TRADITIONAL AND NUCLEATED SETTLEMENTS IN INKANYEZI:

A SOCIO-ECONOMIC EVALUATION

BY

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Submitted in part fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS in the Department of Geography in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Durban-Westville.

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DECEMBER 1987
THIS DISSERTATION IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF MY FATHER

"I can do all through Him who strengthens me".

Philippians 4:13
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ABSTRACT

An attempt is made in this dissertation to evaluate the quality of life of communities living in traditional settlements and planned betterment schemes.

A comprehensive socio-economic survey was undertaken to assess the developmental potential of both areas. The dissertation also drew a comparison between the two settlements in terms of their physical and human capabilities.

Final analysis revealed that there are significant environmental differences between the two settlements. The communities differ markedly in terms of their land use patterns, agricultural productivity, access to amenities and services, social organization and environmental perception.

Both settlements have strengths and deficiencies and the latter beg serious attention. In this respect, several policy statements and recommendations are made in order that the lives of people in the rural areas of KwaZulu are improved.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Population redistribution policies are part of the development strategies of different nations all over the world. They involve resettlement of rural communities in what is considered better sites. The unique thing about such redistributional policies is that they are limited at government level and affect the rural communities.

A close look at the different countries of the world gives the idea that such relocations are necessary to improve the socio-economic well being of the people. However, in some countries, this is coupled with political considerations, namely, strategic resettlement of people in areas that are not inhabited, for instance like in the Soviet Union. Ideological considerations may override the socio-economic well-being of the people affected by relocation, for example, the resettlement of blacks in the homelands to pursue the ideology of separate development (apartheid).

The socio-economic conditions of relocated people have been studied extensively in South Africa and numerous publications have appeared in the form of books,
In all the various studies of resettled rural communities, no attempt has ever been made to look at the other aspect of resettlement, namely, the resettlement of people who have been in the same place from time immemorial, that is, people who are resettled in order to implement the division of land-use into settlement, arable and grazing land. It can be argued, that this was done so as to 'dump' people evicted from the so called 'white' spots. A careful choice had to be made, therefore, to find an area which had been least affected by the 'dumping' of vast numbers of people.

1.2 CHOICE OF STUDY AREA

The KwaZulu national state has a combination of traditionally dispersed settlements and planned settlements in South Africa. In the area around Eshowe, the traditional settlements and the planned settlements exist in close proximity. Therefore, a study of this nature, where the socio-economic well-being of the people in the two types of settlement could be compared, was made possible.

Furthermore, the population is homogenous in all respects, falling under the same climatic belt and the
same spheres of influence of Eshowe and Empangeni - two rural towns.

The traditional settlement falls under the jurisdiction of Chief Mpungose, while the planned or nucleated settlement falls under Chief Zulu. This was the only area in KwaZulu which was the most accessible to the researcher, in terms of distance and road accessibility from Durban, some 170 kilometres away, where he was stationed at the time of the study.

1.3 AIMS AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The prime aim of the study is to investigate the socio-economic well-being of residents of the two study areas and to draw a comparison between them. The term used officially to refer to the new settlement is 'betterment schemes' but in an interview with a senior government officer, the researcher was informed that in KwaZulu they refer to such planned areas as 'rural development schemes'. The reason, it seems, is the poor image painted by the concept 'betterment schemes' and its association with the population removals into such settlements, effected by the South African Government since the early sixties (Yawitch, 1981).

At present rural areas are under the direct control of the respective homelands within which they fall. The resettlement policies, though initially implemented on
unwilling people by the government of South Africa, are still implemented by the national states. It seems, therefore, that it has been acknowledged by these governments that rural development needs some population redistribution.

The only difference between the redistributional policies of South Africa and those of the national states is that the people are no longer settled in a strictly grid patterned residential area, as is the case in Khabingwe. Some planned areas in the KwaZulu region have scattered homesteads within an area set aside for schemed residence.

The study focuses on two settlements, namely, KwaMaghwakazi and Mlalazi (Figure 3.1). It will seek to show how the people operate in their social and physical environment, and how they perceive it. The study will provide an assessment of the environmental potential, settlement types and form, means of production, types of crops and trees planted, the economic activities, services and amenities, and the attitudes of the people towards their socio-economic environment and settlement type. Suggestions will be made on how the present conditions could be improved or altered if need be.
1.4 DEFINITION OF TERMS

The term 'planned settlement', is used to refer to the settlement where land uses have been clearly demarcated into residential, arable and grazing land. It is also called a 'rural development scheme'; otherwise the settlement is popularly known as a 'betterment scheme' also called a 'nucleated settlement'. However, nucleated settlements constitute the congested settlement where people have no arable land: even keeping livestock is difficult since these were not meant for rearing any livestock. They are rural 'towns' or rural shanty towns.

The term 'traditional settlement' refers to the settlement where people have settled in a dispersed pattern all over the landscape with no demarcation of land done by officials, so that each homestead may have its arable land close to it.

1.5 INVENTORY AND CHAPTER SEQUENCE

In chapter two an investigation into the theory behind planned settlements, their origin and implementation at the international level and in South Africa, in particular, is undertaken.

Chapter three sets out to give a detailed investigation of the Inkanyezi District of KwaZulu in which the study
areas are found. The physical environment and the opportunities and constraints affecting the rural economy is outlined.

The field data, gathering techniques, and the manner in which all data is processed is explained in chapter four.

In chapter five an in-depth analysis of the traditional settlement is presented. A description of the land and water resources, settlement form and structure, economic activities, services and amenities and the socio-economic condition of the people is given.

Chapter six analyses the socio-economic condition, land and water resources, settlement form and structure, economic activities, services and amenities of the people of KwaMqhwakazi, the planned settlement. A comparison of the two settlement forms and land resources, life styles and opportunities that each offers its inhabitants is discussed in Chapter seven.

The final chapter provides a summary, synthesis and conclusion of the study. Recommendations are advanced in the hope that they will help improve not only the lot of both the communities under study but also other rural settlements.
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The final chapter provides a summary, synthesis and conclusion of the study. Recommendations are advanced in the hope that they will help improve not only the lot of both the communities under study but also other rural settlements.
CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE SURVEY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In many developing countries rural development seems at present to be in disarray. Poor performance has, furthermore, prompted many of these countries to actively re-asses their existing development policies and to search in earnest for more effective alternate strategies. Concomittantly, current research efforts on rural development seem to concentrate predominantly on its economic implications and consequences. This orientation to 'economics', often justified by the fact that economic development is one of the most pressing issues of the developing countries, reflects a relative intellectual neglect of other human aspects of rural development. The implications of this neglect is only now appreciated.

The literature survey, therefore, begins by concentrating on the macro implications of the relationship between rural development and development. The choice is based on the premise that rural development contributes more in enabling people to participate in, and to benefit from, economic, social and political processes than it contributes to increased aggregate productivity. In the final analysis, rural development could
help towards the overall improvement of the quality of life of those whose 'misfortune', in the present century, is to be born and brought up in rural areas of the developing world.

In this regard the role of 'betterment schemes' will be highlighted.

2.2. DEVELOPMENT

Development is a widely used term having both a more general and a more specific meaning. On the one hand it may be used in a neutral sense to cover the general social, economic and political transformations which affect countries (Gilbert, 1974). On the other hand it is used synonymously, though incorrectly, with the term 'growth' (Fair, 1982). Smith (1977) asserts that if human beings are the object of our curiosuty, then the improvement of the quality of their life is of paramount interest. De Souza and Porter (1974) offer the following objectives which they consider most important in the development process:

i. a healthfull, balanced diet in all seasons;
ii. adequate medical care;
iii. environmental sanitation and control of disease;
iv. labour opportunities;
v. adequate opportunities for learning and developing the mind;
vi. safety, freedom of conscience and freedom of
religious belief;
vii. adequate housing;
viii. systems of economic production in balance with the environment; and
ix. equality and social justice

Seers (1972) defines development as the reduction of poverty, unemployment and inequality.

The lessons of experience, therefore, prove to us that while economic progress is an essential component of development, it is not the only one. In an ultimate sense it must be comprehensive or multidimensional (Todaro, 1977, p. 87).

In order to achieve such a goal, countries throughout the world formalize some form of planning or other. In this respect, the idea of 'Development Planning' has gained significance throughout the world.

2.3 DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

Development planning connotes 'the processes by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress' (UN Report, 1975, p. 4).
All planning involves a sequential process which can be conceptualized in a number of stages, namely:

"the identification of the problem; the formulation of general goals and more specific and measurable objectives relating to the problem; the identification of possible constraints; the projection of the future situation; the generation and evaluation of alternative courses of action; and the production of a preferred plan, which in its generic form may include any policy statement or strategy as well as a definitive plan" (Glasson, 1978, p.19).

Planning can be multi-objective or single objective, with certain aims, goals and objectives - a goal, meaning the ideal; while an objective refers to the attainable - for example, to improve all the roads in a given settlement.

"Planning can be seen as a response to certain problems with a regional dimension" (Glasson, 1978, p.24). Planning may include manifest, latent, indicative or imperative aims.
There are numerous theories and guidelines on what planning should be, and what its objectives ought to be. It is possible that such theories and recommendations are either not followed or they do not offer practical solutions to present day problems or they remain an academic exercise, preserved in academic literature and never used - or, they are unknown to decision makers.

There are many guidelines to be pursued in planning. The social element necessitates the consent and co-operation of the people who will be affected by regional plans. (If a plan is implemented without the community's approval, it can be rejected). Planning should not be implemented without a full assessment and appreciation of its consequences.

Experience from elsewhere in the world can help in the formulation and execution of developmental plans.

2.4 RURAL DEVELOPMENT

2.4.1 Introduction

The majority of people in the world find their livelihoods in the countryside. The following table shows the percentage of rural communities in selected Third World countries:
TABLE 2.1 RURAL POPULATION IN SELECTED COUNTRIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>RURAL POPULATION %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tansania</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adapted from Chambers (1975)

With such large populations concentrated in rural areas, one can agree with the former President of Botswana, Sir Seretse Khama, when he said:

"The greatest challenge ahead of us is undoubtedly that of rural development. The transformation of rural communities everywhere presents an intractable problem ...." (Chambers, 1974, p.12). Similar utterances were uttered by former President of Tanzania, President Nyerere:

"This decision to give top priority to rural development does not only affect what is done in rural areas; it also has implications for every other aspect of the Development Plan" (Government Publication, 1969, p.xvii). The large numbers of
people occupying the countryside necessitates that their whole way of life be brought under scrutiny.

2.5 IMPORTANCE OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Rural development is initiated in different countries for various reasons, the most common being the prevention of natural resource deterioration due to poor management, and to halt rural depopulation that is triggered by the pull of the urban environment. The multitude of problems faced by the rural dweller forces him to seek a livelihood in the urban areas. In order to maintain a balanced development between the cities and the countryside, strategies of rural life development should be sought and implemented. Such strategies should be relevant, so that a rise in productivity should be initiated, coupled with a rise in per capita productivity. This may not necessarily mean the importation of foreign technology, since this may not improve the situation. It, rather, involves access by rural communities to national resources.

Table 2.2 shows the situation in agricultural production between the 1940's and the 1970's.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1934/38</th>
<th>1948/52</th>
<th>1958/63</th>
<th>1968/72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>1,7</td>
<td>3,1</td>
<td>2,5</td>
<td>2,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far East</td>
<td>0,3</td>
<td>3,3</td>
<td>2,5</td>
<td>1,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>1,2</td>
<td>3,5</td>
<td>2,5</td>
<td>2,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East</td>
<td>1,0</td>
<td>4,0</td>
<td>3,1</td>
<td>2,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Underdeveloped</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>countries</td>
<td>0,9</td>
<td>3,4</td>
<td>2,7</td>
<td>2,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per Caput</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>-0,2</td>
<td>0,8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far East</td>
<td>-1,0</td>
<td>1,2</td>
<td>-0,2</td>
<td>-0,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>-1,0</td>
<td>0,7</td>
<td>-0,4</td>
<td>-0,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,4</td>
<td>0,3</td>
<td>0,5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Underdeveloped</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>countries</td>
<td>-0,9</td>
<td>1,1</td>
<td>0,1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The importance of rural development in the Third World is manifested in budget allocations for agriculture. In the case of Africa, funds were invested in the agricultural sector in order to achieve 'a growth rate of be-
tween 2.0 and 5.4 percent per annum: Table 2.4 shows the situation with regard to agricultural development plans.

Table 2.3 Share of agriculture in selected African development plans (percent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Plan Period</th>
<th>Share of Total Public Investment of GDP</th>
<th>Planned Agriculture Annual Increase</th>
<th>Agriculture Production Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>1966-71</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>1963-67</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivory Coast</td>
<td>1967-70</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>1966-70</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritania</td>
<td>1963-66</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>1962-68</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>1966-69</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>1962-71</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>1965-69</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Togo</td>
<td>1966-70</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>1966-70</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>1966-70</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Mabogunje (1980,p.92)

In the next section a discussion of factors leading to various planning steps, initiated by authorities, will be discussed. City dwellers are sustained by agrarian industries, and, a collapse of the rural sector will not leave the urban areas untouched. These have complimentary functions.
If rural areas are not developed, the emigration to the cities deprives rural areas of their 'younger and adaptable labour force'.

Without planned rural development initiatives, the rural dweller is unlikely to advance in any manner whatsoever, since rural dwellers are "least influential politically, least likely to possess adequate land and capital for decent life, least able to help themselves, and hardest for government to help" (Chambers, 1975).

The main reason for government intervention in the rural, underdeveloped regions all over the world, is the concern for the welfare of the people and the concern with environmental degradation which results from pressure on natural resources. This pressure may be manifested in various ways, namely, overgrazing, huge population density and demands put on the natural environment.

In underdeveloped societies this results from deriving food supplies through hunting, collection of firewood which eventually results in the felling down of forests as wood becomes scarce; and malpractices in agricultural production. Land quality depreciates as no effort is made to improve its fertility and protect it against soil erosion.

As intervention by government in rural settlements may
be done for a multitude of reasons, the emphasis, therefore differs from one country to another, but the underlying theme is that rural communities become affected by government policies concerning development.

2.6 SETTLEMENT SCHEMES

Traditional countryside settlements all over the world exhibit the same characteristics in terms of dispersal, be it in the First or Third World. They are scattered over a wide area, according to individual personal preferences of the head or decision maker of the family. Some would prefer proximity to water supplies, others may prefer an elevated site for a good view of their particular surroundings, and so on. Traditional settlements are difficult to provide with developmental infra-structure because of their dispersed pattern.

2.7 REDISTRIBUTIONAL SETTLEMENTS - MEANING AND NEED

The dispersed form of traditional settlements is characterised by a multitude of problems, at least from the developer's point of view. Problems, inter alia, include the difficulty of providing such settlements with good roads, piped water supplies, electricity, schools, clinics, and a whole range of services at least cost. From the conservationist point of view, the traditional settlements put tremendous pressure on
the natural resources by overgrazing, exploitation of the natural heritage through malpractices in soil till­ing, felling of trees for wood supplies, and a wide range of activities that results in environmental degradation.

The need to improve the quality of life in traditional settlements forces governments to take action, ideally, in consultation with the people involved, in order to improve the existing system. This usually involves population redistribution; where people will be settled in an orderly arrangement that will, rightly or wrongly, improve their well-being.

"In such a case, it is important to ask whose interests are being served or preserved or threatened by the redistributional policies, and of course a particular country may have characteristics of more than one type at a point in time" (Webb et al, 1981,p.12).

2.8 OBJECTIVES OF REDISTRIBUTION POLICIES

Population redistribution can be initiated in each country to achieve one or more of the following objectives:

1. To discourage rural depopulation, which results in urban influx, with its accompanying problems;
2. To encourage urban dwellers to settle in rural
areas;

3. To keep the population evenly spread over an area - to allow a balanced population distribution in a country;

4. To make the population accessible in order to provide basic infrastructure;

5. To check environmental degradation; and

6. To foster a particular ideology.

"A settlement system in the framework of a particular system of socio-economic relations should create optimal conditions for production and will serve its purpose as long as it is capable of fostering technical, social and economic progress.

