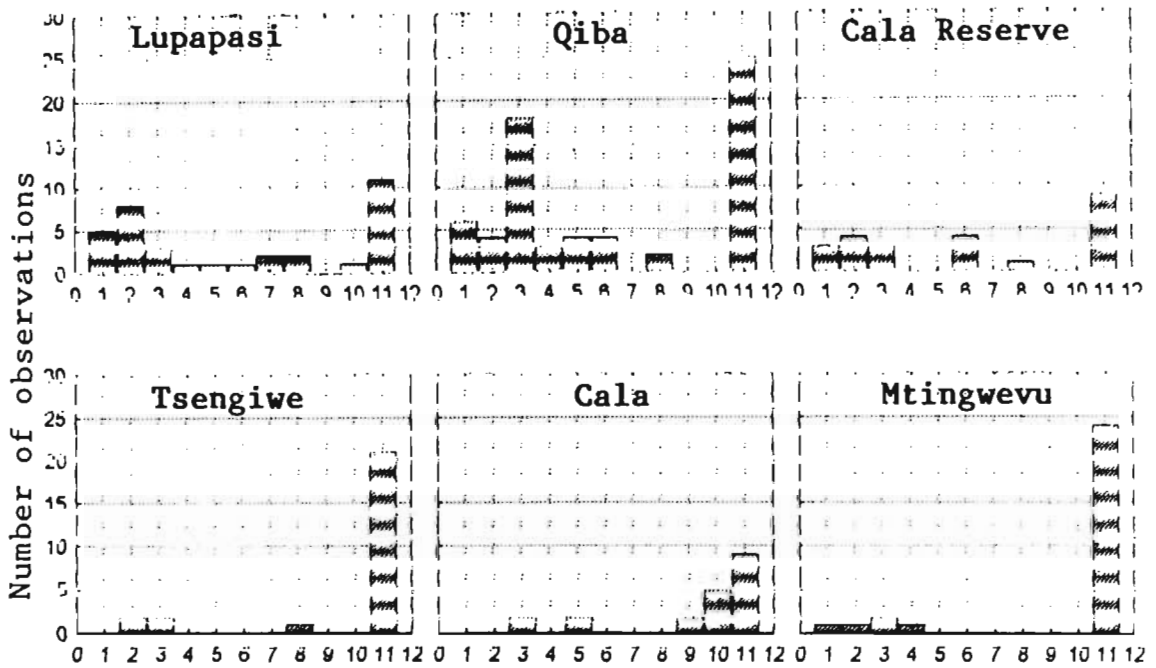
2 = None



Appendix 3.3 Development organisations identified

Key to the scales on the horizontal axes

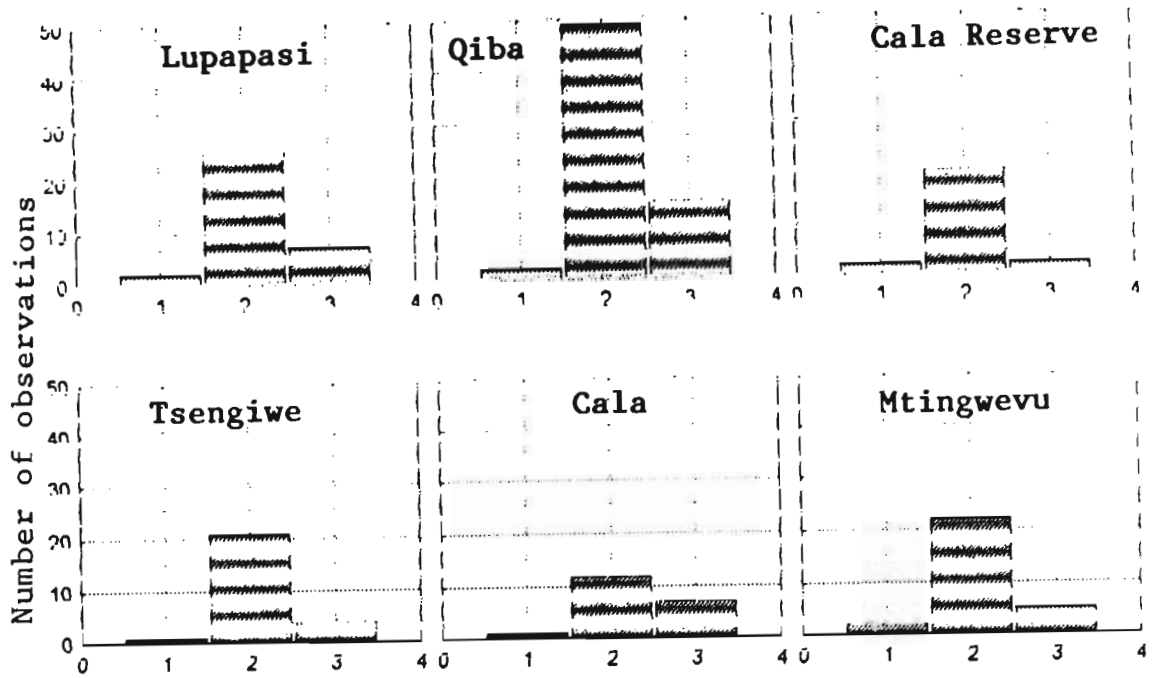
- 1 = Health Care Trust
- 2 = Department of Social Welfare
- 3 = Masakhane
- 4 = Poultry
- 5 = SANCO
- 6 = CALUSA
- 7 = 1, 2 and 6
- 8 = 2 and 6
- 9 = Others
- 10 = Cala Municipality
- 11 = None



