

RURAL POVERTY -
SUBSISTENCE OR DEPENDENCY

by

Julian Douglas May

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PREFACE

The social research described in this thesis was carried out in the Umzimkulu District of Transkei. Subsequent analysis was supervised by Professor Jill Nattrass.

These studies represent original work by the author and have not been submitted in any form to another University. Where use has been made of the work of others it has been duly acknowledged in the text.

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ABSTRACT

The Republic of Transkei, the first of the "Independent" National States has financed a number of research projects which have attempted to establish a data base on which a Five Year Development Plan can be grounded. A important element of this plan has been the suggestion of the creation of a hierarchy of Service Centres in the rural areas of Transkei. From these, it is envisaged that essential services could be distributed to the rural poor. In addition, these Centres are expected to assist with the co-ordination of other projects based in the rural areas, and, further, to contain some inherent growth potential which could stimulate development.

It was intended that this thesis should provide a critical analysis of development planning in for the rural areas of Transkei. Particular attention has been paid to the existing conditions and structures in the rural areas, and the manner in which these might influence the success or otherwise of a Service Centre Approach. In addition, the relationship between rural households in Transkei, and the South African economy has also been examined.

Chapter One of this thesis introduces the importance of development studies in Southern Africa. It goes on to examine the important theoretical approaches to Third World economies, notably, the Dualistic and the Dependency paradigms. The Althussarian concept of an articulation of two or more modes of production is discussed in this section. Thereafter, the Southern African development experience

is reviewed, taking into account the Liberal and Radical interpretations, and placing these within the paradigms discussed earlier. The chapter concludes by situating Transkei within the broader Southern African political economy.

Chapter Two discusses the Rural Service Centre concept, and the emphasis which has been placed on it in Transkeian planning. The chapter raises a number of crucial questions regarding this concept and posits that a deeper understanding of the conditions in the rural areas might assist in providing the answers for some of these questions. To this end a household survey was conducted in the Umzimkulu District of Transkei, and the chapter concludes with a description of methodology, and of the areas which were selected for survey.

Chapters Three to Five present the findings of the survey, and represent the empirical core of the thesis. Chapter Three describes the demographic characteristics of the sampled population. Chapter Four deals at length with the income generating ability of the rural households, taking into account subsistence agriculture, local formal and informal employment, welfare payments and remittances. In addition, a wealth index has been created, and the distribution of wealth examined. Chapter Five briefly introduces the Basic Needs Approach to development, and the remainder of the chapter concerns itself with the fulfilment of essential needs in the Umzimkulu District.

Finally, chapter Six draws together the dependency theory discussed in chapter One, the data presented in chapters Three to Five, and the politico-economic structure of Transkei. The chapter argues that although the Service Centre Approach may appear to be a suitable strategy for development in purely spatial terms, in fiscal terms the approach contains a crucial flaw. Such an approach requires a redistribution of resources from the urban wealthy to the rural poor. In view of Transkei's dependent status vis-a-vis South Africa, and in view of the nature of the Transkeian bureaucracy, it is argued that such a transfer seems unlikely.

However, in order to move away from the overall pessimistic tone of the conclusion, it is suggested the Last Word that, ultimately, it appears that the position of the rural poor will only receive attention once this group becomes important to politicians in Umtata and Pretoria. Consequently, local development projects should seek ways in which they will be noticed by the government.

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CHAPTER ONE

Estragon, sitting on a low mound, is trying to take off his boot. He pulls at it with both hands, panting. he gives up, exhausted, rests, tries again. As before. (Beckett)

THE THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS OF DEPENDENCY

Section 1.1

Southern African Poverty

The experience of the previous twenty five years has firmly entrenched the importance of 'development studies'. Since the 'winds of change' have blown across Africa, and, in 1956, the adoption by the British Labour Government of development aid as a logical extension of Marshall Aid, the dichotomy between the rich and poor countries has been emphasized. This has always been and is increasingly prompted by the imperative for a stable world order. During the 1950's, the rivalry which was manifested in the Cold War extended into the Third World. The nationalism which occurred after the Second World War had produced a host of new nations, with independent governments to be wooed by the conflicting major powers. These nations were characterised by both extreme poverty, and political instability, and therefore represented unpredictable factors in the international balance of power. With these influences in mind, as well as the stated humanitarian motivation, at the commencement of the 1960's, the government of the United Kingdom heralded in the first "Development Decade."

Since then, little progress appears to have been made in the alleviation of the plight of the poor. Indeed, if any thing the

position has become worse, as population growth continues to steadily outstrip the growth of available resources, and political structures continue to permit the concentration of existing resources into the hands of a wealthy minority.

Although South Africa as a whole does not appear to fit into the North/South dichotomy, the contrast between the living standards in the Black homelands, and the White urban and rural areas indicates that South Africa should be analysed as a 'developing country'. Nattrass's per capita income figures provide some indication of the situation. (Nattrass, 1983)

The average per capita yearly income of the Republic of South Africa in 1980 was R3 200 as opposed to that in the Transkei, which was R481. Those in the other National States ranged between a high of R870 (Bophuthatswana) to a low of R380 (Lebowa). Moreover, when drawing up an international comparison of living standards based upon income, Nattrass found that white controlled South Africa ranked 9th on an equivalent with countries such as Brazil and Yugoslavia, whereas Transkei and Ciskei ranked 47th along with Egypt, and Lebowa ranked 42nd as did Angola. Finally, in terms of output, all of the National States ranked in the poorest twenty areas, with the exception of Bophuthatswana, below countries such as India, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Uganda and the Central African Republic.

In support of these findings, Knight and Lenta (1980) found that agricultural productivity per capita in the National States has

declined throughout this century. In addition, livestock ownership, both large and small, had also declined. This evidence suggests that not only are the Black areas of South Africa poor, but that the position has deteriorated over time.

From this analysis it is clear that at least a substantial part of South Africa can be included with the underdeveloped countries and indeed, that the Republic has an unique internal dichotomy. This suggests that any analysis of the South African economy should include the dynamics and development of the relationship between the wealthy white areas and the poverty of the National States. To this end, this thesis will examine the economic forces and flows present in remote rural areas in the Umzimkulu District of Transkei, taking into account the structures linking these peripheral economics systems to the broader Southern African economy, and the World economy in general.

In order to accomplish this, the evolution of development theory must be outlined in order to establish a rigorous base, from which data can be analysed. This will examine the movement of thought from the Dualistic school to the Marxist Structuralist school. From this outline, the differing approaches within each school are examined and their relevance to the South African situation are discussed in the last section of this chapter. Reference will be made to Transkei's position within the political economic development of Southern Africa.

Section 1.2

Schools of Development Theory

Before any attempt is made to distinguish different schools of thought concerning development theory, it must immediately be noted that the very concept of 'development' itself, is unclear. 'Development' has meant various things over time, and the theories of change have been structured largely according to the appropriate definition and vice versa. Inter alia, development has been defined as:- the growth rate as measured by the rate of increase in G.N.P.; the rate of increase in G.N.P. per capita; the rate of employment creation; and the improvement in a composite measure of the quality of life, such as the Drenowski index (Drenowski, 1974), or the level of Basic Need satisfaction.

Two dimensions can be distinguished in the debates concerning the study of development. Firstly, there are theories of the nature and dynamics of the 'Less Developed Countries'. Both economic factors, such as Lewis's theory of the Labour surplus economy, as well as sociological factors, such as Talcott Parson's functional imperativism are combined to make up a paradigm which may be termed the dualistic tradition. This view of change has been challenged by writers in the radical tradition such as Frank, Wallerstein and Amin who argue that historical factors and interregional relationships determine the 'growth path' of the peripheral economies. This refers to the structures and limitations which have been imposed through forces of 'under development' emanating from the advanced capitalist economies.

Determined by the perceptions and concepts distinguished by these paradigms, are strategies of change and 'development' which identify

the various strategies which can be adopted by a 'Third World' economy. Again, these include both economic and sociological dimensions. Examples of the former are inter alia those strategies aimed at increasing the rate of industrialisation, import substitution, employment creation and agricultural productivity. The sociological strategies include modernisation, community development and local participation.

This chapter will examine, in turn, the two major theoretical traditions from which the question of economic development/underdevelopment can be approached.

It must be noted that a full discussion of the debates within each of these schools of thought would detract from the main thrust of this thesis, that of distinguishing the forces present in a remote, largely subsistence economy. As a result the conflicting approaches are summarized and the internal debates merely noted. This will however, permit the development of a number of hypotheses for investigation, as well as setting a background for the analysis of the data collected.

Section 1.3

The Dualistic Tradition

Central to the the Dualistic Tradition, is the concept of the Labour Surplus economy. The most renowned exponent of this theory is the economist, W.A. Lewis. This theory proposes a two sector economy comprising a high growth capitalist sector, the "progressive sector", and a larger stagnant subsistence sector, "the traditional sector". Lewis (1954) believed that the major characteristic of the "Less

Developed Countries" was an unlimited supply of labour and, accordingly, argued that wages are institutionally determined.¹

The uneven concentration of capital in the L.D.C.s led to, in Lewis's terminology, "islands of capital" surrounded by "economic darkness".(ibid) This, coupled with a large population relative to the availability of capital and natural resources, leads to the development of a labour surplus, particularly in the "traditional sector". Labour surplus in the sense that the marginal product of labour in the "traditional sector" is less than the wage and in some cases is so low that it approaches zero, As a result, the opportunity cost² of removing labour from this sector is negligible. Therefore, as the capitalist sector expands, it is able to draw labour from the subsistence sector at a real cost determined by what labour earns in that sector.

This means that the peasant farmers in the "traditional sector" will not leave the family farm unless the real wage offered in the "progressive sector" is at least equal to the average product on the land. Lewis felt that the real wage would have to be somewhat higher than subsistence earnings in order to compensate labour for the cost of transferring, as well as to induce it to give up the 'traditional life style.'³

-
- 1) This is an assumption derived from the Classical tradition of economics.
 - 2) i.e. the output that is foregone in the "traditional sector" as a result of the removal of labour.
 - 3) Lewis observed that there is usually a gap of 30 per cent or more between capitalist wages and subsistence earnings.

This analysis led Lewis to conclude that the key to economic expansion is the use of the capitalist surplus. Reinvestment of all or part of this surplus and the resultant expansion of the "progressive sector" permits the more rapid withdrawal of labour from the "traditional sector" until the surplus labour is absorbed.⁴ Thereafter, the marginal productivity of labour in the "traditional sector" will increase, producing an increase in real wages in the modern sector, and a redistribution of National Income in favour of labour. It is clear then that stress must be placed upon the ability of the capitalist sector to create surplus, and to reinvest this surplus.

Writers in the Neo-Classical tradition, such as Jorgenson, (1961), and Solow, (1962) have criticized the Lewis model on the grounds that this approach assumes the existence of surplus or redundant labour. They argue, instead, that the marginal product of labour is in fact positive, and that the real wage rate is variable rather than institutionally fixed. Despite these differences, both approaches concur on the importance of industrial development.

We conclude that the industrial sector plays a strategic role in the development of a dual economy with or without disguised unemployment. Industrial output and industrial labour force ultimately come to dominate a developed economy as consequence of the shift in a consumer demand from agricultural to industrial products and as a result of the rising proportion of investment demand in total output as income per capita increases. ((Jorgenson, op cit, p.311)

and

The role of the industrial sector in economic development is critical for the elimination of disguised unemployment. (ibid, p.310)

4) This implies that the rate of growth of employment in the "progressive sector" has outstripped the rate of growth of surplus labour in the "traditional sector", which becomes negative and eventually disappears. This is known as the 'Lewis turning point'.

Meier,(1970), echoing these sentiments, notes that "industrialisation offers substantial dynamic benefits that are important for changing the traditional structure of the less developed economy..." (ibid, p.391)

The role of industrialisation was emphasized in the work of Rostow, (1960). Adopting a 'stage approach' to development, Rostow evolved a "non-communist manifesto" which consists of five stages.⁵ The first three of these are the most crucial for the L.D.C.s. The first stage, the traditional society, is seen to rest in a static equilibrium with fixed techniques, diminishing returns and a population that is stabilized along Malthusian lines. From this position, it is assumed, although not specified, that some mechanism will disturb the system, for example; conquest, the rise of a Weberian protestant ethic, or the development of a Marxist class structure and shift it into the stage of preconditions. In this stage the traditional rigidity is broken up to allow for occupational, geographic and social mobility. Technological and commercial improvements permit the adoption of new production functions. However, in contrast to the forthcoming stage (take-off), the pace is slow.

In take-off, the resistance and blocks of the traditional stage are broken through "... particularly in one or more sectors where technical change is strongly felt." (Kindelberger, 1965, p55)

Rostow's "manifesto" attached much importance to capital formation.

5) These are: traditional society; preconditions; take-off; the drive to maturity; high mass consumption. (Rostow, 1960)

If take off were to succeed, then, Rostow argued, the under-developed countries;

... must seek ways to tap off into the modern sector income above consumption levels hitherto sterilized by the arrangements controlling traditional agriculture. They must seek to shift men of enterprise from trade and money-lending to industry. And to these ends patterns of fiscal, monetary, and other policies must be applied, similar to those developed and applied in the past. (ibid, p139)

While criticized strongly by writers as dissimilar as Kuznets (1973) and Solow (ibid), Rostow's stages were favourably received by the planners and governments of underdeveloped countries. This linear but optimistic approach to development suggested that the growth path of the already developed economies need only be emulated and 'take-off' would automatically occur.

The arguments above attempted to demonstrate the economic justification of a dual economy consisting of progressive and backward sectors. Moreover, the stage theory provided an analytical framework for the emulation of the policies adopted by the developed economies. Both of these approaches led to the conclusion that a growth path orientated towards rapid industrialization was the most appropriate strategy for a developing nation.⁶ This also provided a convenient measure of development, namely, the rate of growth of the Gross National Product. Before providing a critique of this paradigm, it is necessary to provide a brief outline of the complementary sociological

6) Although Jorgenson noted that the agricultural sector should not be neglected, and argued that technological progress in this sector should be sufficiently rapid to outpace the growth of population, and the force of diminishing returns. Emphasis is therefore placed upon rapid technological advance in agriculture.

theory in the Dualistic Tradition. Much of this is based upon the concept of diffusion or modernisation.

Furnivall, (1948) examining colonial policy and practice in 1948, provided the roots of the concept of a "plural society". Noting the existence of a "western superstructure over native life", he extended this reasoning into all other spheres.

Each group holds by its own religion, its own culture and language, its own ideas and ways. As individuals they meet, but only in the market place, in buying and selling. There is a plural society, with different sections of the community living side by side, but separately, within the same political unit. Even in the economic sphere there is a division of labour along racial lines. (ibid, pp. 304-5)

In sociological theory, the foundations of the concept of stages of growth lie in the social evolution theories of Spencer, (1876, 1900) and Tylor.(1878) With the increase in concern over the conditions in the Underdeveloped world, this approach enjoyed a resurgence in recent years, particularly under the influence of writers such as Parsons (1951), Eisenstadt (1961) and Bellah (1963). Of these, the Parsonian approach has been most influential in the formulation of a 'sociology of development'.

In essence, Parson's concept of structural functionalism is based on the argument that a theory of change implies that a social system must necessarily be in a state of equilibrium.⁷ Change results from the emergence of strains within or between sub-systems, or by new factors

7) That is to say, that a social system is in a state where its sub-systems are adequately integrated and the functional imperatives are being adequately met.

introduced into the system from other social systems. Thus, these strains may be endogenous or exogenous in origin. Examples of such strains are inter alia; the disturbing impact of technological innovations as discussed in Smelser's (1959) analysis of the Industrial Revolution; and the impact of Western ideologies on the cultural system of "traditional societies", as contained in Bellah's analysis of Asia. (Bellah, op cit) This leads to the dislocation of the sub-systems, as well as change in the functional imperatives of the system, that is, the processes of goal-attainment, integration, adaption and latency. Overall, these forces operate to prevent the system from attaining its goals. Consequently, the system must move from its initial equilibrium point, to a new equilibrium, in which the changes brought about by the disturbance are successfully incorporated into the system. Thus the fundamental idea in the functionalist concept of change, requires that a social system creates new roles through which a disturbance can be incorporated, as well as new norms to legitimate these roles. Thus the process of induced transitions from one equilibrium to another requires that a society becomes increasingly differentiated. (Taylor, 1979, pp.25-27)

As has been noted above, this theory of change implies a period of transition between equilibrium levels. This is likely to involve disjunctions between the new roles required and existing patterns of behaviour, conflicts between the values appropriate to the new and old equilibrium levels, and finally the creation of new, more specialised roles. There is therefore, a need for forces to fully integrate the new roles and values, and to handle any conflicts which occur during the transition period. Thus, the process of structural

differentiation requires the creation of reintegrationary mechanisms. This entails either the transformation of existing institutions or the creation of new institutions. Taylor neatly sums up the arguments outlined above.

We have, therefore, a basic schema: disturbances in an equilibrated system, generated by a combination of endogenous and exogenous factors, necessarily produce increasing structural differentiation, which, by definition, requires re-integrative mechanisms in order that a new level of equilibrium be attained. (ibid, p.27)

The implication of this is clear; as a social system evolves through a series of disturbances, it becomes increasingly differentiated. This reasoning permits the Functionalist theory of change to establish, through ex-post-facto generalisations, an evolutionary correlation between industrialisation and differentiation. Thus when examining the future directions of change in Third World societies, this theory must refer to the end-state attained by the contemporary most differentiated social systems, and posit this as the necessary growth path for the social and economic development of all social systems. Any social system which does not fit into this pattern must be regarded as a deviation which must be overcome in order that the system can return to its pre-determined path of ever increasing differentiation.

Founded upon this concept of change from one equilibrium state to another, Hoselitz (1961) attempted to provide an answer to the question; "from what state to what state does this change proceed?" by introducing a tradition/modernity dichotomy. Utilising the Parsonian concept of 'pattern variables',⁸ Hoselitz constructed two ideal

types of society, the 'traditional' and the 'modern'. In order to achieve modernisation, a transition from the dominance of traditional pattern variables to modern pattern variables had to be ensured. This was, of course, to be achieved through a process of increasing differentiation. The means by which this could occur, include inter alia, urbanisation, education, progressive political and economic elites, and nationalism.

In conclusion, the Dualistic paradigm can be said to be comprised of; classical and neo-classical variations of the Labour-surplus theory; stages of growth; and the structural functionalist theory. In the First Development Decade, these theories appeared to suggest that "development" could best be accomplished through the adoption of strategies which encouraged rapid industrialisation as had occurred in the developed economies. As a result, different theories of economic growth were employed to guide policy formation. As an example within the Keynesian school, Hansen (1939) advocated a mixed public-private economy for the stable growth of the American economy, together with what he termed the "democratic welfare state." The principal weapon of such an economy would be fiscal-monetary policies which could be used to speed up capital accumulation and technological progress as well as to stabilize effective demand. In addition, the welfare state could provide "built-in stabilizers" such as farm-support programmes, public housing and mass education, as well as social capital such as schools, hospitals, public-welfare departments

8) i.e. the mutually exclusive and universally applicable set of choices open to social actors when they attempt to achieve goals. (Taylor, op cit, pp. 10 - 13)

and other publicly controlled amenities. Within the context of the Third World, the role of the state might also include the use of direct controls such as price and import control and government ownership and operation of some industries and enterprises, such as energy supply and banking. This approach is adopted by Kurihara who stresses the role of the state in maximizing productive capacity in developing economies. (Kurihara, 1959, p.189)

Other models which influenced policy formation in this period included the Harrod-Domar model of growth which argued that an increase in savings would lead to an increase in income; and the Kaldor model which emphasized the relationship between technical progress and investment. (Domar, 1946; Harrod, 1948; Kaldor, 1957) Both these approaches stress the importance of savings and investment in the achievement of growth. In Keynesian theory the marginal propensity to save of capitalists is assumed to be higher than that of labour. Clearly then, to maximize "development/growth", government policy should favour the former, and indeed, should not support policies leading to a more equitable income distribution.

It is, therefore, not surprising that the strategies put forward for the development of the Third World economies tended to place most importance upon high growth industrialisation, with tax shelters for embryonic industries and other inducements for direct foreign investment, including cheap labour policies.

Concepts of comparative advantage supported both the export of

unprocessed raw materials and emphasis being placed upon the development of the primary sector - particularly mining and cash crop cultivation. More recent strategies have stressed the welfare role of the state to a greater extent, with the development of the Basic Needs Approach as envisaged by the ILO and others. (International Labour Office, 1976, 1977; Streeten & Burki, 1978; Streeten, Ul Haq, et al, 1981)

However, before the end of the First Development Decade, disillusionment had given birth to a sharp critique of these strategies proposed within the dualistic tradition and, in fact, the U.N.s Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) had attacked 'Orthodox' international trade theory as early as 1949. The theorists of this Commission went on to establish the basic tenents of the Dependency or Underdevelopment paradigm.

Section 1.4

The Dependency Paradigm.

It can be argued that the Dependency Paradigm has its roots in the various theories of imperialism, such as those of Luxemburg, Lenin and ultimately Hobson. This can be justified, in that although these theories focused upon capitalism in the advanced countries, mention was made of the impact of monopoly capital on the colonies, in terms of relationships of dependency and exploitation. However, a comprehensive theory of the internal structure of the peripheral countries only emerged after World War II.

After the war, nationalist sentiment in the periphery was accompanied by an outcry against imperialism. This included demands that natural

resources be preserved, and insistence that the domestic economy be transformed through state-guided national capitalism. In many cases, populist rhetoric acted as a vehicle for these demands. However, the theory behind these ideas was most clearly manifested through the writings of the United Nations' Economic Commission for Latin America and its chief economist, Prebisch (1961, 1962). This group had found that the orthodox economic theory which prevailed in the United States and Europe, was not merely inadequate but inimical towards understanding the post-war problems of Latin America. In order to explain this, Prebisch divided the world into two parts; a centre of industrialized countries and a periphery of underdeveloped countries. He went on to demonstrate that there had been a deterioration in the terms of trade for the periphery which had slowed development due to a decline in exchange earnings. He argued that this problem could be overcome through "independent" industrialization which could be promoted through the building of an infrastructure along with tariff protection against selected imports. However, although Prebisch recognised the deforming character of outside capital, he failed to acknowledge the limitations of domestic capitalism. This was left to Furtado (1965).

Furtado and Sunkel extended the concept of centre-periphery as originally conceived by the ECLA. Furtado provides an outline of the birth of the dependency paradigm;

The structural approach to the problems of development, ... initially appeared in connection with theoretical studies trying to identify the primary causes of the inflationary disequilibrium ... distinguishing them from the mechanisms of propagation of these disequilibria. (Furtado, 1965, p.175 (quoted in) Ehrensaft, 1977, p.59)

Furtado went on to argue that the Third World economies (particularly those in Latin America) should be seen as not only peripheral, but as dependent upon the developed capitalist economies. Moreover, he argued, the penetration by a "capitalistic 'wedge'" into pre-capitalist economies, has brought about disequilibrium in those economies, as evidenced by the many balance of payments crises in Latin America. (Furtado (in) Bernstein (ed), 1978, pp. 33-43)

Another thread was picked up by Dos Santos (1970), who adopted the notion of new dependency to explain the rise of the multinational corporations in the period following World War II. Frank is, however, possibly the best known of the early dependency theorists.

The first major departure made by Frank from the dualistic paradigm, was his rejection of the very notion of a dual society. In contrast to Furnivall, Frank argued that the expansion of the capitalist system had effectively penetrated even the most isolated sectors of the underdeveloped world, and indeed, all of these sectors were integrated into a world capitalist system. Secondly, Frank, noting the structure of capitalist involvement in the Third World - monopoly capital - argued that this structure has integrated Third World economies into the world system in an exploitative fashion. As a result, a significant part of the surplus that is produced in the Third World is appropriated by another part of the world capitalist system.⁹

9) Baran emphasizing the role of economic surplus in the generation of economic surplus, argues that two types of surplus can be distinguished; "actual" economic surplus which is that part of economic production that is saved and invested; "potential" surplus which is not available to the economy because its monopoly structure prevents its production, or where it is produced, it is appropriated either domestically, or by the international capitalist system. Thus Baran concludes that the principal obstacle to rapid economic (contd)

This led to the formulation of the concept of an interlocking exploitative relationship.

... this exploitative relationship ... in a chain-like fashion extends the capitalist link between the capitalist world and national metropolises to the regional centres (part of whose surplus they appropriate), and from these to local centres, and so on to large landowners or merchants who expropriate surplus from small peasants or tenants, and sometimes, even from these latter to landless labourers exploited by them in turn. (Frank, 1967, pp.7-8)

A relationship of this nature has been more graphically expressed by Jonathan Swift:

So, naturalists observe, a flea
Hath smaller fleas that on him prey;
And these have smaller fleas to bite 'em
And so proceed ad infinitum

The result of such a 'chain' was in Frank's words, "economic development for the few and underdevelopment for the many." (ibid, p.8)

The third departure made by Frank from the orthodoxy of the Dualistic tradition referred to a metropolis - satellite polarization. Unlike the concept of stages of growth, Frank felt that the expansion of capitalism had generated - and still generates - both development and structural underdevelopment. Thus, the existence of 'backward' sector alongside a 'modern' sector is not evidence of sequentially related stages of growth, but represents, instead, a related economic system characterised by capitalist exploitation. Thus, "Economic

9). contd) growth is the way in which the potential surplus is Frank argues that the capitalist structure of the backward countries has, therefore, prevented economic development, and in fact encouraged under-development.

Development and underdevelopment are the opposite faces of the same coin." (ibid, p.9)

Although the Frankian thesis grounded upon the work of Baran and Sweezy, laid the basis for the dependency analysis of Third World economic systems, his approach has been sharply criticized by a number of writers. Criticism has come from within the Marxist tradition, as well as from analysts seeking to operationalise Frankian concepts. Although the concept of "dependency" is useful in a macro-framework, it does not easily shift from general statements to micro-fieldwork. As Forster-Carter has noted:

Concepts like Frank's 'metropolis' and 'satellite' were in their own way scarcely less elusive or easier to pin down on the ground than Rostow's 'stages of growth'. An operationalising problem, then, was early detected; and social scientists attracted by the 'dependency' perspective often found that in practice they could use it as little more than a charter. (Forster-Carter (in) Clammer, 1978, p.212)

A second major criticism which may be levelled at Frank is derived from his over-simplified pre-condition for indigenous economic and social development:

Therefore, short of liberation from this capitalist system as a whole, the capitalist satellite countries, regions, localities and sectors are condemned to underdevelopment. (Frank, op cit, p. 11)

This assertion implies that the removal of capitalist penetration would, in some unspecified way, create development. More recently Frank has stated that the Third World can only experience the 'development of underdevelopment', a process which he has referred to as 'lumpen-development'. (Frank, 1972) The partial industrialisation

of Latin America which occurred during periods of weaker linkage with the capitalist centres, is given as evidence for this argument. In order to indicate the weaknesses inherent in this argument, Booth (in Oxall, 1975, pp.74-77) has cited the work of Cardoso and Warren. These writers feel that changes in the structure of foreign investment in the Third World have had the consequence of permitting some form of positive industrial growth. Cardoso argues that it makes more sense to refer to a process of dependent development. Moreover, Warren's statistics suggest that the growth process in Third World economies has, in a number of ways, gone well beyond what is normally expected in underdeveloped economies. While Booth goes on to attempt to defend Frank's approach, and Ahmad (in Chilcote & Johnson, 1983, pp. 33-73) has accused Warren for ignoring the negative impact of capitalism, the many problems which are thrown up, undermine the credibility of 'pure' Frankian thesis.

The major body of criticism of the Frankian concept of dependency has come from writers who adopt a more clearly defined Marxist perspective. Of these, Laclau (1971) is possibly the most known, and for the purposes of this paper, his critique need only be briefly summarized.

In essence, Laclau argued that Frank did not define Capitalism and Feudalism in a Marxist fashion. This led him to place emphasis upon exchange and commercial relationships rather than upon the process of production. Moreover, he argued that Frank confused participation in a world capitalist system with the concept of a "capitalist mode of

production".¹⁰ As a result of this, Frank's thesis is unable to explain a number of crucial phenomena in Third World economic systems. These include; the political alliances between the sometimes mutual and sometimes opposed interests of capital and landed elites and the survival of pre-capitalist social and economic structures which ensure the continued supply of cheap labour to capital.

Unlike Frank who argued the existence of one world system in which an 'ubiquitous and homogeneous' capitalism dominates, Laclau posited a structured and differentiated economic system, referred to as an "indissoluble unity". This may not, therefore, be regarded as a dualistic model. He argues that the market relations of such a system are indeed capitalistic but that the relations of production are more important, and contain substantial elements of pre-capitalist relations. However, these elements are neither exogenous to capitalism, nor in decline, but are an intrinsic and structured part of a wider system. Forster-Carter has presented a neat summary of this view.

We thus have the paradox of capitalism's relation to other modes of production being conceived not (or not simply) as a succession or evolution; ... nor yet as some kind of dialectical transcendence and dissolution ...; nor even a transition... .On the contrary, this capitalism neither evolves mechanically from what precedes it, nor does it necessarily dissolve it; indeed, so far from banishing pre-capitalist forms, it not only coexists with them, but buttresses them, and even on occasions devilishly conjures it up ex nihilo. (Forster-Carter, op cit, p. 213)

On the grounds of these criticisms, it may be concluded that the

10) That is to say, participation in a world economy is not sufficient ground upon which to define an economy as capitalist.

dependency approach as originally proposed by Frank, cannot adequately expose the dynamics of underdeveloped economic systems and, more seriously, is unable to propose solutions to the problem. As Colin Leys (1977) has observed; "what is needed is ... a theory of underdevelopment and its liquidation" and not simply a theory of underdevelopment.