When there is no progress, when production does not increase and the standard of living is not going up, the reasons may be found in an obsolete settlement system, which should be abolished and replaced by a new one, better suited to changed conditions" (Piorro in Webb et al, 1981, pp159-160).

2.9 REDISTRIBUTIONAL POLICIES IN SELECTED COUNTRIES

The aim of population redistribution can be the control of pressure on the environment. Commenting on the rural settlements of Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia),
George Kay says:

"The prevailing patterns of settlement and land usage were grossly inefficient in respect of both land and labour. Small settlements were widely scattered through habitable parts of the reserves and were surrounded by irregular and widely scattered clearings" (Clarke et al, 1982,p.88).

Population redistribution, in the case of Zimbabwe, was a result of concern with the quality of land as there was pressure on the natural resources. This led to the creation of a Department of African Agriculture in 1926. The first agriculturist to take this portfolio was E.D. Alvord who then drew up principles to be applied for land use namely, land had to be divided into arable, grazing and residential areas (Clarke and Kon-siski, 1982).

If everybody has to benefit from the provision of infrastructure, namely, roads, schools, water supplies and electrification, at minimum cost, it cannot be implemented, without moving people. In Newfoundland, Canada, when the government experienced problems in developing its rural communities by supplying the basic infrastructure grants were made available to induce people to move. This would enable the government to provide a variety of amenities in the "right" locations. The offshore island communities had to move
into "reception centres"; in this case, however, there were no restrictions imposed on the people as to where to relocate themselves.

Village settlement schemes can be established to absorb people from densely populated areas - the landless and the unemployed, and to raise levels of agricultural production. This was the case in Tanzania, on which Clarke (1982) comments:

"By far the most important vehicle of planned population redistribution in Tanzania in recent years is the villagisation programme which was taken up by the government as a rural development strategy" (Clarke et al, 1982,p.178).

People may also be encouraged to move for health reasons. As Gilg (1978) states:

"The roots of the British land use planning system lie in the nineteenth century when environmental and social changes led to legislation such as the Public and Health Act, 1848, which was designed to control environmental standards" (Gilg, 1978,p.62).

This was the case in Uganda, where the tsetse fly menace encouraged people to move spontaneously into new settlements, while China redistributed its population to provide a heal-
A rural population can also be redistributed to make it economically viable. Scarcity of land can make it imperative to resettle people, as was the case in Kenya.

To keep school leavers in the rural areas, and to check migration to the cities it is necessary to develop these areas. This was the case in Nigeria.

In order to promote commercial agricultural production, and to make some areas open for extensive and intensive cultivation, villagisation and population redistribution were implemented in Ethiopia.

Population redistribution can be done for a variety of reasons within a country, for instance, to increase food production and halt a rural exodus, as was the case in Cameroon. To reduce pressure on the land and to create new opportunities; as was done in Uganda where aided resettlement schemes and the opportunity offered to grow coffee attracted people to the land.

The ideology of self-help and accommodating the landless, coupled with raising levels of agricultural production, led to the villagisation schemes in Tanzania.

All the above-mentioned schemes involve population redistribution, which prompts Aziz (1978 p.119) to assert:
"It is, in fact, impossible to devise a meaningful strategy of rural development without some collectivisation in one form or another".

2.10 SETTLEMENT SCHEMES IN SOUTH AFRICA

In South Africa the Black population is classified into various ethnic groups. Each ethnic group has been allocated a specific area of jurisdiction, though not ethnically pure, meant for its own development and welfare. This is what is commonly known as the Bantu Homelands, and now called the National States.

The rural development planning taking place in these national states, was initiated by the South African government long before these attained what is today called 'self-governing status'. These ethnic national states have inherited a land demarcation and a system of rural settlement schemes initiated and enforced by the South African government.

Today, except for the KwaZulu national state, all the other homelands have no traditional settlement patterns as discussed earlier, instead, they have planned or betterment settlements. It is the occurrence of both traditional and betterment settlements in KwaZulu that has made this study possible.
2.10.1 Betterment Schemes

Betterment schemes are a form of population redistribution, aimed at developing agriculture in those South African areas reserved for Blacks by present government policy. Betterment schemes are also called 'planned settlements', 'close settlements' or 'agricultural development schemes' (Yawitch, 1981; Letsoalo, 1982).

The main characteristic of these settlements is the division of land use into residential, arable and grazing land. The residential area has individual plots arranged in a grid pattern. The size of each homestead is marked by beacons.

Within the settlements there are areas set aside for shopping, schools and other land use activities that may be developed by the community. There is a limit to the number of livestock per homestead. Each homestead is allocated arable plots - population growth has made this impossible at present. Planning regions are divided into districts which have a number of wards. A number of villages may be found in a ward. In charge of each ward is a tribal chief, whose indunas are in charge of the villages. Each village is under the care of an induna (Appendix I).
Commenting on the plots of Lebowa, Letsoalo states that they were "not surveyed by registered surveyors and layouts of the settlements are not done by town planners" (Letsoalo, 1982, p. 75).

2.10.2 Origins of Betterment Schemes in South Africa

In 1929 the Agricultural and Lands Branch was established by the Union of South Africa with the aim of undertaking betterment work in all Trust lands, that is, land reserved for rural Blacks. This was put under the then Department of Native Affairs.

This betterment work involved population removals, elsewhere called "probably one of the largest rehabilitation schemes ever attempted outside the U.S.S.R. and China ....." (Houghton in Smit, 1965, p 13).

Proclamation 31 of 1939 made provision for the demarcation or use of any Trust land as betterment, with the consent of the people - after "the people had been consulted".

People resisted the implementation of these schemes, a move which necessitated, from the government's point of view, further legislation making betterment "automatic and compulsory on all
trust farms (ie. in released areas) and overhauled betterment legislation which made punitive measures considerably more stringent".

(Yawitch, 1981, p.14)

Betterment planning was initiated at government level for the people, it did not come from the people. It was implemented through the 'top-down' approach, it did not 'trickle-up', that is, from the masses to the government. Chambers (1975), notes that major efforts aimed at improving life in the rural areas or improving the rural economy are made through government intervention - through the administration of various fields, for instance, water supply, education, health and so on.

Commenting on the origin of the betterment settlements, Rogerson and Letsoalo (1981,p.30) state that

"they are rooted in the state's effort to resucitate the agrarian base and concomitantly the reproductive capacity of the underdeveloped (or underdeveloping) homeland economies ... the closer settlements reflect the principal contemporary function of the Homelands as that of the absorption and social control of South Africa's 'surplus population' at locations remote from the
country's major centres of production and political power."

Political considerations with regard to homelands do emerge and sometimes even overshadow what is supposed to be development on purely agricultural considerations. Landlessness among large numbers of people in betterment schemes in many parts of the country, is a cause for concern.

In Chapter 1, it was mentioned that the study area, KwaMaqhwakazi settlement, a betterment scheme, consists of a population descendant from pre-Shakan times, and, was therefore, not affected by people uprooted elsewhere and 'dumped' in the settlement.

2.10.3 The Consequences of Betterment Implementation

The implementation of betterment schemes in the reserves was bitterly opposed. When inhabitants were required to help erect fences around fields and grazing lands, they refused to do so.

"To show their opposition to betterment planning, the people cut off fences, removed beacons, ....... and refused to move their kraals to betterment villages ......." (Letsoalo, 1982,p.6).

Resistance against betterment planning led to revolts. When the betterment scheme blueprint was presented to the Ciskeian and Transkeian General
Councils in 1945, it was rejected. Protests took place at Mount Ayliff, Thaba 'Nchu, Nquthu, Nongoma and many other places. This culminated in protests by women in Natal in 1959. Resistance was so great that in Pondoland, Transkei, a state of emergency had to be declared.

Discussing the close settlements of Lebowa, among the Pedi people in the 1930's, Rogerson and Letsoalo say:

"Their introduction, however, sparked off a series of rural revolts, which, whilst directed towards stock culling and reduction in ploughed land, at root, reflected the fundamental inequalities in the race space division of South Africa."

"This resistance culminated in 1958 in the 'Sekhukhuniland Terror, a large scale peasant revolt which was ruthlessly suppressed" (Rogerson and Letsoalo, 1981, p.352).

Resistance in the district of Nongoma, KwaZulu, was dampened by people who started moving their kraals into the newly demarcated areas. As a result, animosity was no longer directed at the administration, it turned inwards and led to in-fighting which led to killings and culminated in the charge of 29 men (Yawitch, 1982).

The advent of betterment schemes was actively resisted from
the Cape Province to the Northern Transvaal. A full coverage of the history of opposition to betterment schemes is found in Yawitch (1982) and in Surplus Peoples Project (1983).

2.10.4 Current Status of Betterment Schemes

The unequal distribution of land - 13 percent for Blacks, has resulted in a high population density in the homelands. In some cases, a population density of more than 200 persons per square kilometre is recorded, namely in the KaNgwane Swazi homeland.

The division of land into white and homeland area, with the allocation of a small fraction to Africans, challenges the "betterness" of Betterment Schemes: How can a large number of underdeveloped people be put in a small area and be expected to be 'better'? An underdeveloped society, in the same way as a developed society, is 'land hungry'. There is a great demand on the provision of large tracts of land for grazing, cultivation, residence and open space.

On the question of land allocation and availability, an academic debate has developed, with some researchers asserting that backwardness in homeland agriculture is not the result of land
shortage, while some argue that it is a real and the fundamental cause of rural poverty.

Low argues that "most radical neoclassical analysts see land shortage and population pressure as the major causes of the stagnant, obsolete and declining per capita agricultural production on traditionally farmed areas". He also declares "land shortage is not the problem that conventional wisdom would have us believe" (Low, 1984,p.299). It is, however, not the aim of this study to argue about land allocation.

The argument is mentioned here in order that it should be appreciated that the land question is a thorny issue - not to mention the ideas and the ideology behind the establishment of 'homelands', 'national states', 'Bantustans' or whatever one prefers to call them.

Even a study like this one can be prejudiced, right from the onset, by the mere fact that it deals with a homeland and all the ills associated with homelands.

The departments of agriculture, in all the homelands, continue with the implementation of betterment schemes. In
Venda, for instance, 75 percent of agricultural land has been "planned into betterment schemes to rationalize available grazing and residential areas (Surplus Peoples Project Report, 1983).

It is stated that in Gazankulu, ninety per cent of the surface area had been planned for 'Phase 1' planning by 1974 (Surplus Peoples Project Report, 1983).

In the KaNgwane homeland, dense settlements have been noted. In the Transkei, planning has been carried out on a large scale. Along the N2 road in Transkei, clustered villages, all looking the same, can be seen.

2.11 A CASE STUDY OF THE KWAZULU BETTERMENT SCHEME

A traditional settlement pattern of the majority of the population of the homeland of KwaZulu does not allow for optimal utilization of the natural resources. The prime reason for this problem is the scattered nature of the traditional dwellings. This situation has contributed largely to the deterioration of the natural resources with the resultant adverse effects on the ability of the land to support both the human and animal population of KwaZulu. In order to rectify the situation, the government of KwaZulu decided to institute a development plan.
The following objectives and guidelines were identified:

a. To settle the whole of the rural population of KwaZulu in orderly and indentified residential areas.

b. To settle the people so as to aim at making land available for the optimum utilization of the natural resources so that the maximum human and animal population can be supported, and also, to facilitate the organisation of communities so that they can contribute to the development and improvement of living conditions. The settlement plan which forms part of the overall farming pattern must thus be considered as the foundation on which the farming system is based.

c. The participation of the people in the settlement plan is of utmost importance.

d. The human aspects must be considered carefully, especially as regards the tribal structure and other socio-economic aspects like Induna's wards, which must be accommodated in the plan.

e. Provision must be made for well planned attractive residential areas where basic services can be provided.
f. The gradual separation of the farmer from the non-farmer must be encouraged.

g. Farmers must, as far as possible, be settled on an economic basis.

h. Successful farmers can be given more than one economic unit which will lead to the creation of larger farming units.

i. Provision of basic services at strategic points in the residential areas is essential, for example, the provision of adequate water for domestic use.

j. Provision must be made for payment for the use of the land, irrespective of the system of tenure in existence.

(Adapted from report of Department of Agriculture, 1980)

Bembridge (1985, p.289) states that, in general "throughout the Third World, rural development as an ideology and practice, has not achieved its goals".

In Africa, the exceptions have been Kenya, Malawi and Swaziland. Bembridge further comments that in Asia, the Green Revolution 'had only a limited
impact'. Exceptions in the Asian case are Japan, Taiwan, Israel, India, Yugoslavia and China.

It remains to be seen how KwaZulu will perform in the light of the stated objectives.

2.12 FORMULATION OF A HYPOTHESIS

In the light of the foregoing discussion, it is quite apparent that rural development is a major area of concern in the development process throughout the Third World. In this regard, South Africa in no exception. It is also evident from the literature survey that population redistribution, implemented through the concept of betterment schemes, is an important innovation in terms of rural development. In view of this, it is the major contention of this dissertation that since the implementation of betterment schemes the quality of lives of the rural population in KwaZulu has definitely improved.

2.13 CONCLUSION

This chapter has attempted to discuss the question of development, and rural development in particular, and to give a general survey of how development policies have been formulated in various parts of the world and what the major objectives of such policies were.
It has further been argued that the implementation of a development programme necessitates population redistribution in one way or the other.

A background to the South African situation with regard to rural development, the homeland concept and the reaction of population redistribution in South Africa, has been given.

Lastly, the objectives and guidelines of the Department of Agriculture in KwaZulu have been stated as these give an indication of what the ultimate in the agricultural development of KwaZulu should be.
CHAPTER 3

THE STUDY AREA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The research was conducted in two settlements of the Nkanyezi District, namely, Mlalazi, a traditional settlement; and KwaMaqhwakazi, a planned settlement. Figure 3.1 shows the location of the two settlements in relation to Eshowe and Empangeni. Mlalazi is situated some three kilometres, north-east of Eshowe. The tarred road linking Eshowe and Melmoth goes through this settlement, and so does the secondary road between Empangeni and Eshowe. The Mlalazi settlement, under the jurisdiction of Chief Mpungose, has a total area of 20 101 hectares. In 1970 it had a population of 19 043. This study, however, does not cover the whole area, it only covers a portion of it - roughly forty-five percent of the total area, as a sample. The area lies between 31° East Longitude and 28° South Latitude.

KwaMaqhwakazi, the betterment or planned settlement, is some twenty-four kilometres from Eshowe. It lies between 31° 36' - 40° East Longitude and 28° 46' - 49° South Latitude. This forms part of a number of planned villages under Chief Zulu. The road linking Eshowe and Empangeni passes through this settlement.
Figure 3.1

Location of Study Areas

MAP: Location of study areas with labels for Melmoth, Melmoth, Traditional Settlement, Betterment Settlement, Empangeni, Richards Bay, Mtnzini, Eshowe. The map shows a scale of 0 to 1 to 2 km.
The two settlements are 17 kilometres apart. The climatic data used for the two settlements is based on information supplied by Riversbend Estates, Nkwaliini, which is some eight to ten kilometres away from the two settlements. The data is based on a twelve year period of observation.

3.2 HISTORIO-GEOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND TO STUDY AREAS

In this chapter an attempt is made to give a historio-geographic picture of the two settlements under empirical scrutiny, namely, Mlalazi and KwaMqhwaKazi. In the absence of recorded historical information, much of the historical background was gathered through interviews with leaders and elders in both settlements.

3.2.1 KwaMqhwaKazi

The KwaMqhwaKazi people trace their history back to the times of King Cetshwayo of the Zulu people. According to reliable sources, when King Cetshwayo fought Mbuyazi, another prince, the latter, escaped with his followers to Escourt. One of those who fled with Mbuyazi was Mkhungo.

When Mkhungo came back to the Zulu king, he was given, by the then Zulu king, Dinuzulu, land to rule. That was the whole area known as Bhekeshowe
Ward, of which KwaMaqhwakazi, the betterment settlement, forms part.

