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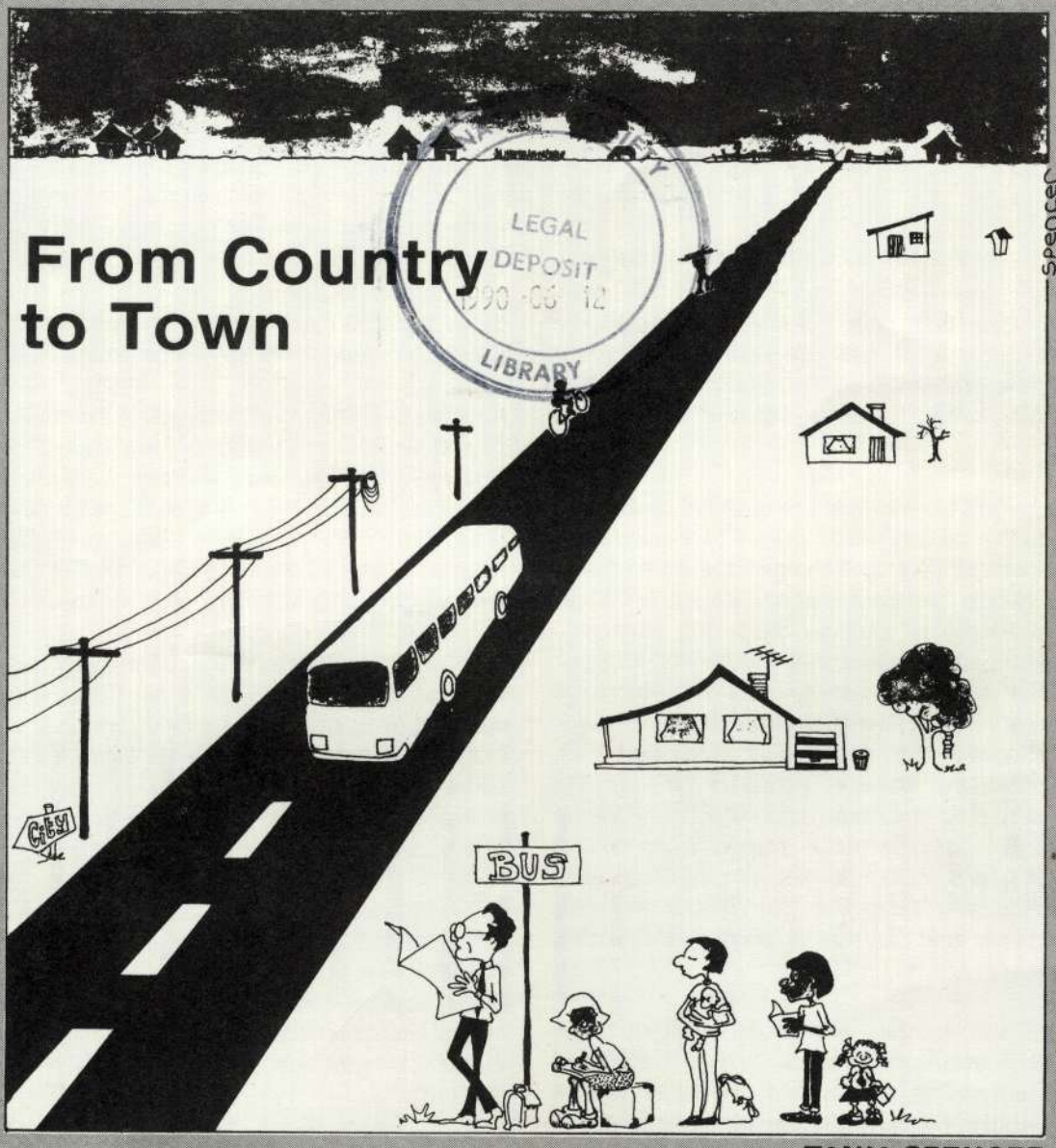
JANUARY – MARCH 1990 R2,40



TANIA SPENCER

A JOURNAL OF LIBERAL AND RADICAL OPINION

Vol. 22 Nos 1 & 2
Special Edition

ISSN 0034 0979
January/March 1990

INTRODUCTION

by Simon Bekker and Craig Clark – Guest Editors.

