## **ABSTRACTS**

Papers submitted to the CSDS Workshop on Services, and included in this issue.

### **RURAL-URBAN LINKAGES** AND URBANISATION

The Origins and Definitions of Rural-Urban Linkages and the Urbanisation Process in South Africa Charles Simkins discusses four issues which influence rural-urban linkages and the urbanisation process in South Africa. Firstly, there is the impact of the Land Acts, which have created a distinction between rural South Africa and rural homelands; there is also the issue of continuities and discontinuities in the ruralurban spectrum; there is the issue of the effect of policy changes upon the spatial distribution of the black population; and lastly, the relationship between productive opportunities and social and physical infrastructure.

Defining 'Rural', 'Urban' and 'Urbanisation' Johan Graaff notes that there is no universallyaccepted definition of the terms "rural", "urban" or "urbanisation". The delivery of services, he notes, may causally effect rural-urban migration, particularly if one accepts that rural areas may be defined as those without services. At a micro-level, services may be delivered to rural areas which will influence migration to urban areas. At a macro-level, service delivery serves resulting in a major need for better roads. the interests of state and capital, and so rural areas become increasingly peripheral to the urban-industrial economy.

#### WELFARE SERVICES B.

The Impact of Services Upon Rural-Urban Linkages Libby Ardington observes that, in respect of service delivery, one may differentiate between three terrains : urban areas (whether in the RSA or homelands); rural areas in white-designated South Africa; and rural areas in homelands. Each experiences different levels of service delivery. The search for employment opportunities remains the chief factor in influencing relocation to urban areas, and service delivery remains poor. In rural areas of white-designated South Africa, service delivery remains dependent upon white employer initiative, and tends to be inferior to urban areas and more expensive. In rural areas of homelands, tribal authorities deliver inadequate services.

### **Utility Services - Water**

p 14 Peter Alcock notes that while the improved availability of water services in urban areas is frequently regarded as an additional benefit, water quality considerations

play little or no role in the decision to move, unless water supplies in rural areas are frequently turbid. The fact that water supplies in urban areas have to be paid for does not act as a deterrent to migration, since many residents in rural areas have had to pay for spring protection. Since the specific place of location in an urban area is usually decided upon by the senior male of a household, and responsibility for water supplies resides traditionally with women, the area settled in by recent migrants to urban regions is usually better situated with regard to access to transport than with regard to water supplies.

### **Labour Intensive Road Construction**

The role played by intensive road construction in employment creation and poverty relief is discussed by Rob Little in a paper on a road construction project funded by the Department of Manpower and administered by the Valley Trust. This project, which involves both the construction and the maintenance of roads, has been implemented in the Valley of a Thousand Hills. Existing roads are either the work of the KwaZulu Roads Department or are built by the people themselves - the latter often barely passable.

### Electrification : Eskom's Vision

The vision of Eskom is simply "Electricity for All", according to Rob Gordijn: a policy which has led to a new approach to tariff determination, installation and metering. Tariffs based on customer needs are implemented, while the delivery of electrification is facilitated through the "Ready Board" system and Budget Energy Controllers which reduce the need for Previous electrification schemes were metering. unaffordable among the majority of Black rural consumers. At present the new scheme is still being pioneered, and a study is underway in four centres. each located at different points on the rural-urban continuum.

### The Role of Telecommunications Services in Rural Development

The role played by telecommunications in determining the process of rural development is discussed by Stavros Stavrou. Telecommunications permit the instantaneous and cost-efficient transmission information over large distances, a vital requirement for rural development. The form of telecommunications employed must however be appropriate to the needs of

p 11

the community, and the information transmitted must be of value to them. There has been until recently a neglect by both the state and rural development planners of the crucial role telecommunications can play.

Health / Health Services

Steve Knight observes that access to Primary Health Care, rather than the provision of health services, is an important determinant of rural-urban linkages. Primary Health Care is concerned with a developmental process whereby the quality of life of people is improved. Absence of adequate PHC, or inaccessibility of PHC (in terms of cost, distance, working hours and comprehension of the concept) is a major cause of migration, which overburdens existing health care facilities. PHC is also concerned with such health essentials as water, sanitation, nutrition, transport and communication, access to which is better in urban areas - thus influencing rural-urban migration.

# The Urbanisation Process : Some Effects on Access to Education in 'KwaZulu' p 25

That there is an urban bias in service delivery of all kinds is noted by Craig Doria, who further notes that this is true of education in particular. Apart from the confusion resulting from the number of departments which regulate black education, there is also a tendency for the state upgrading of education to be concentrated in urban areas, to the detriment of education in rural areas. In rural areas it is often necessary to migrate to urban areas to complete one's schooling, although the unrest centered on education in urban areas that has been a significant feature of black education since 1976 has led to students migrating to rural areas to escape education-centred political violence. Often more politicised students from urban areas tend to politicise students in rural areas. This emphasises the important role played by political factors in determining rural-urban linkages.