In the 1950's the South African Government evicted the people who were then resident at Weenen, the Izigqoza people. They then scattered all over the country and some migrated to Inkandla, at Ntingwe. Those people are also subjects of the chief who rules KwaMaqhwakazi. The present chief of KwaMaqhwakazi, therefore, has two residences - one at Ntingwe and the other at KwaMaqhwakazi. The Ntingwe area was given as a consolation for being expelled from Weenen.

The removal of the people from Weenen was resisted. The land issue was taken to court, with the people contending that the land was theirs legally. Having lost their case in Pretoria, it is alleged that they were forcibly removed and their houses were demolished; even Chief Bhekeshowe's kraal was flattened by bulldozers.

People who are resident at KwaMaqhwakazi consist of those who have stayed there since the times of King Shaka, and those who have been evicted from areas declared "white" by the South African Government, that is, white farms. The rest come from farms around Vryheid.

Historical monuments found at KwaMaqhwakazi are
proof that the area has long been inhabited - for instance, along the road to Empangeni, some 100 metres away from the nearest homestead, there is a monument marking the place where King Shaka used to test valour (Plate 3.2). In the same vicinity, further down the road, there is the KwaBulawayo Kraal. People who were declared cowards would then be sent to the KwaBulawayo kraal for the death punishment (Plate 3.3).

During those days and prior to 'betterment' implementation, the local population was scattered all over the rural landscape - along the Matheku River and where the present arable land is to be found. However, during the rule of Chief Bhekeshowe, the South African Government introduced the policy of betterment planning. People were informed that the new settlement scheme would control soil erosion. The area was fenced and stones were put in gullies to check erosion. During 1960, planning was implemented.

In the new scheme, the area was divided into residential, cultivated, and grazing land. According to the agricultural officer interviewed, this was a purely agricultural plan without regard to the social life of the people. Seeing that people moved into the new scattered settlement pattern more than twenty five years ago, it is ap-
Plate 3.1  A VIEW OF KWAMAQHWAKAZI
FROM THE EAST

Plate 3.2  COWARDS BUSH MONUMENT
Plate 3.3  KABULANAYO KRAAL
propriate to evaluate the social well-being of the people in this settlement.

The land use map of Mlalazi reflects the physical conditions of the land prior to planning in KwaMaqhwakazi, with arable land adjoining the scattered individual homesteads (Figure 5.1). There are, however, some homesteads which, incidentally, fell within the official residential area. Such homesteads were not relocated. Relocated homesteads were those which fell within the land reserved for agricultural and grazing purposes.

3.2.1.1 Evolution of the Landscape

People long resident in this area recall the dense forests and tall, thick grass that used to grow. But now the landscape is sparsely vegetated and the forests are no longer thick. Both man and animal have put too much pressure on the natural environment. Overgrazing has left the soil almost bare, and the footpaths and cattle tracks caused by herds of cattle provide waterways on rainy days. This results in severe donga erosion.

The inflow of people into KwaMaqhwakazi, Ngoleni, KwaNandi, and other settlements nearby, has put tremendous pressure on the natural vegetation and
forests, which serve as both a supply of building materials and of firewood. The tendency to cut green trees and make them dry for firewood purposes, has definitely destroyed the ecological system along the Matheku River.

The homesteads in KwaMqhwakazi differ from the traditional Zulu homesteads found in Mlalazi. In the traditional set-up, a homestead consisted of a number of mud- and-pole, thatched houses forming a semicircle and enclosing a cattle kraal. Individual houses are used by different people for different purposes - namely, there is a hut for the first wife, the second wife, the boys, the girls, for ancestors, and for storage and other uses. There is also a big cleared lawn within this semi-circle and around the houses. Figure 3.2 shows such a homestead.

The plots given to residents in KwaMqhwakazi have not afforded them the semi-circle arrangement of houses, possibly because of the new order of settlement. Even the type of houses found here differ in that they are made of pole and mud and corrugated iron roofs or bricks and mortar with iron roofing. Some houses are made of pole and mud but are four cornered. There is a variety of styles, depending on the economic circumstances of the family concerned. The houses look almost uniform, but with a variety of flat and thatched
roofs. Plate 3.1 shows a view of the houses facing the east.

The shortage of tall grass used for thatching, forces residents to make use of corrugated iron, even if the walls are made of pole and mud. However, iron roofs are an advantage in that they allow for the collection of rain water which is then stored in water tanks.

The arrangement of houses in rows makes provision for the construction of roads, but this has not been done. Instead of roads there are many foot-paths, with boulders protruding above the surface. Trees were not removed from the planned roads, accessibility to individual homesteads by car is impossible. Only the two shops, the schools, the church, the courthouse and the induna's homestead are accessible by car.

Some residents have fenced their homesteads, while a large number of homesteads remain unfenced. Some residents have planted sisal as a means of fencing. Within each homestead there are many houses, reflecting the traditional setup.

The shortage of tall grass has been suggested as the main cause of the dilapidated condition seen over roofs of some houses. The walls of some
houses also need re-plastering due to the continual wash-out caused by rain. All the houses look old; however new houses and homesteads may be found towards the arable land where new families are establishing themselves. The scarcity of trees in this area gives the settlement a bare and barren appearance.

It is also in this area that ruins of demolished settlements are still visible. Even in the grazing lands, relics of old homesteads are still found.

In this new settlement, people are encouraged to have pit latrines. Most residents do have these toilets. During the day the settlement is quiet as most children are at school, the men are at work or elsewhere, and the women are either in the gardens or the fields, depending on the season of the year. Every morning and afternoon, the water supply points - the boreholes and the windmill, are crowded with people, mostly girls and women, collecting water for domestic use.

The long distance between Matheku River and the settlement, makes people fetch water from the boreholes (imibholozi) and the windmill (isiphekepheke). The water in the nearby man-made dams is polluted as some residents wash dirty linen there, and boys swim in the same dams while
cattle also get their thirst quenched here. Borehole water is not popular among the residents since it tastes sour.

During the day no livestock can be seen in the vicinity since it is in the grazing lands. This enables boys to attend school. In the mornings and afternoons herds of cattle raise dust as they are driven to and from the grazing lands.

Facing the settlement from the east, one sees almost the entire residential area. It looks tidy and beautiful and gives the impression that is resulted from voluntary residential proximity, especially if one considers the lack of fencing around a large number of the homesteads.

3.2.2. Mlalazi

The Mlalazi settlement also consists of homesteads with descendants of people who lived there since the times of King Shaka and King Cetshwayo; that is, early in the nineteenth century.

Gawozi Mpungose, a brave warrior in the Zulu army, was given the Mlalazi area as a reward for his bravery. Bravery was highly esteemed by Zulu kings and people with such qualities were made indunas or even given a piece of land with subjects
to rule. Gawozi's son, Mbango, begot Siphoso, who beget the present acting chief, Chief Ngango Mpungose.

According to reliable sources, elderly informants, the Mpungose people originally came from Mahlabathini in Northern Zululand. Since their arrival, the area's population has swelled through natural growth and immigration. They used to keep sheep, goats and cattle in this settlement. However, there has been a substantial reduction of grass in the area, with the result that the livestock has also dwindled.

It can therefore be assumed that the two settlements, KwMaghwakazi and Mlalazi, have been populated for more than a century, and population growth has taken place over the years. Mlalazi has already been proclaimed for betterment planning and plans are under way to effect the proposed land use patterns.

3.2.2.1 Evolution of the Landscape

In Mlalazi, one finds contrasting settlement forms. There are traditional homesteads and modern homesteads, with a third type of homestead where there is a combination of the modern and the traditional pattern - one big family house, and a
In the traditional homesteads - mostly found near and inside the natural forests - there is the usual bee-hive and semi-circle formation of houses, with a cattle kraal in the middle (Figure 3.2).

The houses are simple - built of poles, sealed with mud and thatched. They are haphazardly shaped - while the oldest, bee-hive type, may be found among the other types of houses. Each house may be a dwelling unit for a particular person, for instance, the first wife, the second wife, boys or girls.

Cattle are looked after all day long, being kept out of people's fields. In some homesteads, it is the head of the kraal who follows the cattle, especially if his sons are not available for various reasons. The head of the family may also act as supervisor to young boys who look after cattle.

The location of homesteads varies. Some homesteads are far away from the fields, especially those located on stoney and sandy areas. Others are found in an area North of the Courthouse where most of the cultivated land is located, as if by
prescription. This area is close to the stream and the soils are dark and fertile. (See land use map of Mlalazi, Figure 5.1).

Close to the tarred road between Eshowe and Melmoth, the homesteads are no longer strictly traditional. One may find a big modern home with a number of huts, flat roofed homes or rondavels. In this case the use of building materials displays a wide range. The walls can be pole and mud with corrugated iron roofing, or it can be mortar and brick with corrugated iron. The windows can be made of wooden frames and wooden panes as well.

The many huts, even though there can be a big modern house, should be seen in the light of the multi-functional nature of the rural folks homesteads, namely, serving as a place of residence, storage of harvest, ancestor worship, and a wide range of functions that may need additional space in the homestead.

There are few instances where one finds only one modern house without other huts in the vicinity. The wide range of building preferences and structures, reflects the diversity of occupations among residents. It would seem that some people, though they prefer an urban lifestyle have, nevertheless, preferred to reside at the fringes of an urban area, that is, Eshowe. Many homesteads consume
electricity and have telephones; and the houses are very modern indeed.

The modern homesteads are also surrounded by cultivated land, which shows a degree of attachment to agriculture even though the occupants may be professional people.

Most homesteads are surrounded by a variety of trees, ranging from pine and gum to fruit trees like peaches, mangoes, oranges and gauvas. It is only the traditional, semi-circle homesteads which are lacking in planted trees. All the homesteads are farther apart, and, it is not possible to see or hear what is going on in one neighbour's yard unless it is very noisy. The traditional, semi-circle houses are located farther apart near the forest, called ehlanzeni, as compared to the modern homesteads near the roads, these are close together, if compared to the semi-circle homesteads.

3.3 SOME GEOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STUDY AREA

3.3.1 Climate

The average monthly temperatures range from 18° to 23°C. Figure 3.3 shows average minimum and maximum temperatures over a period of twelve years.
The area has frost free winters and has thriving vegetation all year through. Grass is never completely dry in the area. Figure 3.4 shows evaporation average for the same time span. This should be seen in relation to the amount of precipitation received, it is normal for a vegetated area, and therefore, it is due to evapotranspiration.

Precipitation ranges from 600mm to 1 300mm per annum. During summer it is above 60mm and reaches the highest peak in February. Lowest precipitation is recorded in June and July, when it is less than 20mm, but it increases gradually as from August. This accounts for the reason why some residents with water tanks can have rain water all year through, as there is no dry month.

Winter rainfall is essential in KwaMaqhwakazi, to keep the dams full so that garden irrigation may not be interrupted.

During the study period, the dam used for garden irrigation did dry up for a month, possibly due to the great demand made by irrigation. Figure 3.5 shows mean monthly precipitation and temperatures. It should be borne in mind, however, that precipitation values fluctuate from year to year, and the average values do not reflect years of
Figure 3.3  MINIMUM AND MAXIMUM TEMPERATURES
RIVERSBEND ESTATES
Figure 3.4 EVAPORATION VALUES - RIVERSBEND ESTATES

- PAN EVAPORATION IN MM

J F M A M J J A S O N D
drought and plenty.

3.3.2 Geology of the Areas

The area, in both settlements, is underlain by the Table Mountain series of the Cape System, Ecca series of the Karroo System and the Natal belts of metamorphism and granatization.

In the Mlalazi settlement there is a predominance of micaceous sandstone and arkose sandstone; whereas in KwaMaqhwakazi there is a dominance of shale and slate.

The name "Mlalazi" refers to the micaceous sandstone; which is used by the local people for sharpening metals.

The soil derived from these rocks form part of the land use potential of both settlements, and will be discussed in later chapters of this dissertation.

3.3.3 Topography and Drainage

The entire area, where both settlements are located, is undulating with steep to very steep slopes. The moderately steep slopes are used for residential and cultivation purposes. The very
Figure 3.5  PRECIPITATION AND TEMPERATURES - RIVERBEND ESTATES
steep slopes cannot be used. They only serve as forest land where wood and tall grass grow. Figure 3.6 illustrates the topography of the Mlalazi settlement, to the north-west, along the streams. Most of the streams are non-perennial. To the south of Mlalazi, is the Mlalazi River and to the west is Mvutshini River. There are many small streams as well.

To the south of KwaMaqhwakazi, there is Matheku, a perennial river. Both settlements lie south of Mhlathuze River, some five kilometres away, which is used for irrigation by the commercial farmers of Nkwalini Valley.

3.3.4 Bioclimatic Groups

In the Mlalazi settlement, eight-five percent of the area is covered by the coast hinterland of evergreen forest, medium or tall thicket and woodland; ten percent of the area is riverine and lowland of mixed short or medium thicket and woodland. The remaining five percent is of coastal lowlands of evergreen forest, medium or tall thicket and woodland. This is invaluable resource for the inhabitants since the natural vegetation provides timber for building houses and the grass needed for thatched houses, as well as firewood. Cattle grazing is also facilitated by the wide
Figure 3.6  TOPOGRAPHY OF MLALAZI
variety of grasses.

Bioclimatic groups found in KwaMqhwakazi consist of fifty percent coastal lowlands, thirty-percent of coast hinterland of evergreen forest, medium or tall thicket and woodland; twenty percent of the area is riverine and lowland of mixed short and medium thicket woodland.

Basically, the two settlements are almost uniform in their bioclimatic groups.

3.3.5 Types of Soil

The soil characteristics and potential will be discussed in full, in chapters five and six where each settlement will be analysed in terms of what it has to offer its inhabitants.

Quite a number of soil forms appear in both settlements, namely, the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Avalon</th>
<th>Mayo</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bainsvlei</td>
<td>Milkwood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonheim</td>
<td>Mispah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cartref</td>
<td>Oakleaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dundee</td>
<td>Pinedene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fernwood</td>
<td>Shepstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glenrosa</td>
<td>Shortlands</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Griffin Swartlands
Houwhoek Thambankulu
Inhoek Valsrivier
Kalspruit Westleigh
Kroonstad Willowbrook and
Longlands Velafontes

Some of the soils are moderately deep to shallow

3.3.6 Vegetation

In both settlements, two types of veld occur, namely,

1. Coast hinterland, consisting of sour veld of poor productivity and
2. Lowveld, with sweet veld of good productivity

The following kinds of trees are found in both settlements:
Eurphobia Tirelli, Accacia Nillotica, Accacia Karroo and Aloe. Types of grass found being Hypherrhenea Hirta (which is used for the thatching of houses), Themede Tryndra, Panicum Maximum, Panicum Natalanse, Natal redtop and Arristida Congesta.

The type of grass that is suitable for cattle grazing is the themede tryndra, panicum maximum and the panicum Natalense. In these settlements,
Figure 3.7 AGRICULTURAL REGIONS IN KWAZULU

SOURCE: Kwazulu Department of Agriculture and Forestry (1980, p.11)
Figure 3.8 PLANNING STATUS BY REGIONS IN KWAZULU

PLANNING STATUS

MABEDLANA OGWINI MPANDLENI UMZANSI

KEY
A : Unplanned
B : Planned
C : Portion in B where planning has been implemented

Source: Department of Agriculture, (1984, p92)
these grasses are mostly found under forests. This is why traditional settlements with cattle kraals, in Mlalazi, are found close to the forest land.

3.3.7 Inkanyezi District As Part of KwaZulu

Inkanyezi District consist of 16 tribal authorities (See Appendix I). Covering an area of 139 700 hectares, it is one of the largest districts in KwaZulu. The Mpungose tribal area and Bhekishowe Zulu ward, are the two areas covered in this study. In terms of agricultural land use planning, the two settlements fall under the Ogwini Region (see Figure 3.7). In each of the four agricultural regions, planning is done by the Department of Agriculture. The amount of planning carried out in each of the regions is illustrated in Figure 3.8.