Appendix 3.4 Projects under construction

Key to the scales on the horizontal axes

- 1 = Water supply
- 2 = Poultry, piggery, dress-making, pre-school and brick-making
- 3 = Community gardens
- 4 = Roads
- 5 = Masakhane
- 6 = 1 and 2
- 7 = 1 and 4
- 8 = Clinic
- 9 = Town Hall
- 10 = 4 and 9
- 11 = None

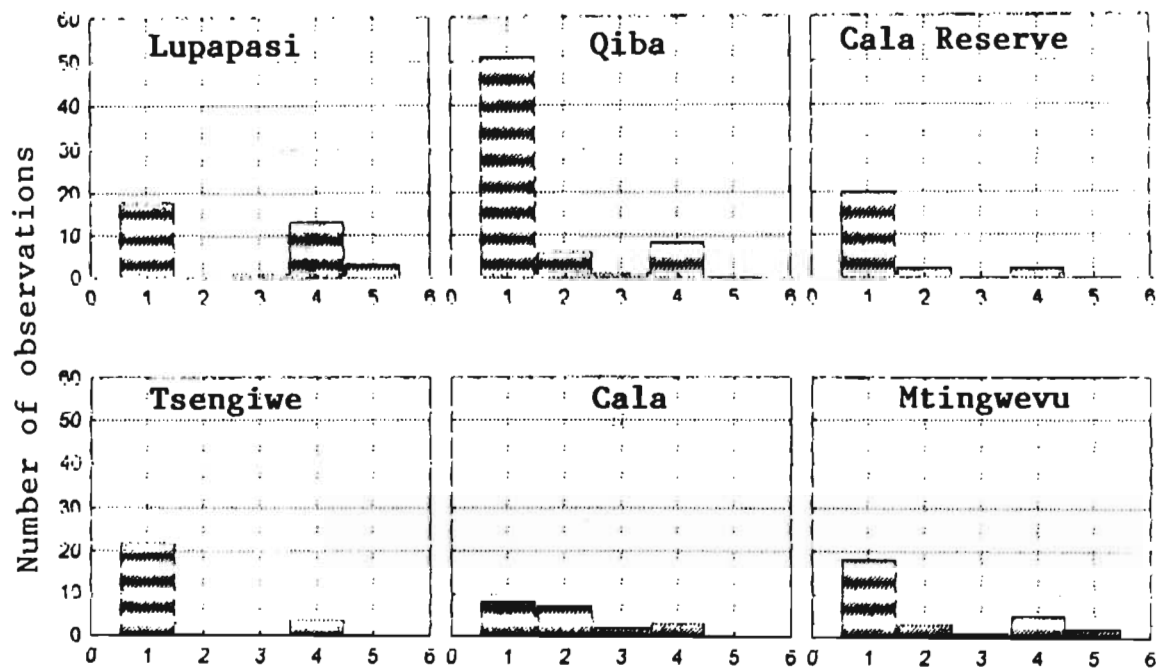


Appendix 3.5 Scale of cultivation

Key to the scales on the horizontal axes

1 = Commercial

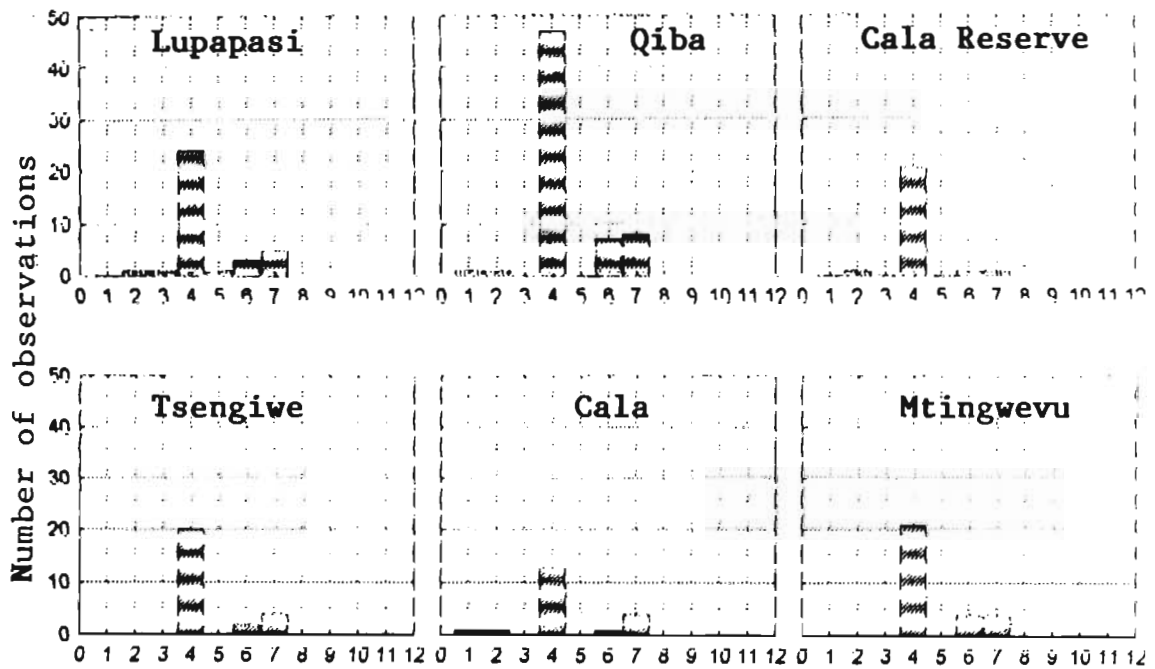