On October 26 1989, the Centre for Social and Development Studies at the University of Natal in Durban hosted a workshop on the effects of access to services on rural-urban linkages and the urbanisation process.

Papers were invited from a wide spectrum of disciplines and organisations on this topic. Some of these papers dealt at a theoretical level with the problems inherent in defining the nature of rural-urban linkages. Others examined the effects of a range of specific services - both of a welfare and a productive nature - on linkages between urban and rural areas, while others raised potential issues which developers and planners might take into account in formulating policies. By arrangement with the editorial board of **Reality**, this edition is intended to document that workshop, and is published in lieu of the more conventional set of proceedings. It is hoped that this will enable a wider readership to come to terms with the difficult problems of service delivery and the role it plays in influencing migration to urban areas.

For the purposes of the workshop, services were defined as **the institutional and collective delivery of goods and amenities, of both a welfarist and a productive nature**. It is necessary to emphasise the latter as well as the former. As is argued in a paper published in a recent edition of **Indicator**, the delivery of welfare-orientated services (in rural areas particularly) cannot have a significantly beneficial effect upon quality of life unless there is a simultaneous delivery of those services that enable communities and individuals to become producers as well as consumers.

Another key issue that emerges in the papers presented to the workshop is that of the role played by local government in service delivery. Although only one paper concentrated on a specific case study, the issue is touched upon by nearly every participant. For this reason, a paper by Simon Bekker of CSDS on the role of local government has been included in this edition.

Of equal importance is the trend identified throughout the workshop : there exists an urban bias in service delivery. Not only are there more services of a generally better quality delivered to urban areas, but the nature of service delivery in rural ares - more welfarist than productive in nature - acts as a spur to urbanisation. This bias is consequently cumulative in effect.

The editors wish to thank all participants in and contributors to the workshop, and particularly thank the editorial board of **Reality** for this opportunity to publish these papers. We hope that this edition will form a meaningful contribution to the ongoing debate on rural-urban linkages generally, and service delivery in particular.

Rather than publish a table of contents, the editors have included a list of abstracts of each of the papers. These enable the reader to determine the order in which he or she may wish to read the papers.

ABSTRACTS

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

A. RURAL-URBAN LINKAGES AND URBANISATION

The Origins and Definitions of Rural-Urban Linkages and the Urbanisation Process in South Africa p 6

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 rural-urban 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' p 9

Johan Graaff notes that there is no universally-accepted 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 the interests of state and capital, and so rural areas become increasingly peripheral to the urban-industrial economy.

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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.

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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.

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Electrification : Eskom's Vision p 16

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 metering. Previous electrification schemes were 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 p 20

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 of information over large distances, a vital requirement for rural development. The form of telecommunications employed must however be appropriate to the needs of

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 p 21

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

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. p 32

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 trends emerge. Firstly, there are few commercial services in which rural areas have an advantage over urban areas: consequently, the urban bias in rural-urban linkages is characterised, and will continue to be characterised, by an urban dominance. Secondly, 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.

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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.

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A. RURAL – URBAN LINKAGES AND URBANISATION

THE ORIGINS AND DEFINITIONS OF RURAL-URBAN LINKAGES AND THE URBANISATION PROCESS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

by Charles Simkins

Introduction

The topic is a very large one and so there can be no question of a systematic treatment. Instead, I shall raise at a broad conceptual level four issues which demand consideration in the light of the goals of the workshop, as I understand them. These are (1) the scope of the term "rural" in the light of what the Land Acts have made possible; (2) continuities and discontinuities in the rural-urban spectrum and their regional variation; (3) the stability of the spatial distribution of the population in a changing policy environment; and (4) access to productive opportunities and the relation of this to provision of social and physical infrastructure. As will be seen, all these issues are related.