3.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter a broad picture of the two settlements has been given. A description of the study area, their physical conditions and evolution were discussed. The following chapter will present a methodology of gathering information.
CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In the light of the hypothesis propounded in the preceding chapter, the main aim of this study is to draw a comparison between traditional rural settlements and betterment schemes. While the aim will concern itself with an assessment of the quality of life of the two communities, other variables to be assessed will include a range of environmental factors and the land resources available to people, the physical condition of the settlements and the level of services and facilities they provide, the socio-economic status of people in each type of settlement and their attitudes towards traditional and nucleated settlements. It is also intended that the study will enable a critical appraisal of the betterment schemes policy and the way it has been implemented. Recommendations in respect of policy change and for implementation will be made in the final chapter.

4.2 METHODOLOGY

The quality of residential environments has emerged as a vital component in the general debate on the quality of life (Pacione, 1984). Residential satisfaction is a
sense of well-being normally associated with a good quality of life. Numerous studies have been undertaken emphasizing the welfare function of society, for example, Gans (1969); Abrams (1972); Harvey (1973); Smith (1973); Marans and Rogers (1974); Coates, Johnson and Knox (1977); Knox and McLarans (1978). These studies, however, have largely been completed within the urban context in Europe and America. A noticeable lack of South African researchers in this field is immediately evident. The fundamental reasoning behind the above studies is that no evaluation of quality of life is justified, unless it focuses on those people whose quality of life is directly under consideration (Gans, 1969); Davies, 1972; Buttimer, 1974; Andrews and Withey 1974).

There is a real need, therefore, for a measure of life chances which reflects the views of residents. It is within this context that the major methodological framework for this study was structured.

Research is no more than the technical process through which knowledge is revealed or discovered; it is also a human process by which researchers make knowledge. In this respect various strategies in social research draw on different associations resulting in different kinds of knowledge. Any one style of research cannot be justified as each association studied gives rise to a particular style (Morgan, 1983). The adoption of a
particular stance in research has led to different methodological positions being taken. This has led to or created disagreement among researchers (Reichardt and Cook, 1970). Without going into their debate, the method used for analysis in this study is of environmental perception.

The term "environmental perception" simply means human awareness and understanding of the environment. It involves both cognition and sensory perception, knowledge of the environment or the image one develops about one's surrounding (Whyte, 1977; Rappoport, 1977; and Desai, 1980). It is the most fundamental principle linking people to the environment (Rappoport, 1977). The principle underlying environmental perception is man's decisions and actions based on objective and subjective factors. Man's perception, therefore, is the main focus. The field is characterised by three methods, namely, observing, interviewing and questioning and listening. Data obtained from the above techniques are analysed by using both qualitative and quantitative techniques. This study, thus, makes use of both quantitative and qualitative techniques for the purposes of it's analysis.

4.2.1 Fieldwork

Ideally, research of this nature requires a sustained period of observation and interviewing.
However, bearing in mind cost and time factors, it was decided to spend a shorter period in the study area. During winter and summer vacations in 1985 and 1986, the researcher, accompanied by a colleague stayed with residents in both KwaMaghwakazi and Mlalazi.

The first area to be visited was the betterment scheme, KwaMaghwakazi, where the rector of the local Anglican Church was kind to give accommodation in his rectory. Through this way the researchers became part of the community, by observing all activities from sunrise to sunset and even knowing their experiences right through the night.

This opportunity made it possible to communicate with the community over an extended period of time without any pressing need to rush elsewhere - as it would have been the case if one did not stay there.

At Mlalazi, the traditional settlement, one was also fortunate to be accommodated, together with the field assistant, by a local teacher. Once again, it was possible to observe days and weeks in the settlement, getting exposed to their day and night experiences. This gave a sense of belonging to the community where this research was conducted.
The time spent in the two settlements made it possible, especially at KwaMaqhwakazi to attend many meetings convened by the garden women. The Induna of KwaMaqhwakazi, an experienced man who knew the district, even beyond his area of jurisdiction, was very kind and he took the researchers around the grazing lands, fields, the rivers of the area and to surrounding settlements in order to familiarize them with the whole area under Chief Zulu.

Personal contact was greater in the betterment scheme, through the various organisations they had, than in the traditional settlement where the only meeting place was at the courthouse and the shopping area.

4.2.2 Data Collection

The following methods were used for data collection, namely, use of aerial photos, interviews, observations and the use of a questionnaire.

4.2.2.1 Aerial Photos

Contact panchromatic aerial photos (Job 498/91 of 1977) and colour aerial photographs of 1985, the very year during which fieldwork started were
used. Orthophoto maps at the scale of 1: 10 000 were available for the betterment area. The scale of the aerial photographs, contact panchromatic was 1 : 30 000 while the scale of the colour photographs was 1 : 20 000, which facilitated the observation and identification of phenomena.

The identification of features was confirmed through on-the-spot investigations and recordings. Field measurements were done in both settlements. It was even done on a large scale in the traditional settlement, where the fields were next to the homesteads, unlike in the betterment schemes, where, in some instances, field size had to be approximated.

The types of trees planted in the yard and crops in the fields were observed through family visits and keeping of records.

Maps were drawn from the aerial photographs, using a stereo-sketch on a base map of 1 : 50 000, which was a topographic map of the area.

4.2.2.2 Interviews

Many individuals were interviewed during this time, ranging from the man-in-the-street to the highest officials responsible for the agricultural
development of both schemes. Interviews were done with the senior agricultural officer, the agricultural planner, the soil scientist, the chiefs, indunas and leaders of the garden women, sewing women and priests.

During these interviews, quite a number of ideas and opinions were expressed; by the elderly residents and a former induna these gave a background and insight into the socio-economic situation in both settlements.

Interviews were conducted on an ongoing basis. Due to the soil scientist's busy schedule, sometimes trips had to be made from Umlazi, a township in Durban, to Eshowe, some 160km away, to meet him since he had been doing fieldwork in remote areas during the researcher's stay in the study areas.

4.2.2.3 Observation

Prior to any discussions and interviews with the residents, many days were spent walking around the two settlements, observing the settlement types and forms, land use patterns and residents' day to day activities. Observations were also done so as to compare and confirm features identified from aerial photos.
Observations included going to the fields to see who cultivates and the means of cultivation; attending meetings at the courthouses; waking up early in the morning to see people leaving the settlements for their places of employment and their means of transport; observing them as they came back from work and different activities; going to the boreholes (imibholozi), to the gardens, fields, surrounding white farms and local shops to observe prices of goods and stocks available in local shops; walking around the grazing lands to see livestock and those looking after it - a whole range of phenomena and activities had to be observed.

4.2.2.4 The Questionnaire Method

The questionnaire was the last method adopted after the steps mentioned above. The questionnaire contained both "close-ended" and "open-ended" questions. Each questionnaire was filled by the researcher in each homestead visited, and people responded as individuals - no attempt was made to conduct a group questionnaire. Some questionnaires were conducted in the grazing lands with family heads looking after their livestock.
4.2.2.5 Handling of Data

All data had been subjected to statistical techniques for analysing and evaluation. Responses to the questionnaire were fed in to the PC IBM computer and the SPSS program was used for analysis.

A record of points raised during discussions and interviews was kept to remind one of salient points that emerged.

4.2.2.6 Mapwork

Maps of the study areas were drawn from aerial photos through the use of a mirror stereoscope and stereosketch.

4.2.2.7 Consent to do Research

This study would not have been possible without the consent and co-operation of both Chief Mpungeose and Chief Zulu. They introduced the researcher to the indunas and to the community at large. In this way the researcher became known in both areas and could go around without arousing any suspicion in the community.

The chief induna at KwaMaqhawakazi went to the extent of calling a meeting of the garden women to introduce the researcher and to address them on
what the purpose of the research was. Incidentally, the chief of the betterment scheme was a student at the University of the North when this research was conducted.

4.3 CONCLUSION

There were advantages of securing information from various sources. The questionnaire method and the personal way in which it was conducted, allowed each person to respond without fear or influence of another person - which would be the case if it would be done among a number of people at the same time. This also allowed a wide range of responses which would not have been possible with a group questionnaire.

The initial fear that people might be hostile to a stranger facing them with a number of questions was dismissed when it was discovered that the people had already been subjected to this kind of experience before, especially by the agricultural officers who also conduct a wide range of questionnaires for various purposes. This, however, also presented a problem in that people aired their grievances during those interviews but there was no possible action towards helping them; so there was some noticeable unwillingness by a few to answering the same questions all over again - this was very evident at Mlalazi.
On the whole, there were no hostilities displayed, the people were very friendly indeed and all those approached answered all the questions, save for the old lady who did not get the message from the induna that there were people doing research around. Even in this case, she was not antagonistic only that she did not know and had to confirm from her neighbours if they really knew about people asking questions in the settlement. When she got the message from her neighbours, that the chief and induna did authorise the researchers, she was ready to answer all the questions.
CHAPTER 5

THE TRADITIONAL SETTLEMENT

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, a comprehensive view of the settlement, in terms of land use and land use potential; settlement form and structure, the infrastructure, services and amenities, land use patterns crop and fruit production, animal husbandry and socio-economic conditions will be discussed. There will be an appraisal of what the settlement offers its inhabitants and how they respond to the opportunities offered by their physical environment.

The last section of the chapter will present an analysis of how the inhabitants perceive their physical environment and the settlement type in which they operate. Advantages and constraints that hinder development and the socio-economic well-being of the people will be discussed.

5.2 TOPOGRAPHY

The entire area of Mlalazi is bisected by a number of streams (Figure 3.6). Perennial streams form the southern and western boundaries of the study area these are Mlalazi River and Mvutshini River respectively. The entire area has gentle slopes towards the north, while on the southern part it has steep slopes towards
5.3 GEOLOGY AND SOILS

To the southwest, in the vicinity of the courthouse (Figure 5.1) the entire area is dominated by micaceous sandstone - this stretches up to the main road to Melmoth. Micaceous sandstone covers some seventy per cent of the area around the courthouse; the rest, thirty percent consists of arkose sandstone with patches of dolomite dykes. The area consists of cartref soils, which have a great agricultural potential, especially in sloping surfaces where water drainage saves the soil from clogging. These soils have a low pH value.

South of the road leading to Empangeni, these are artref and vilafontes soils, which have an effective rooting of 600 to 800mm and are good for sugar cane production. In winter the soils are semi-hydromorphic, which means that they are not water saturated; while in summer there is water logging. There are some sugar cane varieties that are suitable for this type of soil.

Along the two main roads (Figure 3.6) there are strips of a very low clay content where leaching is very high and nutrients wash away easily.

To the south-east of Mlalazi, there are red soils of
Figure 5.1

Land Use Map of Mlalazi

Drawn from aerial photos Job 498/91
dolemite, namely, Hutton and red Oakleaf, which form the Leeufontein soils, which consists of thirty-five to fifty-five percent clay.

To the north-east of the settlement, gneiss and schist are dominant. These are boulders of Dwyka tillite with which is not suitable for forestry.

5.4 VEGETATION

The settlement is dominated by grass of the aristida junciformis type, which is used for thatching houses in the high lying area, known as Enkangala (highveld) by the local people. The highveld, therefore refers to the entire area outside the natural forest (Figure 5.2). The forest region, known as Ehlanzeni (lowveld) is covered by Buffalo grass, which is good for cattle grazing, hence the dominance of cattle kraals along and in this region (Figure 5.2). Along the streams there are fern patches. Other types of grass found in the settlement are themeda triandra and hyperhina hinter. Throughout the year, this settlement is covered by thick grass, especially in the highveld.

5.5 DRAINAGE AND WATER SUPPLY

The area is bisected by a number of streams, as shown in Figure 3.6. The Mlalazi River, to the south, is
Figure 5.2 DISTRIBUTION OF CATTLE KRAALS - MALAZI

- Cattle kraal
- Forest

Drawn from aerial photos, July 1969.
Plate 5.1  WINDMILL IN MLALAZI  (Note tap in the foreground)

Plate 5.2  HOUSE ON THE LEFT WITH WATER TANK - ON THE RIGHT IS THE COURT-HOUSE
still at its source and the discharge is still very low. Contours of the area are marked, while perennial and non-perennial streams are indicated by solid and broken lines respectively.

The water dries up in period of drought and it gets polluted easily, as noted in an earlier paragraph. The Department of Agriculture and Forestry, KwaZulu Government, has improved the situation in some cases by drilling boreholes and windmills. Plate 5.1 shows an example of this kind of water supply - a windmill, a water storage concrete tank and a tap.

This water is cleaner than the water in the streams. Elsewhere pipes are drilled into the spring and the water is led out through a pipe. Some residents depend on rain water, kept in their tanks for drinking and cooking. Plate 5.2 shows a small house, next to the courthouse, with a tank for tapping rain water. Some are critical of spring water especially since some homesteads are too close to these sources of water and the ever present likelihood of pollution.

5.6 **INFRASTRUCTURE**

The settlement is easily accessible. It is crossed by the tarred road linking Eshowe and Melmonth (Figure 5.3 and Plate 5.3). The secondary road between Eshowe and Empangeni passes through the settlement, there are some gravel farm roads linking the homesteads also. Almost all homesteads, especially in the highveld region, are accessible by a motor vehicle.
The presence of electricity power lines and telephone lines has been of great benefit to the settlement, since those who can afford it do make use of the services.

The services and the proximity to Eshowe makes it an attractive settlement to many people. People prefer the traditional lifestyle while demanding the facilities and services of a modern urbanized area.

5.7 SERVICES AND AMENITIES

The distance from Eshowe is one of the great advantages enjoyed by the residents. Shopping is done in the town, which is some three kilometres away. Even minor shopping is done there and the local shops are used to supplement day to day needs. There is a local supermarket, which is a small shop in relation to the size of the settlement including people outside the study area. Next to the supermarket is a beerhall. The land use map shows the distribution of shops, schools and churches in Mlalazi.

The courthouse is one of the focal points in the community. This is where meetings are convened and where cases are tried by the Chief, and his indunas. Plate 5.2 shows the courthouse, a big white painted, modern building.

The area caters quite adequately for the educational needs of its community. There are two primary schools, a high school and a technical school. Some students
attend schools in the township of Eshowe.

There are regular bus services, like the Washesha Bus Service. At short intervals, especially in the morning and afternoons, the buses transport scores of passengers between the settlement and Eshowe and to Empangeni as well. Among the commuters every morning and afternoon, are school children, who attend schools some distances away from the homesteads. Besides buses, there are taxis that pass through this settlement, commuting between Durban and Mahlabathini, Ulundi and beyond. The Interstate, South African Transport Services, buses pass through this settlement. When one is in this settlement, there is no feeling of being lost, because of the busy roads.

There are a number of churches, the most prominent being the Anglican and Roman Catholic denominations. On Thursdays women can be seen attending church services, and the same is true for Sundays when the families do attend.

No economic organisations of any kind were noted in this area.
5.8 SETTLEMENT FORM AND STRUCTURE

Homesteads are dispersed over the entire area, in the lowveld (ehlanzeni) and highveld (enkangala) areas. The distribution of the homesteads shows no particular order - they are spread over the entire study area according to preferences of the decision makers of the families. Some prefer proximity to the roads, while others prefer proximity to sources of water, and so on. Some homesteads are inaccessible by vehicle and one has to travel on foot there, especially in the forested region.

There are contrasts between the type of housing found in the highveld and those found in the lowveld region. The highveld homesteads, especially those close to the main roads are built of brick and mortar, and have either corrugated or tiled roofs. In some cases there is only one big modern house, while in some cases, the modern house exists with two or more thatched cone-shaped traditional huts. Plate 5.4 shows the different types of houses in the highveld area. The foreground house on the left is part of the courthouse, and further up among the trees are cone-shaped traditional houses. On the right hand, there are two homesteads, one with a flat two-roomed house, in the background of the flat is a homestead with one big thatched house. The homesteads are characterised by big bare yards that are constantly swept every morning, an exercise that
Plate 5.3  TARRED ROAD IN MLALAZI

Plate 5.4  IN THE BACKGROUND THE MIXED TYPES OF HOUSES FOUND IN MLALAZI IS EVIDENT
involves the moving of sediments until a rocky surface appears in some instances.