2 = Subsistence



Appendix 3.6 Methods of weed control

Key to the scales on the horizontal axes

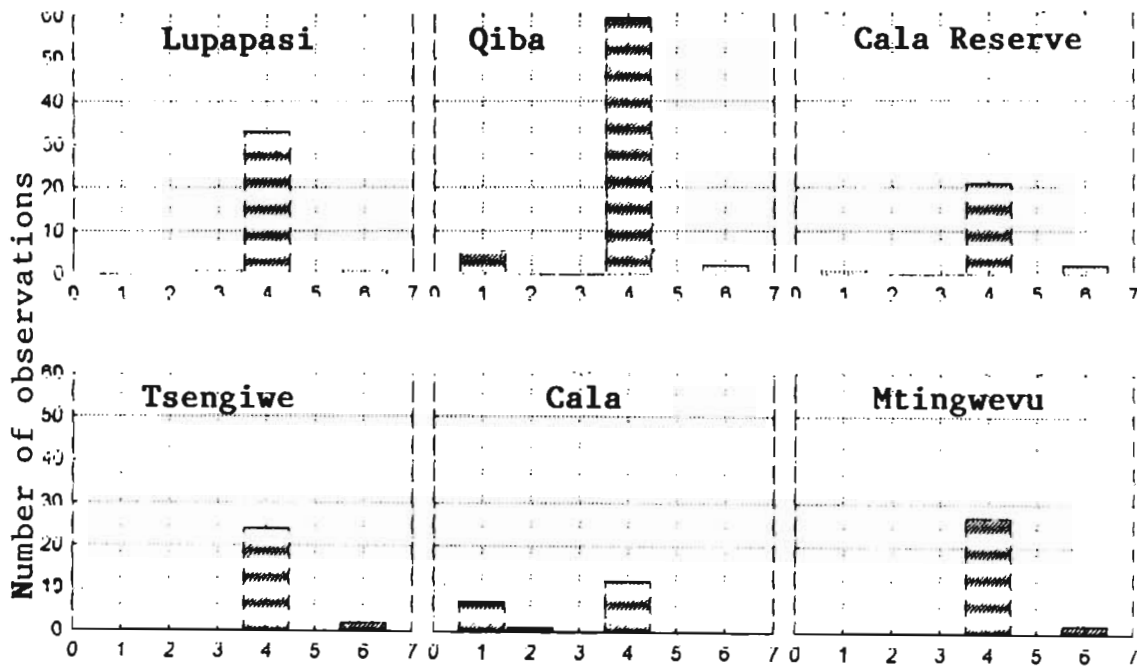
- 1 = Hand hoeing
- 2 = Chemicals
- 3 = Mechanical inter-tillage
- 4 = None
- 5 = 1, 2 and 3
- 6 = Others



Appendix 3.7 Crops cultivated

Key to the scales on the horizontal axes

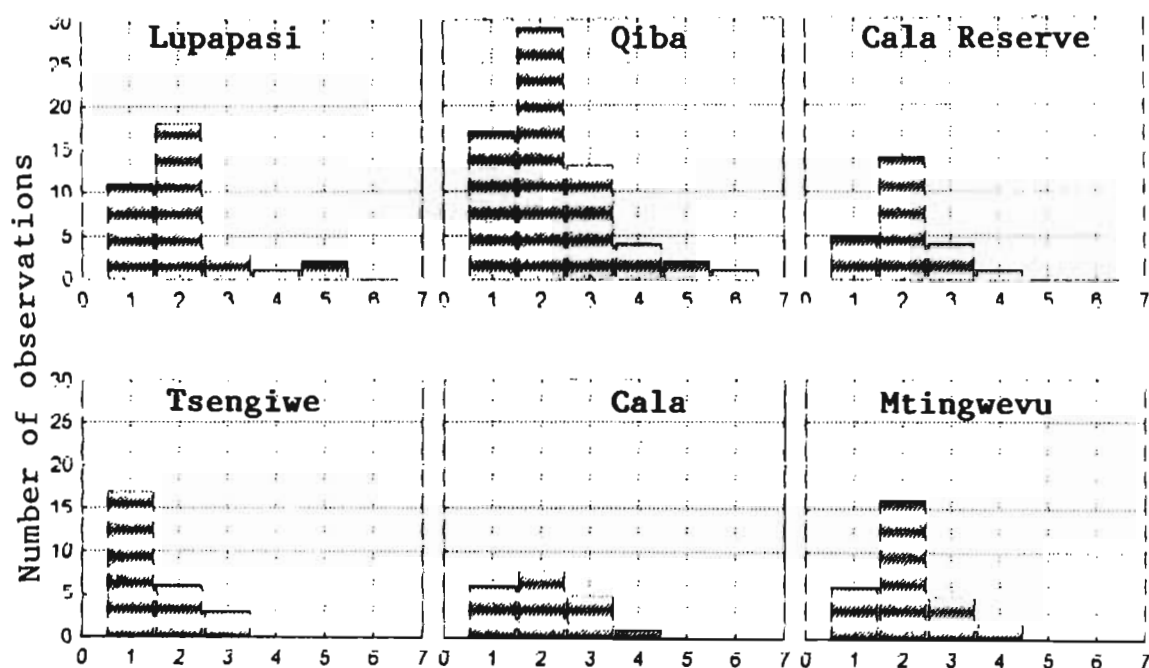
- 1 = Vegetables
- 2 = Fruits
- 3 = Maize
- 4 = 1,3 and 5
- 5 = Pumpkins
- 6 = Others
- 7 = Wheat
- 8 = 3 and 5
- 9 = 3 and 7