The Land Acts and rural structure

As is well known, the Land Acts divide rural South Africa into two parts: (1) scheduled and released land, which, anomalies apart, constitute the territory of the homelands and (2) other rural land. The differences between these parts are twofold. First, there are different land tenure systems in force. Land tenure in rural areas outside the homelands is now overwhelmingly capitalist in form, whereas land tenure in scheduled areas remains (formally, at least) tribal, with a mixture of tribal and capitalist forms in the released areas. Secondly, there are explicit racial disabilities on the ownership and tenure of land in rural areas outside the homelands and implicit disabilities in areas inside the homelands. These two features are historically, but not necessarily linked. The effects of government policy since 1913, and more particularly since the late 1950s, has been to accentuate the dichotomy between the two parts of rural South Africa. A stark demographic fact indicates this: whereas 35 per cent of the black population lived in rural areas outside the homelands in 1950, only 13 per cent did so in 1985. There has been a systematic state assault on the remnants of black freehold tenure outside the homelands, on the labour tenant system and on other forms of tenancy outlawed under the Land Acts, but which continued to exist. Until statistical material on agricultural production by black households on their own account outside the homelands ceased to be collected, it showed that this was becoming a smaller and smaller proportion of the income of these households. At the same time, average farm sizes have risen and mechanisation has proceeded - rapidly at some times and in some sectors, more slowly otherwise. Nonetheless, there remained 3,2 million black people in rural areas outside the homelands in 1985. The 1980s have seen a rise in the wage employment/population ratio; agricultural wages themselves have stagnated in real terms. In addition, there is some off-farm working among farm residents.

As far as education is concerned, these people are uniquely disadvantaged; average black education levels are lower on the farms outside the homelands than anywhere else. Social services are haphazardly provided. While there are pockets of good housing, the state has done nothing until very recently to assist in housing provision. Over the last thirty years, most of the outmigration from these areas has been to the homelands, initially mostly to the rural areas and dense settlements in the homelands, more recently increasingly to the peri-urban fringes of the metropolitan areas. Outmigrants, particularly those too old to attend school, are uniquely disadvantaged by virtue of their education and work experience when it comes to competing in urban labour markets. Service provision in rural areas outside the homelands therefore poses special problems of its own.

In the short term, outmigration of black people is likely to continue from these areas, with total population remaining roughly constant or even dropping a little. This past and expected future experience contrasts with that in the scheduled and released areas, where there was net inmigration at a rapid rate between 1960 and 1980 and at a considerably slower rate since then. Nobody knows what has happened to the number of people with some sort of access to the land, though we can be certain that the proportion of such people as a part of the homeland population living outside urban and peri-urban areas must have dropped. What we do know is that even among people with rights to the land, agricultural production now forms a small part - nearly always less than a quarter - of household incomes. The incomes of rural people in the homelands are now very highly dependent on what happens in the urban areas of the country as a whole and how the access of rurally-based people to urban labour markets develops.

The increase in dichotomisation since the late 1950s between the two parts of the rural areas means that the Land Acts continue to have a function which racial segregation in the sphere of urban production does not. Put another way, the immediate abolition of the Land Acts would have an effect on population distribution (parts of the rural areas outside the homelands would be re-occupied by black people, legally and illegally) and might (if small farming were found to be viable) have a considerable effect on the structure of agricultural production. On the other hand, if the Land Acts were to be maintained, the dichotomy might start to diminish via a mechanism already starting to become visible: the restructuring of homeland rural land tenure along more capitalist lines. The faster this process occurs, the more rapid will be outmigration from the homeland rural areas.

Continuities and discontinuities in the rural/urban spectrum

It seems sensible to classify settlement types according to the following scheme: (1) Proclaimed urban areas and peri-urban settlements within metropolitan boundaries; (2) other proclaimed urban areas and adjacent peri-urban areas; (3) dense settlements and (4) rural areas. These classifications can be cross-cut by a homeland/non-homeland distinction. Classifying the white, Coloured and Asian population and the black population outside the homelands according to this scheme presents no difficulties. When it comes to the black population inside the homelands, there are considerable difficulties in applying the scheme in practice. The population censuses count the peri-urban, dense settlement and rural population all as "non-urban", so that, for demographic purposes, one has to rely on field work, such as that of Graaff. The conceptual distinction is reasonably clear: classify as rural all those settlements where households at least have the possibility of access to agricultural land and where a significant proportion of them do. Dense settlements and peri-urban areas are then differentiated according to their location; if they lie within a metropolitan region or adjacent to a proclaimed urban area, they fall into the latter category.