The lowveld region is characterised by traditional homesteads, where the cone-shaped huts form a semi-circle around the cattle kraal (Figure 3.2). Part of the explanation as to why the cattle kraal is in the centre of the homestead, is for the protection of livestock. It also has a symbolic significance in that cattle occupy a central role in traditional African society, namely, as a source of wealth, esteem, ancestor worship and for paying lobola.

The traditional homesteads are built of pole and mud walls and have thatched roofs. Plate 5.5 also shows the oldest form of a traditional home, in the foreground, with a rounded roof. To make the walls stronger, nowadays, the walls of the houses may be reinforced with stones in between the poles. Plate 5.5 also shows an incomplete house on the right hand side with the walls fitted with stones. The small cone-shaped structure is a traditional silo for keeping crop harvest (ingolobane).

It is in the highveld region where a diversity of housing type occurs. This is not surprising since quite a number of professional people are found here; they do not keep cattle and the area is accessible.
Plate 5.5  DIFFERENT TYPES OF HOUSES IN A
TRADITIONAL SET-UP

Plate 5.6  SOME CULTIVATED LANDS ARE NOT INTERSPERSED
WITH HOMESTEADS
5.9 THE INTERVIEWEES

Most of the respondents were women, namely seventy-six percent of the sample; while males, who were heads of families, comprised eighteen percent of the respondents, and the rest were either children or relatives. Of those interviewed, seventy-eight percent were born locally. One of the reasons why the majority of respondents were women is that in this settlement interviews were conducted during the course of the week and the males were employed in Eshowe.

5.10 LAND USE PATTERNS IN MLALAZI

The land use map of Mlalazi (Figure 5.1) depicts the relationship between cultivated land and the distribution of homesteads. Over the entire study area, one is struck by the mixture of residential, cultivated and grazing land. There are some instances, however, where cultivated land is not interspersed with residential land (Plate 5.6); to the east of Gawozi School, an area of cartref soils, sloping to the valley, which facilitates water drainage and prevents water clogging. This is the only area where one finds a continuous belt of cultivated land away from homesteads. Though the fields are removed from homesteads, it takes no more than twenty minutes for the owners to reach their fields.
5.10.1 Size of Fields and Usage

In Mlalazi it was found that ninety-eight percent of the respondents cultivated all the fields available to them. It must be added that the fields are not big (Table 5.1). Of these respondents eighty-two percent had their fields next to the kraal, while sixteen percent had their fields far from their homesteads and the rest, two percent had no fields.

Table 5.1 Field Ownership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of Field m²</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 100</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101 - 200</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201 - 300</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300+</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It must be pointed out that the discrepancy in the number of people who cultivate fields and those who own them is caused by the *sisa custom, whereby a piece of land or all fields can be given to another person to cultivate for a certain
period by the actual owner. A person may therefore be recorded as a cultivator of the land, in terms of usage, but not the owner.

*According to this Zulu custom, a family may be given arable land or livestock to use by their next of kin.

Eighty-two percent of the respondents cultivate all the land available every year, while the rest did not cultivate all the fields available to them.

5.10.2 **Means of Cultivation at Mlalazi**

It was found that there are three kinds of tools used, namely, hiring a tractor, using or hiring a span of oxen, a hoe or a combination of these. Tractors were hired from white farmers of Eshowe or Nkwalini Valley.

Table 5.2 shows the incidence of use of each of the means available.
Table 5.2 Means of Cultivation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Means of Cultivation</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hire of a tractor</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Span of oxen</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoe</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A combination</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No implements</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The kinds of tools used in a particular year depend on the availability of funds. The cost of a tractor differed according to the size of fields. In a particular year one may be forced to use a hoe while in another year one can afford to hire either a span of oxen or a tractor. The size of fields also determines the means of cultivation. A field of less than 100m² can be cultivated by a hoe and a plough, it would be uneconomical to hire a tractor.

5.10.3 On Improving Crop Yield

Most residents did apply manure and fertilizers to improve their crop production levels (Table 5.3). The use of cattle manure is facilitated by the
proximity of cultivated lands to the homesteads. Seeing that manure is bulky to move over long distances, it would be difficult and expensive to move cattle manure to far off fields, and, would therefore discourage it's usage.

Table 5.3 On improving crop yield

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Means of Fertilization</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cattle manure</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial Fertilizers</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nothing</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those who did not apply any fertilizer to their soils stated that they found the soil fertile.

5.10.4 Crop and Vegetable Production

There is a wide variety of crops found in this settlement. Most residents cultivate maize, groundnuts, madumbes, dry beans and sweet potatoes (Table 5.4).
Table 5.4 Crop Production at Mlalazi*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Crop</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maize</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madumbes</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dry beans</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweet Potatoes</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Respondents produced more than one type of fruit.

All the crops produced were of a subsistence nature. The production of all the types of crops is not enough to sustain the homesteads and the people also buy these from shops.

There are no vegetable gardens in the settlement. Vegetables are bought from the surrounding white farms and from Eshowe supermarkets. Cabbage was cultivated by some eighteen percent, tomatoes sixteen percent and onions two percent of the respondents. One informant mentioned that there was some attempt in the past to promote gardening among the women folk along the fertile flood plain of the Mlalazi River but it failed.
5.10.5 Growing of Trees

There are two types of trees grown in Mlalazi, namely, fruit trees and timber or wood trees. Table 5.5 shows the names of fruit trees grown and the proportion of people who produce and sell the fruits.

Table 5.5 Fruit Production *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fruit Tree</th>
<th>Producers</th>
<th>Sellers</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mangoes</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peaches</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avocados</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oranges</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bananas</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guavas</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Respondents produced more than one type of fruit.

All the fruit trees listed above thrive well in this settlement. Though some people do sell crops, it is of a subsistence nature, and there is no record of income from such sales. Some homesteads have quite a large number of different fruit trees, in one homestead, for instance, more than
Plate 5.7  PLANTATIONS AROUND HOMESTEADS
forty banana trees were counted, and these were not the only fruit trees.

It is not only fruit trees that are grown by residents in Mlalazi. Gum, pine and wattle trees are also found. These are used as a source of timber for construction and for firewood as well. At the background of plates 5.3 and 5.4 the plantations are conspicuous as well as in plate 5.7.

5.10.6 Livestock Raising

Quite a number of animals are kept by residents in Mlalazi, and include pigs, goats, cattle and poultry. Every homestead had a number of chickens roaming on the grounds. Cattle were kept by twenty-four percent of the respondents, while goats were kept by twelve percent. On average, there were two goats and five cattle per household. These serve as a means of draught and source of milk, and a reflection of wealth. In the case of those with a span of oxen, it gives cash income since those without cattle do hire a span of oxen to cultivate their fields. Most homesteads with cattle kraals were found in the lowveld area where buffalo grass is found (Figure 5.4). Most homesteads in the highveld region land had no cattle.
Of those who had no livestock, the reasons given are listed in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6 Why some residents had no livestock

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Killed by drought</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No one to look after these</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cannot afford buying these</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopes to buy in future</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since cultivated lands are interspersed with grazing land, livestock keeping demands constant watching all day long, especially in summer, when there are crops planted in the fields. Herdboys have to follow cattle as they graze along cultivated lands (Plate 5.7). This deprives youngsters of the opportunity to attend school; however, it was found that either the old man or woman has to look after cattle while the boys attend school. This is one of the reason why twelve percent of the respondents could not keep cattle and goats. Quarrels arise when cattle stay and
graze over other people's fields. Such cases are referred to the induna and the offender has to pay a fine. Six percent did indicate a willingness to buy cattle and goats. The large no response rate, 54 percent, comprised of respondents who had moved in and did not have any livestock.

5.11 ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

In the preceding paragraphs it was stated that since the whole lifestyle is of a subsistence nature, there were no records of cash income derived from the selling of fruit trees, vegetables and livestock.

5.11.1 Wage Income

The study showed a great degree of male absenteeism from the settlement. Young males and females, as well as heads of families were employed in towns. As a result of the settlement's proximity to Eshowe, the wage earners were resident in their traditional homes. Table 5.7 shows the percentage of people employed in selected towns.
Table 5.7 Place of Employment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Mlalazi Residents (Percentage)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eshowe</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durban</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandini</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vryheid</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reef</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No one employed</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

None of the respondents indicated people employed at Empangeni, which is some 40 kilometers away, or Melmoth, which is some 30 kilometres away from Mlalazi. There was a significant number of people, mostly females, employed in white farms of the Nkwalini Valley and Eshowe farms. These are transported daily by trucks and tractors in the mornings and afternoons. Figure 5.6 shows the cash income contributed by people employed in the different towns. There was resistance by respondents to divulge this information.

5.11.2 Other sources of income

Apart from wages earned by those employed, some
respondents indicated that they earned some cash income from the activities listed in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8 Other Sources of Cash Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>No of Respondents (Percentage)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sewing</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardening</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basket and mat weaving</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The self-employed refers to traditional herbalists, spiritual healers and shebeen queens. It should be noted that some spiritual healers, locally known as prophets, do charge for their services. Another source of income is pension for the elderly, who made twenty-eight percent of the respondents. Some of these people denied receiving any pension.

5.12 ATTITUDES TOWARDS AGRICULTURE

The views of the people on agricultural land use pat-
terns and crop production is based on a long period of involvement and observation since seventy-eight percent of the respondents had been practising agriculture for a period of at least than ten years. The people had to indicate whether they were satisfied with the size of their fields, grazing land and residential areas. Fifty-six percent showed dissatisfaction with the size of fields they own, while fifty percent were satisfied with grazing land and seventy percent were satisfied with the size of their residential area. There is a great demand for more fields, for two main reasons, namely, to produce more food and to secure these for their descendants.

Though ninety six-percent did plant maize, ninety-four percent of the people still bought mealie meal. This corresponds with the view expressed by respondents that the produce was not enough to sustain domestic consumption. The existing fields sustain more than one family at present, since their newly married children have no more space where they can cultivate. Under normal circumstances, the newly wed couple would get their own land to cultivate.

Residents see themselves as having no choice on whether they have to cultivate their fields or not. Eight percent felt the cultivation of fields is a must, otherwise, there would be no food.
There was willingness to sell crops, provided there was a surplus. This was confirmed by fifty-eight percent of the people.

Among the crops cultivated, maize had the top priority, preferred by ninety-six percent, followed by dry beans (twenty two percent). Some residents, four percent, were interested in growing sugar cane and cotton. The desire to produce sugar cane was, possibly, influenced by white farmers with large fields of sugar cane just across the Mlalazi River.

Some eight percent of the respondents expressed the desire to get training in agriculture. This is an awareness that successful agricultural activities need a knowledge of the soils, methods and means of cultivation.

On the question of consulting agricultural advisers, it was only four percent of the people who sought advice from them. This was contrary to expectations since there is an official residence for agricultural officers in the settlement. The residence however was not utilized.

Agricultural officers were responsible for the demarcation of the land at Mlalazi during the period of research. The people were aware of the land zoning taking place. Some residents had been notified that they will move to new sites. Great expectations were
aroused in some people's minds since they expected that in the new land use system everybody would get fields and a chance to raise cattle. Those interviewed showed a positive inclination towards the new scheme, especially those with no fields at present.

5.13 ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE SETTLEMENT

The majority of the people, eighty-eight percent, prefer the traditional settlement; while twelve percent felt life would be better in a planned settlement. Table 5.9 sums up the reasons why the people prefer the traditional settlement.

Table 5.9 Reasons for the Traditional Settlement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace of mind</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Privacy</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used to it</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By peace of mind, the people refer to less interference by others - the isolation that is afforded by the
settlement type.

Some eight percent of the people saw no difference between this settlement and planned settlements. This was true in the case of those living close to the Mlalazi River where the plots are congested and relatively small. In the rest of the settlement, homesteads are far apart.

Some residents welcomed the idea of planning, anticipating that it would give them freedom and independence from the 'landlord' who allowed them to build in his place. This feeling of insecurity was found among newcomers, in the sense that they were not born in the place, despite the fact that some were there for more than thirty years. They still felt obliged to pay loyalty to the resident who gave them space to live and land to cultivate. This often led to a sense of insecurity and uncertainty — uncertainty in the sense that they might still be moved by the 'landowner'.

Table 5.10 Lists felt needs by the residents.
Table 5.10 Rank Order of Priority Needs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Need</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water (piped)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Means of cultivation</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fields</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Lessons</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fencing of fields</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinics</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Others mentioned the need for pre-schools, provision of gardens, fencing of grazing lands and the control of mosquitoes.

The need for piped water arises from the fact that the streams of water, including the Mlalazi River water, are polluted by washing powder soap. The Mlalazi River is still at its source, with little discharge, so it easily gets polluted by washing soap.

Another great concern, especially among newcomers, is that they have no fields. Even what looks like an unused piece of land is claimed by the old residents as belonging to their forebears, hence it is theirs.

The problem of thieves who slaughter residents' cattle in the veld at night, was emphasized many a times. The
same was true with the need for security. The concern about security was confirmed by the fact that all the homesteads visited had vicious dogs. This delayed the interview since one had to wait at a distance until someone came out of a house and permission would be asked for to enter.

5.14 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, a picture of Mlalazi settlement was created, namely, the physical structure, the human conditions, the perception of the environment in which they operate; the socio-economic conditions and the attitudes of the people towards the traditional settlement.

On the whole, the people of Mlalazi look thriving in an environment of great economic potential. The existing homes and building activities whereby modern building materials are used, is indicative of a growing and progressive community.

The availability and consumption of electricity by some homesteads looks set to trigger great demand. The houses looked solid and well-maintained, while the people looked healthy and happy. Even in those homesteads earmarked for relocation, the houses and yards were well-kept.
The mood of the people is that of great optimism and enthusiasm within their physical and socio-economic environment. The advantages linked with relocation, has aroused great expectations and this will necessitate a great commitment from the KwaZulu Government, to couple relocation with concrete evidence of improvement in the people's socio-economic well-being.
CHAPTER 6

THE PLANNED SETTLEMENT

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The planned settlement is located about twenty-four kilometers away from Eshowe in the south west and some eighteen kilometers from Empangeni in the east.

Approaching the settlement from Empangeni, one is attracted by the cluster of homesteads, beginning from the tribal courthouse at the top, sloping down towards the Anglican Church in the east. As one moves along the road to the north of the settlement, one is attracted by the green vegetable gardens close to the cattle dip, especially in winter.

The homes in the settlement exhibit a variety of shapes and sizes, combined with traditional, mud and pole, thatched and cone-shaped huts.

The settlement looks lifeless during the day, but in the morning and late afternoons, it is quite busy, with people moving to and from their places of employment and children going to school.
6.2 **TOPOGRAPHY**

The entire residential area is on an east facing slope and has steep slopes towards Matheku River; which forms the southern boundary of the settlement. To the north of the settlement lies a deeply eroded valley where gardening is practised. The entire cultivated land lies on an undulating plain (Plate 6.1).

6.3 **GEOLOGY AND SOILS**

The area is underlain by the Table Mountain series of the Cape system, Ecca series of the Karoo system and Natal belts of metamorphism and granatization.

There are moderate to strong sub-angular structured soils which are montmorillonitic with high base status. These are very unstable soils, hard to manage, and can only be cultivated at a certain moisture status. These soils are margalictic in genesis, which means that they expand and shrink, which makes them very unstable. The area with such soils should have been reserved for farming purposes, because it is problematic for building purposes; the houses develop cracks because of poor foundations.

The common groups of soils in KwaMaghwakazi are Bonheim, Tambankulu, Mayo and Valsrivier and few Swartland forms ranging from thirty-five to fifty-five percent.