Recent writers in the Marxist tradition, such as Hindess and Hirst,(1975) and Taylor (1979), have argued that the short-comings of the early dependency theorists are the result of poor (Marxist) theoretical rigour. It is argued that they are, consequently, unable to adequately analyse the the functioning of capitalism when juxtaposed with the remnants of pre-(non?)capitalist relations of production. A stricter historical materialist approach has been suggested by these writers as being more suited to the analysis of Third World economies.

This approach has been claimed by its exponents, to "more rigorously theorise in ... "properly Marxist terms", the phenomena loosely described as 'underdevelopment'". (Forster-Carter, op cit, p.212) These writers utilise the methodology and language of Althusser, which has lead to a focusing on the concept of 'modes of production', and the articulation between modes.

Before a fuller discussion of the process of the articulation of a number of modes of production is possible, the Althusserian framework of analysis should be briefly summarized.

- 1) A social formation consists of the inter-relationships of

different practices; economic, ideological and political with the economic being ultimately determinate.

2) A practice refers to a process of production or transformation; for example, the economic practice is the transformation of nature by human labour into social products; the political practice, the transformation of social relations by revolution, and so on.

3) The economic practice in general, consists of labour, the means of production and the object of labour. These are combined by physical and social relations of production, and the manner in which they combine distinguishes different modes of production from each other.

4) The physical relations of production combine the elements above into a labour process in order to generate use-values from the natural environment.

5) Where labour produces more than is required for its own reproduction, a surplus product is generated from this surplus labour.

6) The social relations of production consisting of differential ownership of the means of production, and differential appropriation of the surplus product specify a mode of production, and structures labour processes accordingly.

7) This implies that the social relations of production ultimately determine which of the practices or combination of practices occupies the determinant place within a social formation.

8) The non-productive worker emerges as the contender for the ownership of the means of production and the surplus product.

9) Exchange value represents the combination of surplus value and use value, and is the means by which the surplus product is

realised.¹¹

From this, the importance of production relations in a mode of production can, clearly, be seen. This ties up with Laclau's criticism of Frank; viz, that, although Frank could be right that a peripheral economy is capitalist at the level of market relations, elements of other social relations could exist at the level of production. This permits the proposition that peripheral economies could be comprised of more than one mode of production, and indeed, that the capitalist mode be dominant, and the pre-capitalist modes be subordinated to it. The process that links this dominance/subordination relationship has been termed, by subsequent writers, articulation.

The term 'articulation' is thought to have entered Marxist analysis by way of Althusser and Balibar. However Forster-Carter has noted that these writers used the term to "indicate relations of linkage and effectivity between different levels of all sorts of things." (Forster-Carter, 1978 (b), p.54) and that they did not refer to an articulation of modes of production. (Forster-Carter, 1978 (a), pp.215-217)) Thus he concludes that the French economic anthropologist, P.P. Rey, was a major theorist of the concept.

In order to establish the manner in which two or more modes co-exist in one social formation, and thereby to discuss the further development of the Marxist theory of underdevelopment, a re-examination of the roots of this theory is necessary. As has already

11) For a fuller discussion, see: Taylor, (1979) pp. 106 - 123 and Althusser & Balibar, (1968), pp.210 - 224, and pp.309 - 324.

been mentioned, the analysis of imperialism lies at the base of the theory of underdevelopment. For this reason the Marxist explanation of the rationale and dynamics of capitalist penetration should be examined.

The necessity for capitalist penetration into non-capitalist modes is argued to be a consequence of the very nature of capitalism itself. Marx demonstrated the requirement of capitalism for enlarged reproduction. This requires a perpetual increase in the productivity of labour, and would result in an increasingly higher organic composition of capital. That is to say, a relatively greater increase of constant to variable capital. Given the Marxist law of value, that labour power alone can produce a surplus, such an increase in constant capital must result in a falling rate of profit. However, this is not inevitable as countervailing forces are able to balance this tendency. These include; increasing the rate of utilisation of the same constant capital; depressing wages below the value of labour power; utilising new or redundant labour power to open up new sectors of production; and the introduction of measures which cheapen existing constant capital.

Based upon these dynamics, imperialism, which is, according to Lenin, the export of capital, represents a strategy to overcome the falling rate of profit. By capturing and dominating a pre-capitalist mode of production, and utilising the labour power within this social formation, capitalism gains access to labour power which can be paid a lower wage due to lower costs of reproduction. This would then permit

an increase in the variable capital that is employed in production and, deductively, an increase in the rate of profit.

However, within the pre-capitalist social formation, the basic requirements for capitalist production did not exist; most notably, the separation of the worker from the means of production.¹² These, therefore, had to be forcibly created, resulting in a process of articulation between the incoming capitalist mode and the existing pre-capitalist mode. Thus, as Taylor has noted;

...penetration under the dominance of imperialism (the dominance of capital export) has as its overall economic effect, the separation of direct producers from the means of production, and the foundation of an economic basis for a transition towards dominance by a capitalist mode of production. (Taylor, op cit, p. 138)

The penetration of capitalism is thus characterised by a deliberate interaction with pre-capitalist modes, with the capitalist mode seeking to establish dominance, but being limited in its development by the very nature of the pre-capitalist mode. This two way interaction may be termed articulation and is said to be characteristic of transitional social formations.

In an attempt to periodise the concept of articulation and in this way, show it to be a process rather than a static state, Rey distinguished three stages of articulation: (1) an initial link in the sphere of exchange, where the interaction with capitalism reinforces the the pre-capitalist mode; (2) there after, capitalism 'takes root', subordinating the pre-capitalist mode but still making use of it; (3)

12) The requirement of 'free labour'.

the total disappearance of the pre-capitalist mode, even in the agricultural sector. (Rey, quoted in Foster-Carter, op cit, p.218)

Clammer has also attempted a periodization of articulation and suggests that the relationship between the capitalist and pre-capitalist economies would change between; a) the initial settler colonization, during which the indigenous societies and economies are destroyed; b) a period of surplus expropriation, during which the material wealth is removed; and finally; c) labour expropriation, where the labour of the native population is essential to the development of the capitalist sector, and has to be preserved. (Clammer, (in) Oxaal op cit, pp.208-228)

The concept of 'mode of production' has been subject to considerable debate, both within and without radical analysis. In addition, a number of the notions surrounding the concept have been detected to be ambiguous. For example, Bradby has noted that 'pre-capitalist' could be taken to mean a) historically preceding capitalism; or b) technically inferior to capitalism. (Bradby, 1975, p.127) Forster-Carter has added to these; c) logically prior to capitalism, (Forster-Carter, op cit, p.231) In addition, a number of writers have criticized the concept on the question of 'units of analysis'.¹³ That is to say, they argue that a change in the social relations of production, specifically those relations which distinguish a particular manner of surplus value extraction, will lead to a change in the mode of production. This introduces another concept, the

13) For example, Banaji, (1977) Alavi, (1975)

"relations of exploitation", and leads scholars such as Alavi and Banaji to posit a 'colonial mode of production'. (ibid) This argument enables the articulations approach to be circum-navigated by allowing only the existence of forms of pre-capitalist production and relations of production. The notion that entire modes of production could exist, and articulate with one another, is rejected once the dominated mode has reached a point of articulation where it is unable to reproduce itself. That is, the point at which its reproduction is wholly affected by the laws of motion of the dominant mode. Such a position appears to be held by Spiegel (1980).

From this discussion, it appears that the Marxist school has little to say on strategies to overcome the problems of poverty other than the elimination of the capitalist system itself. Frankian style theory concluded by arguing that as long as a peripheral country was linked in an exploitative fashion to the metropolis, 'real' development could not take place. Therefore, strategies of 'real' development would have to emphasize shelter from the world capitalist system - an awesome task indeed. Marxist structuralist theory, as represented by the articulations approach has not yet developed any strategies to overcome poverty besides calls for the development of class consciousness,¹⁴ and indeed, Tom Wolfe may be right when he writes,

...Structuralists were people dedicated to stripping the whole bourgeois mess down to clean bare bones. Structuralists were beneficial to the people by the very nature of their work...They were convinced that the way to be nonbourgeois, in the new age, was to be scrupulously pure, ... and to be baffling. Baffling was their contribution. (Wolfe, 1980)

14) For example, Forster Carter, op cit.

Section 1.5

The political economic development of Southern Africa: An overview

The two schools of development/underdevelopment theory which have been discussed above, can be seen to have influenced scholars analysing the economic development of South Africa. Broadly, these writers also fall into two camps comprising the liberal and radical schools. Writers such as Houghton (1938), de Kiewet (1941) and Van der Horst (1942) may be said to fall into the former, whilst Arrighi (1970), Bundy (1979) and Legassick (1977) are representative of the radical school. The controversial issue in the Liberal/Radical debate can be simplistically reduced to a dispute over the rationality of the apartheid system, and the institutions which reinforce it, with respect to the process of capitalist accumulation. The Liberal argument, or Reformist view, is that apartheid is irrational and counter-productive, whilst the Radical or Revisionist argument considers apartheid to be a rational method of concealing class struggle, and conducive to the expansion of capitalism.

The liberal view of the growth of South Africa has at its economic root, the premise that for the greatest possible growth, the labour market must be allowed to operate freely. Thus the ranking and rewarding of labour "would be subject to the logic of impersonal labour markets, of competition between workers on the basis of industrial aptitude and not colour." (Yudelman, 1975, p.82)

This has obviously not been the case in the South African economy, which has a history of repressive laws which restrict the free

geographic and occupational mobility of black labour. Scholars in the liberal tradition feel that, as a result, the system of apartheid places enormous efficiency costs on the economy. This is realised in the following ways: The quality of labour is restrained, in that the migrant labour system is claimed to reduce the potential occupational life of the migrant.¹⁵ This means that a wastage of manpower occurs. More importantly, there is a qualitative cost, in that employers are not inclined to invest in the training of a potentially transient labourer. Consequently the skill potential of the migrant labour force is limited. In addition to these less direct costs, direct costs such as the cost of the maintenance of an elaborate bureaucracy to service the system and a defence force to enforce the system, are also incurred.

The liberal argument allows that the state's labour policies have secured lower wages than would have occurred under a "freer" system, but argues that this tends to reduce aggregate demand, and produces under-consumptionist tendencies in the economy. The argument predicts that, ultimately, economic forces will overcome the political system of apartheid, as growth necessitates an increase in the number of fixed and skilled labourers.¹⁶

The link between this school and the Dualism paradigm is, perhaps

15) However, Nattrass (1976) has shown that the migrant worker spends much of his in a continuous or near-continuous employment.

16) Meth (1980) has suggested that apartheid, and the colour bar has actually been used as a tool by capital, to deskill labour, and, thereby, to reduce the value of labour.

most evident in the work of Hobart Houghton who refers to the migrant labour system as an "evil canker at the heart of our whole society, wasteful of labour, destructive ambition, a wrecker of homes and a symptom of our fundamental failure to create a **coherent** and progressive society." ¹⁷ Hobart Houghton, in another study, then argues that "the failure to adapt their (African) economy (to the 'modern' economy) is the root cause of their distress." (Houghton & Walton, 1952, pp.2-3) Finally, reviewing a third work by Hobart Houghton, Morris notes that the

(the) ... whole transition period, (from surplus extraction through rent to capitalist exploitation through the sale of labour power in the late nineteenth century) of forcibly tearing Africans from their means of subsistence on the land, is brushed aside by the statement that the problems of establishing mining were 'overcome in spite of transport difficulties, water shortages, labour conditions and a sometimes obstructive government ... as a result ... of innovation, imported capital and skills ... and above all it was the willingness of African tribesman to become migrant labourers at low wages which enabled the ores to be mined at a profit. (Morris, 1976, pp. 283-284, reviewing Houghton & Dugart, 1972, p.225)

The similarities between this kind of analysis and that of dualism are clear. Firstly, the economy is conceived as consisting of a modern and a traditional sector, which are relatively independent. ("Two worlds" to use Hobart Houghton's language) These are characterized by high productivity, market-orientation and profit maximization, and low productivity, stagnation, and inefficient resource allocation respectively. Capitalist industrialisation will enable labour to move from the latter to the former, and, in this way, will permit the development of both sectors. However, irrational political action,

17) Houghton, (1973) pp. 99 - 100 (my emphasis)

which blocks the movement of labour, has introduced economic inefficiency, and consequently, has slowed the pace of development.

The radical school employs an essentially Marxist or political-economic methodology, and argues that South African economic development and racial discrimination are complementary and mutually reinforcing processes. Thus, South Africa is viewed as a labour repressive society, and apartheid as being a rational way to ensure capitalist accumulation in a peripheral economy. In addition, it is seen to be a means to disguise the nature of class struggle in South Africa by rephrasing it in racial terms. Johnstone (1970) has expressed this view as follows:

The enormous power of the whites in South Africa is based on this systematic exploitation of African labour. The strong persistence over time of this discriminatory labour structure testifies to the collaboration of the different white interest groups in perpetuating it. Capitalist business, far from being incompatible with the system, secures high profits through very cheap, unorganized and rightless labour; white nationalists and white workers obtain prosperity and the material strengthening of the white supremacy. (ibid, p.136)

The migrant labour system is viewed as the ideal solution to the requirement of a supply of cheap labour. This can be seen as ideal from the view point of capital, as black labour can be offered a wage that is lower than its average productivity which is justified by capital by claiming that this labour has a secondary source of income in the homelands. In this manner, capital is able to avoid meeting the full subsistence needs of the migrant and his family, as the latter are not normally permitted into an urban area. On these grounds the wage that is paid, need only be sufficient to keep a single man.

In addition to the advantage of devaluing labour, the transient nature of the migrant who oscillates between the urban and homeland areas, assists in limiting the ability of black labour to organise effectively against white dominated capital, in order to improve their bargaining power, and thus their position in the class struggle. Consequently, apartheid is not regarded by the radicals in the same light as the Afrikaaner scholars, that is, representative of the struggle of the Afrikaaner to preserve cultural and historical identity, but as a system designed to maintain industry in the hands of white capitalists, in particular, since the PACT government, in the hands of national capital, and to permit continued production in conditions of industrial peace. In this way, smooth capital accumulation is ensured.

The close correspondence between this explanation of South African economic development and the dependency paradigm can be seen. The development of the capitalist core is argued to have been achieved at the cost of impoverishing the black homelands. In addition the benefits of this development have accrued almost solely to white capitalists, and to a white labour aristocracy. This explanation is obtained by firstly removing the assumption that the growth of the "market economy/ modern sector" has occurred independently of the decline of the "subsistence economy/ traditional sector"; ie. introducing the Frankian concept of underdevelopment. Secondly, the tacit assumption of the neo-classical approach, that the state, and hence political power, operates in an essentially neutral fashion is rejected in favour of the Althusserian notion that political and economic actions are structurally related. Thirdly, attention is

switched away from the concept of welfare fulfilment, and is instead focused upon production. In terms of this, it is clear that substantial underdevelopment has taken place in the Black 'reserves' since the initial contact between the settler and African economies. Knight and Lenta examining the physical output of cereal production and livestock population conclude that "farm production per household fell steadily in the reserves over the 5 decades. (1918 -23 to 1971-74) (Knight & Lenta, op cit, p.244) Finally, a number of writers in the radical tradition, have approached the question of South African development/underdevelopment, utilising the notion of the articulation of a pre-capitalist and capitalist mode of production.¹⁸ Thus Wolpe writes:

Indeed, it is in part the very attempt to conserve and control the non-capitalist societies in the face of the tendency of capitalist development to disintegrate them, and thereby undermine the basis of exploitation, that accounts for political policies, national and racial characteristics. (Wolpe, 1972, p.244)

This discussion is intended solely to present the opposing schools of thought interpreting South African economic change, and to link these to the development/underdevelopment paradigms that have been discussed above. Knight and Lenta have attempted to examine the comparative worth of these views on a purely empirical basis and conclude:

It is fairly easy to find evidence which is consistent with either interpretation: it is more difficult to choose between interpretations by finding instances in which they make different predictions. The white interest and the capitalist interest are closely intertwined in South Africa, and not only because the two groups overlap. Many policies and events can be shown to have been in the interests of both groups. ... (However) blame for the stagnation of reserve

18) vide. Wolpe (1972), Morris (1976)

agriculture in the twentieth century cannot be placed on the cultural factors that some orthodox scholars have emphasized. ... the misfortunes of the reserves cannot be understood except in a political economy context. (Knight & Lenta, op cit, p.196-7)

For these reasons, and for the strength that the dependency paradigm has over the dualist, a political economic approach is adopted in the analysis of the economic flows in the subsistence/ precapitalist/ peripheral economy of Transkei.

Section 1.6

The Transkei as Part of the Southern African Economy

The Republic of Transkei, the first of the 'independent' National states, was heralded into existence by a 101 gun salute in October 1976. This event was regarded by the South African Nationalist government as "a day of fulfilment". (Government of South Africa, Hansard, 7 June, 1976) It was seen to be not simply the transfer of sovereignty to a colonial territory, but also as the culmination of all that was positive in the government's policy of "Separate Development". In contrast to this optimistic view point, a number of writers have expressed doubt as to either the economic, political or ideological independence of the Transkei.¹⁹ This view appears to be held by the remainder of the world, as Transkei has failed to gain recognition by other nations, with the sole exceptions of South Africa, and the other 'independent' National States.

19) vide; Carter, Karis & Stultz, (1967) Stultz, (1980) Southall, (1982), Streek and Wickstead (1980)

All of these writers, whether implicitly or explicitly, adopt the radical methodology discussed above. In addition, a number of historians have analysed the integration of the Transkei "peasantry" into the South African capitalist economy, utilising the concept of an articulation of modes of production.²⁰ For example, Bundy in 'The Transkei Peasantry, c.1890-1914: 'Passing through a Period of Stress' concludes that:

From the rising cost of a peasant mode of production, there stemmed the Transkei's peculiar form of proletarianization: the creation of proletarians who retain the semblance of access to the means of production, but who had to sell their labour in order to subsist. (Bundy, op cit, p217)

Similarly, Innes and O'Meara, attempting to explain the class dynamics of a bantustan state:

In attempting to come to terms with class formation within the Transkei region, we do not pose the question of whether a capitalist mode of production is dominant within the Transkeian economy. To do so assumes that there exists such a discrete entity as the Transkei economy. It concedes to state ideology the claim that the Transkei region is an autonomous entity (an internal colony to be decolonised) and thus further serves to mystify its position within the South African social formation. (Innes & O'Meara, 1976, p-)

It is argued by these writers that the actions of the Transkeian state are closely related to requirements of South African capital. Moreover, recent labour legislation restricting the movement and settlement of Transkeian citizens appears to have demonstrated the intent of the South African state to utilise 'independence' as a means of labour control.²¹ In addition, the massive flow of migrant workers

20) vide; Bundy (1977), Beinart (1983), Innes & O'Meara (1976)

21) For example the the Bantu Homelands Citizen Act of 1970; the Bantu Laws Amendment Act, no 12 of 1978; and the exclusion of Nationals from the benefits of the Rikhotso judgement.

to South African cities in order to subsist, undermines any notion of economic independence.²² Finally, the many repressive laws enacted since 'independence' suggests that the Transkeian state is enforcing the controls that would be implied by the status as a labour reserve.

Nonetheless, revenue is being directed towards the formulation of a Five Year Development Plan based upon rural development, and a variety of agricultural and industrial enterprises have been undertaken through the Transkei Development Corporation as well as through a number of smaller development organisations.²³ Southall argues that these efforts are:

... too late and too limited to stimulate self-sustaining growth, and are in any case largely designed to soak up black population surplus to the needs of the white economy. (Southall, 1982, p.284)

whereas the government of the Transkei intends that:

The overall objective of the Five Year Plan is to give direction to the development of the country, aiming at accelerating economic growth and eradicating absolute poverty. (Republic of Transkei, 1981, p.8)

and further that the primary objectives of the plan are:

1. To improve the standard of living and the quality of life of all Transkeians;
2. To increase agricultural output;
3. To create more employment. (ibid)

Southall notes that the projects to develop the agricultural sector in Transkei are limited, both geographically, and in their impact on the

22) BENSO has estimated that in 1975, 326 800 Transkeian migrants were employed in South Africa, comprising some 14,0 per cent of the de facto population. (BENSO, 1979)

23) For example; the Transkei Agricultural Corporation; Transkei Tea Corporation; and the Ncora Irrigation Scheme.

lives of the rural population. In addition, he claims the attitudes towards the low productivity of subsistence agriculture, appear to have barely changed since the Tomlinson Commission in 1955. As a result, agricultural change is assumed to require a change in the 'traditional' attitudes of peasant farmers, and assistance has tended to be directed towards the 'more progressive' farmers. Southall cites the Qamata and Malenga irrigation schemes in Emigrant Tembuland and the Umzimkulu District, as evidence for this claim. (Southall, op cit, pp.227 - 9)

However, in a recent government White Paper on development priorities, the Transkei acknowledges the importance of the subsistence agriculture sector, and refers to the creation of work opportunities in this sector. (Republic of Transkei, 1983, p.8) Indeed, Clark goes so far as to suggest that, contrary to the recommendations of the Tomlinson Commission, agriculture and forestry could employ more people than it does at present. (Clark, 1979) Finally, and most importantly for this thesis, The White Paper states:

If the people working on the land are to earn their living from the land, they will need markets in which to sell their output. This will be one of the primary functions of smaller towns. If the agricultural population is to produce enough food to feed the required three to four times its number it will need inputs from larger centres than those where the farmers now live. To achieve this aim Transkei requires an effective policy instrument and it is proposed that a Service Centre approach be implemented. This should result in the establishment of a hierarchical network of physical bases from which to deliver public services; agricultural support services to increase productivity with a view to transforming subsistence into market orientated farming; the provision of basic infrastructure, ie, feeder roads and water for domestic use; stimulate rural industries. These inputs require commitments in terms of land, capital and investment - the location and spatial arrangement of which is important. Rationally they should be located in centres that are accessible to the local population. In this way a system of rural towns, or service centres, can be established on a

hierachy of functions. The resulting network will provide the channels for encouraging development in rural areas. (Republic of Transkei, 1983, p.8)

Taking into account the theoretical framework which has been examined above, it is clear that the decision of Transkeian planners to implement a rural orientated programme which emphasizes the provision of essential services, is a controversial approach to the development problems of this region. Therefore the following questions should be considered in order to arrive at some prediction of the efficacy of the programme:

1) What are the existing conditions in the rural areas of Transkei; both in respect to subsistence production, and the meeting of essential needs.

2) Who, in the rural areas, should be targeted as the recipients of development assistance; in particular, for whom should essential services be provided.

3) How will the relationship between the South African economy and rural households in Transkei affect the feasibility of a Rural Service Centre approach.

4) Will the fulfilment of subsistence needs in rural areas be made any easier by such a Service Centre approach to development.

5) Does Transkei have a suitable political structure for the implementation of a development plan that is orientated towards the provision of essential services.

It seems essential, therefore, to establish whether this development drive, as envisaged by the Transkeian planners, contains the potential to succeed, at least partially, in its objectives, and indeed, whether

these actions will contain the potential to soak up any surplus black population. In order to achieve this, the development of the Rural Service Centre concept should be examined. This is done in Chapter Two below.

CHAPTER TWO

They sought it with thimbles, they sought it with care;
 They pursued it with forks and hope;
 They threatened its life with a railway-share;
 They charmed it with smiles and soap. (Lewis Carroll)

THE SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

Section 2.1**The Rural Service Centre Approach to Development**

The Transkei Government, in the publication 'Transkei Development Strategy (1980-2000)' emphasized the need for an integrated approach to the development of rural areas, taking into account productivity, infrastructure and the employment of the landless. (Republic of Transkei, 1982) The methods by which this approach can be operationalised, in terms of priorities, objectives and target groups, has remained largely un-determined. Sectoral and regional priorities have been clarified by the publication of the White Paper on Development Priorities and Public Sector Spending in July 1983. (Republic of Transkei, 1983) Both of these publications have referred to the establishment of rural service centres from which essential services could be distributed.

The Osmond Lange Report (1982) emphasized that the lack of infrastructure can act as the most severe constraint upon any development effort, and consequently, in rural areas, basic infrastructural investment should receive priority. The development of such an infrastructure, it is argued, should take place through the identification and construction of spatially concentrated economic

centres. From these, services could be distributed to a wider area. In essence, such centres would serve two functions; firstly, they could supply services and secondly, they would act as foci from which 'development pulses' could be generated and passed into the wider community. This argument refers to the Rural Service Centre as an aspect of the overall approach to development.

The approach was developed initially by the Whitsun Foundation (1980) in a Rural Service Centre Development Study, which referred to Zimbabwe. This study examined the availability of small business centres in Zimbabwe, and concluded that a severe shortfall existed in the number of centres required to serve the rural population. The report, adopting the assumptions underlying the central place theory of Christaller (1966), argued that 300 Rural Service Centres (RSC) should be created approximately fifteen to twenty kilometers apart. Each service centre, in addition to meeting the needs of the population, would also provide employment for between forty and forty-five people. (Whitsun Foundation, op cit, p.4)

This approach can be criticized on the grounds that it is static in respect to economic development. The dynamics of the local communities which are to be served are not examined, and their needs and responses are assumed to be homogeneous. Further, the overall infrastructure of the landscape is also assumed to be homogeneous, disregarding intra-regional differences.

With these limitations in mind, the Hawkins Report (Hawkins Associates, 1981) to the Transkei Government, recommended the adoption

of a service centre strategy in order to solve the problem of inadequate infrastructure from which to generate development. The approach was to be firmly grounded on a data base in order to make allowance for different levels of existing infrastructure. This would allow the identification of regional targets, and an assesment as to which services are in short supply, and the specific nature of the services themselves.

Working within this brief, the Osmond Lange Report of 1982 sought to establish such a physical data base, and on the basis of their findings, concluded that existing centres should be upgraded to form market towns. (Osmond Lange, op cit) Further to this, they advocated the introduction of rural service centres which would act as village nodes for the delivery of needed development services to the local communities.

Disregarding, at this point, the political implications of this approach, this thesis argues that the existence of adequate linkages, from the delivery point to the central government, is not sufficient, per se, to ensure either that such foci will serve the community in the most appropriate manner, or that Transkei's development effort will actually reach the rural population, and be adopted by them. In order to ensure which mix of services is most appropriate to a particular community, and to decide upon how they should be provided, it is at least necessary to examine current shortfalls in the provision of community needs arising from the existing methods. The unsatisfied needs can then be used to indicate the points at which the

state can intervene through the the creation of a service centre. Similarly, for the successful delivery of an adequate development package that is designed to meet the felt needs of an actual community, the target population should also to be identified in terms of easily recognisable characteristics.

The Buthelezi Commission (1982) noted that the siting of Rural Development Centres, representing a concentration of service facilities, should "be identified by the local population" and, thereafter, all government effort should be directed through that centre. The motivation for this concentration is that "...the individual institutions would have a symbiotic effect on each other and would represent the initial stages of the prevention of leakages from the tribal economy." (ibid, p. 179) Clearly, if such a centre is to be established, the following criteria must, at least, be met:

- 1) Local participation identifying the type of service most suited to the communities needs;
- 2) An understanding of the 'tribal economy' in terms of the means of maintenance available to the community.
- 3) Existing linkages in the status quo delivery of basic services.

Section 2.2

The Aims and Methodology of this Thesis

It is the aim of this thesis to examine the manner in which the needs of subsistence are met in the more remote areas of the North East region of Transkei, with the view to determine the links between this peripheral area, and the South African 'core'. Based upon this,

Transkei planning policy, specifically, the rural service centre programme, will be evaluated. In this way this thesis will attempt to answer the questions posed above. That is, to restate these more formally:

- 1) What is the position of the rural population with regard to Basic Need fulfilment, and subsistence production?
- 2) Who are those who are most in need in the rural areas?
- 3) What type of relationship exists between the rural communities and the South African economy, and what are the implications of this relationship for development planning in Transkei?
- 4) Will centrally provided services improve the rural population's ability to meet their Basic Needs?
- 5) How likely is the successful implementation of such a strategy of development in Transkei?

In order to answer these questions, a micro-level study, comprising a household survey, was conducted in the Umzimkulu district of Transkei. The study concentrated upon the ability of household to generate income, and the manner in which basic needs are fulfilled. In addition, certain other information was also gathered, including:

- (i) composition and size of households
- (ii) levels of education, age and sex of members of households.
- (iii) information concerning family members living elsewhere, specifically, as migrant workers.
- (iv) occupation of household members

In order to be consistent with other data available in Transkei, it was decided to utilise the Administrative Areas to determine the

Research Design

boundary of the survey. Three areas were selected, being the Sihleza, Zintwala and Gugwini administrative areas. According to the 1980 census, these areas had total populations of 2113, 762 and 3220 persons respectively. Map I indicates the positions of the surveyed administrative areas in respect of the Umzimkulu magisterial district. Within these areas, households were clustered into a number of residential areas, or villages, in accordance to the relevant Betterment Plans for the region. A minority of households were still resisting resettlement. However, after examination of recent aerial photographs, it was concluded that the number of these households was insignificant. Maps II and III show the actual location of the residential areas in Sihleza, Zintwala and Gugwini, respectively. From these maps, it can be seen that the residential areas are between one and five kilometers apart.