In some regions, it is likely that rural areas will shade into dense settlements and peri-urban areas in a rather indistinct fashion. This is likely to be the case where homelands extend close to cities: Pretoria, Bloemfontein, East London, Durban, Pietermaritzburg. It may be that such a situation offers opportunities to black households (lacking elsewhere) to locate along a urban/rural continuum so as to take advantage of both urban and rural production opportunities. In practice, this opportunity may be restricted by the rigidities of tribal land allocation. Service provision in such situations - where the effective boundary of the metropolitan area could be expected to move out over time - would pose different problems from provision in either peri-urban communities outside the homelands or in more remote dense settlements and rural areas in the homelands.

The stability of the spatial distribution of the black population

The issue here is how stable the spatial distribution of the black population will be under changing policies. One aspect of the issue has already been debated in relation to the abolition of the pass laws. Without reviewing that debate, one may make the following observations:

(i) between 1980 and 1985 the Cape Town, Durban and Bloemfontein/Botshabelo metropolitan areas all had black population growth rates in excess of 10 per cent p.a. However, in the cases of Durban and Bloemfontein/Botshabelo, the increases were effectively confined to the homeland areas. For the metropolitan areas as a whole, 80 per cent of the net inmigration occurred in the homeland parts.

(ii) abolition of the pass laws will make the non-homeland parts of the metropolitan areas more accessible to black immigrants. So will designation of non-homeland land as suitable for township development, especially in the PWV. It appears that the rate of black population growth in the non-homelands parts of the PWV and Port Elizabeth has accelerated; it now probably stands at 6-7 per cent p.a. in the PWV and 7-8 per cent in Port Elizabeth.

(iii) however, a rapid rise in the black population in the urban areas will not necessarily prevent a rise in the rural population as the following projections from the Urban Foundation demographic model show:

	1985 (million)	2000	growth (% pa)
Metropolitan:			
non-homeland	5,4	10,5	4,5
homeland	3,9	8,0	4,9
Urban:			
non-homeland	1,5	2,4	3,2
homeland	1,1	1,9	3,7
Dense settlements:			
homeland	2,1	3,3	3,1
Rural:			
non-homeland	3,2	3,2	0,0
homeland	7,2	7,8	0,5
Total	24,4	37,1	2,8
% metro + urban	49	62	
% metro + urban + dense	58	70	

In terms of actual outcomes, I am inclined to think that at present these projections are on the low side as far as urbanisation is concerned. But

they illustrate the point that even at high metropolitan growth rates, the rural population may still increase slightly. Or put the other way round, the requirements for an absolute decline in the rural population are urban growth rates at a historically unprecedented rate.

(iv) the arguments of section 1 and this section indicate that population increase in the rural areas will depend, perhaps heavily, on:

(a) how the rural land tenure system evolves both inside and outside the homelands and whether the Land Acts are modified or abolished;

(b) the rate at which residential land in metropolitan areas outside the homelands becomes available to black people, particularly in the PWV.

It will also depend on:

(c) the rate of growth and composition of final demand for goods and services. The faster the economy grows, the more rapid urbanisation can be expected to be. On the other hand, both internal and external factors associated with growth - other than the observed regularity that people spend proportionately less on food as their incomes rise - can shift the composition of demand towards, or away from, agricultural products;

(d) access to employment by economically active people in rurally-based households. The next section will expand on this point.

Access to productive opportunities and its relation to physical and social infrastructure

It was noted in section 1 that the incomes of rural households in the homelands now depend heavily on incomes generated by rurally-based people in the urban areas. The mechanism which has underpinned this phenomenon has been the contract labour system. This system reached its peak in the 1970s; it is likely that the proportion of black people employed under this system has dropped since then, and it is almost certain to drop further. This is itself a consequence of urbanisation; the question is whether decline in the use of the contract labour system will proceed at a rate compatible with the urbanisation rate or whether there are rigidities which raise the spectre of rural marginalisation and a widening rural-urban income gap. Certainly, the evolution of this gap needs to be watched, though data capable of yielding clear conclusions are hard to come by. New productive opportunities in the rural areas may affect this gap quite considerably.