Appendix 3.8 Assistance from agricultural cooperatives

Key to the scales on the horizontal axes

- 1 = Supply tractors
- 2 = Supply manure/fertilizers
- 3 = Supply insecticides and pesticides
- 4 = None
- 5 = Supply seeds
- 6 = Others



Appendix 3.9 People with formal education

Key to the scales on the horizontal axes

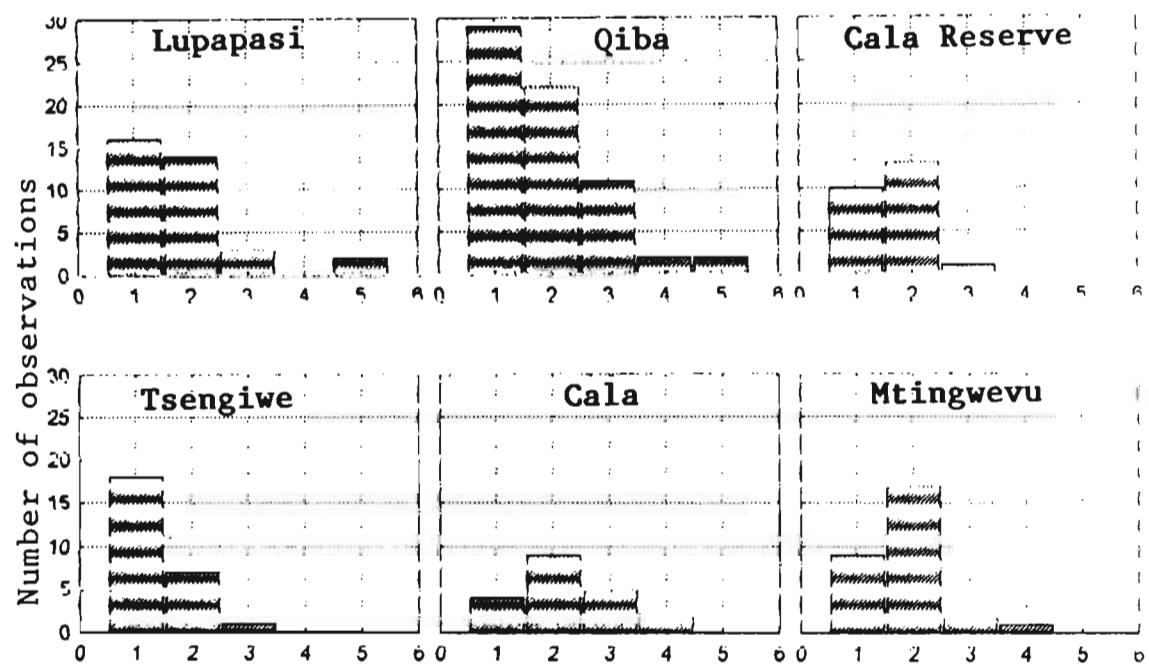
1 = 0 - 1

2 = 2 - 4

3 = 5 - 6

4 = 7 - 8

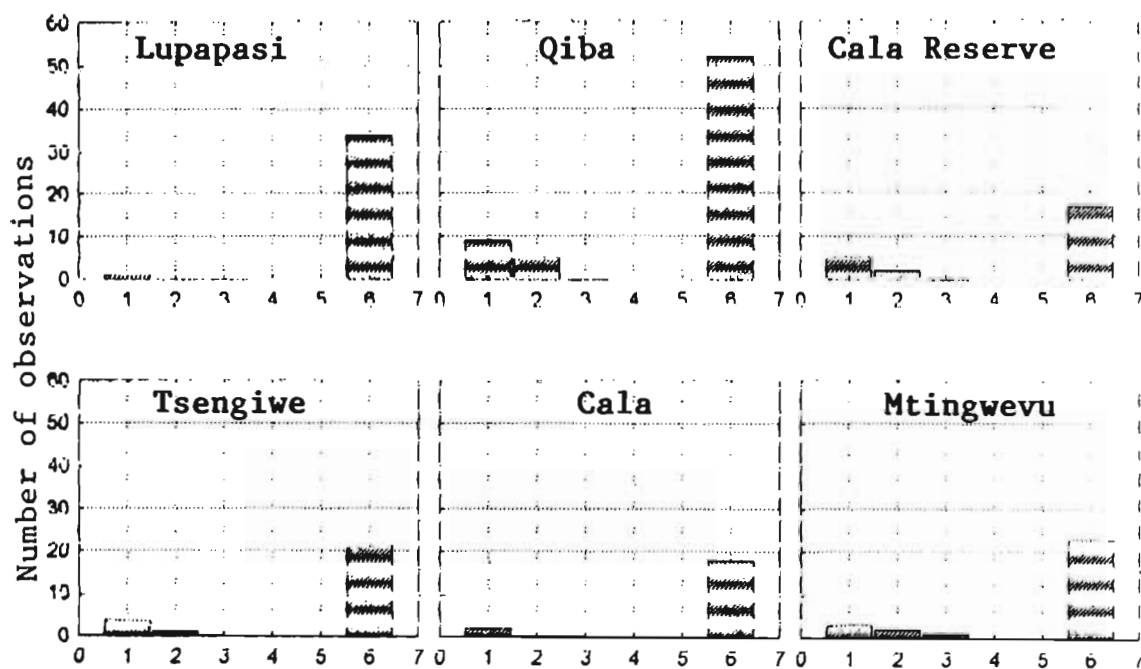
5 = 9 and above



Appendix 3.10 Literacy in English

Key to the scales on the horizontal axes

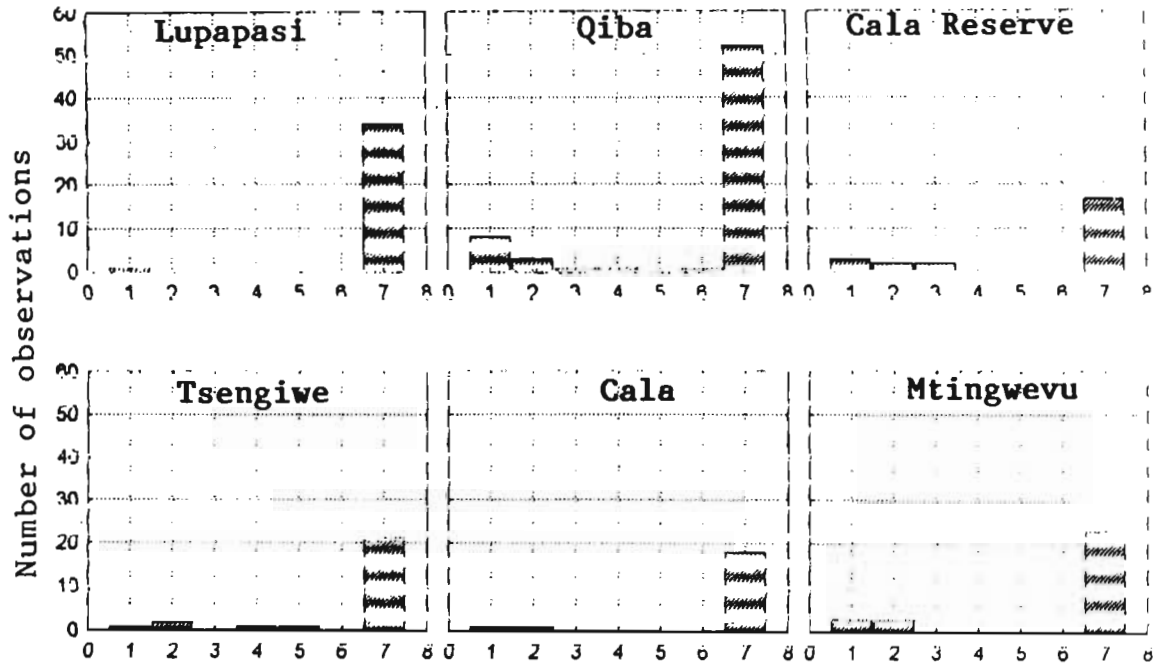
- 1 = 0 - 2
- 2 = 3 - 5
- 3 = 6 - 8
- 4 = 9 - 11
- 5 = 12 and above