The unit of interview was the 'household', which for the purposes of this study was defined as one or more families, or a group of two or more persons dependent on a common income, and usually living in the same house or 'kraal'. Also included were family members living away from the household, such as migrant workers, those in hospital, those in prison and those at school away from the household. More generally, the household was taken to consist of people who would usually sleep and eat under the same roof, and who have a set of domestic and economic ties. (Mayer, 1980)

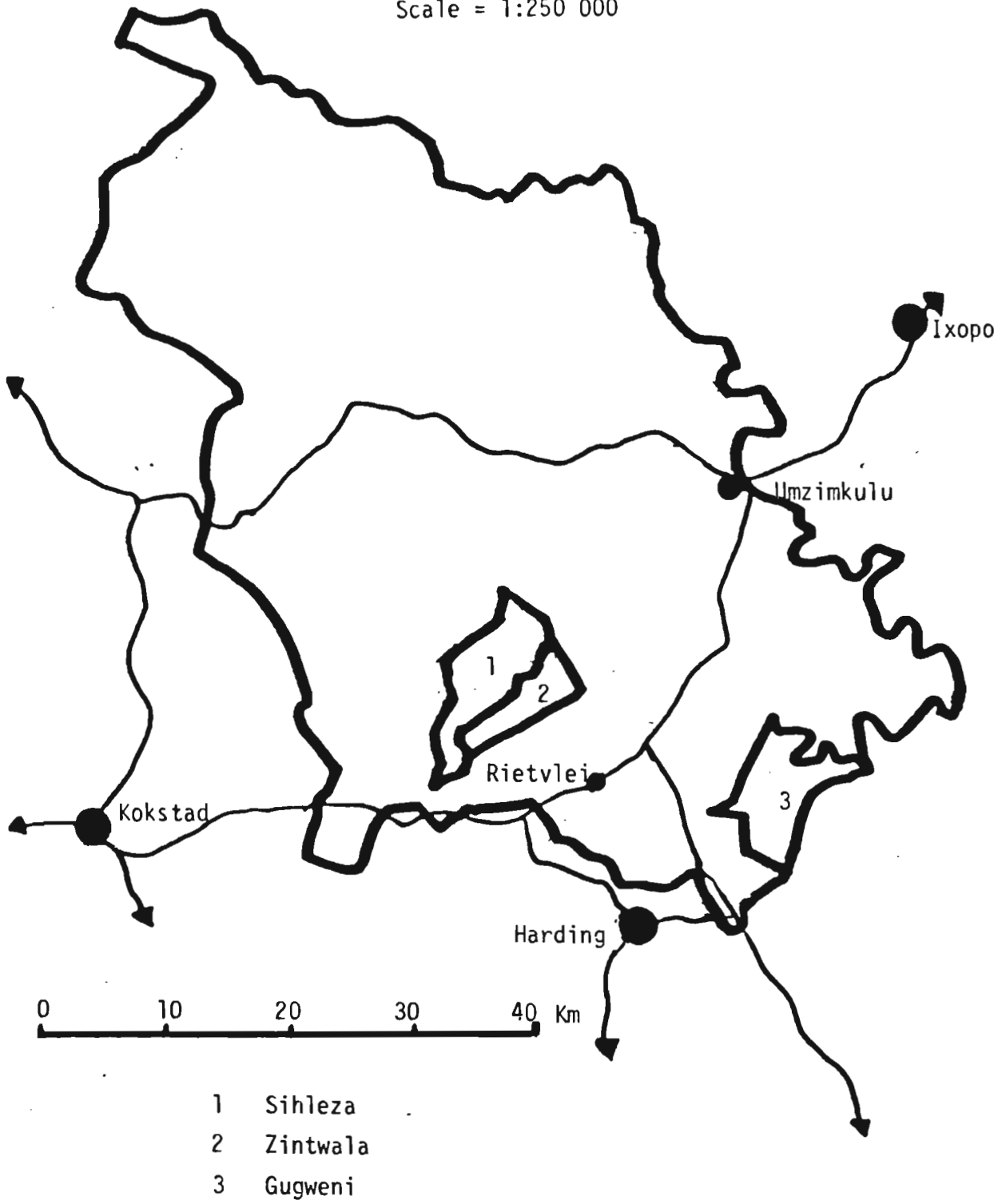
~~community~~
A total of 255 households were surveyed, comprising one fifth of the total household population in each of the residential areas. Data

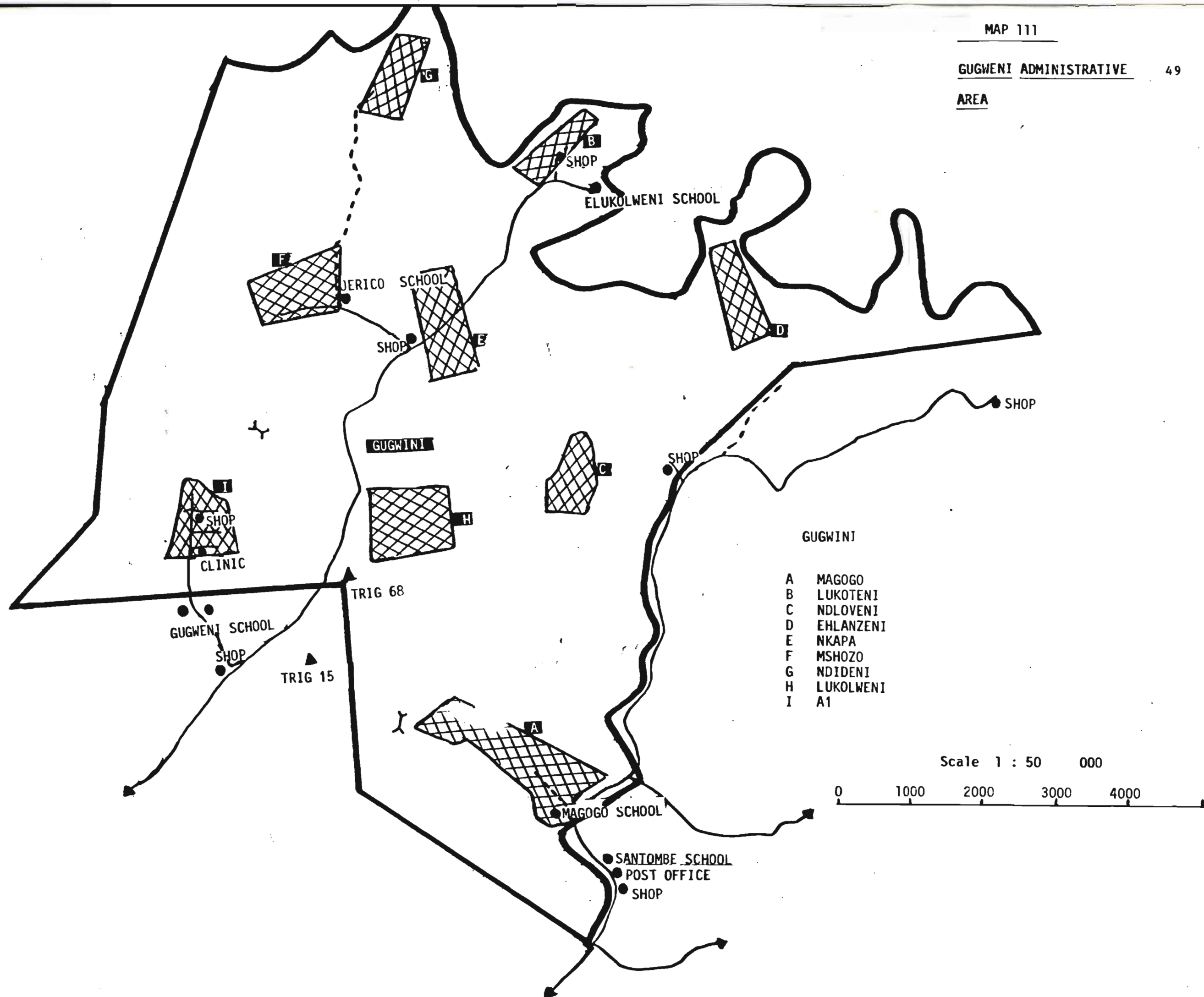
referred to design

MAP 1

Umzimkulu Magisterial District

Scale = 1:250 000





concerning 1522 people was obtained out of the total population of 6095. (Population Census, 1980) Thus approximately 25 percent of the population was surveyed. The a selective sampling method was employed, whereby a starting point was randomly selected, and every fifth household thereafter surveyed. Both aerial photographs and 1:18 000 scale maps were used to minimize biased data.

In an attempt to deal with the multi-disciplinary nature of the study, the questionnaire was initially drawn up after consultation with academic staff from economic research, community development, anthropology and applied social science. A combination of open and closed questions was decided upon. Thereafter, the questionnaire was discussed with a number of people from the Umzimkulu district and altered to take account of local conditions.

A pilot study of thirty interviews was conducted in an administrative area nearby those which had been selected for study, and the survey was again modified in accordance with these results. Specifically, these changes referred to the order of questions, the way in which the question was asked and so on. The questionnaire was conducted by two interviewers employed from the Umzimkulu district, and was recorded by the author and one other Masters' student. The research was conducted over the dry period, from June to October, 1982, and during this period, the author lived in the Umzimkulu District at the Rietvlei hospital.

The areas which were selected for study appeared to be characteristic of the North-East region of Transkei. That is to say, they had a

poorly developed infra-structure, with few roads, and virtually no all-weather roads. In addition, they were relatively distant from any town, and had to rely upon local trading stores for their day to day shopping requirements. There were no 'development' projects in any of the areas, beyond a community garden nearby the clinic in one residential area. Only one spring in the three areas had been 'protected' by means of fencing the source. Each residential area had a headman or induna, who was appointed by the relevant chief. Before the survey could begin, both chiefs and headmen had to be informed of the purpose of the study.

More generally, in all three areas, maize was the most important subsistence crop, and indeed, beyond vegetables, no cash crops were grown. The Sihleza and Zintwala areas were located upon a plateau above the main road to Durban and Umtata, and were some 55 kilometers by dust road from Rietvlei. Most of these two areas were characterized by grassland, and they were generally not rugged. However, there was only one road passing through them. The Gugweni area lay to the south of Rietvlei, some 15 kilometers along dust roads. The area was deeply incised by the Magogo and Ibisi rivers, and sloped steeply down to the Umzimkulu river. Three villages could only be approached from South Africa, via Harding and Santombe. In addition, four villages had no road nearby, and indeed, two were sited at the bottom of the Magogo valley, requiring a one kilometer walk up the valley, to the nearest road. Two ecological systems could be readily identified, a grassland area in the highlands above the rivers, and thorny scrub in the valleys.

CHAPTER THREE

DEMOGRAPHY

3.1 The Age and Sex Structure of the Population

The age-sex breakdown of the total population sampled (including those absent from the area as migrant workers) is presented in Table 3:1. As is characteristic of underdeveloped countries, rapid population expansion has produced a concentration of the population in age groups below twenty years, with more than half the population falling into the age groups 0 - 19. In the Developing countries, Africa included, 42 percent of the population is under fifteen as against 37 percent of the world population. (Peck, 1974) This survey found that 41 percent of the sample was below fifteen. This carries three major implications.

1. The preponderance of the young indicates a high burden of dependency. That is to say, a relatively small productive labour force has to support a large unproductive mass. This, in itself, is an indication of the likelihood of widespread poverty.
2. As the demand for social services must be biased towards the largest population group - the young - services meeting the needs of this group, for example primary health care and education, will be most frequently required. As such, further development of social services should take this bias into account and the supply of public sector services should be structured accordingly.
3. Unless there is a determined effort made to expand employment

opportunities rapidly, as the young grow up and enter the labour market, unemployment is likely to increase. Realist development planning should therefore, make provision for youth oriented employment schemes, as well as attempt to delay or stagger entrance of the youth group to the job market through offering incentives to participate in further education.

TABLE 3:1

Age/Sex Breakdown for Total Population

(Including those absent from the area as migrant workers)

Age group	Male	Female	Total
1 - 4	15,2	14,9	15,1
5 - 9	14,1	12,5	13,2
10 - 14	13,5	11,4	12,4
15 - 19	11,6	11,8	11,7
20 - 24	9,1	9,3	9,3
25 - 29	6,6	5,8	6,1
30 - 34	7,5	7,3	7,4
35 - 39	3,1	4,0	3,6
40 - 44	4,5	6,2	5,4
45 - 49	2,8	2,6	2,7
50 - 54	3,1	2,5	2,8
55 - 59	1,9	1,5	1,7
60 - 64	3,4	3,6	3,5
64 - 69	0,9	2,2	1,6
70 +	2,5	4,5	3,6
Total n = 1 368	46,6	53,4	100

It should also be noted that there is a preponderance of women in the population of the areas surveyed as is shown by the data presented in Table 3:2.

TABLE 3:2

Age/Sex Ratios for Total Population

(Including those absent as migrant workers)

Age Group	Male	Female
1 - 4	47,1	52,9
5 - 9	49,7	50,3
10 - 14	50,9	49,1
15 - 19	46,3	53,8
20 - 24	45,7	54,3
25 - 29	50,0	50,0
30 - 34	47,5	52,5
35 - 39	40,8	59,2
40 - 44	39,2	60,8
45 - 49	48,6	51,4
50 - 54	52,6	47,4
55 - 59	52,2	47,8
60 - 64	45,8	54,2
65 - 69	27,3	72,7
70 +	32,7	67,3
TOTAL n = 1 360	46,6	53,4

Two

The male/female ratio for the more productive age group (twenty to fifty years) including those absent as migrant workers is 4:5, giving a masculinity ratio of 0,87. This ratio ties in with the overall trend of the Black population in the National States over the last decade. In 1970, 44,3 percent of the Homeland/National State population was male. This was expected to increase to 48 percent by 1990. (Raad vir Geesteswetenskaplike Navorsing (Suid Afrika), 1973) In the case of the sample 46,6 percent were male. This may be the result of:

1. lower female mortality rates, which is unlikely;
2. more permanent out-migration from the areas by men than by women.

The noticeable increase in females over males in the age group 30 to 44 may be the result of:

1. an increase in the number of men who migrate permanently to an urban area;
2. the return of female migrants to the rural areas.

The data discussed below records that the male absentee rate peaks in the same age groups, suggesting that there is a strong potential for permanent out-migration from the rural areas. In addition Wakelin (1983) found that a number of female immigrants return in this age group.

The effect of the relatively low male/female ratio, is to reduce the possible labour supplies still further and consequently to retard the

potential for agricultural development. Traditionally, men have been responsible for the care of cattle, and thereby also for the ploughing of fields. Although it is likely that some alternatives have been developed as a result of the heavy pressures of the migrant labour system, to the extent to which the traditional of division of labour is retained, the ratio will add to the overall constraints upon crop cultivation.

3.2 The Extent of Migrant Labour

Some 64% of the total male residential population were absent as migrants during the survey period. Amongst adult men this rate was even higher, averaging 84% of the men aged between twenty and fifty years of age, and reaching a massive ninety five percent in the age category thirty five to thirty nine years. This is shown in Table 3:3 which provides the age and sex classification of both the permanently resident population and the oscillating migrants. The table also indicates the age-specific absentee rates of the male group. This refers to the percentage of males in a particular age group, who are working away from home.

The data shown in this table reveals that the de-facto masculinity ratio of the permanently resident population, declines to 0.56%. Absenteeism of this scale, must seriously blunt the development potential of this area, through the effect that it has on the supply of adult male labour. The corollary of this, is to place the full responsibility and burden of production upon women, in addition to their other household and child care activities.

TABLE 3:3

Residential Status

Age Groups	Residents		Migrants		Absentee rate (males)
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
0 - 4	47,1	52,9	0	0	0
5 - 9	49,4	50,6	0	0	0
10 - 14	50,9	49,1	0	0	0
15 - 19	38,2	61,8	91,3	8,7	28,4
20 - 24	20,2	79,8	95,3	4,7	70,7
25 - 29	8,9	91,1	97,4	2,6	88,1
30 - 34	8,9	91,1	97,7	2,3	89,6
35 - 39	3,4	96,6	95,0	5,0	95,0
40 - 44	10,9	89,1	85,7	14,3	82,6
45 - 49	19,0	81,0	87,5	12,5	77,8
50 - 54	30,4	69,6	96,7	13,3	65,0
55 - 59	45,0	55,0	100,0	0	25,0
60 - 64	27,8	72,2	100,0	0	54,5
65 - 69	23,8	76,2	100,0	0	16,7
70	33,8	63,7	93,4	0	0
TOTAL n = 1 360	36,3	63,7	93,4	6,6	64,0

The preponderance of women in the adult age group, means that any strategy dealing with the development or up-grading of the rural areas must take account of the fact that the majority of the participants will be women, be they female heads of households, or the wife of an absent migrant head. It is logical therefore, to assume that any development assistance given will be utilised mainly by women. If this is not fully taken account of in the planned approach, it is likely that scarce development resources will be inefficiently used, left idle or not delivered at all, and consequently, partly wasted.

3.3 Educational Levels

The educational profile of the communities surveyed is contained in the data given in Tables 3:4, 3:5 and 3:6. Four aspects stand out clearly from this data.

1. The generally very low levels of education in the community.
2. The tendency of women to be slightly better educated than men.
3. The tendency of migrant men to be slightly better educated than the men who remain.
4. The fact that little improvement appears to have been made in the educational field over the past twenty five years.

In Table 3:4 the data shows that seventy percent of the people over seventeen years of age had had insufficient formal education to ensure that they retained an adequate degree of literacy.

TABLE 3:4

Education Levels by Age

Education Levels	Age Groups				Total
	5 - 9	10 - 16	17 - 29	30 - 90	
No school	10,9	9,9	19,0	46,0	26,7
Std 3 or less	85,5	64,9	37,7	29,3	45,4
Std. 4 - 6	3,6	23,0	27,3	19,0	20,6
Std. 7 - 9	0	2,3	13,3	4,5	6,1
Matric	0	0	2,7	1,3	1,3

Worse still from the development viewpoint, seventy five percent of the age group five to sixteen years, is still in the same position. It appears however, that the situation is improving slightly, since only ten percent of the population aged five to sixteen had not gone to school at all, as opposed to nineteen percent of the population aged seventeen to twenty nine and forty six percent of the age group thirty to ninety. Providing these children remain at school long enough to ensure that they retain the ability to read and write, the overall levels of education should increase. The increase in school attendance suggests that there has been some recent improvement in at least the provision of primary schooling. However, it is evident that there is still a large shortfall in educational achievement at the Senior Primary and Junior Secondary school levels, as very few children still

attend school beyond standards I to III. As it is generally accepted that five years of formal education is required before it can be assumed that an operational level of literacy will be retained permanently, it is crucial that the present high drop out rates between Standard I and III are reduced as these years are crucial if education is to have any real long-term benefit.

Overall the education situation is not satisfactory, with 26,7% of the total sample, excluding pre-school children, having had no formal education at all, and a further 45,4% having had insufficient education to ensure the retention of literacy. Maree and de Vos (1975) working in both the Transkei and the Ciskei, have concluded that low levels of education can lead to the underemployment and under utilisation of labour. This refers specifically to migrants seeking employment in South Africa. Due to their low level of received education, they are likely to be employed in occupations that are below their highest potential skill. The impact of this would be to decrease the potential wage that can be earned by a migrant. As it is probable that a constant proportion of migrant wages are remitted, this must lead to a smaller amount of money being sent to the rural household as remittances. In short, poor education can directly result in preventing or retarding improvements in the quality of life of the rural population. Finally, a mere 1,3% of the rural population had achieved the matriculation level. Given that within Transkei, the better jobs require at least matriculation, this implies that only a very small proportion of people from the rural areas will be able to participate in the process of democratic decision-making at the 'national' level.

In view of the high cost of constructing and the difficulties in adequately staffing high schools, a solution to the present shortage of secondary school staff may perhaps lie in the construction of additional subsidised boarding facilities at existing schools in other areas. This would overcome the shortage of schooling facilities and at the same time would both reduce the costs of boarding at private households, and encourage more parents to support their children through school. The effectiveness of such an approach, would depend upon whether there is a positive relationship between educational achievement and employment opportunities, for black Transkeians.

In Appendix I , more detailed data is presented showing the exact age distribution and corresponding education levels.

Turning to the division of education according to sex, it appears from Table 3:5 that the female group is if anything, slightly better educated than the male, as 70,5% of the former had had insufficient education to ensure literacy as opposed to 75,4% of the latter. This trend however is less evident at the higher levels of education suggesting that school attendance is not dependent solely upon sex.

TABLE 3:5

Education Levels by Sex

Education Levels	Male	Female	Total
No school - Std. II	75.4	70.5	72.9
Std. III - Std. VI	17,3	21,5	19,5
Std IV - Std IX	6,3	6,6	6.5
Std. X +	0,9	1,3	1,1
n = 1 131			

The higher drop-out rates of the males, particularly in the earlier standards may be due to a variety of factors.

1. Those demands made upon the time of small boys to herd cattle, (girls are not required to do this work). The impact of the need for cattle herding on education may be aggravated by the fact that the herding is most necessary in the period in which the crops are still young. This occurs after the first rains in November - during the examination period.
2. In an impoverished family, young men are more likely to be made to seek employment than are the girls, and therefore to have to leave school early.
3. It is the men that are required to build up sufficient capital to eventually establish a household. This entails the accumulation of bride wealth and dowry payments, the cost of constructing a homestead, and the cost of establishing assets such as livestock, farming and household equipment. This too may encourage young men to leave school as early as possible.

TABLE 3:6

Education Levels of Males

Education Levels	Residents	Migrants
No school - Std. II	78,0	72,3
Std. III - Std. VI	14,2	20,9
Std. VII - IX	6,4	6,4
Std. X +	1,4	0,4
n = 637		

It appears from the data that in Transkei, as in other developing countries, there exists a slightly greater tendency on the part of the better educated males to migrate.¹ This may reflect the better opportunities in the urban areas that are available to the educated males, but given the high overall absentee rate noted in section 3:2, and the lower education levels of the older age groups as noted in Table 3:4, it is more likely that this in fact reflects the difference in the educational levels of the older males who remain at home, and the younger who migrate.

The data in Table 3:7 looks at the educational levels of the population in terms of their ease of spatial access to a primary school.

TABLE 3:7
Access to Primary School by Education Level

Access to a Primary School	Education Level				
	None	Sub A-Std 3	Std 4-6	Std 7-9	Matric
Yes	23,4	45,7	21,6	7,8	1,5
No n = 1 131	42,7	42,7	12,6	1,9	0

On examining the data it is clear that the existence of a primary

-
1. Studies in other countries of migrants indicate that it is the better educated young men who have a higher propensity to leave home than migrants. For example; Nattrass, (1976) and Kuznets (1965).

school within easy access (a one kilometre walk or less) to a residential area is an important factor in determining the overall level of education achieved. As can be seen, the percentage of the sample who had never attended school almost doubled in those areas without a primary school. Moreover, the large majority of people with education sufficient to ensure literacy came from residential areas with a primary school, as did those who had reached the matriculation level. Moreover, the result of a chi square test on this data, showed that there was a significant relationship between education level and access to a primary school at the .001 level of significance.

Substantial development benefits could well accrue if support is given to the construction and staffing of primary schools in rural areas. This requires that attention be given both to the training of primary school teachers as well as the construction of inexpensive school buildings. However, due to the lack of employment opportunities in Transkei itself, the worth of such a project will be ultimately determined by the structure of the South African labour market.

The consequence of the overall low levels of education in these areas is to curtail the spread of modernization, and particularly the ability of the male rural population to participate in those local development projects which require some level of literacy and numeracy.

3.4 The Occupational Distribution of the Population

The economic activities of the population are shown in Table 3:8, and

this table indicates forcefully that the female group overwhelmingly dominates the adults, who are present in the area. This supports the arguments in Section 3:2 above, namely - that attempts to promote development projects would have to be deliberately targeted at a predominantly female population in order to achieve wide spread benefits.

TABLE 3:8
Occupation and Sex

Type of Activity	Sex	
	Male	Female
At home *	14,7	55,2
Employed locally	2,7	1,0
Migrant	38,2	2,0
Full time informal	0,6	0,5
Pre school	17,5	17,4
Schooling	25,1	23,1
Handicapped	1,1	0,9

* Includes farming, household maintenance, and the unemployed.

It must be noted that a large number of adult males and females who said that they remained in the Administrative Area, may in fact be unemployed. This group could consist of people who would fall into the category of "illegal migrants" if they were to leave Transkei, as well as those who fall into the category of disguised unemployment. In

addition it is likely that some of the group who have migrated are unemployed. Alternatively they might be employed in the urban informal sector. Given the high levels of unemployment found by a number of researchers in Transkei, it is clear that this Table cannot be taken to imply that there were no unemployed found amongst the sample.² Instead, those adults, male and female, who are living permanently in the Umzimkulu District, were coded as "At Home", in order to avoid the methodological problems of the measurement of unemployment, which is not a main focus of this thesis. (vide Moll, 1984)

Although only 0,6% of the sample indicated that they were self-employed in informal production on a full time basis, others supplemented their income with this form of activity. Other features of the data in this table are;

1. the slightly higher percentage of males than females who said they were at school. This suggests that males stay at school longer than females, and taking into account the higher female education levels discussed earlier, leads one to conclude that males have a higher failure rate;
2. the limited opportunities for local formal employment. Only 1,9% of the sample was locally employed as opposed to 20% who found work by migrating.

2. For example, Wakelin, op cit. and Muller, N. (1984)

3.5 The Size and Tribe of the Households.

The average household size was 5,95 people. Only 6,3 per cent of households had less than two members. On the other hand, eleven households had 10 or more members. The largest household sampled had fifteen members. The median was 5.7, that is, half the households has less than 5.7 members.

When questioned as to the tribe of the household, an interesting result emerged. More than one third of the sample, 34,5 per cent, would not admit to belonging to any tribe. When questioned further as to the reason for this, the respondents stated that they could no longer regard themselves as Zulu, the inclusion of Umzimkulu into Transkei meant that they were regarded as Xhosa by both South African and Transkeian government officials. In addition, 17,6 per cent of the sample said that they belonged to the Ntlangweni tribe. which is found both in Kwa-Zulu and Transkei. For the remainder, 29 per cent were Bhaca, 16,9 Pondo, and 2 per cent regarded themselves as either Xhosa, Zulu, or Hlubi. Although not a central focus of this thesis, it appears that the homeland policy of the South African state has had a direct bearing upon ethnic divisions at the local level.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE INCOME GENERATING ABILITY OF THE HOUSEHOLD -

Subsistence production, migrant labour and welfare payments.

4.1 Introduction

The income generating activities undertaken by the household may be divided into two categories. Firstly, there are those activities related to subsistence production. These are carried out in the rural areas, and are subject to the constraints of the environment, land holdings, labour availability, and access to farm implements. Secondly, income may be generated through wage labour in South African cities and towns. The extent to which these latter activities affect the rural household will be determined by the frequency and extent of remitted wages. These in turn are determined by:

1. real wage levels in South Africa;
2. the cost of living in the city;
3. unemployment rate;
4. South African legislation restricting labour migration from the Transkei;
5. the desire of the migrant to support the rural household he/she has left.

These two categories could be said to represent the product of a precapitalist and a capitalist form of production, respectively.

As has been already noted in Chapter Two, the areas surveyed were characterised by a high out-migration rate, with 19,1 percent of total population oscillating between Umzimkulu and the Republic of South Africa. As will be confirmed below, this suggests that a high reliance is placed upon remitted monies in order to meet the minimum subsistence needs of the household, and conversely, the inability of the local economy which is based almost totally on subsistence production, to meet these needs.

The poor overall performance of subsistence production in terms of its ability to meet the needs of the rural population can be deduced from the following;

1. if one assumes that 2,5 bags of maize per person is the minimum quantity that is needed to sustain an acceptable level of physical health,¹ less than 14 percent of the population surveyed were in a position to be able to produce sufficient maize to meet their needs;²
2. given the average yield in the area of 2,71 bags per hectare³ and the mean average family size of five permanently resident

1. Estimate taken from : Energy and Protein Requirements, F.A.O. Nutritional meetings Report Series No. 52.

2. Calculated as follows : Total household output

No. of h/h members permanently in Transkei
= number of bags of maize per member.

The percentage of households who produce less than 2,5 bags per person can then be calculated.

3. As shown in Table 4:3.

members, to be self sufficient an average household would require access to a minimum of 4,6 hectare of arable land;⁴

3. as 48 percent of the sample were landless, and amongst those who had land, the average plot size was only three hectare, only 2,5 percent of the landholders had access to sufficient land to have any hope of meeting the requirement for self-sufficiency in terms of the staple crop maize, with the existing levels of productivity of agriculture;
4. given that the minimum number of oxen required for effective ploughing is four, only 23 percent of the sample had the potential to be able to meet their own traction requirements. Further, as 60 percent of the sample did not own any cattle whatsoever, this makes pooling of oxen by households very unlikely. Consequently, landowners in general are heavily dependent upon traction from outside sources;
5. finally, as was discussed in the preceeding chapter, there is a high male absentee rate with the male adult age groups characterised by absenteeism exceeding 66 percent. This means that there would be shortage in the availability of adult male labour for farming, even if all the limitations noted above were eased.

4. Calculated as follows :

Minimum requirement of maize productivity of household x number of household members permanently in Transkei.

4.2 Landholding

In terms of its overall contribution to household income, the production of food crops from fields is the most important element in subsistence production. All three areas surveyed had undergone 'Betterment' planning, with the resettlement occurring in 1970, 1964 and 1975 for Sihleza, Zintwala and Gugwini; respectively. In all areas, field plots were planned and the sizes were set at one hectare in Sihleza, three hectare in Zintwala and two hectare in Gugwini. However, the actual number of agricultural plots that had to be allocated was not determined at the time. This appears to have led to the partial and unco-ordinated re-allocation of land, on resettlement, which in turn resulted in both a high incidence of landlessness, and a skewed distribution of landholdings.