# Perceptions of Local Attitudes on Access to Services (1) p 27

Rudi Hillerman observes that in urban township areas, services are available, although only intermittently and of a poor quality when compared to those of white areas. Social services are also underprovided. In rural areas, he argues, the situation is slightly better in that tribal authorities are reasonably effective (within their own limitations), but service quality is declining, and social services are again underprovided. Confusion exists over land tenure in urban areas, which creates uncertainty as to whether or not movement from a rural to an urban area is permanent.

# Perceptions of Local Attitudes on Access to Services (2) p 28

Thulani Mthembu describes how fundamentally poor, ill-educated and unsophisticated rural residents, from communities wherein there is very little visible statal or

para-statal intervention in service delivery, move to urban areas in search of the opportunities of city life-most notably employment. There exists strong attitudinal resistance in such residents to the fact that they have to pay for many services.

### C. PRODUCTIVE SERVICES

p 21

Employment, Unemployment and Rural-Urban Linkages p 30

The emphasis is shifted from welfare to productive services by Norman Bromberger, who analyses what remains the most important factor in influencing rural-urban migration: employment opportunities. Bromberger describes a complex pattern of migration-from rural to urban areas via either peri-urban areas or tribal/reserve areas with an urban orientation. The principal motive for relocation is the search for employment: expectations that there are more opportunities for employment in urban areas than in rural areas are not always justified.

Geographical Location, Access to Services and Employment, and Economic Well-Being in Two Rural Ciskei Villages; Commercial Services and Rural-Urban Linkages.

A case study of two rural Ciskei Villages by Chris de Wet and Murray Leibbrandt shows how geographical location can affect access to services - both of a welfare and a productive nature - employment, and economic well-being. One village, located as it is on a road between two urban centres, has a higher level of economic prosperity, greater access to certain crucial services i.e. education and retail facilities - better transport and a higher level of employment, than the other, more remote, village. The superior commercial services accessible to residents in the first village are analysed in depth by Leibbrandt in another paper: two Firstly, there are few commercial trends emerge. services in which rural areas have an advantage over urban areas: consequently, the urban bias in ruralurban linkages is characterised, and will continue to be characterised, by an urban dominance. improved rural-urban linkages do not seem to benefit the rural poor: these people, who do not have the means to make an effective response to improved commercial opportunities, also find it most difficult to relocate to urban areas.

p 37

Commercial Services in Rural Areas - A Case Study Peter Robinson observes that the many facets of poor accessibility characteristic of rural areas make life there expensive: time, effort and money are spent in securing basic inputs into the economy and not on developing productive opportunities. This emerges in a study of Baziya in Transkei, a typical rural area inasmuch as it does not have a viable subsistence economy. Most consumption needs are met by goods produced and purchased in urban areas and paid for by incomes originating in urban areas. This underscores the chronic shortage of productive opportunities and services in rural areas.

### D. LOCAL AUTHORITIES

Local Government and Service Delivery: The Amatola Basin in Ciskei p 43

The role of the tribal authorities in delivering services to rural areas is described by **Cecil Manona**, in a paper on the Amatola Basin in Ciskei. Tribal authorities are constituted undemocratically and observe little responsibility towards those whom they represent. This factor, combined with an effectively low degree of real executive authority and the constraints imposed by traditional forms of acting, means that there is a very low standard of service delivery in areas under the jurisdiction of tribal authorities.

The Challenge of Metropolitan Government in Durban p 46

Simon Bekker discusses the role of Regional Services Councils (RSCs) in delivering services. Although the RSCs have a fairly impressive administrative and institutional capacity, and engender a recognition of mutual interdependence within a region, they lack political credibility and direct accountability to residents. With regard to metropolitan government in Durban, he consequently argues that the positive features of RSCs should be exploited whilst their flaws should be avoided.

### CONTRIBUTORS

#### **Guest Editor**

Simon Bekker is Director of the Centre for Social and Development Studies of the University of Natal, Durban.

### **Assistant Editor**

Craig Clark is employed by the Centre for Social and Development Studies in the Rural- Urban Studies Unit.

### **AUTHORS:**

**Libby Ardington** is a researcher in the Centre for Social and Development Studies of the University of Natal, Durban.

**Peter Alcock** is a senior researcher at the Development Studies Research Group at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.

**Norman Bromberger** lectures in Economics at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.

Chris de Wet lectures in Anthropology at Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

**Craig Doria** works in Community Organisation Research and Development, University of Natal, Durban.

Rob Gordijn works for ESCOM (Western Natal Region) - in Pietermaritzburg.

Johann Graaff lectures in Sociology at the University of Cape Town.

Rudi Hillerman is employed by RSA - KwaZulu Development and Planning, in Durban.

**Steve Knight** works for the University of Natal Medical School in Durban, in Community Services.

Murray Liebbrandt lectures in Economics at Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

**Rob Little** lectures in Civil Engineering at the University of Natal, Durban.

**Cecil Manona** is a senior researcher at the Institute for Social and Economic Research at Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

**Thulani Mthembu** is employed by the Inanda Community Development Project in Inanda.

**Peter Robinson** is a senior partner with Vandeverre, Apsey, Robinson and Associates, Durban.

**Charles Simkins** is with the Urban Foundation in Johannesburg.

Stavros Stavrou is a researcher with the Centre for Social and Development Studies, University of Natal, Durban.