Appendix 3.11 Children under 16 years not attending school

Key to the scales on the horizontal axes

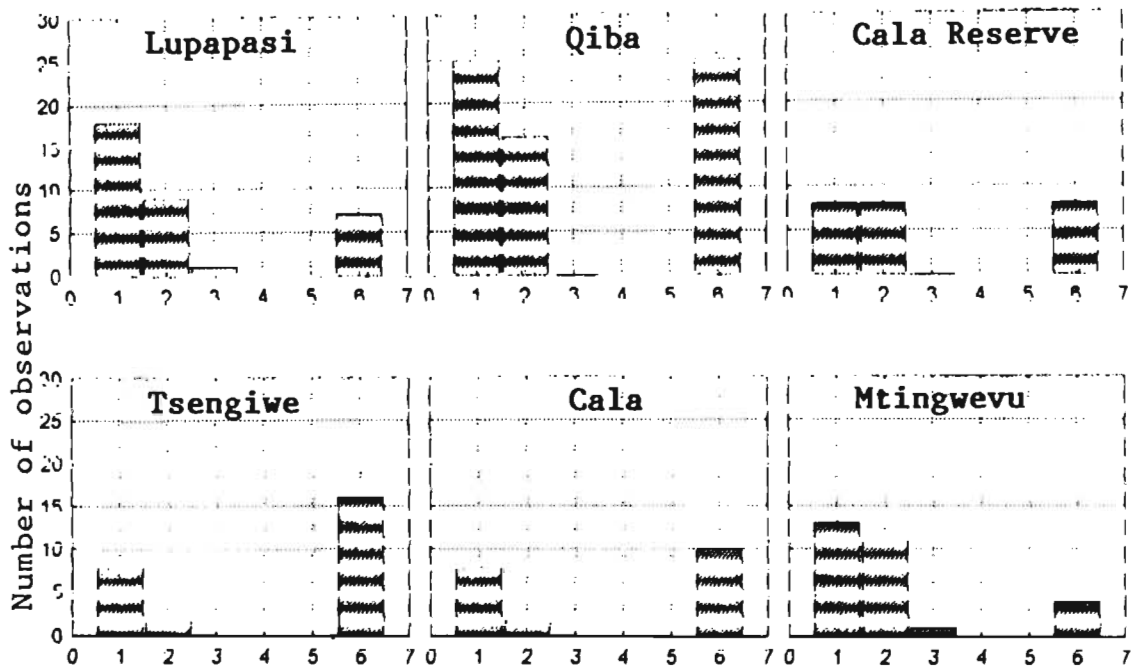
- 1 = 1
- 2 = 2 - 4
- 3 = 5 - 6
- 4 = 7 - 8
- 5 = 9 and above
- 6 = None



Appendix 3.12 Reasons for not attending school

Key to the scales on the horizontal axes

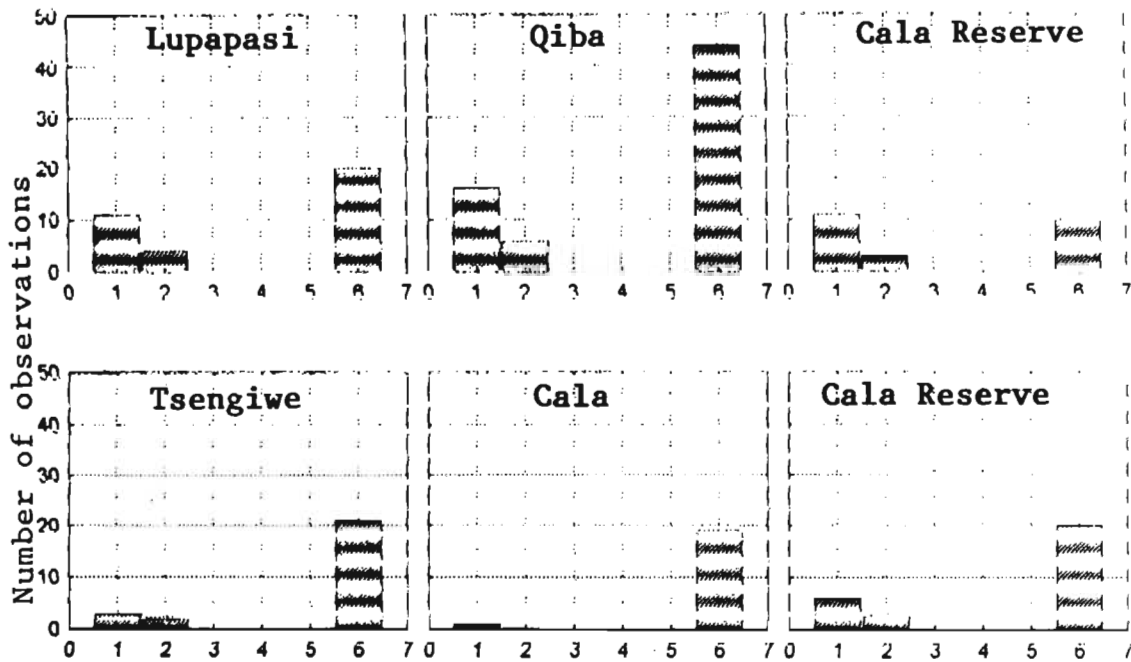
- 1 = No money
- 2 = Got sick
- 3 = 1 and 2
- 4 = No vacancy at the tertiary level
- 5 = Got pregnant
- 6 = No reason
- 7 = Not applicable