TABLE 4:1

Landholding by Administration Area
Percentage of Households with Landholdings of:

Hectares	Gugweni	Sihleza	Zintwala
None	38,3	74,0	37,5
0,5 - 1	14,8	1,4	0
2 - 3	40,3	17,8	59,4
4 - 6	6,7	6,8	3,1

n=245

Table 4:1 shows landholdings in the three administrative areas. As can be seen, the extent of landlessness is greatest in Sihleza with 74 percent of the households still without fields. As, at the time of

this survey, the resettlement was planned to have been completed over thirteen years ago, the present landlessness implies that for the majority, subsistence production has not been an alternative source of income for more than a decade. In contrast to this, in Gugweni, land was not allocated according to the proposed Betterment and as a result 47 percent of landholders had access to agricultural plots greater than the planned two hectares.

In an attempt to explain the distribution of land holding, Table 4:2 presents data examining land distribution by the age of the household head.

TABLE 4:2
Landholding by Age of Household Head

Age Group of Head	Agricultural Plot Size : Hectares			
	None	0,5 - 1 Hectare	2 - 3 Hectare	4 - 6 Hectare
25-29 years	55,6	0	44,4	0
30-39 years	54,1	8,1	35,1	2,7
40-49 years	35,4	6,3	50,0	8,3
50-59 years	44,8	13,8	27,6	13,8
60-69 years	54,5	7,3	30,9	7,3
70-79 years	54,2	8,3	37,5	0
80-85 years	42,9	7,1	42,9	7,1
TOTAL	48,1	7,9	37,5	6,5

This table demonstrates again the excessively high incidence of landlessness in the surveyed areas. Over 48 percent of the sample had no access to agricultural plots at all, with a further 7,8 percent owning less than one hectare of land. Amongst those who had land, the average (modal) size of land held was three hectares. This is surprising as only Zintwala, the smallest of the villages both in terms of land area and population, was planned to have agricultural plots of three hectares. This does suggest that the land distribution specified by the Betterment plans has not been followed.

From Table 4:2 it may be concluded that age can not be singled out as a major determinant of land distribution, as no unambiguous relationship can be drawn between age of the household head, and the size of the land held by that household. To a limited extent, the older households (40 years and above) do have access to larger plots than the younger (25 - 39 years). However, landlessness occurs as frequently in the higher age groups as the younger. This result is interesting, in that under a 'traditional' or tribal system of land allocation, there should be a strong relationship between age and landholding. It seems possible that the distortions produced by the resettlement process have been perpetuated, and that factors other than the Betterment plan, or the tribal tenure, have determined the distribution of land.

On the basis of the data obtained, it seems that the proposed 'Betterment schemes,' far from improving the lot of the people in the villages surveyed, actually made the situation considerably worse. It was not apparent whether this was due to inefficiency, incompetence or

deliberate mismanagement. To some extent the traditional power structure has been reinforced by Betterment Planning. This is due to the power of the chiefs to reallocate land after the resettlement process was completed. However, this structure can no longer be said to be 'tribal' as the chieftenship is now upheld by the power of the Transkei state. Such power can be used selectively in order to maintain economic and political power.

The effect of incomplete land distribution is to reduce the number of subsistence producers. A partial solution to the problem of landlessness would be therefore the further allocation of agricultural plots, in terms of the original proposals - providing that the land is available, and that the "powers that be", are willing to do so .

4.3 Agricultural Productivity

4.3.1 The General Case

We turn now to an examination of the yield per hectare, bearing in mind the minimum maize requirement per person, which is assumed to be 2,5 bags of maize per person per annum. Table 4:3 presents data indicating the variations in land productivity measured in terms of output per hectare.

TABLE 4:3

Yield per Hectare

Bags Per Hectare	Percentage Landholding Households
0 - .5 bag	21,7
.5 - 1.5 bags	19,2
1.5 - 2.5 bags	15,7
2.5 - 4 bags	20,5
5 -16 bags	22,9
Mean	2,71 bags
Median	2,12 bags
Mode	2,75 bags

n=114

As can be seen, the yield per hectare was uniformly low with an average output of 2,7 bags per hectare. Twenty three percent of the land holding households were able to produce between five and sixteen bags of maize per hectare. However, given the average household size of five permanently resident members, self sufficiency in maize under the existing conditions of production would require access to five hectares of land. Families also have access to land for gardens in which maize can be grown.

Table 4:4 shows the proportion of subsistence achieved from maize production in both gardens and fields and as can be seen, the inclusion of garden production does little to improve the situation.

TABLE 4:4
Percentage of Subsistence Achieved

Percentage of Subsistence Requirement Achieved	Relative Frequency	Cumulative Frequency
0	28,6	
1 - 10	32,6	61,2
11 - 20	5,9	67,1
21 - 50	7,8	74,9
51 - 99	10,2	85,1
100 - 199	11,4	96,5
200+	3,5	100,0

n=255

It is not surprising taking the distribution of land into account, that almost one third of the population do not contribute towards their income through subsistence production. (29 percent). A further 33 percent were able to produce no more than 10 percent of their subsistence diet. Only 15 percent of the sample were able to grow sufficient maize to meet the subsistence requirement of 2,5 bags per person, and to produce some surplus beyond this.

Table 4:5 compares the yields found in the surveyed areas with those in the rest of Transkei, and from the data it seems that these parts of Umzimkulu are particularly depressed as they have average yields much below those in the other regions.

TABLE 4:5⁵

Maize Output per Hectare in the Regions of the Transkei

Region	Output Per Hectare (bag)
Transkei (High estimate)	4,2
Transkei (Low estimate)	3,6
N E Region	6,8
Umzimkulu	7,5
Sample	2,71

Although Umzimkulu as a whole compares very favourably with the rest of the North East Region, the sampled areas within Umzimkulu show a lower yield per hectare than the lowest estimate for Transkei. This may be in part attributed to the size of agricultural plots, as well as, the poverty of the sample. These figures, however, may drastically understate the actual productivity levels, as it neglects to account for maize that is consumed whilst it is still green. This refers to maize that is eaten during the 'green' or 'soft dough' stage from mid-December until harvest. As this is a period of approximately four months, Merle Lipton (1977) has estimated that green maize consumption accounts for at least one third of the total product. Moreover, this estimate is based on the assumption that subsistence production is adequate for self-sufficiency in maize. Where self-sufficiency does not occur, the supply of green maize is likely to account for a higher

5. Osmond Lange Report op cit p. 20

proportion of total output.

If this increase is added into the mean output per hectare as found in this survey, this increases the mean from 2,71 bags to 3,6 bags per hectare. This places the productivity of the surveyed areas on a par with the low estimate for Transkei. Taking into account the data presented in Table 4:4, in which it was found that only 13 percent of the sample were self-sufficient in maize, it is likely that the proportion of the total output that is consumed green is greater than one third in the majority of cases.

4.3.2 Agricultural Productivity and Farm Size

In an attempt to explain the low yield per hectare, Tables 4:6 to 4:8 relate yields by plot size, to access to traction power as embodied in oxen, and to the percentage of adults in the household who are migrant labourers and therefore absent from the area and unavailable as farm labour.

TABLE 4:6
Yield/hectare by Plot Size

Size of plot	Percentage of landholders with the yield of (bag per hectare)				
	0 - .5 bags	.5 - 1.5 bags	1.5 - 2.5 bags	2.5 - 4 bags	5 - 16 bags
.5 hectare	28,6	0	28,6	0	42,8
1 hectare	33,3	0	20,8	26,7	20,0
2 hectare	17,3	31,0	24,1	10,3	17,3
3 hectare	12,8	21,3	17,0	34,0	14,9
4 hectare	18,2	45,6	9,1	9,1	18,2
5 hectare	0	0	0	0	100
6 hectare	0	0	0	0	100
Total	19,3	21,1	18,4	21,1	20,2

From Table 4:6 it appears that small plots are able to produce as efficiently as the larger plots of three to four hectares but not as efficiently as the very large (relatively) landholders. This suggests that economies of scale are not present in subsistence agriculture on very small plots and to a slight degree diseconomies are incurred on the intermediate plots. This may be due to the relationship between the technologies utilised in production and the resources available to the community production. For example, small plots can be tended more intensively given limited labour time. As a result hoeing and weeding may be carried out more frequently and, similarly, limited amounts of manure used more intensively and possibly some degree of irrigation may take place. The productivity of the five and six hectares farms do, however, suggest that higher yields are possible. This could be related to access to improved farming methods, such as ploughing by tractors, or by larger spans of oxen. It may also be that the more wealthy are able to occupy more fertile plots or to apply more capital in the form of fertilizer or water.

4.3.3 Agricultural Productivity and Cattle Holdings

In an attempt to trace the effect of wealth (in terms of cattle), and that of access to traction power, Table 4:7 relates output to the ownership of cattle.

TABLE 4:7

The Relationship of Output to Cattle Holdings

Bags of maize per hectare	Number of cattle owned			
	1 - 3 cattle	4 - 9	10 - 14	5 - 24
0 - 0,4 bags	57,4	41,9	50,0	0
0,5 - 1,5 bags	12,8	9,3	7,1	0
1,75- 2,5 bags	6,4	16,3	7,1	0
2,75- 4 bags	8,5	18,6	0	75,0
5 - 16 bags	14,9	14,0	35,7	25,0

n=114

As lower outputs per hectare are experienced by households with fewer cattle, and higher outputs per hectare are more common in those households with more than four cattle it appears that there is some relationship between agricultural productivity and access of the household to cattle. This relationship may be the result of:

1. the effect of the improved access to draft animals for ploughing;
2. the effect of increased wealth embodied in a greater number of cattle.

Thus, the second major factor of production in subsistence production is cattle. These can be utilised in three ways which need not be mutually exclusive.

1. as draft animals used to fulfil traction requirements in

agriculture (as discussed in the previous section)

2. for meat and milk production, milk may be consumed fresh, soured, or combined with maize meal to make sour-milk porridge.
3. for the production of other cattle as a source of saving or wealth accumulation which can be realised if needed or utilised in inter-household wealth redistribution, as in the case of lobola.

The extensive use of cattle as a means of storing wealth has tended to result in the over-stocking of the African rural areas. This has had the repercussion of capital degradation in the form of over-grazing and soil erosion. According to the Osmond Lange Report (op cit, p. 23), overstocking in the Umzimkulu district is, at present, not a problem. However, this does not imply that overstocking has not occurred in the past, and it is likely that degradation of the land from this source has occurred.

Although the utilisation of cattle purely as a form of saving does not assist in the production of subsistence requirements it should be noted that cattle ownership does increase the economic security of a rural household, especially in times of crisis. A household with cattle is able to sell, in times of hardship, to purchase food and other basic needs, and is also able to benefit from the meat that results from slaughtering or death by natural causes.

Table 4:8 presents data showing cattle ownership by size of land

holding.

TABLE 4:8
Cattle Ownership by Landholding

Number of cattle owned	Plot sizes owned				Total
	None	0,5-1	2-3	4-6	
None	60,7	6,9	25,5	6,9	55,0
1 - 3	36,2	14,9	44,7	4,3	18,8
4 - 9	32,6	9,3	51,2	7,0	18,7
10 - 14	28,6	7,1	57,1	7,1	5,8
15 - 24	0	25,0	75,0	0	1,7
Total	47,5	9,2	36,7	6,6	n=245

From this table it is apparent that 55 percent of the households sampled own no cattle of which 61 percent also had no land. This group has virtually no potential for subsistence production. The remaining 39 percent who own land but no cattle, may be constrained in their ability to farm as they do not own traction power. These people do however have the following alternatives for fulfilling their ploughing requirements;

1. to plough by hand;
2. to hire in oxen;
3. to hire a tractor;
4. to use reciprocal exchange relationships, and perform services or provide goods or labour to other households in exchange for having their land ploughed;
5. to lease out their land to a household with cattle.

The first of these strategies imposes an enormous burden upon the women who are required to hoe. It has been estimated by Dernam and Plotnoi (1983, p.7) that ploughing by this method requires an average of 74 labour days per hectare. This excludes further hoeing that is necessary for weeding. Further using this method results in the ploughing being completed later than it should be, which is likely to lead to lower yields.

If a household decides to hire oxen, or to rely upon reciprocal relationships, it is extremely likely that their land will be ploughed only after the cattle owners have ploughed their own land. Thus this approach will also result in late ploughing and prejudice yields.

Finally, in order to hire a tractor, a household must have the necessary funds available. In the face of the poverty encountered in this survey, it is unlikely that this alternative is open to many households. Moreover, options such as the hiring of cattle or tractors for cash, will increase the dependency of the household upon migrant remittances, unless that household has an alternative source of income. Although subsidised ploughing does occur in Transkei, none of the areas surveyed had received any assistance in 1981.

In addition to those families who had no cattle at all, a further 19 percent of the sample owned insufficient numbers of cattle to be able to form a span of four cattle. 64 percent of this group owned land, and are in a similar position to those who owned no cattle at all. This group did however, have the additional option open to them of

joining herds with those of other families in order to plough their land.

This would reduce the cost of ploughing both in real terms and in terms of dependence upon other households. These families are therefore in a better position than those households which do not own cattle at all.

In summary therefore:

1. one third of the total population surveyed owned neither cattle nor land and;
2. two thirds of the landholding population did not own sufficient cattle to ensure that they were able to plough their land.

This combination of factors places a severe constraint upon agriculture production. Any attempt to upgrade the potential of subsistence production would have to take into account both access to land, and access to traction power. In addition, increases in the pecuniary requirements of subsistence agriculture, such as the hiring of tractors or oxen, are likely to be realised at the cost of increasing dependency upon South Africa.

Finally, the production of milk from cattle should be briefly examined. Clearly the lack of cattle noted above represents the most severe constraint upon this form of subsistence production. Moreover, taking into account the poor quality of African cattle, the milking of cattle will limit the availability of milk for calves. Indeed, it

would be ideal for the expansion of herds and for the health and strength of calves, if milking did not take place. As no data was collected on the percentage of cattle with calves, only a rough estimate can be made of the extent of milk production. Allowing an initial consumption of two litres of milk per day for households with cows at the beginning of the 220 day lactation period, Ardington (1984) has estimated that household will probably obtain an average of 750 ml a day. (ibid, p. 99) Thus, where a household has a calf, roughly R125 may be added to the household subsistence income per annum. (220 days x 750 ml at 76c a litre) As calving is more likely in households with herds of four or more cattle it seems reasonable to assume that, at best, only 23 percent of the sample will enjoy benefits derived from milk production.

4.3.4 Migrant Labour and Agricultural Productivity

Previous research has shown that there is no unequivocal relationship between participation in the migrant labour system (oscillating rural-urban migration) and productivity levels in subsistence agriculture. In a study undertaken in the early part of the 1970's in the Holy Cross area of Transkei, Gillian Westcott found a clear negative relationship to the extent that she concluded that the most productive input into subsistence agriculture was the presence of an adult man. (Westcott, 1977, p. 140) However, studies in other parts of Africa have shown that significant benefits can accrue to the subsistence sector through out-migration, as a result of the improved capital input that is possible from the cash remittances that are sent back by the absent family members. (Waters, 1973.)

The data in Table 4:9 shows that those households with no migrant worker, tend to have a low output per hectare, with 68,8 percent of this group producing less than 1,5 bags per hectare. In contrast to this, the frequency of these low outputs declines to 28,6 percent for those households who had fifty to seventy four percent of the adult male population absent. Moreover, the frequency of households producing more than 2,75 bags of maize per hectare increased from 20,0 percent to 28,6 percent for the absentee ratios of 17 - 25 percent and 50 - 74 percent, respectively.

There are a number of possible explanations for the positive relationship between agricultural yields and the rate of out migrancy;

1. It is possible that the improved consumption levels in the family resulting from the cash remittances and the smaller demand on existing subsistence resources due to the absence of the migrant, improve the health status of the remaining members to the point where they are able to provide sufficient additional labour to more than offset the labour input lost through the outmigration.
2. The increased cash income from the remittances received has allowed the family to purchase other agricultural inputs that can substitute for the labour input that was lost and that these substitutes in fact had a higher marginal productivity than the original labour. The hire of mechanical or animal traction or labour from landless families may both be examples of this type of substitution.

TABLE 4:9
Effect of Migration on Productivity
Percentage of Adult Males Absent by Productivity

Percentage of Adult Males absent as Migrants	Productivity levels of land holders				
	0-0,4 bags/ha	0,5-1,5 bags/ha	1,75-2,5 bags/ha	2,75-4 bags/ha	5-16 bags/ha
None	37,5	31,3	12,5	12,5	6,3
1 - 25%	20,0	30,0	10,0	20,0	20,0
40 - 50%	18,4	14,3	18,4	22,4	26,5
51 - 75%	14,3	14,3	14,3	28,6	28,6
75 - 100%	0	0	0	0	100
Average	21,7	19,3	15,7	20,5	22,9

n=83

3. The increased cash income may have allowed the purchase of agricultural inputs that are complementary to labour and land, which were previously beyond the economic capacity of the family. Examples of this type of input would be the purchase of a plough, fertiliser, better seed types and water pumps.
4. The cash remittances may be used to purchase from outside, goods previously obtained from within the family by highly labour intensive methods, thereby freeing this labour for agricultural use. The purchase of wood from a neighbouring white farming area, in place of gathering, would be an example of this type of substitution.

5. The binding constraint on subsistence agriculture may not be the presence of adult men and, if this is the case, the presence or absence of men will not affect agricultural yields until this other constraint has been released. It is well known that women play the dominant agricultural role once the fields have been prepared. Consequently, provided the field preparation is not affected, the absence of men may well not significantly influence output levels. Even with respect to field preparation it may be the absence of traction power that is the binding constraint rather than the absence of adult men. As was shown in section 4.3.4 above, 65 percent of the land holding families surveyed did not own sufficient oxen to fulfill their traction requirements and consequently were dependent upon hired traction for their field preparation.

In such circumstances, the poverty prevalent in the rural areas may be so extreme as to curtail agricultural production to such an extent that the removal of male labour cannot reduce it further.⁶ Indeed, the opposite is the case. The access to wage labour and the cash remittances it brings, has a positive effect upon subsistence yields as it permits the hire or purchase of inputs that would otherwise be unavailable.

Chi square tests using output per hectare as the dependent variable,

6. Moreover, through time the migrant labour system has had the effect of reducing the productive role of men in subsistence production. As a result the tending of livestock has been taken over by male children, and the ploughing by young males who are still at school, by men returning on their annual holidays or by contractors.

and the absentee rate in the household, and the size of the fields held by the household as independent variables, were calculated. Probability levels of between 0.20 and 0.10 were found, showing that there is no significant relationship between these variables. In addition, a stepwise regression was computed, using output per hectare as the dependent variable and the following as independent variables: the number of resident adult males; the size of landholding; the number of cattle owned; the number of adult males in the household; the number of adult females in the household and number of remitters in the household. Clearly, as some of the independent variables are relatively strongly correlated, this regression analysis should be treated only as a rough attempt at singling out the most important factors influencing productivity. The regression explained only 31 per cent of variance in productivity, with the size of landholding and the number of cattle owned being the most significant variables.

Overall, it must be concluded that the migrant labour system does place an additional burden upon the remaining women, but given the present structures and conditions determining subsistence production, this burden appears unavoidable, and indeed could be essential for any subsistence production to take place, as well as for the continued survival of the rural household itself.

4.4 The Determinants of Agricultural Productivity : Conclusion

In conclusion, it seems that in the areas surveyed, the yield per hectare is more strongly related to the size of land that is available to the household to cultivate, cattle holdings and access to cash

remittances from wage labour and to cattle holdings, than to the presence of male labour. In other words, the limiting factor on subsistence production in those areas appears to be poverty. Consequently, even amongst the landholders, it will be those who need the output from agriculture most - the poor - who will be those who are least able to farm effectively.

4.5 Capital Assets

The high incidence of poverty encountered in the areas surveyed has had clear repercussions on the type and extent of capital assets available to the households. Almost 55 percent of the sample stated that they owned neither a plough, a planter nor a hand mill. These capital assets represent very basic technologies and their limited availability suggests that the relatively high technology assets, such as tractors, harrows and stamp mills, will be available to an extremely small minority of the Transkei's rural population. The limited availability of even simple technology suggests that, initially, any development projects which are introduced into these areas should not be based upon assumption of the availability of high technology capital assets, either explicitly or implicitly. Instead, projects should be firmly grounded upon the existing low technology capability. Table 4:10 contains data that shows the existing distribution of farming assets in the communities.

From the quality of life viewpoint, the limited availability of even simple household implements could also cause difficulties. In order to grind home-grown maize or purchased maize grains, a household

without a handmill is forced to utilise either a grinding stone, or a stamp mill.

TABLE 4:10
Farming Assets

ITEM	FREQUENCY
Nothing	54,9
Mill	10,6
Planter	1,6
Plough	9,4
Planter/mill	0,4
Plough/mill	3,5
Planter/plough	11,4
Planter/plough mill	8,2

n=245

The former is excessively time consuming and severely limits the availability of female labour. Stamp mills are readily available in the rural areas, for the majority and as shown in Table 4:11, 50 percent of the sample were able to grind their maize at a nearby Trading store.

Although as was shown in Table 4:10, some 23 percent of the sample stated that they owned a handmill, only 8 percent said that they used the handmill to grind all their maize. This suggests that those who could afford to do so, choose to grind the bulk of their crop at a

stamp mill, to avoid the apparently high labour cost as contained in grinding maize by handmill.⁷

TABLE 4:11

Method of Grinding Maize

Method of grinding	Frequency
Grindstone	5,6
Handmill	8,0
Trading Store Stampmill	49,9
Town Stampmill	29,3
Buy ground maize meal	7,2

n=245

The cost of utilizing a stamp mill ranged from between 40 cents and R1,00. for a 25 litre paraffin tin. The cost was lowest in the towns, and highest where the owner of the stamp mill had a monopoly over the immediate area. This is important, in that it suggests that those households which are fortunate enough to have harvested a maize crop, must either incur transport costs, and take their crop to towns in order for it to be ground, or they must accept the higher cost of utilising a local stamp mill. Consequently, even where a household has been able to achieve a degree of self-sufficiency, a cash outlay is still necessary.

-
7. The ownership of handmills is limited to less than a quarter of the rural population, and cannot be seen as assisting rural households to a great extent. A handmill should perhaps be regarded as a luxury item, in that it is used only to grind small quantities of maize throughout the year.

Summarizing the above, it seems that whilst a substantial amount of farming equipment is available to the existing farming community, this equipment is low technology.

4.6 Other forms of subsistence production

4.6.1 Gardens

Gardens refer to small tracts of land immediately adjacent to the homestead. The residential plot size in all three areas is 46 x 46 metres, and indicates that gardens are small, and are therefore limited in their potential contribution to subsistence production in comparison to fields. Nevertheless, given the extent to which landlessness occurs in the surveyed areas, the relative importance of gardens is far greater than their absolute size suggests, as many households are forced to rely solely upon their gardens for crop production. However, Table 4:12 shows that even when gardens are included in landholdings, 18 percent of the sample were still landless as they owned neither fields or gardens.

A further 19 percent of the sample did not own gardens but did own fields. The lack of a garden may be the result of unfavourable terrain, infertile or stony soil, the overcrowding of residential areas, and to the lack of funds to purchase necessary inputs, such as seeds, fertilizer or fencing in order to protect the garden from marauding goats and sheep.

TABLE 4:12

Field and Garden Ownership

Landholding	Frequency
Garden and Field	33,5
Garden only	29,4
Field only	19,1
Neither	18,0

n=254

The crops most frequently grown in gardens were maize and potatoes, with 65 percent of garden owners growing potatoes and 65 percent growing maize. Table 4:13 indicates the quantities and the combinations of potatoes and maize that are grown in gardens. The measures used in this table are 25 litre paraffin tins and 50kg bags. Many households were not able to estimate the quantity of the crops harvested, as the crop was harvested only when it was needed.

TABLE 4:13

Potato and Mealie Production in Gardens

Potato production	Maize production (bags)				Total
	No maize grown	.5-1 bag	2-6 bags	Not measured	
No garden	-	-	-	-	34,4
No potatoes	4,7	0,4	0,8	15,8	21,7
.5 - 1 bag	3,6	0,4	0	2,0	6,0
2 - 3 bags	0,4	1,6	0	0	2,0
4 - 6 bags	0	0	0	0,8	0,8
Not measured	14,2	0	0,8	20,2	35,2
Total	22,9	0,8	1,6	40,3	n=254

It can be seen that 17 percent of the sample grow only maize, 18 percent only potatoes and 26 percent a mix. It seems that some potential does exist for the cultivation of potatoes. This may be an important and useful addition to the diet of subsistence farmers. Davidson et al, (1975) states that the potato is a cheap staple which yields more energy per hectare than any cereal crop. In addition, although the protein content is low, it has a high biological value when fed to man, and can be "a useful source of protein". (ibid pp.212-214) Potatoes can be cultivated using low technology farm equipment and intercropped with maize. Yields could be increased if pesticides were used in production, or if better quality seed potatoes were used. It may be argued therefore, that as gardens are available to more households than are fields, a greater degree of self sufficiency in the community might occur if a garden - production oriented strategy was adopted. Nonetheless, a cash cost remains, which can only be offset if the sale of output exceeds the costs.

In Table 4:14, the percentage of households growing other vegetable crops in their gardens is presented. The exact level of output of these could not, however, be determined.

Pumpkins and gourds form part of the traditional mix of crops, and it is therefore not surprising that almost 58 percent of households with gardens produced these. It must briefly be noted, that gourds are produced in large quantities, and are frequently left to rot in the garden, or not counted when gathered. They therefore make a contribution to the diet of rural households greater than is implied in this statistic, as well as producing garden compost.

TABLE 4:14

Range of Garden Crops

Type of Garden crop	% of garden owning households
Pumpkins	58,0
Cabbage	45,5
Beans	21,8
Carrots	21,8
Spinach	21,1
Tomatoes	19,9
Beetroot	15,1

n=200

It is of interest to note that 46 percent of households with gardens produced cabbage. When properly prepared this vegetable can contribute towards the fulfilment of nutritional requirements. Thus, given the relatively high frequency of cultivation, it is important to ensure that the proper preparation of cabbage is emphasized in rural extension work, at clinics and at schools.⁸

Regrettably, beans, an important source of protein were cultivated by only 22 percent of the garden owning households.

A range of other vegetable crops were also grown, as shown in Table 4:14. However, most of these were grown specifically in the residential area that had a community garden and the services of a

8. Discussion with the nurses at the clinics suggested that cabbage is frequently overcooked, and much of the nutritional content of the vegetable is lost. It appears that raw cabbage does not suit the preference of the rural community.

resident agricultural extension officer. As a result, these crops cannot be said to have penetrated the rural crop mix to any extent but clearly there is potential for their expansion.

Finally, the reaping of "imifino" must not be overlooked. These are wild vegetables which grow in gardens and fields after reaping and may make a significant contribution to the subsistence of households, particularly very poor households.

In conclusion, gardens represent a minor but important part of subsistence production. This is particularly true in those areas in which a high proportion of households do not have fields. Potatoes and maize are most frequently cultivated with pumpkins and cabbage following.

4.6.2 Small livestock units

Small livestock units include goats, sheep and pigs. For the purpose of this report five small livestock units are taken to be equal to one large livestock unit. As is shown in Table 4:15, goats are the small stock most frequently owned, with 23 percent of the sample possessing one or more goats.

The average number of goats owned per family was four. The more frequent ownership of goats may indicate that they are being increasingly used in traditional rituals and slaughtered at traditional feasts, after marriages and deaths, as well as at the guidance of traditional healers. Through this role, goats contribute

towards the intake of meat by a family over the year. Unfortunately, goats are noted for their destructive grazing habits and therefore ownership has a high opportunity cost in terms of the degradation of the land.

TABLE 4:15

Small Stock Ownership

Type of Small Stock	Frequency of Ownership	
	% of households owning type	Average number per household
Goats	23,2	4
Pigs	17,3	2
Sheep	1,6	5

n = 254

Pigs are owned by 17 percent of the sample, and appear to be raised as a form of forced saving. Pork was observed to be offered for sale at the pension payout point suggesting that pigs are raised for slaughter, and the subsequent sale of their meat. Although this contributes to the income of a household, the uncontrolled breeding and slaughter of pigs could become a serious health hazard to the people in these areas. Pigs are susceptible to contamination by tape worm, if they are allowed to roam freely, which can be transmitted to

humans and cause serious brain damage.⁹ It is important, therefore, that courses on the care and maintenance of pigs be included in extension programmes.

Sheep are infrequently owned in the areas surveyed with only 2 percent of the population reporting ownership. It is therefore clear that at present the potential for wool production is limited.

Overall, despite lower cost, small livestock are less frequently owned than large, probably reflecting community preferences. Consequently, small livestock also play a more limited role in subsistence production.

4.6.3 Poultry

The data presented in Table 4:16 indicates the incidence of poultry ownership.

This data indicates that chickens are relatively frequently owned. Over 76 percent of the households which were surveyed owned one or more birds, with 4 percent owning the comparatively large number of 16 - 20 birds. The high incidence probably reflects the low cost of purchasing and maintaining chickens, as well as their rapid breeding capability.

9. At best, contamination by a parasitic cestoid such as the pork tape worm can lead to diarrhoea, thereby increasing the impact of a poor diet, and consequently the probability of malnutrition related disease.

TABLE 4:16
Poultry Ownership

Number of chickens owned	% of households owning chickens
None	23,6
1 - 5	39,5
6 - 10	28,7
11 - 15	4,3
16 - 20	3,9
Mean	6,0

n = 254

The advantages which are contained in chicken raising may be listed as follows.