Where the cultivated lands are located, there are red
Plate 6.1  THE ARABLE LAND IN KNAMAQHAKAZI

Plate 6.2  MAN MADE DAM FOR IRRIGATION IN GARDENS
Figure 6.1
Land Use Map of Kwamaqhwakazi

- Arable land
- Residential
- Forest
to dusky soils ranging from highly weathered massive to weakly structured soils which are kaolinitic; on the other hand there are smectite rich clay soils which are very unstable, and high in base status. Highly weathered soils are deep, stable and highly leached. The clay content ranges from thirty-five to fifty-five percent. The group includes Valsrivier, Hutton and Shortlands.

Where the gardens are found, east of the plantation (Figure 6.1), there are Swartland, Glenrose and Oakleaf soils. The soils are covered by new drifted sediments and are not suitable for gardening.

6.4 VEGETATION

Two types of veld occur in the area, namely, the coast hinterland of sour veld of poor quality; and the lowveld consists of the better variety sweetveld. In winter the veld is almost bare, with a thin layer of grass covering the soil in the residential and agricultural areas.

6.5 DRAINAGE AND WATER SUPPLY

Though the landscape is incised by valleys, only Math-eku River is perennial. This river forms the southern boundary of the study area. The steep valleys and distance makes the river almost inaccessible
Figure 6.2  
**Distribution of Homesteads in Kwamaqhwakazi**

Key:
- Dam
- Church
- School
- Homeland
- Windmill
- Courthouse
- Agricultural Office
- Graveyard
- Rocks
- Monument
- Shop

Scale: 0 - 1 - 2 Km
Plate 6.3 MAN-MADE DAM USED FOR GARDEN IRRIGATION

Plate 6.4 DAM CLOSE TO HOMESTEADS
from the residential area. Figure 6.2 shows the relationship between the distribution of homesteads, drainage and water supplies.

To the north of the settlement there are four man-made dams. These are used for livestock drinking and irrigation of gardens (Figure 6.2). Residents also wash linen here, though this is unusual since the water is normally muddy.

Close to the cultivated land there is a big dam which provides water when cattle graze over the fields in winter (Plate 6.2). During the study period all but one of the lakes had water. The dam used for garden irrigation had dried up, forcing those in the fields to draw water from another dam (Plate 6.3). The dam close to the homesteads was too far to be of use to the gardeners, but would be ideal for the homesteads closer to it (Plate 6.4). All the dams were constructed by the KwaZulu Department of Agriculture and Forestry.

Other sources of water, that is, drinking and cooking water, were normally drawn from boreholes and windmills (Figure 6.2). A borehole to the east of the beerhall was used for filling water in the cattle dipping area (Plate 6.5).

A second borehole was found within the premises of the local Anglican Church (Plate 6.6). A third borehole
Plate 6.5  BOREHOLE FOR FILLING CATTLE DIP

Plate 6.6  BOREHOLE IN CHURCH PREMISES
           NOTE THE TWO PERSONS TURNING THE WHEEL
Plate 6.7  BOREHOLE ALONG THE ROAD TO EMPANGENI

Plate 6.8  THE WINDMILL DURING MIDDAY
was located to the east of the settlement, not far from the third dam along the road to Empangeni (Plate 6.7). The boreholes were referred to by locals as imibholozi.

Besides the boreholes, another source of clean water was the windmill, to the centre of the residential area (Plate 6.8). These sources of water were almost neglected during the day, but, in the afternoon, when children were back from schools, these were quite busy places (note the contrast between Plate 6.8, which was taken at midday and Plate 6.9 which was taken in the later afternoon). Mostly young boys and girls fetched water from the boreholes and windmill and carried it with plastic containers either on their heads or on wheel burrows.

The windmill is the most preferred source of water since water is drained through a tap. Fetching water from the boreholes was a strenuous exercise. Normally, two people were required to turn the wheel in order to procure water (Plate 6.6).

Though residents preferred the water from Mathekku, the convenience of boreholes outweighed the advantages of far off water. Residents complained about the salty borehole water.

The use of the cattle dip depended on the availability of enough water from the boreholes close by. It was
claimed by residents that during years of drought, no water came out of the boreholes.

Maintenance of these sources of water supply was done by a local employee of the KwaZulu Department of Agriculture and Forestry who has a practical know-how of conducting minor repairs to the boreholes.

6.6 THE INFRASTRUCTURE

The potential for development in the settlement lies in its accessibility. The road linking Eshowe and Empangeni, though not tarred, is fairly good and travelling towards Empangeni, the tarred road is some eight kilometers away. The entire residential area lies close to the road (Plate 6.10).

There were no electricity supply lines passing close to the settlement. These were to be found at some ten kilometers away, to the north of the settlement; supplying electrical energy to the white farmers. None of the residents consume electricity, instead they relied on firewood, which was a scarce resource.

There were regular buses between Empangeni and Eshowe, provided by the Washesha Bus Service, and this facilitated mobility.

The scarcity of water was a great setback to the
Plate 6.9  THE WINDMILL IN THE AFTERNOON

Plate 6.10  KWAMQAHWAKAZI IN RELATIONSHIP TO THE ROAD BETWEEN ESHOWE AND EMPANGENI
realization of the area's agricultural potential especially when one couples this with the fact that potentially good soil for agricultural development was mainly found in the residential area. The only reliable source of water could be secured from the Goedetrou Dam, which was some twenty five kilometers away.

6.7 SERVICES AND AMENITIES

The people depended on services offered by Empangeni and Eshowe. Most residents did their shopping at Empangeni. They preferred Empangeni because it offered more services than Eshowe. The settlement was twenty seven kilometers away from Eshowe and was located almost halfway between Eshowe and Empangeni. The local two shops only supplemented day to day needs, otherwise major purchases were made at Empangeni.

There was a tribal courthouse which was used for community meetings. The old courthouse was demolished during the study period and replaced by a new building (Plate 6.11).

Another focal point of the community was the Anglican Church (Plate 6.12). It was designed to serve as a multifunctional centre. It was used as a community hall and for small business projects, for instance sewing women produce school uniforms for the local
Plate 6.11 NEW COURTHOUSE

Plate 6.12 THE ANGLICAN CHURCH CENTRE - A COMMUNITY
schools and a variety of dresses. The same group of women were interested in a candle making project. Some of the women were involved in the making of beads. At the background of Plate 6.12 a group of people fetching water within the church premises can be seen. The Lutheran church building (Plate 6.13) was not used for community projects.

There were two local primary schools, while the high school, KwaNandi, named after King Shaka's mother, was in another settlement, some two kilometers away.

Health services were provided by the clinic at Ndlanguboo, another settlement some three kilometers east of KwaMqhwakazi. The medical staff travelled from Ngwelezane Hospital, just outside Empangeni, to provide health services in the settlements.

There were four homesteads, including the Anglican Church, that had telephones during the study period. These were linked to the Eshowe telephone exchange.

An agricultural officer gave advice to the community on how to improve their agricultural well-being, especially those who were concerned with crop production.

Plate 6.14 shows the beerhall facing the gardens. There were quite a number of people, males and females, who were regular customers to the area. Males were the predominant group.
Plate 6.13  LUTHERAN CHURCH BUILDING IN KWA MAQHWAKAZI

Plate 6.14  THE BEERHALL OVERLOOKING THE GARDEN
The cattle dip is another service offered to the community by the KwaZulu Department of Agriculture and Forestry. However, due to the scarcity of water in the area, the facility was hardly, if ever, used (Plate 6.15 and Plate 6.16).

6.8 SETTLEMENT FORM AND STRUCTURE

Plate 6.10 shows the view of the settlement as seen from the east. Due to the implementation of the betterment scheme, discussed in an earlier chapter, all the homesteads were brought into the area designated as residential. Those who were resident in the area were not moved, even their fields were not confiscated, hence the presence of cultivated fields in the residential area (Figure 6.1).

The original plan required all homesteads to be located within the established boundaries; however the plan was no longer rigidly implemented by the KwaZulu Government. As a result some residents have moved from the official residential area, to their former residents (emanxiweni). There is a feeling of bitterness and nimosity between the old community and the newcomers to the area. Even in the cultivated lands, (Ondini) people have established their homesteads. The impression given was that the resettled people of
Plate 6.15 THE CATTLE DIP

Plate 6.16 EMPTY WATER RESERVOIR FOR THE CATTLE DIP
KwaMqhwakazi were betrayed. Though some people would like to move to their former sites, the costs involved forbade such a move. A few homesteads, however, did move again. This explains why some homesteads were not part of the clustered pattern, but rather, were isolated over the cultivated lands. There were other factors responsible for the almost disorderly location of the homesteads, and these will be discussed later in this chapter.

The houses were built of pole and mud though the tendency was to build houses of mortar and brick. Termites had infested the area and devoured any material that was woody in character. As a result few people built their homes on conventional lines. This is the reason why sixteen percent of the people felt the control of termites in the area was one of their greatest priorities. The basic nature of the soil, and especially its instability, caused houses to crack. Within a number of homesteads block bricks could be seen as residents saved to beat the menace of termites. The scarcity of tall grass for thatching also put pressure on the people to buy corrugated roofs.

Plate 6.7 also shows the new building trend, whereby a cone-shaped home is built of mortar and brick with corrugated iron, cut in such a way that it conformed to the coneshaped roof. Traditional rounded and coneshaped houses are on the decline.
6.9 THE INTERVIEWEES

Of those interviewed thirty eight percent were born locally while thirty eight percent claimed to have come to the settlement voluntarily from the surrounding districts. Twenty four percent were resettled from white farms. Those who were born locally and those who moved into KwaMajhwakazi from surrounding settlements comprised seventy six percent of the respondents.

Women comprised sixty-six percent of the sample, while males, who were head of families, comprised twenty-six percent of those interviewed. The rest were children or relatives.

6.10 LAND USE PATTERNS IN KWAMAQHWAKAZI

Figure 6.1 shows the three main categories of land use in the settlement, namely, arable, residential and grazing or forested land, in accordance with land use divisions prescribed for betterment schemes.

It was mentioned in the preceding section, that the area reserved for settlement should have been reserved for agricultural purposes as it consists of fertile soil. A look at Figure 6.1 shows cultivated land within the residential area. This consisted of land that was cultivated prior to planning, and the owners would not sub-let it for occupation by others.
It is not only the fields that are cultivated in this settlement, but the gardens (to the east of the plantation, Figure 6.1) were also intensively used, both in summer and winter.

6.10.1 Size of fields and usage

Seventy-eight percent of those interviewed, owned fields. Seeing that some fields were in the cultivated lands, while others were within the settlement, the people had to indicate where their fields were located. The majority, sixty percent, had their fields in the arable area, fourteen percent had their fields next to their homesteads, and four percent had fields at Ngodini, another settlement, some four kilometers away. Twenty two percent had no fields.

Table 6.1 shows the size of fields and the number of people who own such fields. Seventy-two percent of the people owned large fields indeed, and only a few had small fields.
Table 6.1 Field Ownership - KwaMaghwakazi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of fields M²</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 100</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101-200</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201-300</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 301</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The discrepancy between the proportion who cultivated fields and the respondents who indicated the sizes of fields was caused by the sisa custom among the Zulu people. Through this custom, it is possible for people who own fields to give part of these to another person. There is no charge for this gesture, and the fields may be given for an indefinite period. During the interviews, even those who did not own fields had to indicate the size of the fields.

Most of the people, sixty percent, had been involved in agriculture for at least a period of
more than thirty years. It may therefore be argued that their views were based on experience; the same can be true even for the six percent who had been involved in agriculture for a period of more than ten years.

Only eighteen percent agreed that all land allocated to them was cultivated every year, and the rest did not cultivate all the fields available to them. Table 6.2 shows a list of reasons why the people did not cultivate all the land available to them.
Table 6.2 Factors affecting land use - Kwa MaqhwaKazi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons against cultivation of all available land</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drought</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle problem</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costs</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ill-health/old age</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were those who felt that rainfall amounts had declined over the years resulting in the cultivation of a small fraction of the available land. Those who mentioned cattle as a problem, complained that fences were removed from the arable land and crops were devoured by cattle. Only six percent felt the fields were too far, while twenty-six percent were discouraged by the costs involved in hiring a tractor from the nearby white farmers. Thirty percent walked for half an hour before reaching the fields, while twenty percent walked for more than twenty minutes. Those that did not respond (42 percent) did not have any
access to land.

6.10.2 Means of Cultivation

The kinds of tools used by the residents varied between hiring a tractor and the use of a hoe. The use of a combination of tools was also common, seeing that a person would afford to cultivate half the fields by means of a hired tractor and continue with a hoe where the tractor or span of oxen finished. Table 6.3 indicates the use of various means of cultivation.

Table 6.3 Means of Cultivation - Kwa Maghwakazi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Means of Cultivation</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hire of tractor</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hire of span of oxen</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoe</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combination</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The use of particular tools in a particular year depends on the financial position of the family;
sometimes it can afford to cultivate only a fraction of the fields owned.

6.10.3 On improving crop yield

Only twenty two percent of the people used cattle manure and chemical fertilizers; with chemical fertilizers being used by two percent. It would seem that two factors were responsible for this, namely, the distance from fields and the effort involved in having to transport cattle manure to far off fields. Table 6.4 gives a picture on the use of fertilizers.

Table 6.4 On improving crop yield

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Means of fertilization</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cattle manure</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemical fertilizers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soil is fertile</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cattle manure was also a scarce commodity, since even those who had cattle only had one or two
6.10.4 Crop and Vegetable Production

Maize was by far the most preferred crop, cultivated by seventy-six percent of the respondents. This was partly due to the fact that mealie meal was the staple food of the people. Table 6.5 illustrates crops produced.

Table 6.5 Crop Production - Kwa Maghwakazi *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of crop</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maize</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beans (dry)</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groundnuts</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweet potatoes</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madumbes</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Respondents produced more than one type of crop.

Due to the subsistence nature of farming, no record of crop yield per unit area was kept. The amount produced could not sustain the families concerned, hence they supplemented by buying
mealie meal from Empangeni and another supermarket in an adjacent village.

Vegetable production was done on an organized basis, wherein forty-two women cultivated gardens, in which a variety of vegetables, namely, spinach, cabbage, and carrots were grown.

The women started the garden project in 1976, though some argued that it was earlier than that period. They sometimes hired a tractor to prepare the soils. The entire garden area at the time of the study was 14530 square metres. The gardening project was started by an employee at the beerhall, who became concerned about water that he saw flowing from the nearby borehole. He decided to plant vegetables lower down the borehole, it proved a great success, and the vegetable yield attracted passers-by. It was said that the man, a Mr Gwala, was then joined by the local chief in growing vegetables.

Today the project has grown into an impressive venture, with women working hard to produce more crops. They had established contact with the McDonald Seed Company in Pinetown and buy their seeds and seed trays wherein seeds germinate before they are transferred on to the gardens. The average size of the vegetable gardens allo-
cated to individuals was found to be 258 square metres.

The dam close to the gardens was used for irrigation. Due to the great demand of water, it literally dried up during the study period. Under the circumstances the women who could afford it bought pipes, and syphoned water from the first dam, close to the plantation. The laying of pipes also necessitated the erection of water taps (Plate 6.17). The drawing of water from the topmost dam lead to friction with the males who kept cattle. They perceived the use of the water as a threat to their cattle. No satisfactory solution had been worked out to solve the water crisis in the gardens.

The women did all the work by themselves, save for one or two males who helped with the erection of the water taps. Even the fencing of the fields, a laborious task, was undertaken by the women (Plate 6.18).

The successful venture of the garden women attracted many others to join, but there was no more space for expansion since the adjoining land was claimed by others as belonging to their forefathers, even though it remained bare and unused.
Plate 6.17  Irrigation in the gardens

Plate 6.18  Close-knit fencing by women around the garden
6.10.5 Growing of Trees

There were very few fruit trees grown in the settlement. It was claimed that most or all the trees were destroyed by termites. This had discouraged the people from planting trees again. Table 6.6 gives a picture of the trees grown.

Table 6.6 Fruit Production - Kwa Maqhwakazi*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fruit Tree</th>
<th>No. of Respondents, Percent</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Producers</td>
<td>Sellers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangoes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peaches</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avocados</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oranges</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banana</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guavas</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Only those who produced fruits where recorded.