Appendix 3.13 People working outside Xalanga District

Key to the scales on the horizontal axes

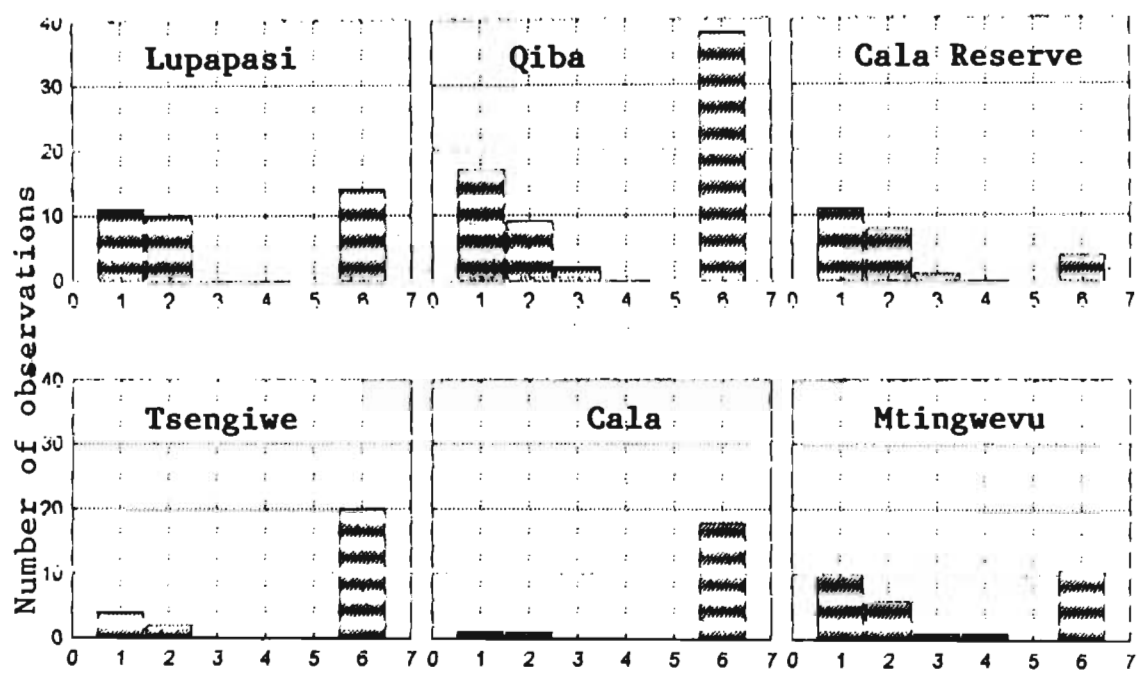
- 1 = 1
- 2 = 2 - 4
- 3 = 5 - 6
- 4 = 7 - 8
- 5 = 9 and above
- 6 = None



Appendix 3.14 Number of unemployed females

Key to the scales on the horizontal axes

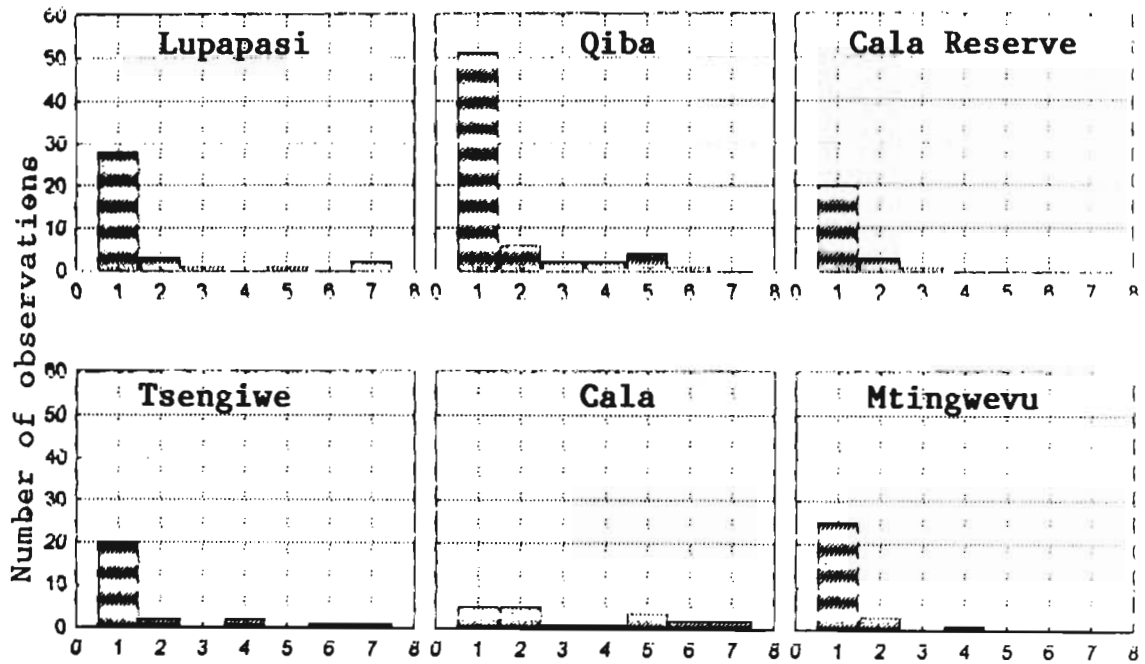
- 1 = 1
- 2 = 2 - 4
- 3 = 5 - 6
- 4 = 7 - 8
- 5 = 9 and above
- 6 = None