- 1. for meat consumption, thereby improving diet content;
- 2. as egg layers, thereby providing a valuable source of protein;
- 3. for sale - in order to purchase staple foodstuffs in times of crisis.

In addition to the above, poultry raising schemes can form a basis of other rural development projects such as self-help groups, and savings clubs. Thus the stimulation of this form of subsistence production

could serve to integrate the rural community into a broader development project. Moreover, as chickens are already widely owned, such a project is likely to incorporate the majority of the rural population. This is a considerable advantage, and may increase the importance of poultry ownership above other factors of production, for example, cattle. Finally, even amongst those who do not yet own chickens, the low cost of purchasing fowls implies only a low capital barrier to entry into such an activity.

4.7 Subsistence Farming. Problems and Strategies Adopted

In an attempt to isolate the binding constraints on subsistence agriculture, the individuals surveyed were asked to identify the problems that they faced in agriculture and were questioned further in respect of any strategies that they might have adopted in an attempt to overcome those constraints. The replies are tabulated in Table 4:17.

The lack of fields was identified by 75 percent of the sample experiencing difficulties with farming and for 70 percent of the people who fall into this category there is no alternative strategy. They must therefore purchase the majority of their food needs. A further 20 percent stated that their gardens were an alternative and were sufficient to make a contribution to the household's nutritional needs. It must be noted that this last group represents only 11 percent of the total sample. Finally, 10,5 percent of those without land, hired fields in which to plant. This relatively low percentage hiring, suggests that the custom of 'isife' - the African form of

share cropping has virtually ceased to exist in the consolidated villages surveyed. A possible reason for this, is the overall reduction in the amount of land owned. As fewer people own land and the amount of land owned appears to have been reduced by Betterment Planning, the landholders are more likely to be cultivating all of their land and, consequently, are not willing to lease land to the landless.

TABLE 4:17
Farming - Problems and Strategies

Type of strategy	% households with a farming problem				
	No fields	No oxen to plough with	Too poor in- to farm	Soil poor in- fertile	No fences
No alternative	69,5	0	25	86,8	80
Plough by hoe	0	0	50	0	0
Hire oxen	0	82,1	0	0	0
Hire a tractor	0	17,9	25	6,6	0
Use only the garden	20,0	0	0	0	20
Hire fields	10,5	0	0	6,6	0
Total	74,5	7,8	2,8	11,4	3,5

n=245

Only thirty three cases who owned land said that they experienced difficulties with farming. Although this is not a large enough sample for sound analysis to be conducted, some examination should be conducted in order to provide some idea of the problems facing

farmers. 30 percent of this group did not own oxen for ploughing, tying up to section 4.3.4. This reaffirms the conclusion that not all households have an adequate access to agricultural resources. Of the group without oxen, 18 percent hired tractors, the remainder hiring oxen.

Forty five percent of the farmers who felt they faced difficulties, stated that the size and quality of their land was inadequate. Again this suggests that the Betterment schemes may have reduced the farming potential even amongst those who hold land.

The remaining group (25%) of farmers said that their problems were the result of either a lack of fencing or their personal poverty. It must be emphasized that the farmers with problems represent a small minority and, as such, generalisation must be made cautiously.

4.8 Wage Labour

As remitted income figures were not collected in this survey, the extent of remittances can only be roughly estimated. However, given the arguments presented above it is clear that remittances are vital for the continued survival of rural households, and that they contribute the largest share towards the total income of the majority of households. Thus, taking maize needs as an example, on the basis of the data in Table 4:4, remittances allow purchases of maize that make up some of the deficit in maize production in approximately 77 percent of the sample.

Table 4:18 indicates estimates of remitted monies.

TABLE 4:18
Estimate of monthly remittances

Estimate A	R47,00
Estimate B	R42,00
Estimate C	R36,00

Other studies of migration in South Africa suggest that migrants on average remit approximately 20 percent of their wages on a regular basis to their families in the rural areas.¹⁰ Applying this percentage to the average wage earned in manufacturing in South Africa in 1982, one obtains an estimate of the average monthly remittances of R47 (Estimate A in Table 4:18.) An income and expenditure study done throughout Transkei in 1982 by Wakelin, (1983) yielded an average level of remittances of R42 per month (Estimate B in Table 4:18). Finally, based upon the Bureau of Market Research's survey (BMR, 1979), Barry (1982) calculated an average level of remittances of R36,00 per month in the Umzimkulu district. (Estimate C in Table 4:18) On the basis of this data, it seems reasonable to assume that the remittances sent back into the areas surveyed will also be within this range R36,00 to R47,00 per month.¹¹

10. See studies cited in Natrass (1977)

11. It must be noted that Wakelin found considerable variation in income. The figure given in this table is the median level. Wakelin estimated that 20 percent of the population earned 59,8 percent of total income, whereas the poorest 50 percent received only 10,6 percent.

The importance of remittances in the maintenance of rural families in the Black States has been clearly shown in a number of studies. An intensive study of living standards in Amatola River Basin in Ciskei undertaken by the Institute for Social and Economic Research at Rhodes University concluded that only 15 percent of the average family's income came from agricultural or informal sector activities. (Bekker & de Wet, 1982) Similarly, estimates of minimum and humane living levels for the rural areas of Bophuthatswana, KwaZulu, Transkei and Ciskei made by the Institute of Planning Research at the University of Port Elizabeth placed the locally generated content of the average household's income at only 10 percent. (Potgieter, 1982)

As the areas surveyed have a high incidence of landlessness, as well as low yields for the landholders, it may be argued that the majority of rural households are forced to purchase groceries monthly. If this is the case, then those households which receive regular remittances will be in a more advantageous position than those households which receive irregular payments. Families surveyed were asked to give data relating to the frequency and regularity of their remittance receipts and this is given in Table 4:19.

TABLE 4:19

Frequency of Remittances*

Frequency	% Households in sample
Regularly	63,1
Irregularly	16,1
Never	20,8

n=254

- * Regular - weekly to alternate months
 Irregular - less frequently than alternate months

From the data presented in Table 4:19, over 63 percent of the sample receive a regular remittance from at least one migrant. Only 21 percent of the sample, received no remitted money whatsoever. It is crucial to note that this group did not constitute self-sufficient farmers but instead were the most poverty stricken. This is shown in Section 4.11 below, which considers the distribution of wealth in the areas surveyed.

If one accepts an average remittance receipt of R45 per month or R540 per annum and a domestic contribution to family incomes of 20%, (well above the estimates made by the studies quoted earlier) one obtains an estimate of the average family income for the areas surveyed of R675 per annum. Bearing in mind that Potgieter's estimate of the minimum income necessary to satisfy the basic human needs (the H.S.L.)¹² was R1644 per annum,¹³ it appears that the average living levels in the survey district are well below this minimum. (Potgieter, op cit)

One can conclude, therefore, that the vast majority of the households surveyed, clearly depend heavily upon the remittances from their migrants and that their total income, including these remittances, are

12. The H.S.L. is derived from the assumption of a two adult, four child household. Food requirements were derived from food ration scales calculated by the Dietetic Division of the Department of Health. Other requirements which were included in the measure include clothing, fuel, lighting, washing and cleaning materials, rent and transport costs. The value of household production was deducted from this total to yield the estimate of R125,42, June 1981 prices.

13. This was made in 1981, for Izingolweni in KwaZulu, a rural area nearby Harding, in 1981, and has been updated by the increase in the Consumer Price Index, to 1982.

insufficient to allow them to satisfy their basic needs. Further the significant proportion of families receiving regular remittances suggests that the cash received is used to meet the everyday needs for survival. In this respect one can agree with Mayer when he argues that the majority of those living in these rural areas have consumer behaviour patterns that are almost identical to town dwellers and should be viewed not as rural peasants but instead as part of the displaced urban proleteriat. (Mayer, 1980)

4.9 Problems Encountered in Participating in the Migrant Labour System.

The families who participate in migrant labour system have been well documented in South Africa.¹⁴ Nevertheless, some relatively recent studies have suggested that the system has now become institutionalised to the point where some migrants would not bring their families to town even if they were allowed to. (Moller & Schlemmer, 1981) The families interviewed in the three villages surveyed were asked what problems they encountered with wage labour, and for how long they had experienced the problem. The answers are given in Table 4:20.

The most surprising, and disturbing, feature of the answers given, is the relatively high proportion of the households interviewed, 48 percent, who stated they encountered no problem. This indeed suggests

14. vide Wilson, (1972); Clarke and Ngobese, (1975); Murray, (1981).

that the system of migrant labour has become institutionalised as a way of life in the African areas. People have adapted to the social hardships it causes, and on the economic front, see no realistic alternative means of ensuring their long term survival. A similar result was obtained in a recent rural study in the Nkandla district of KwaZulu. (Ardington, op cit.)

TABLE 4:20
Formal Employment - Problems and Duration

Type of problem	% of households experiencing the duration of problems				
	Always a problem	Since Re-settlement	Since Independence	Recent	Total
Family is separated	6,3	0	0,5	0	6,8
Transportation problem	2,3	5,4	0	0	26,7
No work in S. Africa	0	0,5	1,8	0,5	2,7
No alternative	-	-	-	-	15,8
No problem	-	-	-	-	48,0

n=254

Of those who did experience problems with participation in the system, 27 percent had trouble with transport, 7 percent experienced social problems due to the separation of the family, 3 percent stated they

could not find work in South Africa, and 16 percent of those questioned would have preferred to work locally but could find no alternative employment.

4.10 Other Sources of Cash Income

Besides remittances from migrant workers, a small percentage of the rural population have access to other sources of cash income, such as pension payments and wages earned from local formal employment. Table 4:21 presents data showing the incidence of pensions and other wage earning activities.

TABLE 4:21

Other Sources of Cash Income

Type of cash income	% of total sample
Pension payments	12,6
Local employment	6,1

n=254

Of the households sampled, only 12,6 percent received a pension payment. In 1984 pensions of R101 are paid every alternative month in Transkei. Although this is a small sum, it is almost the equivalent of the average family income estimated in Section 4:7 and represents a regular cash receipt from which necessities can be purchased.

Unfortunately, taking into account the age distribution of the population it seems that fewer pensions are paid out than should be. Almost 9 percent of the sample of individuals were 60 years of age or more, and therefore eligible for pensions. However, only 2,1 percent of the sample, less than a quarter of those eligible, actually received a payment. This suggests that the existing system of recording and registering pensioners, and the administration involved once registration has taken place, is not adequate to meet the demands of the population. Alternatively, it is possible that many people who are eligible for a pension are not aware of this right, or do not know how to register for payment. If this system was improved, this would lead to a better distribution of income, it would improve the position of older households and would significantly increase the total income received in the area with a consequent improvement in the average quality of life there.

Local employment opportunities are limited and only 6 percent of the sample could find employment nearby the area. As this employment ranged from school teachers and nurses to forest workers and temporary farm labourers, the average wage levels cannot be determined. It must be stressed however, that as at present agricultural production cannot offer a viable alternative to migrant labour, if Transkei wished to reduce its dependency upon the migrant labour system, or at least to provide employment for those who are unable to find jobs in South Africa, the availability of local formal employment will have to be expanded enormously.

4.11 Local Informal Employment

Informal employment refers to small scale self-employment in the production of goods or services. This type of employment is distinguished from formal employment as the producers are not in any sense licensed operators, they use family labour, and do not operate from formally sited premises. Informal activities can refer both to the production of goods such as straw mats, mud bricks and foodstuffs and to the provision of services, such as washing clothes or fetching firewood. The means of payment may also vary, being either cash payment in kind such as remuneration in goods or reciprocal services. As the informal sector has been the centre of a good deal of controversy, it is noted that the concept is not un-ambiguous, and that further analysis would be misleading without a more fully developed theoretical base.¹⁵ However, for the purposes of this thesis, it is necessary only to describe the type of activities which were being carried out at the time of the survey, and to note their potential for income generation.

In the areas which were surveyed, 55,5 percent of the sample engaged in some form of informal activity, or combination of activities. At best, however, these must be seen as acting only as a supplement to other forms of income. Table 4:22 presents data indicating the frequency of the different types of activity. As some activities were recorded only once, and some households engaged in several activities at once, this table does not total to 100 percent.

15. vide., Obregon, (1974); Le Brun & Gerry, (1975); Moser, (1978); Glass, (1984); Natrass, (1984)

TABLE 4:22

Frequency of Informal Production

Type of Activity	% of Households Performing Activity
Grasswork	20,1
Sewing	10,7
Building	3,2
Thatching	0,8
Traditional healer	2,4
Brickmaking	8,3
Collecting Firewood	2,0
Washing	2,0
Collecting water	2,0
Oxen hire	2,4
Handmill hire	3,2
Beer selling	2,4
Reselling	0,8
Households who are engaged in informal activity	55,5

n=254

The most popular informal activity was grass work. Just over 20 percent of the sample said they were producing household utensils from grass work. Examples of the output include sleeping mats, brushes, sieves for beer making and baskets. It should be noted that different items require different types of grass or reeds. Some of these grasses are not available locally, for example, reeds for mat making have to be gathered from as far away as Port Shepstone. As a result, some items embody cash costs in the form of transport costs, whilst others may require extensive labour inputs.

Sewing was adopted as an informal activity by 11 percent of the sample. As the possession of a sewing machine dramatically increases productivity, it is likely that those households with machines will be

most inclined to adopt this informal activity. As a result, it may be expected that the wealthier households will be most successful in the production of garments. As sewing also requires considerable capital outlay in the form of material and thread, there is a relatively large barrier to entry, in the form of the initial capital investment which is required.

Brick making was adopted by 8 percent of the sample. This activity is extremely labour intensive, but requires very little capital investment. It is likely therefore, that poorer households are able to adopt this activity as a source of income. Other activities which have similarly low barriers to entry include the collection of firewood or water and the washing of other household's clothing. The major cost embodied in all these activities is labour time.

A further group of informal activities can be distinguished in terms of the access to necessary skills that is needed to perform these tasks. The activities include building, thatching and traditional healing, such as the activities of the Sangomas and herbalists. These activities were performed by 3,2 0,8 and 2,4 percent of the sample respectively. In larger or more urban areas, one would expect informal employment as mechanics and shoemakers also to be included in this group.

Some 6 percent of the sample were able to earn some return on their capital stock, through such activities as hiring of oxen to other households for ploughing, and charging for the use of a handmill. Finally, illegal activities such as the selling of homemade beer and

resale of shop goods were probably under-reported. Only 2,4 percent of the sample indicated that they were able to earn an income from beer brewing and 0,8 percent from resale.

In conclusion, it appears that many of the informal activities require either the investment of capital or the use of considerable labour time. This suggests that the earnings from these sources is limited to only those households wealthy enough to overcome the capital barrier to entry or who have sufficient surplus labour to meet the labour requirements. This suggests that the role of informal employment in income generation is comparatively small, and that it can not be viewed as an alternative form of subsistence production.

4.12 The Distribution of Wealth

McGrath (1984) has argued that the distribution of wealth is an important determinant of the distribution of income, and that it is a major cause of inequalities in the distribution of income. This is particularly so in rural subsistence economies, in which wealth is often largely embodied in productive assets, such as land and farming equipment. Despite this, the distribution of personal wealth in Southern Africa has received little attention. Studies from developed countries have indicated that the ownership of wealth is more concentrated than is the distribution of incomes, and such a comparison will be attempted in this section.

In order to assess the relative ownership of wealth amongst rural

households, it is necessary to construct some measure or index of wealth. In this section the assets which have been individually discussed are combined into a composite index of wealth. This was achieved by assigning each asset a score which was based roughly upon relative use values. Due to the absence of a land market in the areas which were studied, it can be argued that this makes more sense than utilising prices, or some other measure of exchange values. Table 4:23 shows the assets which were included, and the scores which were assigned to each asset.

TABLE 4:23

Wealth Factor Scores

Wealth Factor		Score
Land	Half hectare	1
	1 hectare	4
	2 hectare	8
	3 hectare	16
	4 hectare	32
	8 hectare	64
	Cattle/horses	1
	Donkeys	0,5
	Sheep/goats/pigs	0,25
	Planter/plough	2
	Mill/Sewing machine	1
	Bicycle	0,5
	Radio	0,25

On the basis of this table, household scores were summed, and the

total wealth in the community calculated according to these totals. Table 4:24 contains this data indicating the percentage of total wealth that is owned by each quintile of the surveyed population. In order to clearly demonstrate the extent to which wealth is distributed unevenly, the richest quintile is broken into three groups, comprising 10 and 5 percent of the sample respectively. It must again be stressed that this index is a surrogate measure of wealth as contained in a "Basket" of household assets, and does not measure income.

TABLE 4:24

The Distribution of Wealth

Wealth Groups	Percentage of Total Population		Percentage of Total Wealth
1	Poorest	20%	0,3
2		20%	3,5
3		20%	14,7
4		20%	29,2
5		10%	19,3
6		5%	11,6
7	Richest	5%	21,4

n=255

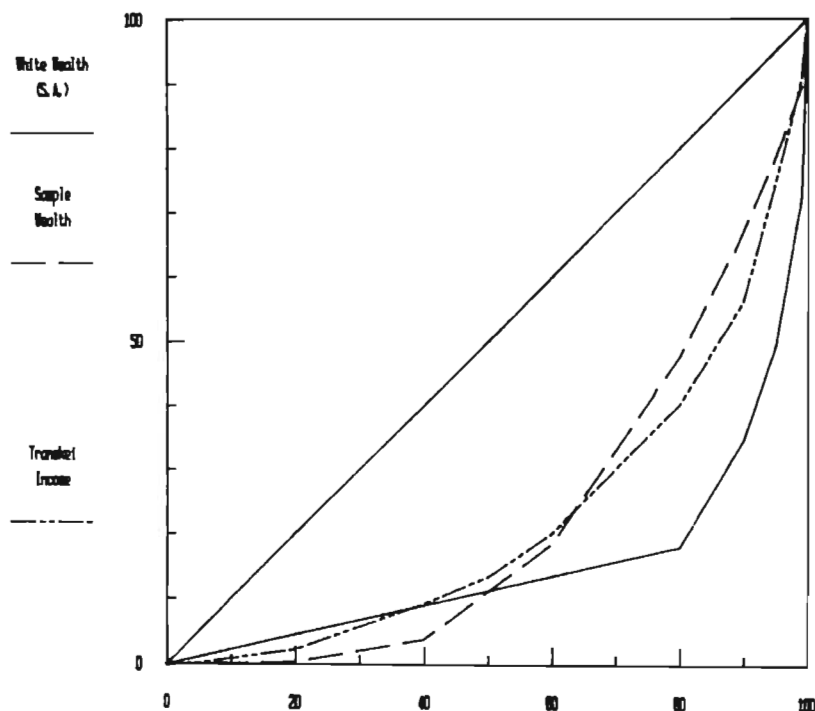
From this table it is evident that wealth is very unevenly distributed. The poorest quintile of the population owned assets which scored less than half a percent of total wealth. These households are therefore, effectively destitute and more importantly, have no means to participate in subsistence production. As a result, in order to survive, these households must rely entirely upon some

combination of remitted wages from migrant workers, pension payments, informal employment within the community or outright charity. As the second quintile owned only 3,5 per cent of the total wealth, it is likely that this group will find themselves in a similar position.

In contrast to the lower end of the wealth scale, the top twenty percent of the population owned assets totalling 53 percent of total wealth. Moreover, the top 5 percent owned assets which equalled just more than twenty percent of total wealth.

In order to permit a comparison of this distribution, Figure I shows Lorenz curves for the calculated wealth distribution, the income distribution that was found in Transkei by Wakelin,(op cit) and McGrath's calculated wealth distribution of whites in South Africa. (McGrath, op cit)

FIGURE 1
Lorenz Curve



As would be anticipated, in the poorest groups, income is not as

unevenly distributed as wealth. However, greater inequality is evident at higher income levels. This may be a consequence of the extreme poverty of the poorest groups, who rely more heavily upon income, and who would require a greater proportion of migrant earnings in order to subsist. The wealth distribution of whites also indicates lower inequality in the lower wealth groups, but greater inequality at higher wealth groups. This would suggest the absence of a middle class in the black wealth distribution.

Before examining the means of survival of the very poor, and the influence of this distribution upon the available development options, it should be noted that a number of historical references mention the uneven distribution of the assets included in this index. For example, Bundy (1979, p. 128) notes that the Transkeian Territories General Council report of 1909 found marked wealth differentials, with 33 per cent of the cattle concentrated in the hands of 5 per cent of the people. Beinart, (1982) writing on the political economy of Pondoland mentions that in the 1930's, access to cash income was becoming an increasingly important influence in the stratification of rural households. Finally, Southall (1982, p. 85) refers to the Mine Natives' Commission of 1944, which reports figures for 1942 from seven districts in Transkei. This survey recorded that 44 per cent of families owned no cattle at all.

It can be concluded that the major factors of production in the rural areas are concentrated into the hands of very few. Thus, any development project seeking to improve the quality of life for the

majority must take into account the existing wealth distribution. If this is not done, it is likely that the benefits of such a project will accrue largely to those who are already well off. Moreover, a specifically agriculturally orientated project which does not alter the status quo distribution, can only affect those with the necessary factors of production - that is, a very small minority and, indeed could well make the distribution of wealth even more uneven.

Although there is a persistent myth relating to the rural wealth distribution which suggests that it is more even than in urban areas, highly uneven rural distributions, such as those found in the areas surveyed are not uncommon. Studies in other countries have also argued that, because of the uneven distribution of wealth in rural areas, agricultural development projects serve only to make the situation worse. (Griffen 1974)

4.12.1 The Distribution of Wealth and the Development Options

Possible alternative approaches to agricultural development projects that will be more effective in the relief of rural poverty can be divided into two categories:

1. those that entail the redistribution of the existing factors of production from the wealthy minority to the poor;
2. those that are based upon the provision of state owned, or state subsidised factors of production, which will be operated on a communal basis.

The first of these categories represents a radical change in existing

wealth and power structures. Consequently, it is likely that the existing rural elite will strongly oppose this approach, and given their more privileged position vis-a-vis policy makers and policy-implementers, they are likely to succeed in blocking such a redistribution. The second category must also contain elements of redistribution in the areas under discussion. As was noted earlier, land ownership is the major factor determining productivity, and is at present available to only half the sample. Thus any agricultural programme redirecting state assistance to the poor, must imply at least further distribution of landholdings. Consequently, not only must the flow of goods and services from the state to the community be redirected towards the poor, but the land itself must be redistributed. As this will again run counter to the wishes of the rural power elite, it is unlikely that such a redistribution will occur. There are however, two other development alternatives;

3. to reject subsistence production as a solution to the poverty of the majority of the population and instead concentrate resources upon the provision of other forms of employment, be this on larger farms or in formal or informal non-farm production;
4. to combine this strategy with the use of land which has not yet been distributed or cultivated and low technology factors of production. Perhaps this can be achieved through the use of garden plots, which can be tilled by hand, and consequently do not require the ownership of cattle. Too much reliance should not be placed upon these garden plots as sources of income, as it is unlikely that they will ever be able to do more than

supplement the earnings from migrant labour.

Turning to the means of survival of the very poor, it was suggested earlier that the poorest sections of the community have to rely upon either remittances, pensions, informal employment or charity in order to survive. Unfortunately as it was not possible to gather satisfactory income data, the importance of remittances must be derived from the number of regular remitters in a household. Table 4:25 presents this data, indicating the number of regular remitters for each wealth group.

TABLE 4:25

Remittances by Wealth Group

Wealth groups	Number of regular remitters			
	0	1	2	3
1	51,9	34,6	11,5	1,9
2	32,6	47,8	17,4	2,2
3	32,1	49,1	9,4	9,4
4	29,1	49,1	20,0	1,8
5	36,0	44,0	8,0	12,0
6	36,4	63,6	0	0
7	46,2	30,8	15,4	7,7
Total	39,9	42,1	13,3	4,7

n=255

From this data it can be seen that far from relying most heavily upon migrant labour the poorest quintile of the population in fact has the lowest degree of access to regular remittances from migrants. This may in part explain their poverty. The situation steadily improves over the following four wealth groups, with fewer households having no

regular remitter at all, and more households having more than one regular remitter. This suggests either that these households comprise a middle aged group, in which the size of the household is expanding or a household that is simply larger than the average and, as a result, the average number of migrant workers from the household is higher. The last two wealth groups, comprising the wealthiest 10 percent of the sample, shows a decline in the number of regular remitters. This may be due either to the average age of the household, that is to say the stage in its life cycle, or may be the result of increasing self-sufficiency, and a consequent decline in the need for remitted income. It may be concluded therefore, that the poorest group in the population cannot be assumed to be the families of urban workers, as over half of this group do not have wage earnings as a source of income.

Table 4:26 presents data indicating wealth by access to pension payments in order to determine the extent to which this service assists in maintaining the poor.

TABLE 4:26

Wealth by Number of Pensioners

Wealth groups	No. Pensioners in the family		
	0	1	2
1	82,7	13,5	3,8
2	91,3	8,7	0
3	92,5	5,7	1,9
4	90,9	9,1	0
5	84,0	16,0	0
6	100,0	0	0
7	84,6	15,4	0

n=255

This data indicates that the poorest group has the highest incidence

of receiving at least one pension payment, with 17 percent of this group being paid a pension. This figure declines over the next three groups comprising 60 percent of the sample, confirming the suggestion made earlier that the middle wealth groups consist predominantly of middle aged households. However, in the wealthiest 5 percent, 15 percent received a pension payment, as indeed did 16 percent of group 5 (80 - 90% decile). This shows that pensioners are found mostly in the bottom and top quintiles. However, as the majority of the sampled households contained no pensioner at all, (89 percent) and 83 percent of the poorest households had no pensioner, it can be concluded that pension payments do not dramatically assist in the subsistence of the poor.

A final source of income earning open to the poorer groups is to participate in the activities of the informal sector. Table 4:27 contains data relating the wealth categories to informal sector employment.

TABLE 4:27

Wealth by Informal Employment

Wealth Groups	Informal Employment	
	No	Yes
1	67,3	32,7
2	52,2	47,8
3	49,1	50,9
4	56,4	43,6
5	48,0	52,0
6	63,6	36,4
7	53,8	46,2
Total	55,7	44,3

n = 255

From this table it is apparent that the poorest quintile is least

inclined to enter into informal employment. This suggests that either:

1. the capital investment, or cash costs of an informal activity are greater than can be afforded by a poor household, or:
2. poorer households do not have available labour to use in labour intensive informal employment, or:
3. some other socio-psychological factors inhibit participation in informal production.

One can conclude on the basis of the analysis of wealth by landholding, migrancy, pension receipts and participation in the informal sector, that a large group of the poor have no visible means of support whatsoever. This illustrates the extent and depth of absolute poverty prevalent in the areas surveyed. In addition, the uneven distribution of wealth is indicative of the occurrence of a marked degree of relative poverty, referring to the difference in wealth between the richest and the poorest groups.

4.13 The Profile of the Landless

The areas included in this survey, whilst situated in a remote rural area of Transkei, have a remarkably high proportion of landless people, 47 percent of the total. Since by definition agricultural development schemes that do not include the allocation of land to the landless will fail to have any direct impact on the lifestyles of those without land, it is worthwhile looking at the characteristics of the landless in a little more detail in an attempt to obtain some idea

as to what types of development programme might successfully reach this group. Table 4:28 contains data that compares the land rights of male and female household heads. In addition age groups are compared within each group.

TABLE 4:28

Age/Sex Comparision of Landless and Landholders

Age groups	% of households who are landless		% of households who are Landholders	
	male	female	male	female
Unknown	6	10	9	5
25 - 39	14	2	11	4
40 - 59	11	13	21	16
60 +	12	29	16	20
Total of each group	43	55	57	46
Total Population	47,4%		52,5%	

One can see from the data that a greater percentage of female heads do not hold any land than male heads. 55 percent of all female head households own no land as against 43 percent of all male headed households. Of the households with male heads, almost one-third of those without land were under the age of 40 compared to one-fifth of the landholders. This suggests that there is still some chance that these families will eventually obtain land through the ordinary tribal

process of land allocation.

Amongst the landless families who are headed by women, the reverse appears to be the case, as approximately 96 percent of them were aged over 40 years and more than 73 percent over 60 years of age. These families are likely to have lost their male head and with him, their land rights and in terms of tribal customs are most unlikely to regain them. The major hope for an improvement in the lifestyles of the majority of these households lies in the successful registration of one of their members as an old age pensioner.

Table 4:29 contains comparative data on other aspects, namely, household size, dependency burdens, migrant remittances, cattle holdings and the possession of a savings account.

An examination of the data reveals the following:

1. Although the typical (modal) family size for both groups was between 5 and 10 people, a twenty three per cent of the families without land fell into the small category (3 or less), as opposed to 11 percent of those with land. Of those without land, a mere 0.4 per cent of families had more than 10 people, while 11,5 per cent of those with land fell into this category.
2. Both groups appear to be equally dependent upon the migrant labour system and the remittances they receive from their absent migrant workers. The landless group did however appear to have

TABLE 4:29
Comparison of Characteristics
and Composition of Landless/Landholding H/H

Type of characteristic	% of households who are landless	% of households who are landholding
Size of household		
1	2,4	0,8
2	8,1	1,5
3	12,1	9,2
4	15,3	13,7
5 - 10	61,3	63,3
10 +	0,4	11,5
Number of dependents		
0	14,5	5,3
1	2,0	16,0
2	16,9	15,3
3	19,4	28,2
4	13,7	22,9
5 - 8	14,5	11,5
Number of remitters		
0	21,8	16,8
1	59,7	56,5
2	14,5	20,6
3	4,0	6,1
Frequency of remittances		
None	54,3	45,0
Regular	42,7	50,4
Irregular	4,0	4,6
Number of cattle		
None	71,8	43,7
1-3	13,7	22,9
4-9	11,3	22,1
10 +	3,2	11,3
Savings Account		
No	66,7	61,8
Yes	31,3	39,2

n=245

marginally fewer migrants and a greater proportion of them did not send any money back to the family.