Due to the dry conditions and the termite problem, even those who had grown the trees felt the trees would sooner or later wither away.

There is a plantation of gum trees, which served
as a source of construction material. It was under the jurisdiction of the Induna who he decided when to make the timber available to the people (Plate 6.19). Sometimes he was under pressure from the locals to allow them access to the forest for building materials.

6.10.6 Livestock Raising

Apart from poultry, the people did keep cattle and goats. It should be noted, however, that in most instances most of the people kept less than five cattle and goats. Twenty eight percent of the respondents claimed that their livestock was killed by drought, while twelve percent had no one to look after the livestock. Grass was very patchy in the study area even in summer; the problem of overgrazing put pressure on the vegetation in the settlement.

Though there was grazing land, in the forested area, the lack of fencing was a problem. The fence in the fields had deteriorated. The fields and grazing lands were open. Cattle grazing over the fields was a source of conflict. This required someone to follow the livestock all day long, especially in summer, when people cultivated their fields.
Plate 6.19  THE PLANTATION IN KWA MAQHWAKAZI

Plate 6.20  OFFICIAL RESIDENCE OF AGRICULTURAL OFFICER -
            HOUSE IN THE FOREGROUND WITH A WATER TANK
6.11 ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

It was difficult to establish the amount of cash derived from the selling of goods and services since it was of a subsistence nature. The only indication of cash income came from what wage earners contributed. Those with gardens did get cash from selling to residents and passers-by.

6.11.1 Wage Income

The majority of the interviewees were women, sixty-six percent, while the males, who were heads of families comprised twenty six percent of the respondents. Most of the males were retired people. The healthy and middle aged heads of families and young people, were employed in the towns and cities of the country. Most young females were employed in the surrounding white farms of the Mhlathuze Valley. Table 6.7 shows the percentage of people employed in selected towns.
Table 6.7 Places of Employment*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eshowe</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empangeni</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durban</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reef</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vryheid</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandini</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*A family could have more than one person employed in different towns.

Some of those people, especially those employed at Empangeni, and Eshowe, did commute on certain days of the week, and would sometimes stay at those towns and come back during weekends.

6.11.2 Others Sources of Income

Apart from cash earned through wage income, some residents were engaged in sewing, gardening, and the making of beads. Table 6.8 shows the number of people engaged in the various activities.
Table 6.8 Other Sources of Cash Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sewing</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardening</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making of Beads</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Some would be occupied in more than one activity, while others have no activity at all.

Among the self-employed, are the traditional and spiritual healers who charged a fee for their services, and those who brewed home beer.

6.12 ATTITUDES TOWARDS AGRICULTURE

It was found that at least sixty-six percent of the people had been farming for a period of more than ten years, and their views were, therefore, based on a period of long observation and involvement. On the question of the size of fields, fifty-four percent of the people felt they had large enough fields. Thirty percent were satisfied with the size of grazing land. Fifty-six percent were satisfied with the size of their residential plots. Though the majority was satisfied with the size of fields, only twenty-eight percent felt they produced enough food from the land.

With regard to the question whether they felt they had
choice in agriculture, fifty percent felt they had no choice but to cultivate since they would starve without the contribution made by crop production to their food supplies.

Of the crops cultivated, the majority, twenty four percent preferred to grow maize and twelve percent preferred dry beans, respectively. Some did grow cotton, the Induna claimed that he was given too little a reward for his efforts, despite the fact he was encouraged by the KwaZulu Development Corporation. There was willingness among those interviewed to grow cotton.

The people had a positive attitude towards the selling of any surplus crops. Fifty-four percent would like to sell, while eighteen percent were against the sale of crops.

KwaMaqhwakazi has an official residence for the agricultural officer. Plate 6.20 shows the official residence of the agricultural officer. The agricultural officer's services were highly praised by thirty two percent of the respondents. They claimed that they consulted him regularly and found his services very useful. Others felt that agricultural officers were very useful in the gardens.

There were regular meetings between the women in the
gardens as they sought advice from the agriculture officer. The officer is stationed here and was directly responsible to the KwaZulu Department of Agriculture and Forestry.

6.13 ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE SETTLEMENT

Half the respondents, that is, fifty percent, preferred the planned settlement. It should be noted that some residents moved from other unplanned areas to settle at KwaMqhwakazi. The reasons for such a move varied. Some felt independent, in the sense that they were no longer obliged to their neighbour who may have given them permission to settle in what he would call his land. In the planned settlement such people felt they owned their land and felt a sense of pride and self-esteem. It should be borne in mind that tribal land is communal, with the chief as the custodian of the values of the people. Another reason why some people moved into the settlement on their own free will was the advantage of accessibility. Some people came from across the Matheku River, a rugged mountainous area. Some preferred the settlement because it gave them "freedom", that is, freedom from white farmers where some of the respondents lived. Table 6.9 shows the number of reasons why some prefer the planned settlement.
Table 6.9 Reasons Why Settlement is preferred*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accessibility</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace of Mind</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Privacy</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used to it</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Respondents gave more than one answer.

The question of security was very important especially since there was an upsurge of crime in the area. Being nearer to neighbours gave a sense of security. Peace of mind and independence referred to the freedom from white farmers and black "landowners" in traditional settlements. Some of those who mentioned privacy as an advantage, have fenced themselves with sisal plants that make their homesteads inaccessible. Table 6.10 shows the needs felt by residents.
Table 6.10 Needs Felt by Residents*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Need</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fencing of fields</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Means of cultivation</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinic</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control of termites</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fields</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Respondents gave more than one answer.

The need for water refers to piped water in their individual homesteads, tapped from a river source. There were many complaints about poachers who slaughtered cattle at night in the veld. Cattle stealing was reported to the Induna four times during July in 1986. It was even alleged that the stealing syndicate involved some locals. For that reason people thought that those who settled in the grazing lands and fields would help check the menace.

6.14 CONCLUSION

In this chapter an attempt was made to portray a picture of the settlement form and structure, the physical environment, human activities, the socio-economic condition of the people and their environmental perception and attitudes towards their physical, social and economic environment.
CHAPTER 7

TRADITIONAL AND NUCLEATED SETTLEMENTS EVALUATED.

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter a comparative view of the life in the traditional and planned settlement is presented. Differences and similarities in the socio-economic condition of the people will be highlighted. The Chapter sets out to show how each settlement type performs or compares with the other in terms of resources, productivity, income and the people's attitude towards agriculture and their settlement type. In conclusion an evaluation of the quality of life will be presented.

7.2 LAND RESOURCES IN THE TWO SETTLEMENTS

The soils in the two settlements are the same, except for the fact that in the traditional settlement people have built their kraals on land which is favourable to the practice of agriculture. In the betterment scheme, however, people live on fertile ground that should have been made available for agricultural purposes. The soils are unstable and cause serious structural defects on housing. Moreover, the soils are infected with termites and they consume all the wooden framework for the houses and thatching grass for the roofs. It should be
noted that the people were removed from the present cultivated area into the present settlement - which is suitable for agriculture. The kind of soils and their potential were discussed in chapters five and six.

Vegetation has been depleted by overgrazing in the betterment scheme, while there are no signs of overgrazing and vegetation scarcity in the traditional settlement. The traditional settlement receives more precipitation than the betterment scheme, which lies in the rain-shadow area of the Ongoye Mountains.

7.3 LAND USE IN THE SETTLEMENTS

7.3.1 Cultivated Land

In the traditional settlement, eighty-two percent of the residents have their fields next to the kraal and ninety-eight percent of the people cultivate all the land available annually.

Only two percent of the respondents had no agricultural fields at the time of interview. On the other hand, the betterment scheme had sixty percent of the people with cultivated lands while twenty-two percent of the people had no agricultural fields. Travelling time is a major issue and for thirty percent of the people in the betterment scheme it takes more than thirty minutes to reach their fields.
Figure 7.1  APPLICATION OF FERTILIZERS

Traditional

Use of Fertilizers

Planned

Cattle Manure

Com Fertilizers

None

Can't Afford

Figure 7.2  MEANS OF CULTIVATION

Traditional

Planned
7.3.2 Improving Crop Yield

The use of cattle manure as a fertilizer was prevalent in both the traditional and betterment settlement. However, it was quite obvious that more people, that is, sixty-four percent used cattle manure as a fertilizer in the traditional settlement. The same trend was observed in the application of chemical fertilizers, which were used by twenty-six percent of the people in the traditional settlement and by two percent in the betterment scheme. Some of the people in the betterment scheme argued that their soil was fertile and needed no fertilizers. Figure 7.1 shows the contrasts in the application of fertilizers between the two settlements. It should be noted that some respondents used more than one type of fertilizer.

7.3.3 Means of Cultivation

Contrasts in the use of the means of cultivation in both settlements are shown in Figure 7.2. The means of cultivation are the same for both settlements, only the degree to which each of the means is applied differs. They all hired tractors from nearby white farmers.
7.3.4 **Crop Production**

In both settlements, maize is the preferred crop, grown by ninety-six percent and seventy-six percent in the traditional and planned settlements, respectively.

7.3.5 **Garden Agriculture**

In the betterment scheme there was a group of forty-four organized women who cultivated vegetables from the beginning of autumn until early spring when they would start cultivating their fields. For these women, it was tilling the soil right through the year. In summer, maize could be grown in the gardens as well. There was no such organization in the traditional settlements. Figure 7.3 and 7.4 show the vegetables grown and sold in the two settlements. The two figures show the commercial vegetable production as opposed to the subsistence production at Mlalazi.

7.3.6 **Fruit Trees and Forest Growing**

Figures 7.5 and 7.6 shows the percentage of people who had grown fruit trees in both settlements and those who sold their fruits.
Figure 7.3 VEGETABLE PRODUCTION MLALAZI

- Cabbage
- Onions
- Tomatoes

Produced

Figure 7.4 VEGETABLE PRODUCTION KWAMAQHWAKAZI

- Spinach
- Cabbage
- Onions
- Tomatoes

Produced

Sold
There is little evidence of fruit cultivation in KwaMaqhwakazi. The residents complained that the termites consumed whatever fruit trees they grew and were, therefore, discouraged. Some complained about livestock destroying whatever fruit trees they had grown in the area.

In both settlements forests are found. The difference is that in KwaMaqhwakazi, the betterment scheme, there is a gum tree plantation for the community to use, while in Mlalazi, the forests are grown by private individuals.

7.3.7 Livestock Raising

More people owned goats and cattle in KwaMaqhwakazi than Mlalazi. Figure 7.7 shows the ownership of cattle and goats in both settlements.

It should be noted that in the majority of cases, livestock units were less than six per homestead, while others had a score plus.

Explanations for small numbers of livestock varied. However, the main reason can be attributed to the most recent drought during the period 1978-1980. Twenty-eight percent of the people in KwaMaqhwakazi blamed the drought for the few cattle and goats they had, while twenty-two
Figure 7.5 FRUIT PRODUCTION

KAMAQAHIKAZI

Percentage

Avocados Peaches Oranges Mangoes Bananas Guavas Other

Produced Sold

Figure 7.6 FRUIT PRODUCTION

MIAIAZI

Percentage

Avocados Peaches Oranges Mangoes Bananas Guavas Other

Produced Sold
Figure 7.7

LIVESTOCK OWNERSHIP

![Bar chart showing the ownership of cattle and goats. The chart compares planned (KwaMqaghwakazi) and traditional (Mlalazi) methods.]
percent in Mlalazi attributed this reason for having few livestock. Others had no livestock since there was no one to look after it.

7.4 CASH INCOME

Cash income was derived mainly from the contribution of family members employed in towns.

Other sources of income were sewing, gardening, making of beads and selling of fruits and miscellaneous work. It is only people in the betterment scheme who sold vegetables while no vegetables were sold by those in the traditional settlement.

The contribution made by employed family members in selected towns is reflected in Table 7.2. Table 7.1 shows the number of people involved in deriving some cash income from selected activities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTIVITY</th>
<th>SETTLEMENT TYPE</th>
<th>TRADITIONAL (%)</th>
<th>PLANNED (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sewing</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardening</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making Beads</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Response</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
People in the betterment scheme practise activities on an organized basis. Even hunting is organized and practised during times set by the Induna.

Table 7.2 Income Contributed by Employment in Different Towns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INCOME IN RANDS</th>
<th>ESHOWE</th>
<th>MANDINI</th>
<th>EMPANGENI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TRADITIONAL</td>
<td>PLANNED</td>
<td>TRADITIONAL</td>
<td>PLANNED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-30</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of surrounding white farmers lived in both settlements.
It is noteworthy that most of the people in the planned settlement are employed at Empangeni while Eshowe has employees from both settlements. People in the planned settlement frequent shops at Empangeni which is considered cheaper than Eshowe.

7.5 **ATTITUDES TOWARDS AGRICULTURE**

People in the betterment scheme were satisfied with the size of the fields they possessed and residential space allocated to them, namely, fifty-four percent and fifty-six percent, respectively, while only thirty percent were satisfied with the grazing land. In the traditional settlement only forty-four percent were satisfied with their fields and seventy percent were satisfied with their residential space.

With regard to crop production, sixty-six percent of the people in the betterment scheme were of the opinion that food production had decreased, while only thirty percent saw a decrease in food production in the traditional settlement.

In both settlements there was a positive attitude towards the selling of crops produced. The best preferred crops were maize and beans in Mlalazi while it was maize and groundnuts in KwaMaqhawakazi.
Attitudes towards agricultural advisers differed sharply. While thirty-two percent of the betterment scheme residents consulted them for advice, only four percent of the people in the traditional settlement consulted agricultural advisers.

Sixty percent of the respondents in Mlalazi and fifty-two percent in KwaMagqwakazi wanted additional land to produce more food. Seventy-four percent of the respondents at Mlalazi and eight percent in KwaMgqwakazi

7.6 ATTITUDES TOWARDS SETTLEMENT TYPE

Of those resident in the traditional settlement, eighty-eight percent preferred it, while twelve percent preferred a planned settlement. Residents of the betterment scheme were equally divided, namely, fifty percent preferred the settlement while another fifty percent preferred a traditional settlement. There are, however, those who saw no difference between the two settlements.

Perceived needs of residents in both settlements differed markedly. Respondents had to state what they felt were their greatest needs in the settlement, which, if attended to, would improve their social well-being. In the traditional settlement, eight percent were interested in being taught modern methods of crop cultivation. In the planned settlement, sixteen percent would like to get a solution to the termites menace. (Figure 7.8).

On the question of what they liked in the respective
Figure 7.8  
PERCEIVED NEEDS IN STUDY AREA

Figure 7.9  
ADVANTAGES OF SETTLEMENT TYPES
settlements, residents in both settlements differed. Figure 7.9 presents a list of those advantages preferred by the people in the respective settlements. In the case of Mlalazi, peace of mind refers to isolation from neighbours, even independence still refers to being away from other people. In the case of KwaMgqwakazi, there was a strong sense of neighbourliness, save for the quarrels caused by erring chickens and goats! The closeness of homesteads gives a sense of security.

While all the homesteads visited kept vicious dogs in Mlalazi, less than ten percent of the homesteads in KwaMgqwakazi had dogs. The only vicious dogs were at the Induna's homestead.

7.7 EVALUATION OF THE TWO SETTLEMENTS

The chapter started with a discussion on a comparative perspective on how the two settlements compare with each other in terms of land resources, land use, productivity and attitudes towards agriculture and the settlement type.

In both settlements there is a good potential for agricultural productivity if water can be available. The bioclimatic region is the same for both settlements.
There are, however, differences in the advantages each settlement type has to offer its inhabitants. Both settlements are accessible, by local transportation. The road to KwaMaqhwakazi is composed of rough gravel whereas Mlalazi is bisected by a tarred road and relatively smooth farm roads.