Appendix 3.15 Number of unemployed males

Key to the scales on the horizontal axes

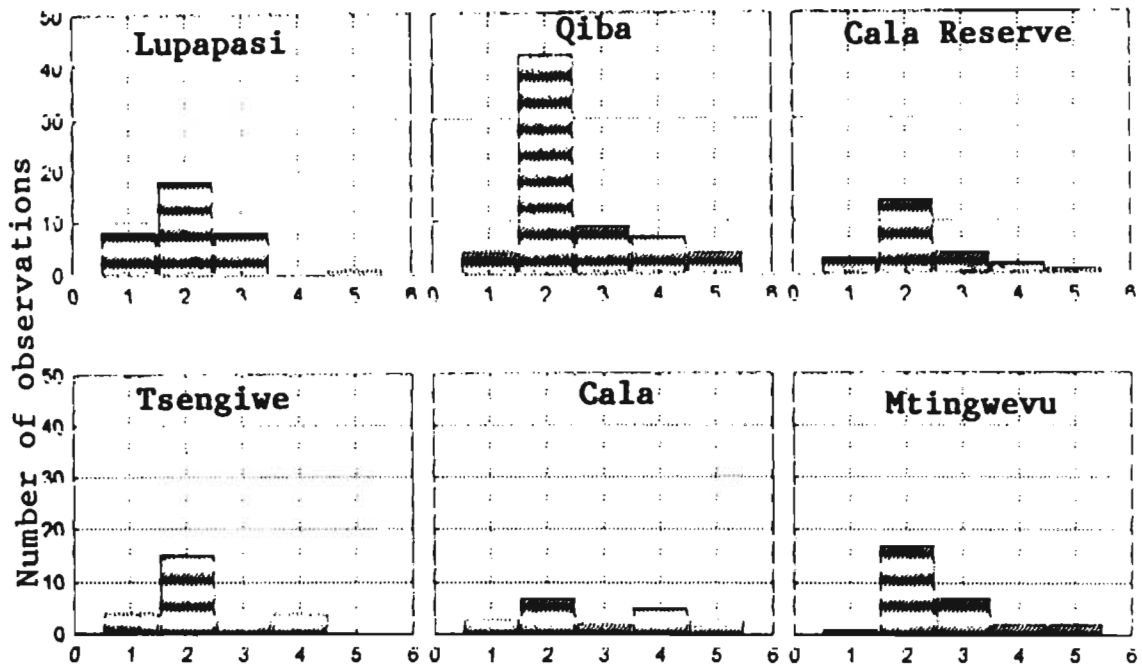
- 1 = 1
- 2 = 2 - 4
- 3 = 5 - 6
- 4 = 7 - 8
- 5 = 9 and above
- 6 = None



Appendix 3.16 Monthly income

Key to the scales on the horizontal axes

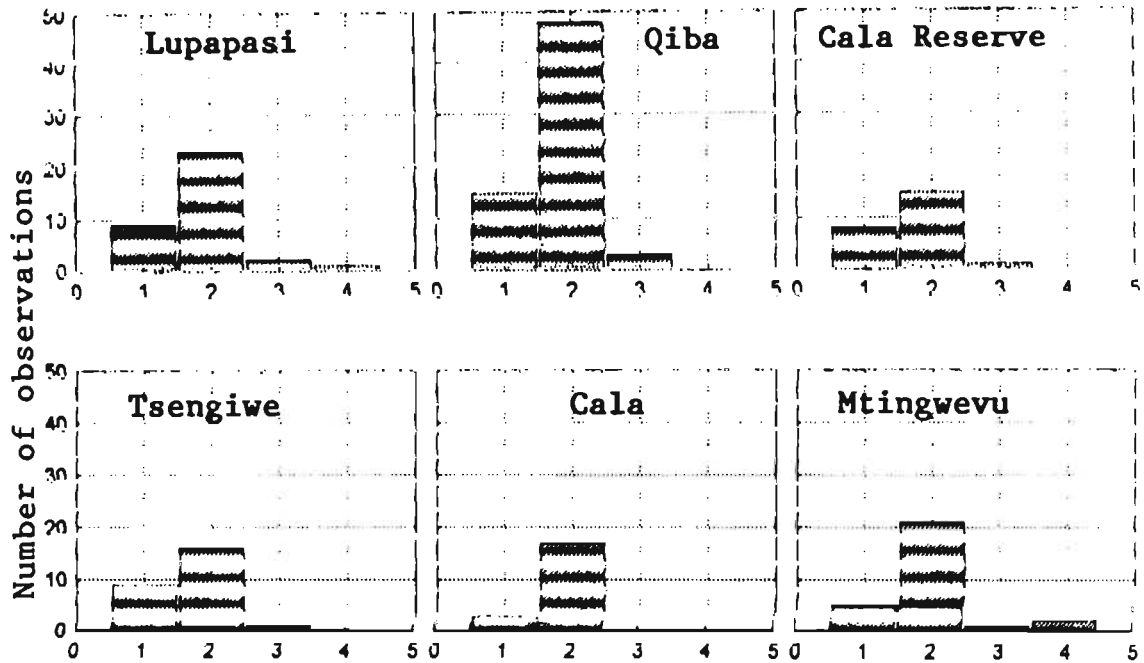
- 1 = R 500 and below
- 2 = R 501 - R1000
- 3 = R1001 - R1500
- 4 = R1501 - R2000
- 5 = R2001 - R2500
- 6 = R2501 - R3000
- 7 = R3001 and above



Appendix 3.17 Number of rooms occupied by households

Key to the scales on the horizontal axes

- 1 = 1
- 2 = 2 - 4
- 3 = 5 - 6
- 4 = 7 - 8
- 5 = 9 and above



Appendix 3.18 Number of bedrooms

Key to the scales on the horizontal axes

- 1 = 1
- 2 = 2 - 4
- 3 = 5 - 6
- 4 = 7 - 8
- 5 = 9 and above