3. The landless groups held fewer cattle. Indeed, 72 percent of them owned no cattle at all and only 3 percent owned more than 10 animals.

In summary, whilst on the surface the differences between the economic standing of the two groups do not appear to be all that different, a closer examination of the data reveals that the landless group has in fact a very much narrower margin with which to ensure its long term survival.

This group had a higher proportion of older female household heads, a higher desertion rate by their migrant workers, no land on which to produce back up subsistence crops and very little saving either in the traditional form of cattle or in terms of a modern sector savings account.

The landless are, therefore, in a particularly precarious position, in that agriculturally based development projects will pass them by, and they have fewer alternative sources of income. That is to say, there is the distinct likelihood, that this group could become increasingly marginalised, and trapped into a position of extreme poverty.

4.14 Summary and Conclusion

Two major categories of income generation have been considered; firstly, production within the rural areas, both agrarian and pastoral

activities, and secondly, through wage labour - particularly participation in the migrant labour system. It was found in Section 4.2 that landlessness was frequent in the surveyed areas and as a result the option of subsistence agrarian production was open to only half of the rural population. Landlessness did not appear to be due either to traditional factors such as age structure, or to the planned agricultural plots as set out in the 'Betterment Plan' and it was concluded, therefore, that the distribution of agricultural plots was incomplete for some reason.

The yields of the landholding population were found to be lower than the average for the Transkei as a whole and considerably lower than the average for the Umzimkulu district. In order to determine the reason for this poor performance, the relationships between yield per hectare and plot size, access to draft power and the availability of adult male labour was examined. From this data it was found that:

1. small farms were slightly more efficient than the intermediate farms in terms of yield but that the large farms were the most efficient;
2. access to sufficient cattle to form a span did improve yields;
3. the loss of labour due to out-migration was more than compensated by the access to remittances.

It was concluded, therefore, that subsistence production required the support of wage earnings and the fulfilment of traction requirements

in order to improve yields. Overall however, the low yields of the area must be ascribed to poverty in terms of soil fertility, suitable micro climate or economic factors.

Other forms of subsistence production were examined in order to complete the analysis of income generation in the rural areas. This analysis included garden production, small livestock and poultry. It was found that gardens made a small but significant contribution to subsistence income due to the extent of landlessness in the area. Small livestock was owned by very few households and therefore cannot be seen to contribute to subsistence income to any great extent. Poultry keeping on the other hand, is prevalent due to the low cost of upkeep and the range of uses, and has potential to be developed into a more important source of income. However, it seems likely that such commodity production will be exchanged on an unequal basis. (Bernstein, 1979)

The low potential of subsistence production pointed to a high dependence upon wage labour earnings. The estimated amounts of remittances range between R47,00 and R42,00 per month. As the majority of households received remittances regularly, it was concluded that remittances were required in order to meet month to month food requirements.

Analysis of an index of wealth based upon the factors of production above showed a highly uneven distribution of rural wealth. This

suggests that careful targeting is required for any rural development project aiming at improving the position of the poor to be successful.

Given the low wages paid in South Africa to migrant labour and the low estimated percentage of the wage which is remitted, coupled with a severely constrained income generating ability of subsistence production, the ability of rural households to accumulate capital is limited. Table 4:30 indicates the frequency of household saving.

TABLE 4:30

Access to Savings

Access to Savings	Frequency %
None	64
Local savings account	26
Savings account at work	10
n=255	

Only 36 percent of rural households had a savings account which they knew of, with 28 percent of these accounts held at the husband's work and therefore inaccessible to the rural household. Thus for the majority of the population, the improvement of their quality of life through capital accumulation is not possible.

Taking into account the low productivity levels, the overall absence of capital stock, and the prevalent landlessness, it can be suggested that the rural population of Umzimkulu are trapped in a condition of severe poverty, and almost entirely dependent upon the migrant labour system.

CHAPTER FIVE⁴

THE FULFILMENT OF THE BASIC NEEDS

5.1 Introduction - What are Basic Needs?

The problem of poverty requires an analysis which goes beyond the issues of income, wealth and productivity. In an economy, the population has to meet certain minimum needs in order to survive. The type, level and mix of these needs will partly be determined by the technology utilised in the economy and partly determined by the social conditions which have historically been defined as acceptable. Two categories of minimum needs for survival may be distinguished. Firstly, those needs which are biologically essential for human survival and secondly, those needs deemed by society as necessary for a more secure level of survival. Into the former category fall items such as food, water and shelter and into the latter, items such as adequate health care, education and access to shopping facilities. The approach to development which takes the fulfilment of these needs as its main criteria is the Basic Needs approach (BNA)¹.

This approach evolved out of the recent concern with the multiple aspects of poverty and the apparent difficulty in improving the position of the most poor. The Basic Needs Approach, draws attention to the rapid fulfilment of minimum survival needs for as many of the

1. For fuller discussions on the motivation behind the Basic Need approach, see Ghai, (1977); Ghai, Godfrey & Lisk, (1979); Ghai, Khan & Alfthan, (1979) and Sandbrook, (1982).

poor as is possible. Moreover, emphasis is placed upon the use of low levels of technologies as a means to achieve Basic Needs fulfilment in order for the community to become more self reliant and thereby reduce its dependence upon more developed economies. Finally, it is argued that the process of meeting the day to day needs of the poor - who are predominantly rural, will operate to integrate this group into the wider national economy. As a result of this, the rural population will be able to participate increasingly in the nation's development effort.

Thus, Basic Needs fulfilment refers to that position in which a poor household is able to meet its own subsistence needs. These needs are defined in a wider sense than nutritional requirements and should include the alleviation of all aspects of dire poverty and deprivation including political deprivation.²

Basic Needs may be conveniently distinguished according to the manner in which they are fulfilled. Within a rural context the potential exists for certain of these needs to be met directly from the environment, through the exertion of time and labour power. The extent to which the rural environment is able to meet the needs of a community, as well as the availability of labour time will determine the ease and relative importance of this form of need fulfilment. In the case where need fulfilment from the environment demands excessive labour time and, as a result, the opportunity cost of this strategy becomes too high relative to that of other methods that are available,

2. As is made clear in Lee's discussion in the ILO's publication - The Basic Needs approach to Development, op cit. Lee, (1977)

an alternative will be sought, which will use less labour time but will carry some other cost. Strategies will be chosen therefore, according to their availability and their direct and opportunity costs. Moreover, these costs will vary according to the composition and wealth of the household.

It is possible to identify those needs which are fulfilled from the environment and the difficulties encountered during this process. This may indicate the manner in which less costly alternatives can be provided. For example, as has already been noted in chapters two and three, women in the rural areas of the Transkei are frequently required to carry out tasks as the de jure household head, in addition to their other work. It may be argued therefore, that in such circumstances, labour time is not freely available and as such, that the supply of labour is limited. Such a limitation implies that the cost of using additional units of labour is likely to rise steeply. It follows therefore, that, where needs which are fulfilled from the environment demand excessive labour time from women, and where the household is unwilling or unable to adopt an alternative strategy, that household is likely to be experiencing difficulty in fulfilling those basic needs. And further, that any strategy designed to alleviate such difficulties should be based upon the use of less labour time.

The second method by which basic needs can be met refers to services provided by the state. As these are usually distributed from a central location in rural areas, which are poorly provided with transport facilities, access to the point of delivery is often the

most fundamental constraint on the fulfilment of such needs. Access relates, in some cases, back to the issue of available labour time, in that time may be required to travel to and from a particular place in order to take advantage of the service provided. The level of need fulfilment in such cases can be improved through the improvement of access to the delivery area, perhaps by the provision of transport facilities. Alternatively, the number of points at which the service is delivered can be increased through the use of strategies such as mobile clinics and mobile banking units.

Finally, Basic Needs can be met through interaction within the private sector. This occurs through the mechanism of the market and can be formal or informal. It will reflect the purchase of goods, such as ground maize, or services such as taxis. Access is again the most fundamental constraint in this strategy. However, as with all interactions through the market, the availability of funds is a major determinant of an individual's access to this market and consequently the extent to which Basic Needs can be met in this manner.

In summary, the minimum requirements for survival can be realised through;

1. the environment;
2. the provision of services distributed by the state and;
3. purchase from the private sector.

For the latter two methods, physical access to the centre of distribution is a fundamental constraint, and in the former, the environment itself determines the extent and ease of need fulfilment.

5.2 Basic Needs Fulfilment in the Umzimkulu District

As would be expected within the Umzimkulu district of the Transkei, all the methods of need fulfilment discussed above are open to the rural household to varying extents. The majority of households employ a mix of strategies, both to realise different needs as well as to realise identical needs. The mix is determined by many factors, of which the nature and availability of the need itself, the time of the year, the state of the household finances and the availability of labour time, may be cited as examples.

In order to identify the constraints facing the households surveyed and the mix of strategies used to realise its basic needs, the people interviewed were asked to identify basic needs which they felt were difficult to fulfil. Thereafter, the reason why fulfilment was difficult was discussed and the strategy adopted by the household to meet that need, was established. This provided a list of basic needs, identified according to the constraints faced by the people in attempting to fulfil those needs. It was hoped that the use of this method would enable an understanding to be developed of the difficulties encountered by rural households.

Finally, the interviewed households were asked if an improvement were to take place, which of the basic needs that they were encountering difficulties with should receive priority. The results obtained are given in Table 5:1.

The majority of the sample (45 percent) felt that the provision of

fuel needs should receive top priority. A further 16 percent felt that water needs should receive priority. Finally, 15 percent felt that farming should be accorded top priority. The latter, as shown in Table 5:29, mostly refers to the provision of fields and relates therefore to the meeting of nutritional needs. When asked to identify the second priority need, the sample identified the same order of needs, with transportation problems being identified by 13 percent of the sample as a need requiring second priority. This refers to problems of access to a central point from which basic needs can be obtained.

TABLE 5:1
Priority of Basic Needs

Basic Needs	Priority	% households
Fuel	1	45,3
Water	1	16,1
Farming	1	15,4
Road	1	11,0
Fuel	2	27,8
Water	2	18,4
Farming	2	14,3
Travelling	2	12,6

n=255

The discussion below will link the difficulties encountered in the fulfilment of a need and the existing strategy employed to meet this need. This is intended to indicate problem areas and to attempt to isolate ways in which an existing strategy can be made more efficient.

The discussion will examine firstly those needs which are essential to human survival - food, water, shelter and fuel. Thereafter, health care and transport facilities will be examined.

5.3 Fuel Needs

Fuel was identified by 83 percent of the interviewed households as difficult to obtain. The two major difficulties which were encountered were the distance which was required to walk in order to collect fuel, and the cost of its purchase.

In the areas which were surveyed, wood fuels were almost universally used for both cooking and heating. This can be explained by:

1. the relative remoteness of the areas, in terms of access to towns from which to purchase and transport home other fuels;
2. the poverty of the majority of households, which limited their ability to utilise more expensive alternatives such as paraffin;³
3. the abundance of wood in areas adjacent to the Umzimkulu district, in the afforested areas around Harding, Weza and Singisi.

People were asked how they obtained fuel and what difficulties were

3. Potgieter has suggested that fuel and lighting requirements of rural families require 15 litres of paraffin monthly. This would approximately cost R6,75 per month.* Potgieter, op cit p. 47
*Price corrected for 1983/price levels.

involved in this strategy. The answers are analysed in Table 5:2.

TABLE 5:2

Fuel - Problems and Strategies

Percentage of households with a fuel problem				
	Forest far away	Wood expen- sive to buy	No alternat- ive source	Total
Walk	51,9	8,2	10,2	23,3
Buy	40,3	37,5	33,9	53,3
Work	11,5	4,0	80,8	12,4
Use substitute	12,5	8,3	79,2	11,0
Total	37,7	23,8	39,5	100

N = 210

This table suggests that four alternative methods are adopted to meet fuel requirements. These can be distinguished according to the form in which the cost of fuel is realised. Firstly, 23 percent of the sample walked to distant woodlots and collected fuel. Woodlots have been planned and planted within a half day's walk from two residential areas in Sihleza and there is a large natural forest within a similar distance from four residential areas in Gugwini. This alternative was available therefore, to 29 percent of the households sampled, of which 80 percent felt that this method of obtaining fuel was unsatisfactory. The main problem identified by 82 percent of the group who adopted the strategy of walking and then collection in order to obtain fuel, was distance. This suggests that the cost to the family, in terms of the

labour time that is necessary to meet fuel needs, was felt to be excessive.

A minority of the households who collected fuel stated that they did so as there was no alternative (10 percent). Moreover, a further 8 percent collected wood because they felt that the purchase of fuel was too costly. This indicates that this group lacks the funds to buy wood, but would prefer to buy if funds were available.

One can summarize these results by noting that the collection of wood may be adopted as a method of obtaining fuel due to the following factors:

1. the lack of access to a fuel selling service;
2. insufficient funds to support purchase;
3. sufficient labour available to reduce the opportunity cost of collection, and thereby to improve the terms of trade of this method.

The most popular strategy adopted by the community to meet its fuel needs was the purchase of wood from the private sector. In the areas surveyed wood was available, from tractor-hauled trailers from neighbouring areas, to 81 percent of the sample. The areas which did not have access to this service were those in which there was an

absence of suitable access roads. The wood purchase strategy was adopted by 53 percent of the sample despite the fact that 38 percent felt that the purchase price was too costly. Nonetheless, as 11 percent of the group adopting this strategy stated that they purchased wood because the woodlots were excessively distant, it may be deduced that a direct income loss was preferred to an indirect loss, through the use of labour time. Finally, 34 percent stated that they purchased wood because no alternative was open to them. In other words, these households felt that they were unable to collect wood at all as no woodlots were within walking distance. From the discussion above, two factors emerge which will determine the households decision to purchase wood in order to obtain fuel:

1. the opportunity cost of collection being greater than both the opportunity cost and the direct cost of purchasing wood. This will depend upon;
 - (a) the availability of labour;
 - (b) the distance, time and frequency required to walk to the woodlots and to collect wood there;
2. the access to woodlots - that is, whether there are woodlots within walking distance.

As an individual pole sold for approximately R1,00⁴ and was estimated to last two days for a family of five, the minimum monthly expenditure for the household was R15,00.

A third strategy - employment on local farms for remuneration in kind,

was available to three residential areas in Gugwini, comprising 10 percent of the sample. This strategy can be considered as a form of interaction with the private sector and was adopted by 12 percent of those households with fuel problems, as the strategy to obtain fuel. In essence, forest owners paid for manual labourers, by allowing them to collect wood from the forest and then providing transport for the wood to the residential area. The work which was required involved weeding and hoeing and, therefore, provided employment opportunities best suited to younger women. It was estimated by the households who adopted this strategy, that one day's work yielded two days worth of wood.

A reasonable estimate of the alternative strategy - the collection of wood, for those residential areas who were able to adopt that approach, is that a half day's labour yielded two days worth of wood. From this it can be concluded that collection embodied a lower labour time cost and therefore, had more favourable terms of trade with other labour intensive products than employment for wood. It is of course difficult to make a direct comparison, as the residential areas that had access to employment, did not have access to woodlots and vice versa. This difficulty is confirmed by the fact that 81 percent of the group who adopted employment in order to meet their fuel needs, stated that there was no other alternative open to them.

It is, however, possible to compare the strategies; the purchase of

-
4. The cost of purchasing fuel was determined by discussion with the driver of the wood selling tractor and with the sample.

fuel and employment for fuel, as 85 percent of the group who adopted the latter strategy also had access to the former. As purchase of wood cost R1,00 for two days wood supply, it seems that those who were employed for wood were receiving the equivalent of 50 cents for a day's labour. However, as notwithstanding this very low wage rate, the majority of these households preferred employment, it may be argued that the opportunity cost to the family in terms of the loss of labour time was lower than the direct cash cost. In other words, the labour time necessary to obtain fuel by employment had a lower marginal cost to the household than the income loss necessary to purchase the wood. Given the low estimation of household cash earnings provided by Osmond Lange of R1 000,00 per annum,⁵ the cost of purchasing wood equals nearly one fifth of the household's monthly cash income and it is not surprising, therefore, that this expense has a high marginal cost - and farm labour is the less costly option.

The final strategy adopted to meet fuel needs was the use of inferior substitutes. This method was adopted by 11 percent of the sample. The substitutes used included dried cattle dung, Karoo bush and dried aloe stumps. Due to their limited ability to burn embers, these substitutes were regarded as undesirable, as collection had to be repeated frequently. In addition the use of cow dung represents the consumption of a resource which may be better utilised as manure. As such cow dung could partly alleviate the declining fertility of the soil, it has a very high opportunity cost when burnt as fuel. It should be noted, however, that the majority of households who

5. Osmond Lange, op cit. p.141.

adopted this strategy, stated that they had no alternative (79 percent). This was chiefly due to the lack of funds to purchase, or the lack of available labour to collect wood. These households can be seen to be mostly the older and poorer families.

Overall, the distance necessary to collect wood, or the outright absence of collectable wood accounted for 77 percent of the difficulties relating to the fulfilment of fuel requirements. This severely limits the opportunities for obtaining fuel directly from the environment and accordingly, 53 percent of the sample purchased wood from the private sector. This increases the demand by rural households for cash income. As was shown in chapter three, remittances from migrant workers constitutes the major source of cash and therefore the increased reliance on the purchase of fuel increases the dependence of Transkei upon wage labour in the Republic of South Africa.

5.4 Water Needs

The Basic Needs Approach to development establishes as the minimum requirement for water, that a community be served by an adequate supply of clean water. The motivation for this minimum is threefold. Firstly, if water is easily available it will reduce the labour time necessary to collect water by preventing long journeys and queuing for water. Secondly, water which is clean will assist in health care. This is particularly important due to the prevalence of water borne disease in Third World countries such as the notorious cause of infant

mortality - gastro-enteritis and cholera.⁶ Finally, the adequate supply of water permits the irrigation of crops and, therefore, can assist in increasing productivity levels.

It has been estimated by Slade (1982) that households in KwaZulu require between 60 and 80 litres of water daily, in order to have an adequate supply.⁷ It appeared from observation that water collection was carried out through the use of 20 litre containers. This implies that between three and four trips are necessary to collect daily water. However, despite its importance, in the areas surveyed, 61 percent of the sample indicated that water needs were difficult to fulfil.

The sample was asked to indicate whether they were satisfied with their water supply and if not, what difficulties were experienced. As all but one of the residential areas did not have access to a protected spring, no alternatives to gathering water directly from the environment existed for the majority of the sample.

In order to determine if water problems had become more severe over time, households were asked to identify how long water fulfilment had

6. In their book Village Water Supply, Saunders and Warford have presented studies attempting to link the improvement of the quality of water supply with the incidence of water-borne, water based and water washed diseases. They conclude that more and better water, and better sanitary facilities are associated with better health. Saunders & Warford, (1976)

7. This estimation is lower than the minimum quantity calculated by the World Health Organization of 15 litres per capita for the African rural areas. (WHO: 1973).

been difficult. Table 5:3 indicates data showing the type of difficulty encountered and the duration of that problem.

TABLE 5:3
Water Needs - Problems and Strategies

Type of water problem	Duration of water problem		
	Always a problem	Since Resettlement	Total
Far away	30,8	69,2	26,9
Inadequate	33,3	66,7	19,2
Far and inadequate	42,5	57,5	21,2
Unhealthy	52,5	47,5	12,2
Far, inadequate and unhealthy	53,7	46,3	20,5
Total	41,0	59,0	n=156

The survey recorded that the most frequent difficulties encountered in the fulfilment of water needs were related to the distance that had to be travelled in order to collect water and the inadequacy of the flow of the water itself. This combination of problems accounted for 67 percent of the reported problems and suggests that at present the environment is unable to meet the demands of the population who are dependent upon it. The inadequacy of flow results in queuing for water, and implies an increase in the labour time necessary to fulfill a household's water needs. As with fuel this will increase the

opportunity cost of collecting water.

As water collection is mainly carried out by women, one would expect to find that this problem would be most severe in those households with a low female adult population. Consequently, it can be argued that the marginal cost of water collection will vary according to the number of adult females in the household and the labour time necessary to fulfil their other duties, particularly child care.

Turning to the duration of problems related to inadequacy of flow and distance to the spring, 65 percent of the group with this problem indicated that the problem had worsened or begun since resettlement. It appears, therefore, that in many cases the Betterment Schemes actually increased the difficulty in meeting water needs. This is largely due to the fact that water sources which were planned to be improved, or constructed, still have not been implemented. As a result, resettlement has consolidated the rural population and increased the population dependent upon the existing sources of water. It seems therefore, that the completion of the water projects provided for in the original Betterment plans would partly alleviate the excessive incidence of water related problems.

Finally, turning to the quality of the water, only 20 percent of the total sample complained that their water was unhealthy. Given the intensity of the cholera campaign that has been conducted in the district, and the absence of protected springs, one would have expected that a higher percentage of the households surveyed would

have been dissatisfied with the quality of their water. The low percentage suggests either that the education campaign has failed or that in areas where water is in short supply, the quantity need is so great that quality cannot be an issue. Consequently, a project which aims at protecting existing springs in order to reduce the risk of infection by water-borne diseases, would be unlikely to receive much support from the local community, particularly if it reduced the available supply. Instead, such a project should be linked to the increased supply of water per se.

From the foregoing discussion it is apparent that in terms of the minimum basic need requirement for water, the areas surveyed are seriously deprived. As only one spring in the fourteen residential areas was protected, it is likely that all sources of water with this exception, were periodically fouled by animals - specifically small livestock. Moreover, 54 percent of the sample felt that their water source was either inadequate or too far away. Thus the majority of the sample did not have access to a convenient and adequate supply of water. As water is a fundamental prerequisite in the meeting of basic needs, it can be concluded that the communities surveyed were severely deprived.

5.5 Shelter Needs

It was concluded by the United Nations World Housing Survey in 1974,⁸ that the housing shortage is not quantitative but qualitative in developing countries. This implies that overcrowding of existing

8. Ghai, (1977), p. 36

housing units is not the major problem, but rather that the quality of these units is. This is both in terms of the ability of the house to provide adequate protection against rain, wind and cold, and in terms of the services provided by the house, such as sanitary, cooking and lighting facilities. A final criteria should be added to this group of indicators, namely that of the durability of the shelter. This type of information is of course extremely difficult to quantify, and as a result the discussion of this need must inevitably focus mainly on the more quantifiable aspects of meeting shelter requirements.

In assessing the durability and quality of shelter in the Umzimkulu district, it is possible to distinguish two major forms of shelter, which provide different qualities of shelter, and involve different costs. Firstly, there were the traditional mud-brick, thatched rondavels. These structures may vary to some extent, in that they may be square, round or hexagonal, or may be plastered with cement.

On average however, the structure has one room which is approximately seven metres in diameter, poorly lit with narrow or no windows, and floored with compacted cow dung. The thatching is either gathered by the owner or in areas where grass is not available, purchased. Although this form of roofing is relatively inexpensive, it requires frequent renewing.

The second form of structures identified were mud brick or cement block, zinc roofed structures. Variation in shape occurred in these as well, with square and hexagonal structures being noted. In contrast to thatched buildings however, considerable variation exists

in size and the number of rooms. These structures are also better lit with proper windows and frequently have plastered floors. Zinc roofing has to be purchased from the towns of Harding and Umzimkulu as it is not stocked by the local trading stores. As such, a decision to build this type of structure must also include the cost of transporting the roofing from the town to the building site. This suggests that the adequacy of the transportation facilities can influence the type of structure which is built. This point will be discussed further below.

The major advantage of zinc over thatch is:

1. its greater durability, and;
2. the potential for guttering and thereby rain water storage.

Thatch roofs do not permit the storage of rain water as the grass dirties the water. Corrugated zinc in contrast collects relatively clean water, and permits the runoff to be diverted to tanks. As was shown in section 5.4, the access to water represents a serious problem to the majority of households, and consequently rain water storage would make a significant contribution to the improvement of the quality of life of the rural population.

During the survey the type of structure was noted and this data is presented in Table 5:4.

TABLE 5:4
Typology of Residential Structure

Type of structure	Percentage of households
Thatched	58,6
Zinc roofed	1,2
Mixed	40,2

N = 255

From this table it is apparent that zinc/iron roofed structures are relatively frequent in the areas surveyed. These are found most frequently in combination with thatched structures. This suggests that although few households are living exclusively in houses roofed with zinc/iron, such structures are becoming increasingly more frequent in the rural areas. Zinc/iron roofing requires a square or hexagonal structure. Slade (1977, (b), pp 75-77) has suggested the following motivation governing the construction of a square-type house.

1. social - the effect of status and prestige;
2. functional - allowing the division of the housing unit into rooms
- thus expanding the possible number of occupants;
3. related to materials, - in order to permit a zinc/iron roof.

Turning to factors which motivate the decision to use a zinc/iron roof, the following influences can be identified:

1. social - once again status and prestige, as well as the increase in security gained from a reduced fire risk;
2. environmental - the lack of thatching grass, as well as the labour time which is required to gather it - and the potential for gathering rain water;
3. economic - the cost of purchasing thatching grass, the cost of purchasing the timber necessary to construct a framework upon which to thatch, and the durability of zinc/iron.

Despite these factors it should be noted that almost 60 percent of the sample still live exclusively in thatched houses, and that 99 percent of the households surveyed still used thatched houses. This implies a large demand for thatching grass, as well as a large demand for suitable poles for the framework.

Turning to the services provided by the housing units, less than 20 percent of the houses had a pit latrine in the residential plot. It should be noted that these households were concentrated in the residential areas closest to the permanent clinics. Thus, it seems that the constructing of pit latrines is in part a consequence of the cholera campaign, and therefore the proportion of households with pit latrines will increase in these residential areas as the campaign continues. However, both the lack of access to the clinic services,

and the lack of suitable building materials for latrines may limit the extent to which the more remote areas improve the sanitary facilities of their houses.

No houses in the surveyed areas had access to running water within the house, and the overall shortage of water meant that few households enjoyed ready access to their water source.

As far as cooking facilities are concerned, only those households with two or more buildings or multi-roomed square structures were able to separate the sleeping and cooking facilities. In Table 5:5 the number of independent housing units per household is shown.

TABLE 5:5

Number of Housing Units	
Number of Housing Units	Percentage of households
	Percentage
1	5,1
2	29,0
3	32,5
4	23,5
5	6,3
6	2,7
7	0,4
8	0,4
Mean	3,086
Median	2,988
Mode	3,000

N = 255

From this Table it can be seen that the majority of the sample were able to provide separate cooking facilities. Only 5 per cent of the sample had less than two independent housing units. However, most people had to use an open fire, with no facilities to carry away smoke. Only 2 percent of the sample owned a coal stove, which has an external chimney. Having examined the qualitative aspects of shelter, it remains to consider the quantitative. The Drenowski model for quality of life measurement⁹ includes a measure of crowding. This measure indicates that shelter is inadequate when there is more than one person per room. Table 5:6 show the number of people per room in the areas which were surveyed. It should be noted, however, that the applicability of this western standard to African style housing, is questionable.

Using this standard it appears that 87 percent of the sample live in over-crowded conditions. This can be explained by:

1. the inability to build thatch structures due to;
 - (a) lack of thatch;
 - (b) lack of labour time;
 - (c) lack of wood to construct a framework, and;

9. The Drenowski model is an attempt to quantify the economic and social goals implied by quality of life strategies such as the Basic Needs Approach. The model is based upon an inter-dependence table modelled on the Leontief input-output table. The aim was to represent in a model form, the inter-relationships between the consumption and production variables (the economic indicators) and the components of quality of life. (As measured by social indicators) The complete model, consisting of nine components and operationalized through 27 indicators, is summarized in Appendix 2. The reader is also referred to: Drenowski (1974)

TABLE 5:6

Number of People per Room

Persons per room	% of house- holds cumulative	% of house- holds relative
1	13,3	13,3
2	61,6	48,3
3	87,5	25,9
4	96,1	8,6
5	98,8	2,7
6	100	1,2
Mean	2,117	n=255
Median	1,991	
Mode	2,000	

2. the inability to build zinc/iron structures due to;
 - (a) insufficient funds;
 - (b) lack of transport facilities and finally;
3. the lack of building space due to overcrowding in the residential areas.
4. The preference for communal living conditions.

Inadequate provision of shelter needs, can also be indicated by the present cost of erecting new shelters. Given the overall lack of economic surplus found in the survey, a high cost of building is likely to imply that shelters either cannot be erected, improved or maintained. Discussion yielded the following estimation of the cost of a house to a household which is unable to attain poles for the structure, and lacks access to thatching grass - due to either the

absolute absence of grass in the area, or the lack of labour necessary to collect grass. The estimation includes the cost of labour to thatch the roof and to lay the foundation of the house.

Component Cost of House Construction

Poles	R100,00
Thatching Grass	R 60,00
Builder and Thatcher	R 50,00
Doors, Frames and Windows	R 40,00
	<hr/>
Total Cost	R250,00
	<hr/>

This estimate does not include the full labour costs that are incurred as they are difficult to estimate due to the system of work parties used in traditional rural communities. Under this system, the household which is building, provides beer and food to those who assist. A further costs which can be incurred is that for zinc roofing. This is estimated to cost R3,50 per metre of 1,8 metres wide zinc.¹⁰ Thus for a housing unit requiring 5,4 metres by 3 metres of zinc, the cost of roofing would work out to be R31,00. Compared to the estimated cost of thatching grass of R60,00, zinc has a lower cost. It seems that cost may not be as an important an issue in the choice of roof as the difficulties posed by the transportation of the roofing material from the town to the building site.