Among the fundamental objectives of redistribution of rural population are the issues of provision of services and facilities and security of tenureship. KwaMaqhwakazi enjoys demarcated land uses; and organized community; a fair number of boreholes and offers its inhabitants security in terms of "land ownership". The strategy to provide boreholes for clean water is comparable to the redistribution policies of Uganda, where people were moved because of scarcity of clean drinking water. Similarly, the British Land Use planning strategy was also concerned with environmental standards (Gilg, 1978).

Mlalazi's proximity to Eshowe and the presence of electrical energy is a boon to its inhabitants, so is its proximity to town and favourable soils and vegetation.

There are, however, negative factors in both settlements, for instance, the general scarcity of water. In KwaMaqhwakazi the community needs water for irrigation purposes. The menace of termites and shrinking
dry soils which cause cracks to houses is a sore thorn to the people. Webb et al (1981) assert that 'it is important to ask whose interests are served or preserved or threatened by the redistributional policies'.

The disregard for the original order of the plan causes bitterness and the lack of maintenance of the fences invalidates the advantages of land use zoning. Though betterment was meant "to resucitate the agrarian base" (Rogerson and Letsoalo, 1981), such neglect to fences causes frustration and contributes to the underutilization of land. One of the aims of the KwaZulu development plan, is to make land available for the optimum utilization of the natural resources, and to facilitate the organization of communities so that they can contribute to the development and improvement of living conditions. To achieve this aim, the implemented plans need supervision and maintenance.

In the case of Mlalazi clean drinking water is scarce and in most instances it is secured from unhygienic sources for most of the people. The dispersed pattern of the homesteads makes the provision of basic infrastructure an insurmountable problem. One of the objectives of the population redistribution policy, is to make a population accessible in order to provide basic infrastructure (KwaZulu Department of Agriculture, 1980). Dispersed settlements are inefficient in
respect of land use and labour (Clarke et al, 1982). It is, however, difficult to provide basic services in Mlalazi because of the dispersed nature of homesteads. Some degree of collectivisation is necessary to overcome such a problem. At present, in Mlalazi, each homestead depends solely on its own resources to get a supply of electrical energy, whilst other homesteads are inaccessible by an automobile. The mixed nature of grazing, arable and residential land uses is a disadvantage, especially in a livestock rearing community. In addition, the lack of security of land tenure is not conducive to development.

Both settlements exert severe pressure on their natural forests as residents rely on wood for energy supplies. In the case of Zimbabwe, population redistribution was carried out to alleviate pressure on the natural resources of the country (Clarke and Konsiski, 1982 and Piorro, 1981).

On the whole both settlements have a great potential for development, especially KwaMaqhwakazi where the community is well organized in terms of settlement form and land use demarcation. The provision of piped water and electricity can be instituted at minimum costs as compared to Mlalazi where both services will be expensive to provide at present.

The spirit of co-operation is virtually important to
the upliftment of any community (Clarke et al., 1982; Aziz, 1978). The community at KwaMqhwakazi is envied for its spirit of co-operation amongst the garden women. Not only has the practise of market gardening afforded the people in KwaMqhwakazi an opportunity to work together, but it has helped them to earn extra cash to supplement the household incomes.

Four advantages make Mlalazi attractive at present, namely, the proximity to Eshowe, the availability of electrical energy and the fact that there are no termites, while crops and fruit trees thrive well.

7.8 CONCLUSION

Though both settlements consist of rural communities, they differ markedly in terms of land use, opportunities, land tenure security and environmental perception. They have common problems - there is a need for piped water and the supply of electricity to save their dwindling forest resources. The closeness of homesteads in KwaMqhwakazi has fostered a spirit of communalism and neighbourliness, while the dispersed nature of homesteads in Mlalazi fosters a spirit of exclusivity among the residents, hence they had no joint venture to improve their lot.

Though both settlements rely on wages from those employed elsewhere, life would be more difficult in
KwaMqhwakazi for anyone who has no wage earning member in the family, than in Mlalazi.

In conclusion, it can be inferred that whilst many people thought that their quality of life in a betterment scheme would improve, it has in fact only done so partially. Empirical evidence suggests that there are a number of problems which need to be attended to. Recommendations in this respect will be provided in the next chapter.
CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY, SYNTHESIS AND CONCLUSION

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The major aim of this study was to investigate the social well-being of two rural communities in the KwaZulu area of South Africa. Evidence from the empirical analysis suggests that there are significant differences in the levels of social well-being between the two communities.

An attempt, therefore, will be made in this chapter to provide firstly and, perhaps more importantly, a synthesis of the investigation undertaken. Thereafter, the major hypothesis of this study will be tested for its theoretical relevance and, finally, the chapter will be concluded with recommendations.

8.2 A SUMMARY AND REVIEW

Empirical evidence suggests that the two communities under investigation, Mlalazi and KwaMaqhwakazi, are long established communities. The most significant difference between the two, however, is the fact that while the former is a traditional community, the latter is a planned or betterment community according to new land use policies in the KwaZulu area.
In both settlements, Mlalazi and KwaMqhwakazi, the majority of the people; seventy percent and seventy-six percent respectively, were long established in the settlements. In the case of KwaMqhwakazi, twenty-four percent were resettled from white farms. In the case of Mlalazi, twenty-six percent came to the settlement on their own choice while two percent were evicted from elsewhere in 'white areas'. It can be argued that the two percent forms part of people who came on their choice as they were not forced to live in Mlalazi.

The large numbers of long established residents in both settlements, corresponds with the stated objective of this study, namely, to compare people who are long resident in their present environment; the only difference between them being that the other community, KwaMqhwakazi, was reorganized spatially according to new land use policies.

The inherent climatic differences, caused by the rain-shadow location of KwaMqhwakazi puts agricultural production and other land use practices under severe natural constraints.

The demarcation and fencing of grazing and cultivated land makes it possible to keep livestock in KwaMqhwakazi, since cattle are driven to the grazing land. The lack of maintenance and supervision of the
fences causes problems and nullifies the advantages of land use zoning. This very problem prevented four percent of the people from keeping cattle in the betterment scheme, and twelve percent in Mlalazi, which had no fences at all.

The demand for fields is greater in Mlalazi, fifty-six percent, than in KwaMaghwakazi, forty-six percent. On the whole, those with fields had large tracts of land in KwaMaghwakazi, far bigger than the fields in Mlalazi.

There were residents who moved into the betterment scheme on their own choice in order to get 'freedom' from the former 'land owner' in the traditional settlement. Although all land is communal, and vested under the authority of chiefs in the Trust Lands, some people lay claim on certain lands on the grounds that it belongs to their forebears. People who come later get residential and cultivated land by the consent of the long established resident. To escape from the subservience of the 'land lord', they preferred to settle in the planned settlement where they would own their land. This explains the reason why some people felt there is freedom in the planned settlement and not in the traditional system.
8.3 A SYNTHESIS OF THE EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

It was postulated earlier in this dissertation that the quality of life in a betterment scheme is better than in a traditional settlement. Empirical evidence, however, suggests that while there were certain advantages which were occurring in the betterment scheme, there were, equally, many negative factors which adversely affected the quality of life of those living in such a scheme. The study also showed that there were many positive factors in traditional settlements and these need to be carefully evaluated to improve the lot of people living in rural areas.

In view of the above, the ensuing discussion attempts to test the hypothesis that was postulated.

The demarcation of different land uses offers many developmental possibilities in the betterment scheme. The community has developed a strong sense of neighbourliness and this is reflected by the organized activities such as gardening, sewing and hunting. Moreover, the advantage of land use demarcation was positively felt in the sense that young boys of school-going age were free to go to school rather than attend to the livestock all day long.

Living in a betterment scheme also afforded the community a sense of "security of tenure". For the first time they were allocated land on which they could lay claim, and under the administration of the Induna. The
land tenure system in traditional settlements affords no security of tenure in Mlalazi. Unused land, for example, is claimed by other people as belonging to their forefathers. As Hughes, quoted by Low (1984), asserts "land claims by more than one person makes the land idle as no one is prepared to take the risk of farming".

On the negative side of the balance sheet, empirical evidence showed reallocating people to betterment schemes was not the end process in improving a community's life chances. It was only a means to an end. This point of view is borne out in other studies conducted in various rural areas of Southern Africa. Letsoalo (1982), for example, found that the terrain in betterment schemes in Lebowa was not suitable for agriculture. Smit (1965) established that fields could only be ploughed if there was enough precipitation in his case studies of settlements in Venda. While Letsoalo (1982) acknowledged that land lord absenteeism and lack of draught animals caused fields to lie bare in the rural areas of Lebowa, in KwaMqhwakazi it was the combined effect of neglected fences around the cultivated lands, costs of ploughing, the inaccessibility of the fields and the natural elements such as soil, climate and terrain, which had an adverse effect on cultivation. Weiner et al (1985) found that there were ulterior motives in re-allocating people rather than improving their livelihood. They point to the fact
that in many cases people were relocated to a naturally sterile environment 'which was incapable of sustaining itself" (1985,285). In KwaMaghwakazi, likewise, it was evidenced that much of the land was unsuitable for agricultural purposes. The main disadvantages in KwaMaghwakazi were dry climatic conditions, the termites, distance from town and the winding and the rocky terrain leading to the settlement.

The traditional settlement also showed positive and negative aspects. The land in the traditional area was very suited to agricultural development. Even the infrastructure and nearby urban services such as supermarkets, health services and financial institutions were readily accessible. On the negative side, however, it is difficult to develop Mlalazi due to the scattered nature of the homesteads and the absence of demarcated fields. In addition to this, the community did not display any joint ventures in human activity. Over and above of all of this, the present land tenure system affords no security of tenure to the individual and as a result production possibilities have dwindled in the traditional settlement.

This study, therefore, showed that there are both positive and negative aspects in the rural development process in Mlalazi and KwaMaghwakazi. In the light of the above, the hypothesis that the quality of life of those living in betterment schemes is better, is only
partially accepted. Empirical evidence clearly showed that there were deficiencies in the betterment scheme and they need serious attention before the quality of the life of the community is improved. In this respect, the last section of this chapter will make recommendations to improve the quality of life of those people living in Mlalazi and KwaMaqhwakazi.

8.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

i. The agricultural potential of both settlements can be greatly improved if piped water from the Mhlathuze River can be supplied.

ii. The erection of fences should be accompanied by the appointment of someone in charge of the maintenance and supervision of these fences.

iii. The present trend of minimizing relocations in Mlalazi is recommended and should be maintained.

iv. An agricultural officer should be attached to Mlalazi to help the community in agricultural and other developmental projects. This should involve exploring the possibility of initiating sugar cane production in the area.

v. A co-operative for farmers can be introduced and encouraged in KwaMaqhwakazi to serve as a model for other settlements in KwaZulu.

vi. A clinic located in KwaMaqhwakazi can serve the community well and can be of advantage to the nearby settlements of eNqoleni, Ngodini and
vii. The question of land ownership and land rights has to be addressed unequivocally.

8.5 CONCLUSION

The dissertation concludes as it began, with the issue of development. Development, whether rural or urban, is not simply a question of economic growth, but the enhanced capacity of societies and individuals "to cope with the changing circumstances of their lives" (Mabogunje, 1984, p. 148). Rural development should make it relatively easier for a community to deal more effectively with its life chances, whether this arises from the natural conditions or from socio-political conditions. Agricultural land use planning is a vital component as a development strategy in the Third World. To make rural settlements economically viable, some effort and financial investment, in terms of providing basic infrastructure, including water and electricity, are essential. A great agricultural potential awaits tapping in both Mlalazi and KwaMqhwakazi.

To improve the quality of life of the communities at Mlalazi and KwaMqhwakazi requires a sustained effort on the part of the people of those settlements and those who plan for them. Development after all is much more than providing infrastructure. It requires a multi-dimensional approach where people are allowed to "desire it and sacrifice for it" (Todaro, 1977, p. 50).
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KWAZULU GOVERNMENT FILE NO. 10/7/3/2/203 (4)
APPENDIX I

UMZANSI REGION

LIST OF PLANNED AREAS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Ward</th>
<th>Chief's Name</th>
<th>Planned Preliminary Planning</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Izingolweni</td>
<td>Location 1</td>
<td>Jali</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Cele</td>
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<td>E.T. Xolo</td>
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<td>Nzimakwe</td>
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<td>Location 5a</td>
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<td>Location 5b</td>
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<td>Mbotho</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(State Land) Sakhayedwa)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All Trust Farms</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vulamehlo</td>
<td>St. Michale's Mission</td>
<td>Ngcobo</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mzumbe</td>
<td>Dlamini Ward</td>
<td>L. Dlamini</td>
<td>*</td>
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<td>Location</td>
<td>Ward</td>
<td>Name</td>
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<td>Mpumalanga</td>
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<td>Madzikane Ward</td>
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<td>Mchunu Ward</td>
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### OGWINI REGION

**LIST OF PLANNED TRIBAL AREAS**

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<td>Ongoye</td>
<td>Zulu Ward</td>
<td>A.Zulu</td>
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<td>Emacekane (Sugar-cane area)</td>
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<td>Mzimela Ward (Res.9) (Planning accepted)</td>
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<td>* (No planning done yet)</td>
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<td>Enkanyezi</td>
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<td>M.Mathonsi</td>
<td>* 1965 100%</td>
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<td>Zulu Ward</td>
<td>M.Zulu</td>
<td>* 1961</td>
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<td>Biyela Ward</td>
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<td>M. Mthembu</td>
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## LIST OF PLANNED TRIBAL AREAS

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<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Ward</th>
<th>Chief's Name or Name of Tribe</th>
<th>Planned</th>
<th>Not Planned</th>
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<td><strong>Hlabisa</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Ingwavuma</strong></td>
<td>All Wards</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mbatha Ward</td>
<td>Mbatha</td>
<td></td>
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<td>*</td>
</tr>
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<td>Zungu Ward</td>
<td>Zungu</td>
<td></td>
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<td>*</td>
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<td>Mpungose Ward</td>
<td>Mpungose</td>
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<td>*</td>
</tr>
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<td>Ndebele Ward</td>
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<td>Ximba</td>
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<td>Buthelezi Ward</td>
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APPENDIX II

A QUESTIONNAIRE ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS - INKANYE21 DISTRICT

RESPONSE FORM

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<tr>
<th>Settlement Type</th>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Level of</th>
<th>Relationship to head of kraal:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Planned/Traditional</td>
<td>Young/Mature/Elderly</td>
<td>Male/Female</td>
<td>Education</td>
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</table>

1. Birthplace:  
2. Why here:  
3. Years of Settlement:  
4. Former residence:  
5. Family size:  
6. Fields: Place  Size  Walking Time
7. Need for Fields (Reasons):  

8. Satisfaction with fields (Yes/No) Reasons:

9. Enough food (Yes/No):

10. Is food purchased? Mention purchases:

11. Cultivation time:

12. Crops grown: Proportion sold: Income:

13. Growing Best:
Preferred by grower: ____________________________________

14. Opinion on agricultural advisers: ____________________________
__________________________________________________________

15. Attitude towards selling crops & reason: ________________________
__________________________________________________________

16. Change in production: _______________________________________
__________________________________________________________

17. On improving crop yield: _____________________________________
__________________________________________________________

18. Choice in agriculture: _______________________________________
__________________________________________________________

19. If all land is used and reasons: _________________________________
__________________________________________________________

20. Years in farming: ____________________________________________

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fields</th>
<th>Grazing</th>
<th>Residential</th>
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</thead>
</table>

21. Enough land Yes/No__________________________________________

22. Vegetable produce:
Types | For Sale | Income

________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________

23. Fruit Trees:
Types | For Sale | Income

________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________
24. **Sources of Income:**

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<th>Income</th>
<th>Monthly/Weekly</th>
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25. What assistance do you need most?

26. Member(s) working

<table>
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<th>Contribution</th>
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</table>

27. Mention livestock:

28. Why no livestock?

29. Recreation:
30. Social activities and benefits: __________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

31. Planned (advantages) for: ___________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

Disadvantages: _______________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

32. Traditional (advantages) for: _______________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

Disadvantages: _______________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

33. Where would you prefer to stay? (type) ________________________________

Why? __________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________