In an attempt to determine the major difficulty encountered in the erection of new shelters, the sample was asked what problems they

10. Prices provided by Federated Timber, Durban, July (1983).

encountered when building, and how they overcame these problems. Table 5:7 presents data indicating analysis of the answers recorded.

TABLE 5:7

Building Materials - Problems and Strategies

Type of strategy	Percentage of households with a problem with obtaining building materials			
	Poles are expensive to buy	Poles and grass are expensive	Transport	Total
Buy/tractor	28,3	22,4	0	22,8
Buy/Harding	69,7	67,4	100	73,8
Work	2,0	10,2	0	3,4
Total	64,1	20,7	15,2	n=237

The overwhelming problem for the majority of households, (64%) was the shortage of poles. Poles are required to construct the roof framework, and in some instances are used in wattle and daub construction. As was noted in section 453, the lack of wood in the area also presents a severe problem in the meeting of fuel requirements. In contrast to fuel needs, however, building requirements are met by the large majority (70 percent) of this group through purchase from Harding rather than from the wood carrying tractor. Only 28 percent of the households who experienced difficulty in obtaining their building requirements utilised the service of the tractors.

The second major difficulty faced by the communities was the shortage of thatching grass. Almost 21 percent of the sample had difficulty in obtaining poles and thatching grass, with 67 percent of this group buying both from Harding. All the areas surveyed experienced a shortage of grass, and it appears that only a limited surplus was available for marketing between residential areas.

Finally, 15 percent of the sample complained that the transport facilities were inadequate to transport building materials home from Harding. As 40 percent of the sample did not have a bus running into the residential area, this group had to drag the building material, chiefly poles and zinc roofing, to the building site. If no cattle were available, this would have to be done by carrying the goods on the head. As noted in section 4.3.3, the majority of households do not own cattle. It seems therefore that the transportation of building materials is a pertinent problem. This hypothesis is confirmed from the data contained in Table 5:8. In the residential areas which did not have a road leading into the village, 77 percent of the structures were thatched rondavels. This is contrasted by only 53 percent of the structures in areas with roofs being thatched.

In conclusion, it can be argued that although the number of housing units per household is adequate,¹¹ with the mean number of buildings as high as three per household, overcrowding does occur. Moreover, the improvement of the quality of existing structures ultimately rests

11. On the Drenowski measure, at least one unit per household is adequate.

upon the funds available to purchase building materials and as was more fully discussed in chapter two, the income generating ability of the sample was very low.

TABLE 5:8

**The Frequency of Distribution of types of Building
according to the availability of access roads**

Type of building	Availability of access road	
	Road to residential area	No road to residential area
Rondaval	52,6	76,5
Zinc	1,1	1,6
Mixed	46,3	21,9

N = 254

5.6 Food Needs

Adequate nutrition is an essential element of any Basic Need Strategy, and relates directly to the level of health in the rural areas. Ideally, a target for nutritional fulfilment should include a level and content of nutrition that satisfies all requirements; for example, calories, proteins, vitamins and other vital nutrients. Moreover, such a target should also include the preferences of the consumer population.

? 1
The staple food crop in the Transkei is maize. This crop has a low calorific content, and does not make a large contribution to nutrition. As a result, it is not surprising that malnutrition related diseases are rife in the Transkei. It is, however, difficult to obtain estimates of nutrition deficiency at the micro or household level. Possible strategies are to gather:

1. the analysis of the food intake over a specific twenty four hour period. This approach precludes any consideration of seasonal fluctuations that may occur;
2. the analysis of the nutritional content of the average intake of food. This approach requires lengthy questioning in order to determine the mix, frequency of occurrence and weights of each type of food intake;
3. a proxy measure indicating the results of malnutrition, in terms of the number of malnutrition related diseases reported at clinics. This measure does not however reflect the position of those who are unable to attend a clinic;
4. a proxy measure relating the weight and height of infants, pre school and school children. This approach also suffers from the fault of possibly neglecting those who do not attend school or clinics.

From this discussion it is clear that some attempt must be made to

gather the data needed to indicate nutritional deficiencies. It is likely that such a task could be best accomplished by existing hospitals, and therefore it is suggested that encouragement and funds be made available to these institutions. In the interim, it can be assumed that nutritional needs are not being met, and that this deprivation requires attention. A strategy which attempts to improve the meeting of basic nutritional needs requires both an increase in the self-sufficiency of the household, and an increase in the range of food intakes. This will increase both the quantity, and the quality of the diet of the rural population. However, a larger cash income would be the most immediate solution to the problem of inadequate nutrition. Clearly this is dependent upon the wage level in South Africa, and is beyond the control of the Transkeian state. Thus the encouragement of small vegetable gardening, supported by larger plots of maize, would seem to be the only strategy suited to operate within the existing constraints in the rural areas, and in Transkei generally.

5.7 Transportation Needs

The provision of adequate transportation facilities enables the rural population to take advantage of goods and services offered in central places such as Harding and Umzimkulu to the extent allowed by their limited cash incomes. Consequently, transportation must be seen as operating to improve the access to other basic needs. It can therefore be termed a basic need in itself. This is particularly so in the Umzimkulu district in view of the low level of self-sufficiency that has been indicated in section 4.4, as it is likely that the

majority of households will have to purchase food on a monthly or bi-monthly basis. Moreover, the poorly developed infrastructure in the provision of social services such as clinics and junior secondary schools means that the majority of households are more than five kilometres from a clinic, and two kilometres from a secondary school. As a result many households have to rely upon transport such as buses and taxis to reach a clinic in an emergency, or must walk to the clinic when ill.

It is not surprising given the lack of infrastructural development specific to the more remote areas of the Transkei, that the transport system was identified as a major problem by the people in the sample. Roads were considered to be inadequate by 78 percent of the sample, and 66 percent felt that the transport service itself was not adequate to meet their needs. Moreover, 7 percent of the sample did not have a road within two kilometres of the residential area, a further 18 percent did not have a road to the residential area itself, and another 24 percent did not have access to an all-weather road.

The provision of all-weather roads is essential if transport links are to operate efficiently, and to the best interests of the population who are dependent upon them. Moreover, it is essential that health services can be taken into the rural areas in all seasons. For example, typhoid or cholera are most likely to occur during the rainy season when the incidence of infection by water-borne diseases is highest - at precisely the time when roads become impassable, and preventing health teams from reaching the infected area, and the ill from reaching a clinic in time to prevent an epidemic.

The sample was asked whether their access to a road was satisfactory, and if not, what was the difficulty. In order to determine whether resettlement had improved access to roads, the duration of the problem was also asked. Table 5:9 presents data relating these questions.

TABLE 5:9
Roads - Problems and Duration

Type of problem	Duration of a problem		
	Always been a problem	Since resettlement	Total
Impassable in rain	86,4	13,6	63,8
Road in bad condition	69,9	30,1	21,9
No road at all	64,3	35,7	14,3
Total	79,6	20,4	n=196

The problem most frequently encountered was that the road became impassable in rain. Over 63 percent of the group with road problems indicated that the bus and taxi services were unable to reach the residential area during the summer months. Of this group 86 percent felt that the problem had always occurred, with only 14 percent stating that the problem had worsened since resettlement.

The next major problem reported by 22 percent of those who had

problems with their roads referred to the condition of the road. It was felt that the road was not adequate for the bus to reach the residential area. Again this was a longstanding problem with 70 percent of this group stating that the problem had existed before resettlement. Finally, 14 percent of the problems relating to road difficulty referred to absence of any road at all. In this group it is interesting to note that 36 percent felt that the problem had developed since resettlement. This group was concentrated in two residential areas in Gugwini, which had been resettled from the ridge on which the road ran, into the valley below. In terms of access to water this move would have represented an improvement. Clearly the limited self-sufficiency of the rural communities requires that they have ready access to the towns in order to purchase necessities rather than an abundant supply of water.

Turning to the difficulties relating to the transport system in the district, the predominant problem relates to the inadequacy of the road system. The sample was asked to identify the problem that they found when using the transport service. This information is presented in Table 5:10.

From this table, it can be seen that 56 percent of the group who expressed dissatisfaction with the transport system stated that they were unable to catch a bus or a taxi as either there was no road to the residential area at all, or the existing road was in too bad a condition for vehicles to reach the residential area. All members of the households in this group had to walk some distance in order to

TABLE 5:10

Transport Services - Problems and Strategies

Type of strategy	% households experiencing problems with transport services				
	No bus	Road is poor	No road	No bus to Harding	Not satisfied
Use bus	0	16,7	0	0	0
Use taxi	76,0	25,0	28,6	61,5	57,1
Walk to a bus stop	20,0	31,9	68,6	13,5	28,6
Walk to town	4,0	26,4	2,8	25,0	14,3
Total	13,1	37,7	18,3	27,2	3,7

N=168

reach a place from which transport could be caught. The distances ranged between two and six kilometres, according to the location of the residential area. The majority of this group preferred to walk to a bus stop or to town rather than to use a taxi. This is due to the lack of funds needed to use the more expensive service, and to the total absence of such a service in some areas.

The second major problem relating to the transport system, referred to access to the shopping centre preferred by the majority of the sample. 27 percent of the group who were dissatisfied with the transport system complained that the existing bus service did not include Harding in its route. The two major market towns in the Umzimkulu district are Harding and Umzimkulu. Harding is the larger of the two, and has more functions. Moreover, Harding has several chain stores such as Spar, Scotts and Ellerines. As a result it is

likely that on average prices in Harding are lower than Umzimkulu and that a wider choice is available to the consumer. However, the bus service which operates in the northern section of Gugwini does not drive to Harding, and instead proceeds directly to Umzimkulu. The group who reported this problem represents 32 percent of the households in Gugwini. This is a significant proportion of the population, and the entire group employed an alternative means to reach Harding, which indicated a very strong preference. Taxi services were used by 62 percent of this group to go to Harding. However, 25 percent did not have the funds available to use this service and instead walked. This is a distance of 15 kilometres from the residential area closest to Harding, and thus must represent a high cost alternative in terms of labour time. Finally, 14 percent of the group who wished to travel to Harding were able to walk to a Natal bus stop, and to utilise this bus service.

The last set of problems relating to the transportation system referred to the efficiency of the service itself. Almost 17 percent of the group who complained about the transport system, felt that the bus service was unsatisfactory, or that whilst the service could reach their residential area, it for some reason, did not include them in its routes. The majority of this group resorted to the use of a taxi service, with the remainder either walking to the shops or to a bus stop.

To conclude this section, it should be noted that 38 percent of the transportation problems related to areas which had a road but lacked a bus service as the road was not in a usable condition. This implies

that a significant proportion of transportation problems would be solved if the maintenance of roads was made more efficient and effective. As a service centre must rely upon its access to the rural population (and vice versa) in order to have any impact, the improvement of rural roads appears to be an essential pre-requisite if such a centre is to operate effectively. The second major problem involved the co-ordination of the choice of the rural population of the place where they wish to shop, with the routes selected by the transportation service. As can be seen from the data, where the system and the choice did not concur, a large percentage of the population found alternative methods of transportation, rather than opting to use the existing transportation routes and change the place of shopping. This suggests once more that the cost of labour time is lower than the direct cost of cash expenditure. That is to say that the rural household prefers to utilise its labour rather than its cash income.

5.8 Health Needs

The purpose of adequate access to health services is to improve the overall physical well being of the community through increasing life expectancy, eliminating mass diseases and providing medical care in case of disease, ill-health or accidental injury. Recently, the emphasis of modern medicine in developing countries has been placed upon preventative medicine, - the prevention of the development of disease - rather than on the cure. This is because many of the diseases which are prevalent in such countries can in fact be

eliminated. For example, cholera and gastro-enteritis can be prevented by the addition of chlorine to drinking water. Moreover, the most common diseases in any developing country relates to malnutrition. Thus the provision of an adequate diet is a major concern of medicine in the Third World.

This survey was concerned to establish the difficulties that the rural population found with the medical facilities in the areas surveyed. Both Gugwini and Sihleza had permanent clinic facilities, and Zintwala, adjacent to Sihleza, had relatively easy access to the Sihleza clinic. Each clinic was staffed by two nurses who remained in the rural area for a period of one year. At all times, including weekends, at least one nurse was on duty at the clinic. In addition, every second week a doctor from Reitvlei Hospital visited the clinic. Finally, both clinics were equipped with a telephone which, although unreliable, served to link the clinic to the hospital. Both areas were also served by a mobile clinic which visited the more distant regions. As a result of this coverage, 26 percent of the sample had direct access to a permanent clinic, and a further 24 percent had direct access to a bi-weekly mobile clinic. It can be seen, therefore, that half of the area was relatively well served by medical facilities. However, the comparative remoteness of the other parts of the areas surveyed meant that some residential areas were up to eight kilometres distant from the mobile clinic stop, and almost fifteen kilometres distant from the permanent clinic.

The sample was asked to identify what difficulties they had in utilising the (western) public health service. In order to assess the

strategies employed by the community to meet their health needs, the sample was asked how they overcame their difficulties. Table 5:11 presents data representing the answers to these questions.

From this table it can be seen that 61 percent of the sample were not satisfied with the medical facilities available to them.

TABLE 5:11

Medical Service - Problems and Strategies

Type of strategy	% of households with a medical problem			
	Clinic is faraway	No service available	Dissatisfied with service	Road is inadequate
Use only herbalist	0	2,0	3,5	7,3
Use transport services	37,4	78,9	89,6	14,6
Walk to clinic	62,6	19,1	6,9	78,1
Total	38,0	30,3	17,3	8,2

N = 155

Within this group the major problem referred to the lack of physical access to the medical facilities. Almost 30 percent of the dissatisfied group stated that there was no service nearby, whatsoever. Of this group 79 percent relied upon the transportation services when in need. As was noted in section 5.7, this service was far from satisfactory itself and would pose hardship in the face of

serious illness. Moreover, a further 19 percent of this group had to walk or be carried to the medical facility.

The corollary of this situation is that the nurses at the clinics are unable to reach those residential areas which are distant, and consequently the spread of preventive health care is limited. Further difficulty of access means that the population in these distant residential areas will attend a clinic infrequently, and in many cases only in the case of serious illness. This limits the usefulness of facilities such as baby care and pre-natal care clinics, the distribution of dietary knowledge and family planning efforts.

In addition to those households who had no access at all to a medical facility, another 38 percent stated that the clinic was far away. In contrast to the previous group, 63 percent of this group nevertheless walked to the clinic. This again implies that where possible, the majority of the rural population choose to walk rather than to use part of their cash income for transportation. Further, 8 percent stated that their access to a clinic was limited by the absence of a suitable access road. These households were distant from the clinic but due to the absence of a road and the consequent non availability of public transport, 78 percent had to walk all the way to the clinic.

A minority of the dissatisfied group, (17 percent) were not satisfied with the service provided by the clinic. Of this group two thirds felt that the doctors' visits were too infrequent. The remainder had a variety of complaints, essentially related to an underlying preference for the facilities offered at Harding Hospital. For this

group, the majority (90 percent) preferred to use the transport services in order to travel to Harding.

It can be concluded that although the areas surveyed are relatively well served by medical facilities in comparison to the more remote areas of Bizana for example, those households who do not have ready access to a clinic still have a severe problem in solving their medical needs. This limits the dissipation of health care knowledge, and the distribution of preventive medicine such as anti-polio and tuberculosis vaccinations. It is, however, realised that the cost of building and staffing a clinic for all areas is costly and is likely to be beyond the resources made available to the Transkei state by South Africa.

5.9 Educational Needs

As has been stated by Ghai and Alfthan:

Education should provide the necessary tools which enable an individual to participate fully in society. At the same time, education is a basic need per se, and can thus be viewed as an end in itself. (Ghai, Khan & Alfthan, op cit, pp. 19)

It is this dual role of education which sets it apart from other basic needs. Not only does education permit the achievement of other basic needs such as participation, and assist the process of development by assuring literacy and numeracy, it is in itself a basic need as it contributes to the general well being of the individual receiving it. As part of an overall development programme, education should be adapted to fit a number of functional roles, and a set of educational targets appropriate to the development effort should be developed. Examples of such possible targets include efforts:

1. to encourage the population to be able to read newspapers, and brochures containing health, agricultural and other relevant information;
2. to allow the population to write, in order for example, to be able to request information or assistance from the local government;
3. to ensure numeracy, in order that the population may perform calculations such as land and building measurement, input/output calculations and budget planning;
4. to enable the population to understand and implement modern methods of sanitation, farming and nutrition;
5. to enable the population to take advantage of the services and to fulfil obligations imposed in a modern democracy, such as by taxation payments, and public service commitments.

In Transkei, education has long been an important factor in government policy. However, it is important to assess the extent to which this policy has in fact permeated down to the remoter areas in the country. In Umzimkulu, specifically, there is an overall teacher/pupil ratio of 1:50. (Osmond Lange, *op cit*, p. 137) This compares favourably with the 1974 teacher-pupil ratio in the Transkei of 1:56. (van Rensburg, 1975, p. 36) It appears therefore that trend of the decreasing teacher-pupil ratio noted by the HSRC in 1975 has continued. Senior Secondary education has a far more favourable teacher/pupil ratio, of 1:28. However, there are only five Senior Secondary schools in the district, and three of these are located in urban or peri-urban areas (Umzimkulu, Clydesdale and Reitvlei). Consequently access to Senior

Secondary schools is limited in the outlying rural areas.¹² As a result, those households who are able to send a child to high school will probably have to pay board and lodging in the town. Clearly this will increase the cost of education, and so deter the children of poorer families from entering the higher standards. Moreover, the desirability of separating children from parental control must be questioned.

In the areas surveyed, no Senior Secondary (High) schools were available, with the nearest, Rietvlei between ten and thirty kilometres distant, according to the location of the residential area. As already noted in section 5.7, the transportation system was far from adequate, and precludes the possibility of daily commuting to the high school from the rural village. Junior Secondary schools were located in or near six of the residential areas, (56 percent of the sample). The other residential areas lay between five and ten kilometres distant from these schools. Junior and Senior primary education was available to eight residential areas (69 percent of the sample). The remaining six areas (31 percent) had no Junior primary school nearby, and as a result children had to walk between three and five kilometres to reach even primary education. In the most remote area children had to cross the Ibisi river twice before reaching the primary school. It may be concluded, therefore, that there is at the very least a serious shortfall in respect of both Junior Primary and Senior Secondary schooling. Access to education appears, therefore,

16. The Osmond Lange Report provides the following grouping of schools in the Transkei.

Junior Primary	Sub A - Sub B
Senior Primary	Std 1 - Std 3
Junior Secondary	Std 4 - Std 7
Senior Secondary	Std 8 - Std 10

to be the major immediate educational problem in the surveyed areas.

In an attempt to assess the quality of education, the teacher/pupil ratios for each area are examined. Table 5:12 presents data for Sihleza, Zintwala, Gugwini, and the administrative area of Palmietfontein, which the majority of children from the largest residential area in Gugwini attended, as well as the teacher/pupil ratios in Umzimkulu as a whole. (Osmond Lange, op cit, pp 133-137)

One of the Drenowski measures of the quality of education is the comparison of teacher pupil ratios. This measure refers to the ratio as a percentage of the norm. The de Lange Commission has indicated that a reduction in the teacher - pupil ratio to 1:30 would be

TABLE 5:12

Teacher/Pupil Ratios

Area	Type of school	Teacher pupil ratio	Ratio - as a % of norm ¹³
Sihleza	Junior Secondary	1:44	68%
Zintwala	Senior Primary	1:74	40%
	Junior Secondary	1:59	51%
Gugwini	Senior Primary	1:56	53%
	Junior Secondary	1:48	62%
Palmietfontein	Senior Primary	1:39	76%
	Junior Secondary	1:56	53%
Umzimkulu District	Junior Primary	1:50	60%
	Senior Primary	1:56	56%
	Junior Secondary	1:51	59%
	Senior Secondary	1:28	107%
N E Region Total	All	1:50	60%

13. Norm = 1:30

desirable for the quality of black education. (HSRC, 1982) This ratio has been adopted by this report as an appropriate norm, towards which improvements in the quality of education should be geared. From this standard, it appears that the quality of education in Senior Primary schools in the Zintwala area is poorest. On the whole, the quality of education in the surveyed areas is poor compared to the recommended norm. In order to rectify this situation, the training of teachers should receive particular attention, and specifically an increasing proportion of the teachers who are available should be posted to rural schools. These schools serve a greater percentage of the Transkeian population, and are likely to be those with the most severe staff shortages. That this has not already happened is partly a reflection of the limited funds available to Transkei, and partly the result of an urban bias. (Lipton, 1977)

TABLE 5:13

Education - Problems and Strategies

Type of strategy	% of households with education problems			
	School is far away	No Junior Secondary	No Senior Secondary	Quality of education
No alternative	0	0	0	91,2
Not able to attend school	52,8	27,5	0	8,8
Start school at older age	47,2	0	0	0
Board away from home	0	36,3	64,6	0
Only go to Std. IV	0	36,2	0	0
Only go to Std. VII	0	0	35,4	0
Total	29,9	9,1	51,9	9,1

n = 114

Turning to the problems identified by the sample concerning education, 49 percent of the sample stated that they were dissatisfied with the provision of education facilities. Table 5:13 indicates the range of problems identified by the sample, and the consequences of these problems.

Just under 30 percent of the sample felt that the school to which they wished to send their children was too far away. Of this group 53 percent stated that, as a result of the distance to a school, their children were unable to attend. The remaining 47 percent stated that their children started school at an older age than normal. It can be expected that this will reduce the number of years given to the attainment of education - a tendency that has indeed already been noted in section 3.3.

A further 9 percent of the group who were dissatisfied with the fulfilment of educational needs said that the lack of a Junior Secondary school was a problem. Of this group 36 percent stated that they were prepared to pay for their child to board near to a school. The majority however, (55 percent) stated that their children could only go as far as standard four. It appears therefore that the absence of a nearby secondary school results more frequently in the cessation of education, than in the acceptance of a higher cost of education.

The position was however different in the areas in which a Senior Primary school was available. 52 percent of the households who complained about educational facilities felt that the lack of a high

school was a problem. However, 76 percent of this group were prepared to incur the cost of paying for board and lodging. This suggests that once education is completed to Std 7 the majority of households are prepared to meet the cost of board and lodging in order to complete education to a higher standard. The remaining 24 percent indicated that the child had to leave school.

It appears that the provision of Senior Secondary and primary education facilities is not adequate to meet the demand of the population. In addition the completion of the years, standard four to standard seven are important determinants for the eventual attainment of higher levels of education,

Finally, 9 percent of the sample felt that the quality of education was not satisfactory. The problems encountered by this group included over-crowding of the school, the quality of the buildings, as well as the quality of the teachers themselves. The majority of this group (91 percent) felt that they knew of no alternative, whilst the remaining 9 percent chose not to send their children to school at all.

The high incidence of illiteracy shown in section 2:3, suggests that there is a considerable problem with school attendance in the area. However, only half the households surveyed indicated that they were dissatisfied with the educational facilities that were offered, with half of these complaints involving the availability of senior secondary schools. From this, it may be deduced that the group who did not complain did not perceive themselves to be in need of a high school, and could therefore be said in some way to be 'content' with

the quality of education available.

5.10 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has dealt extensively with the fulfilment of Basic Needs. The analysis has attempted to indicate the present situation regarding shortfalls, and the strategies which are employed by the community in order to overcome these shortfalls. As the problems which were most frequently repeated related to needs which are essential for human survival, one can conclude that the communities which were surveyed have severe difficulties in meeting their basic requirements. It follows from this that these communities must be said to be poverty-stricken in terms of the Basic Needs Approach to development.

The needs which received highest priority relate to those aspects of basic needs which have traditionally been realized directly from the environment - viz fuel, water, and food. In part, it can be concluded that population pressure and the resultant environmental degradation has led to the former two needs becoming difficult to fulfil. Food production however, is a far more complex issue. The inability of rural subsistence production to meet sustenance requirements adequately, is largely the result of historically determined structural constraints. These have developed from Transkei's dependent status in relation to the South African economy. These constraints have led to the entrenchment of the migrant labour system ✓ whereby male labour must migrate to South African cities in order to supplement subsistence production with cash wages.

Moreover, population pressure that results from the limited land

surface available to all the National States including the Transkei, has led to extensive landlessness. In addition, the average agricultural plot size has decreased to a point where government planners have felt that farms may become uneconomic. (Union of South Africa, 1956)

In an attempt to resolve this problem villages were in many instances replanned and the process known as 'Betterment' planning instituted. Approximately half of the Transkei has now been subjected to the Betterment Scheme. However, it has been argued that far from improving the lot of the rural dweller, Betterment planning has instead increased landlessness. (Yavitch, 1981) In this survey landless households interviewed were asked to indicate for how long a period they had been without land. Table 5:14 contains this data.

TABLE 5:14

Duration of Landlessness

Duration of problem	% landless households
Since Resettlement	89,2
Always	7,4
Not known	3,4

n = 114

It is apparent from the replies shown in the table that the majority of landless households feel that the Resettlement process is responsible for their present position. It seems therefore, that the

inadequate fulfilment of food requirements resulting from the current conditions in subsistence production is in part due to a combination of historical factors, and resultant environment reaction, and in part due to recent government policy. With regards to 'Betterment' planning nonetheless, existing cultural, social and economic factors also play a role as was shown in Section 4.3.

The fourth most important need identified by the survey for inclusion as a priority need, related to the provision of transport services. This refers both to the need for adequate roads, and an adequate transportation system. In view of the minimal role played by subsistence production, this need is a crucial one. It is probable that the majority of households require regular access to market towns in order to purchase their food requirements. It should be noted that the purchase of food assumes the provision of wage employment, which is itself also a basic need.

Finally, medical aid and educational needs were examined. In some areas these facilities were readily accessible, whereas, in the remoter areas, such facilities were far from satisfactorily provided.

Overall, the rural communities which were surveyed, appear to be in a position of extreme basic need deprivation. However, it is necessary to ask whether the Transkei planners have the ability to do anything about such deprivation, and indeed, does the state have the political will to support a policy of need provision. These questions will be discussed in the conclusion.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION: THE ROUTE AHEAD.

Of the Good Success Don Quixote had in the Dreadful and Never-imagined Adventure of the Windmills, with other Accidents worthy to be recorded. (Cervantes)

6.1 Summary of the Findings

The findings presented in this thesis have shown the remote rural communities which were surveyed, to be in a deprived and severely constrained social and economic position. All three areas can be said to be characteristic of peripheral sub-economies, which are becoming increasingly marginalized vis-a-vis the core economy of South Africa. In terms of this, the predominant relationship between these areas in the Umzimkulu district and South Africa capitalism, is based upon migratory labour. There appears to be no alternative source of income to wage labour in South African cities, and if the population of these areas is to survive, remitted wages are essential. In addition, a number of the demographic characteristics of the sample itself, militate against any form of rural development, namely:

1. the presence of a large number of children;
2. the virtual absence of adult male labour;
3. the persistence of poor education levels overall.
4. the existence of unfavourable attitudes towards decision-making, specifically, with respect to decision making by women. (Phelan, 1984)

The economic characteristics also indicate an extreme condition of poverty. The existing levels of productivity in the subsistence sector preclude any notion of self-sufficiency or independent agricultural

development. Productive assets, including land and cattle, were found to be limited and to be concentrated in the hands of a fortunate minority. As a result, projects which emphasize agricultural development are likely only to benefit this group, and will therefore not affect the lives of the majority of the population. In addition to this, almost half the population had no access to land. The degree of landlessness appeared to be related to the incomplete distribution of field plots after the replanning process.

Finally, the quality of life of the population was found to be poor in terms of the level of Basic Need fulfilment. This is true even if the concept of Basic Needs is defined in the most narrow sense and refers only to those minimum requirements which are biologically essential for human survival. Moreover, many of these needs could only be realised through money transactions with the private sector. The most important examples of these were; the purchase of fuel for cooking and for heat; and the need for transport in order to reach ✓ shops, medical assistance and schools. The former was the result of environmental degradation, and the latter, ✓ the result of an inadequate distribution of these essential services.

This chapter will link the discussion on the economic dynamic of the Transkeian rural population, to Transkei development planning. Such analysis will facilitate the derivation of answers to the questions raised in Section 2.2, namely;

- 1) What is position of the rural population with regards to Basic Need fulfilment, and productive capacity.

- 2) Who are those who are most in need in the rural areas?
- 3) What type of relationship exists between the rural communities and the South African economy, and what are the implications of this relationship for development planning in Transkei
- 4) Will centrally provided services improve the rural population's ability to meet their basic needs?
- 5) How likely is the successful implementation of such a strategy of development in Transkei.

Question 1 has already been answered in Section 6.1 above. Productive capacity in the communities which were surveyed is virtually non-existent. In addition, many of the Basic Needs that are biologically necessary for human survival, were not readily available. Question 2 was discussed in Chapter 3. The high male absentee rates which were found by the survey, means that women are, almost exclusively, the sole source of adult labour in the rural areas. As a result, they are required to carry out subsistence cultivation, home maintenance and child-care activities. In addition, any short-falls in basic need fulfilment must be met by women. Where this cannot be done children will be the greatest sufferers, particularly with regard to malnutrition related diseases. Consequently, policies which hope to bring about a broad improvement in the quality of life of the rural poor, should focus upon the needs of women.

Questions 4 to 5 refer to the impact of a specific intervention by the state, and thereby contain a political dimension. In order to adequately explore this, it is necessary to place the areas which were surveyed into the politico-economic framework of Southern Africa.

Therefore, in answer to Question 3, the links between the rural sub-economy and the South African capitalist economy will be reviewed, taking into account the data which has been examined thus far. In this way, the effectivity of the planning process in Transkei can be assessed, and Questions 4 to 5 be answered.

6.2 Economic dependence: Is there an articulation of modes?

The introduction to this thesis examined the different schools of thought analysing the concept of economic development/underdevelopment in South Africa. It was argued that a politico-economic approach would be the most rigorous method by which the rural economy of the Umzimkulu district could be examined. Such an approach would take into account the dependency, under-development and political subordination of the "homelands" to South African capitalism. An important conceptual tool, recently included in political economic analysis, is the Marxist concept of "articulation". This section will briefly examine the importance of an articulations approach for the areas which were surveyed.

Historically speaking, the most important factor in capitalist development in South Africa, has been capital's need for an abundant supply of cheap labour. The inducement of the need for a cash income amongst blacks, has played a crucial role in the fulfilment of this requirement. Various strategies such as taxation and the appropriation of land, have been employed by the South African state to prise labour from the land and into wage employment. (Bundy, 1972, 1977, 1979; Arrighi, 1973; Legassick, 1974, 1975).

The data presented above has shown that, today, a cash income is not simply required in order to pay taxes, purchase some luxuries, and to make up any shortfalls that are experienced in staple foods. A cash income is now essential if the rural household is to exist at all. Not only did the majority of households not possess the means with which to be self-sufficient for most of the year, in terms of staple foods, but many of the minimum requirements for human survival had to be purchased from the private sector. This has had the result of firmly locking rural households into the capitalistic sector South African economic system, both in terms of participation in the migrant labour system, and in the determination of the patterns of daily consumer behaviour. In other words, although the rural households were operating under a 'traditional' or tribal political and social system, and appeared to be engaged in some subsistence production, they were nonetheless, almost entirely dependent upon the remittances of migrant workers.

In Marxist structuralist terms, this could be said to represent an articulation of pre-capitalist and capitalist modes of production. That is to say, a system in which rural households operate as subsistence producers, are controlled by a political system that is reminiscent of a pre-capitalist polity, and finally, hold many attitudes, beliefs and values which are based upon a pre-capitalist ideology. However, the survival of these same households is dependent upon the ability of workers from the rural household to enter capitalist production as "free" labour and, thereby, to remit a part of their wages.

Spiegel (1980) has argued that a system, in which rural households are no longer able to meet their minimum requirements for survival (in Marxist terms, to reproduce themselves) without the receipt of migrant remittances, does not support an analysis that is based upon the articulations approach. The grounding for this argument is that the pre-capitalist mode of production is entirely dominated by the capitalist mode. In other words, the reproduction of the pre-capitalist mode is effected by the laws of motion of the dominant mode, that is, the capitalist mode. However, Wolpe (1981) has pointed out that this argument does not provide sufficient grounds for the rejection of an articulations approach, and he states that;

the notion of self-reproduction or autonomous reproduction is extremely unsatisfactory, for it either excludes the possibility of relations between the CMP and other modes on the tautological basis the the CMP immediatly transforms all pre-capitalist relations into capitalist relations ...or it recognizes the possibility of relations between the CMP and other modes but contends that these are not necessary to the reproduction of the CMP, without, however, offering an explanation for their existence. (Wolpe, op cit, p.38)

Spiegel (1981) has acknowledged the validity of the above, and has discussed a more structured and and rigorous extension to the articulations approach, namely the distinction between 'restricted' and 'extended' modes of production. The latter would then allow for the "...situation in which the productive forces and relations are indeed capitalist but where the ideological overlay is 'reminiscent' of a PCMP." (Spiegel, op cit, p.69)

With reference to Question 3 above, the findings of this study suggest that, at the level of production, there does not appear to be a pre-

capitalist mode in the Umzimkulu district, **in the restricted sense of the concept.** In an extended sense, the socio-economic system of the area can be said to exhibit characteristics which conform to what would be expected of a pre-capitalist mode of production that is entirely dominated by a capitalist mode of production. Examples of these characteristics are, inter alia; the tribal tenure system; the chief's court as a means to settle disputes; communal ownership of grazing land; ownership of cattle as a means of storing wealth; extensive participation in the migrant labour system; and the requirement of a cash income with which to purchase subsistence needs.

In answer to the second part of Question 3, this argument implies the following:

- 1) Changes in the South African economy will have a greater impact upon rural households than will changes in the Transkeian economy. For example, increasing unemployment in Johannesburg will have far reaching effects, in contrast to increasing employment opportunities in Butterworth.

- 2) Consequently, the rural population is placed in a subordinate and dependent position viv-a-vis the South African core.

- 3) Despite this, the day to day subsistence of the rural population will be most strongly influenced by the local "traditonal" political system. An example of this is the power of the chief to allocate land.

- 4) Thus, development planning which attempts to improve the fulfilment of subsistence requirements, will operate largely

within the traditional or pre-capitalist mode of production. However, the boundaries for such development will be determined by the needs of South African capitalism.

5) Two consequences follow. Firstly, although attempts to promote rural development in Transkei will be most strongly affected by the wider South African political economy, some autonomy can be exercised by the Transkei State. This is specifically with regard to the allocation of resources to local authorities and local projects; Secondly, the Rural Service Centre Approach cannot be simply examined in an apolitical context. The success of this strategy, in purely spatial terms, is ultimately dependent upon the political decision to finance and to fully implement such a strategy.

The next section places the concept Rural Service Centre's within the context of a Basic Needs Approach to development. Thereafter, the provision of services will be examined in purely spatial terms.

6.3 The Rural Service Centre Approach as a part of Development Planning in Transkei

The preparation of a Five Year Development Plan indicates that an attempt is being made to redress some of the problems of rural poverty. The key feature of the plan, in respect of rural development, is the concept of a hierarchy of Rural Service Centres. The evolution of the Rural Service Centre concept and its incorporation into Transkei planning has already been traced in Section 1 of Chapter Two. It could be argued that this concept is a

strategy for development, which may be used within the guidelines provided by the Basic Needs Approach, as outlined in the introduction to Chapter Five. To the extent that the Basic Need Approach can meet the claims of its proponents, its adoption would not only benefit the widest possible poverty group and directly contribute towards Transkei's stated development objective, namely that of improving "the standard of living and quality of life of All Transkeians", (Government of Transkei, 1981, p.8) but would also assist in the narrowing of income inequalities. (ibid, p.15) In addition, this approach is argued by Streeten and others, to contain a number of additional benefits. (Streeten, 1981; Ghai, 1977, 1978). These include:

1. Improvements in the productivity of the domestic labour force, resulting from the fact that the provision of a higher level of state services will enable labour to allocate more time to productive activities.
2. The improved labour productivity that stems from a healthier and better educated population.
3. The increase in local employment opportunities resulting from the generally higher labour content of activities related to the provision of Basic Needs, goods and services. (Ghai, 1978)

Before the potential for the success of such a strategy of development in Transkei can be evaluated, it is important to assess whether the construction of Rural Service Centres, per se, will improve the access

of the poor to essential services. This will be in answer to Question 4 above.

6.4 The Rural Service Centre Approach in Spatial Terms.

In an attempt to tackle this problem, Mayer(1978) has examined the relative immobility of essential goods and services. In this exercise, she identified three components of immobility:

1. By their very nature, goods and services may be immobile as they require considerable investment in immovable facilities, such as schools, clinics and housing.
2. The goods and services involved often entail or permit the wide usage of local resources which do not lend themselves to transportation over great distances. Examples are: foodstuffs which are required on a daily basis and local building materials.
3. Finally, goods and services are immobile in that they require, for both of the above reasons, "less the dispatch of products to the consumers than a reverse movement by the consumers themselves, so that passenger transport becomes more important than goods transport." (ibid, p.62)

In an evaluation of a range of Basic Need goods and services on the basis of these components of immobility, Mayer ascribed to each item a weight of relative immobility. She concluded from her analysis that, "...it is even more important for a basic needs strategy to locate facilities in the right place than it is to mobilise local resources and improve passenger transport." (ibid, p.64)

Mayer's analysis would appear to justify the application of Central Place theory to the provision of Basic Needs. That is to say, since the location of facilities is emphasized above the wide-spread provision of public transport, ease of access to such facilities is going to determine their optimal location. Consequently, the facilities which are provided should be 'centrally located'. This implies that Transkei is more likely to achieve a goal of Basic Need fulfilment if a nationally decentralised but locally central delivery system were established from which essential goods and services can be made readily accessible to the rural population. However, it still remains to examine whether the proposal of the construction of a nationwide network of Rural Service Centres can, in fact, improve the position of the rural poor?

The concentration of the delivery of services into some local 'central place' can be justified by the potential that such delivery systems have for the generation of economies of scale. Scale economies will make considerable savings possible due to the potential that exists for the creation of a common infrastructure as well as the benefits arising from the co-operation thus facilitated between the various personnel working at the rural service centre.

In addition to these standard arguments for agglomeration, Reynolds (1981) has provided further justification for the concentration of services. He notes that the rural poor tend to combine a number of activities when undertaking an excursion to a central place. In the areas surveyed, it was observed that people combined trips to collect

pensions with visits to the a baby clinic for "baby-day" and shopping for groceries and locally produced goods. More imporatanly, Reynolds suggests that the poor visit a central place less frequently than those who are better off and will, therefore, be less able to take advantage of dispersed services. If these reasons are accepted, then it can be concluded, in answer to Question 4 above, that the concept of centrally provided services, as contained in the Rural Service Centre Approach, can assist the poor, and can make some contribution towards a development strategy which is focused upon the provision of Basic Needs.

In this case, it must be asked what the optimal distribution of these "Rural Service Centres" ought to be? The concept, as originally suggested in Zimbabwe by the Whitsun Foundation, envisaged that Service Centres costing some 400 000 dollars each, would be established on radii 15 to 20 kilometres apart. Each Service Centre was intended to serve the needs of between 5000 and 15 000 people.¹

On the basis of the data contained in Chapter 5, which showed that current access to existing services is far from adequate, the recommendations of the Whitsun Report, and the analysis of Mayer, the suggestion that a chain of Rural Service Centres is a suitable spatial structure for the delivery of services, seems to be entirely reasonable. However, the following qualifications must be made. The Centres should offer goods and services that are needed on a daily or weekly basis, and, ideally, they should be located no further than

1. Whitsun Foundation, (1980), quoted in Reynolds, op cit, p.100.

10 kilometres apart.²

If this were done for present population densities in the areas surveyed, each service centre would serve approximately 5 000 people. In the Umzimkulu district, which has an average rural population density of 2.5 persons/ha, (Osmond Lange, op cit, pp.47-49) this implies that each Rural Service Centre would serve an area of 2000 hectares. An extremely rough estimation of the number of Service Centres needed in Transkei as a whole, suggests that some 1650 centres would have to be constructed to ensure an adequate distribution of services.³ This raises Question 5 above, namely; how likely is the implementation of such an approach, given political limitations.

6.5 The Rural Service Centre Approach in Political Terms

At this point it is useful to recapitulate the main points of the discussion presented thus far.

- 1) The rural households surveyed were in a depressed position. This was in terms of both their access to productive assets, and their quality of life.
- 2) The majority of households were reliant upon cash incomes in order to meet their minimum needs, that is, their Basic Need requirements.

2. Mayer, examining the case for Portugal, suggests that facilities providing essential services be located from 4.4 kilometres to 10 kilometres apart. Mayer, op cit, p.66.

3) Calculated by the total land area of Transkei, divided by the resident population as calculated by the 1980 Census. Hawkins Associates, op cit, p.88; Osmond Lange, op cit, p.14)

3) This cash income could only be met through the migrant labour system. Consequently, the majority of males in the more productive age groups were absent as migrant workers during the period of research.

4) The corollary of this, is that the adult rural population is predominantly women. Women, therefore, are going to be the de facto beneficiaries of any rural development projects which aim to benefit the majority of the rural poor.

5) This reliance upon migrant earnings means that there is a complex but structured relationship between rural households, who appear to be living in a subsistence economy, and the 'core' of South African capitalism.

5) Overall, the rural poor are in dire need of improvements in their quality of life. In order to meet this need, development planning in Transkei has become an important part of state expenditure. With respect to planning for rural development, a key proposal has been the adoption of a Rural Service Centre approach in order to provide essential services.

6) In spatial terms this proposal seems entirely reasonable, and, if Service Centres are adequately dispersed, it appears that they can make some contribution to an overall Basic Needs approach to development.

It remains then, to consider the likelihood of the proper implementation of this approach.

The evolution of the Rural Service Centre approach was outlined in

Section 2.1, and it was noted that this approach must not be equated to the growth centre theories of Christaller and others. (Christaller, 1968; Misra, 1972) Consequently, the Rural Service Centre approach represents an allocation of resources to projects which are tantamount to welfare schemes. To the extent that improvements in their quality of life increases the productivity levels of the rural community, this approach does contain some growth potential. This is entirely in keeping with the Basic Needs Approach, which argues that economic growth will take place **in response** to the subsequent improvements in the quality of life of the majority. Given the scarce resources which are at the disposal of the Transkeian state, such an approach will initially entail a substantial reallocation of resources to the rural poor. Sandbrook (1982) argues that the necessary reallocation requires that a government implementing Basic Needs type projects will have to meet certain requirements, namely;

... the state requires a bureaucracy characterized by efficiency, honesty, élan and ideological commitment. This is so because any assault upon poverty will necessitate extensive state intervention into economic life. (ibid, p.72)

In other words, the success of a rural development plan which uses Rural Service Centres as the means by which the Basic Needs of the rural poor can be met, will be determined by political structures. This is, then, simply a restatement of the Marxist argument in Section 6.2.

Examining the political economy of African States in general, Sandbrook has assessed the likelihood of the implementation of policies which would bring about the goals of the Basic Needs Approach. In order to do this, he identifies five ideal types of

development strategy. These are neo-colonialism, national developmentalism, national populism, bureacratic collectivism and transition to socialism, and these can be briefly defined as follows:

1) Neo-colonialism, in which an auxilliary bourgeoisie accepts a subordinate position viv-a-vis metropolitan capital. It does so in order to extract a share of any surplus for itself.

2) National developmentalism, in which the domestic bourgeoisie competes with metropole capital in an attempt to enlarge their share of the economic surplus. Control of the state is used as a means by which this can be achieved.

3) National populism, in which the state attempts to mobilize the working classes on the basis of a programme which entails anti-imperialism, modernization, and a more equitable distribution of wealth.

4 & 5) Bureacratic-collectivism and Transition to Socialism. The former refers to the position in which the bureacratic class socializes the means of production, but uses its position to extract a surplus, part of which it appropriates. The latter refers to the position in which the state has socialized the means of production, and is promoting mass participation, equality and co-operative development. (ibid, pp. 83-114)

Sandbrook goes on to argue that the first two options will promote a pattern of growth that reproduces mass poverty, whereas the last three options may facilitate "for a transcendence of the peripheral capitalist pattern." (ibid, p.81) Both neo-colonialism and national

developmentalism promote growth, that is, the accumulation of surplus, without any policy regarding the distribution of that surplus. The other options do imply some degree of a redistribution of wealth towards the poor. However, after a closer examination of these strategies, which takes into account a number of case-studies from Africa, Sandbrook concludes that:

the more probable alternatives are actually statist-forms of national developmentalism or bureaucratic collectivism. Neo-colonialism is in disrepute in the Third World. Not only do many regimes have the leverage to renegotiate dependency, but they have the incentive to do so - neo-colonial relationships tend to breed or exacerbate legitimacy crises. National populism emerges only in unusual historical circumstances and is prone to disintegration. And transitions to socialism are rare because the political and economic relationships that facilitate this strategy are rare. (ibid, p. 114)

In the Transkei, the state's ability to pursue strategies designed to promote Basic Needs is dependent upon: i) the resources which are allocated to it by the South African State, ii) the revenue which can be taxed from migrant earnings, and iii) the revenue which can be taxed from industries, businesses, and individuals within Transkei itself. Nattrass (1983 b) has noted that Transkei has a limited tax base, and she argues that there are significant difficulties in the taxation of migrant earnings. (ibid., pp. 70-77) Accepting these limitations, and still allowing that the Transkei State possesses sufficient autonomy to adopt a Basic Needs Approach to development, Sandbrook's typology can be used to assess the potential for the success of such an approach. This requires a brief examination of the ruling classes within Transkei.

Southall (1982) has critically examined the nature of "Bantustan

independence" and, in doing this, has discussed the process of class formation in Transkei. He identifies three groups who make up a dominant class. These are; the bureaucrats, the teachers, and the traders and businessmen. Innes and O'Maera (1976) refer to this dominant class as the petty bourgeoisie, and suggest that elements of this group have had the potential to strengthen their position. (ibid, p.78) They are able to accomplish this by transforming themselves into a power elite who are in collaboration with the South African state, "the collaborationist bourgeoisie." (ibid) Since the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act was passed in 1959, these groups have been given a substantial boost within the Transkei region. For example, White owned businesses have been bought by parastatal organisations such as the Transkei Development Corporation, and leased or sold to black traders. More importantly, "independence" has required the development of the necessary state apparatus, and the expansion of the civil service.

Southall concludes that the economic dependence of Transkei in general, and the bureaucracy in particular, will keep the core of the Transkeian power 'elite' in a subordinate position viv-a-vis the South African state. This will ensure that they maintain their collaborationist position.

This is not to say that the Transkeian authorities are simply in the service of the South African state. To do so, implies the acceptance of a rather crude 'instrumentalism'. Indeed, Southall notes that the inter-relationship between the South African state, and the Transkeian

ruling class, is one of lower-order conflict. By this, he means that;

... the politics of bantustan 'independence' constitute a precarious balancing act: the South African government must be continuously abused, but not to the extent that it withdraws its material support, while internal and external critics and allies must be appeased by a display of actions and rhetoric which apparently distance the Transkeian ruling elements from the ultimate source of their own power and authority. (ibid, p.275)

However, in general, the Transkeian state is reliant upon South African, 'metropole' support, which has commonly taken the form of 'Development Aid'. Ultimately therefore, the interests of the apartheid state will be represented in Transkei development drive. Thus Southall concludes that;

... the bantustan state apparatuses are principally coercive instruments through which ruling homeland petty-bourgeois elements preside over South Africa's migrant workforce and surplus population. Rather than articulating their grievances, the homeland leaders are manifestly involved in the political control of the African mass, actively participating in the subordination of black labour in the peripheries to white capital in the core. (Southall, op cit, p301)

To the extent that this is true, it is not possible to regard the Transkeian bureaucracy as "ideologically committed" to any form of socialist development. Likewise, although Transkeian leaders attempt to project the image of national developmentalism, a comparison of Sandbrook's discussion on neo-colonialist development in the Ivory Coast, and Transkei reveals many striking parallels. (Sandbrook, op cit, pp.83-90) Both countries feature; an authoritarian government; measures to prevent popular and worker organizations; packages of incentives for industrial investment; the maintenance of cheap labour policies; and extensive monetary and economic dependence upon the metropolitan state.

Thus to conclude this section, a political analysis of the Basic Needs Approach to development reveals the any limitations implicit in the implementation of appropriate policies. In addition, Transkei appears to be pursuing a neo-colonialist strategy of development, despite the problems of legitimation that are inherent to this approach. Indeed, if Wolpe's discussion on "internal colonialism" is recalled, this is not a surprising conclusion. (Wolpe, 1975)

6.6 The Last Word

This thesis has shown that subsistence production amongst rural households has deteriorated to the point where these households must purchase most of their needs. Further, the environment in the homelands has also deteriorated, to the point where many essential needs, previously met by the natural environment, must also be purchased. Fire-wood is probably the most important example of this. Such degradation is largely the result of population pressure upon the limited resources which are available in the homelands. Consequently, wage labour must be regarded as an absolute necessity for the continued existence of the household, and not as an optional measure by which the quality of life of its members can be improved. However, despite the imperative for an income from a migrant labourer, the situation appears to be threatened. Muller (1984) has argued that unemployment for Transkeians has increased since "Independence" and will continue to do so. Although this decreases Transkei's dependency upon South Africa, it does so with dire consequences for the quality of life in the rural areas. Unless the Transkeian state is able to obtain guarantee of employment for Transkeians from the South African government, it seems likely that the provision of state aid, in order

to alleviate the effects of poverty, will become crucial.

On these grounds it appears entirely reasonable to accept that state-provided services in rural areas should form an essential part of development planning. In addition, the Rural Service Centre approach would appear to be a suitable strategy for the implementation of such services.

However, it seems unlikely that the Transkeian state will choose to take note of the reports which have been submitted to it. This is the direct consequence of the dependent and collaborationalist status of the bureaucracy. As a result, it appears to be optimistic in the extreme to anticipate the implementation of effective and wide-spread programmes of rural development. In this regard, development planning in Transkei is indeed akin to charging windmills in the expectation of wealth and glory. However, rural poverty is not an imaginary giant, and it seems immoral to simply dismiss rural development as unlikely in the absence of radical structural change.

In a similar vein to Sandbrook's concluding chapter, this thesis will conclude with the suggestion that the form and content of rural development will be determined by political factors rather than by economic rationality. That is to say, decisions concerning expenditure on specific developmental projects, are most likely to be guided by political objectives. The most important task required of the Transkeian state by its patron, the South African government, is that it maintains political stability. Selected developmental projects can

be used as a means to satisfy this requirement, as is illustrated by the flow of resources to the Pondoland region. Since the 1960 Pondo rebellion this region has been politically troublesome. (Beinart, 1982) Thus attempts to promote development in this region can be interpreted as an attempt to spread the benefits of "independence" a little further afield, while at the same time insuring against further instability. In addition, Transkei's search for international recognition has prompted expenditure on a number of prestige projects such as the University of Transkei, a multi-million symbol of "independence".

This implies, therefore, that the prospects for development in any region, district, or administrative area will depend more strongly upon its political strength, than upon its needs. The extent to which the people of any area matter to politicians in Umtata and Pretoria will be the most important factor influencing their prospects for an improvement in their quality of life. To return to the level of metaphor, rural development will be determined by the ability of windmills to appear as giants.

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APPENDIX ONE

Age Group - Standard of Education

Age group	None	Pre School	Sub A/B	Standard 1 - 3	Standard 4 - 6	Standard 7	Standard 8	Standard 9	Standard 10	Post Matric	Total
1 - 4	0	99,0	1,0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15,7
5 - 9	6,8	37,9	45,2	7,9	2,3	0	0	0	0	0	13,5
10 - 16	11,9	0	14,5	48,9	22,5	1,3	0,4	0,4	0	0	17,3
17 - 29	19,0	0	3,3	34,3	27,3	5,3	4,3	3,7	1,7	1,0	22,9
30 - 90	46,1	0	3,7	25,4	19,0	2,7	1,2	0,5	0,2	1,0	30,6
Total	21,6	19,5	10,7	25,2	16,2	2,3	1,4	1,1	0,5	0,5	

n = 1311

APPENDIX TWO

LEVEL OF LIVING INDEX - COMPUTATION TABLE

- From: Leipert, C. and U.E. Simonis
'Social Indicators and Development Planning, *Economics*, Vol. 24,
pp. 56 - 59.

Critical points of indicators	"0"	"100" "M"	"A"	
Designation of Sub-ranges of cardinal indicators expressing respective levels of need satisfaction	Intolerable	Inadequate	Adequate	Affluent
Corresponding grades of ordinal indicators	IV	III	II	I
Intermediate indicator index values for cardinal indicators	0	0 0 1' 100	100 100 1' 1' A	1' A 1' A
Intermediate conventional index values for ordinal indicators	0	0 50	100 150	200 200

LEVEL OF LIVING INDEX - COMPUTATIONAL TABLE

Components	Indicators	Units of Measurement	Determination of cardinal indicators sub-ranges and ordinal indicator grades			
1. Nutrition (food intake)	a)Calories intake	Calories intake per day per head as percentage of norm	Below 60% of norm	60% and more but less than 100% of norm	100% and more but less than 133% of norm	133% and more of norm
	b)Protein intake	Protein intake per day per head as percentage of norm	Below 60% of norm	60% and more but less than 100% of norm	100% and more but less than 200% of norm	200% and more of norm
	c)Percent of non-starchy calories	Percent of non-starchy calories in food intake	Less than 10%	10% and more but less than 40%	40% and more but less than 60%	60% and more
2. Clothing (use of clothes)	a)Cloth consumption	Cloth used for clothing sold to consumers and twined into ready to wear garments per year per head	none	Less than 15 m ²	15 m ² and more but less than 50m ²	50 m ² and more
	b)Footwear consumption	Footwear pairs sold to consumers per year per head	none	Less than 3 pairs	3 pairs and more but less than 6 pairs	6 pairs and more
	c)Quality of clothing	Ord. ind.	Most primitive	Poor	Satisfactory	Sumptuous

LEVEL OF LIVING INDEX - COMPUTATIONAL TABLE CONTINUED

Components	Indicators	Units of Measurement	Determination of cardinal indicators sub-ranges and ordinal indicator grades			
3. Shelter (Occupancy of dwellings)	a) Services of dwellings	Ord. ind.	No permanent dwelling	Rustic or unfit for habitation	Conventional fit for habitation	Conventional with all amenities
	b) Density of occupancy	Rooms per inhabitant	Less than 1/4	1/4 and more but less than 1	1 and more but less than 1½	1½ and more
	c) Independent use of dwellings	Housing units per household	Housing unit unidentifiable or less than ½ housing unit per household	Less than 1 but more than ½ housing unit per household	One housing unit per household	More than one housing unit per household
4. Health (Health services received)	a) Access to medical care	Ord. ind.	No access whatsoever	Access limited	Access adequate	All needs for medical care fully satisfied
	b) Prevention of infection and parasitic disease	Percentage of deaths not due to infection or parasitic disease	Below 66%	66% and more but less than 96%	96% and more but less than 99%	99% and more
	c) Proportional mortality ratio	Percentage of deaths which occur at the age of 50 years and over to the total number of deaths	0%	Less than 80%	80% and more but less than 90%	90% and over

LEVEL OF LIVING INDEX - COMPUTATIONAL TABLE CONTINUED

Components	Indicators	Units of Measurement	Determination of cardinal indicators sub-ranges and ordinal indicator grades			
5. Education (Education received)	a) School enrolment ratio	Enrolment as percentage of norm	No enrolment	Less than 100%	100% or more but less than 150%	150% and more
	b) School output ratio	Not dropped out as percentage of enrolled	All dropped out	Less than 90%	90% and more but less than 100%	100%
	c) Teacher/pupil ratio	Teacher/pupil ratio as percentage of norm	Tuition not received	Teacher/pupil ratio below 100% of norm	Teacher/pupil ratio at or above 100% of norm but below 200% of norm	Teacher/pupil ratio at or above 200% of norm
6. Leisure (protection from over-work)	a) Leisure time	Hours free from work per year	Less than 3640 hours free from work per year (Badly overworked)	3640 hours and more but less than 6336 hours free from work per year (Overworked)	6336 hours or more but less than 6816 hrs. free from work per year (Not overworked)	6816 hours or more free from work per year (Comfortable)

LEVEL OF LIVING INDEX - COMPUTATIONAL TABLE CONTINUED

Components	Indication	Units of Measurement	Determination of cardinal indicators sub-ranges and ordinal indicator grades			
7. Security (Security assured)	a) Security of the person	Ord. ind,	Law and order broken down (war, civil war, regime of terror)	Law and order badly maintained (riots gangsterism, hooliganism)	Law and order adequately maintained	Law and order well maintained
	b) Security of the way of life	Ord. ind.	Economic chaos	No employment or sickness insurance, no pension schemes, not sufficient savings	Unemployment and sickness insurance, pension schemes and/or savings sufficient to maintain a minimum level of living	Complete coverage by insurance or pension schemes and/or savings sufficient to maintain the present way of life
8. Social Environment (social contacts and recreation)	a) Labour relations	Ord. ind.	Riots. Repeated strikes and lockouts	Tension in labour relations Occasional strikes	Labour relations satisfactory	Labour relations good
	b) Conditions for social and economic activity	Ord. ind.	Political oppression Social prejudice rampant	Difficult conditions for social and political activity	Satisfactory conditions for social and political activity	Good conditions for social and political activity

LEVEL OF LIVING INDEX - COMPUTATIONAL TABLE CONTINUED

Components	Indicators	Units of Measurement	Determination of cardinal indicators sub-ranges and ordinal indicator gauges			
8. Social environment cont.	c)Information and communication	Ord. ind.	Isolation with- in a village community	Information and communi- cation restricted	Information and communi- cation satisfactory	Information and communi- cation ample
	d)Recreation : cultural activ- ities (music, theatre, cinema visual arts, book reading)	Ord. ind.	Lack of cultural activities	Rudiments of cultural ac- tivities Participation limited	Cultural ac- tivities adequately developed Participation popular	Cultural acti- vities well- developed Participation enthusiastic and active
	e)Recreation : travel	Ord. ind.	Immobility	Travel occas- ional with a limited perimeter	Frequent travel by various means mostly within the home country	Frequent trav- el of distinct educational and cultural value within the home coun- try and abroad
	f)Recreation : sport and physical exercise	Ord. ind.	No participa- tion whatso- ever	Occasional participation	Systematic practice of one type of exercise	Systematic many sided practice of physical exercise
9. Physical environment	a)Cleaness and quietness	Ord. ind.	Conditions unbearable	Conditions unsatisfactory	Conditions satisfactory	Conditions good
	b)Public amenit- ies in the neighbourhood	Ord. ind.	No amenities	Amenities inadequate	Amenities adequate	Amenities good
	c)Beauty of the neighbourhood	Ord. ind.	Depressing ugliness	Mediocre	Acceptable	Inspiring