When it comes to considering levels of service, the relationship between infrastructural services, services directly supporting productive activities, and household incomes is of the first importance. Especially in a period of low economic growth, the consequence of pumping infrastructural services into situations where household incomes are very low and there is little scope for development of productive activities will be a waste, in that facilities will be provided in areas of high out-migration and fiscal crisis, and it will be impossible to provide these services without high levels of state subsidy. Quite a lot of homeland "development" activity in the last quarter of century has made just these mistakes and the first task of new policies is to see that they are not repeated.

The whole issue is much complicated by the confused state of regional development policy. There are attempts to replace the old emphasis on decentralised manufacturing with a more comprehensive approach to exploiting regional comparative advantages. But these will run into two difficulties: the vested interests which the existing Regional Industrial Development Programme has created and the difficulties of formulating and putting a more comprehensive programme in place. In addition, one has to try and discern whether there are trends in the spatial distribution of production other than those introduced by government policies - this in itself is a controversial issue.

Conclusion

Changing access to services affects rural-urban linkages, but it does so in an environment where many other factors are having the same effect. How these other factors operate will determine the importance of the particular effect which it is the task of the workshop to analyse. Our knowledge of the other factors - a number of which have been discussed in this brief paper - is very insufficient. But it may be that an understanding of the rough shape of the complexities may contribute to avoiding a few pitfalls. □

DEFINING 'RURAL' 'URBAN' AND 'URBANISATION'

by Johann Graaff

1. I start from the assumption that there is no universal definition of 'rural', 'urban' or 'urbanisation'. It all depends on the work the definition is required to do and the theoretical framework within which it is cast.

Definitions may also vary from the trivial and banal to the substantive and significant. It does not seem important, for example, to spend time considering the impact of a public TV service on Ganyesa village in Bophuthatswana. This is, without doubt, a linkage which would affect urbanisation. It is not a central factor.

2. I shall interpret my brief, then, in the following way: consider the kinds of definitions which are implied by the different theoretical approaches to urbanisation. We shall see in a moment that, in consequence, urbanisation can mean two very different things. For one theoretical approach it means rural-urban migration. In this case, there is a causal link between service provision and migration.

For other theoretical approaches, there is a temptation to lapse into a tautological definition, and say that 'rural' is any place without services. Urbanisation is, in this case, not something which happens **as a result** of service provision, but is **defined by** service provision.

I take 'rural' to mean homelands, for two reasons. First, even those homeland settlements which can be regarded as functionally urban for other purposes, are, when it comes to services, effectively rural. (Settlements which, elsewhere, I have called 'peri-urban' and 'semi-urban', I would here term rural. I retain the word 'urban' for homeland settlements which have been officially proclaimed.) Second, I take the focus of this project to be Natal where agricultural mechanisation, the 1913 Land Act and population resettlement programmes have already moved many people off commercial farms. I do not expect significant migration to be taking place from 'White' farms to urban areas. The position would be different in the Transvaal, for example, where substantial squatter settlements are to be found outside homelands.

3. There are two theoretical levels at which we may proceed: the micro-, household decision-making level; and the macro-, political and economic level. That needs emphasising since there is a temptation to remain at the micro-level in urbanisation thinking. Micro-level thinking is important since it delivers tangible, short-term benefits for particular members of particular households. But the context of household decision-making is set by macro-factors. That is why household decision-making in 1989 in Natal is quite a different story from decision-making in 1949 or 1929.

I shall start with migration theories at the micro-level.

4. The question to address at this level is: which services will significantly affect the decisions of various household members to migrate temporarily or permanently to urban areas? From the perspective of the individual household, 'rural' can mean the following things:

(a) a place for children to be educated away from the socially and politically disruptive environment of the 'locations';

(b) a place to have some land and cattle in order to maintain tribal links, provide some supplementary income, provide a welfare substitute, and form the nucleus of a retirement nest-egg;

(c) a place for pensioners and women who bring up children and watch over or work agricultural resources.

From this perspective 'rural' is derivative of, a mirror-image of 'urban'. 'Urban' can be the following things:

(a) a place for significant income from either the formal or informal economic sectors;

(b) a source of consumer goods and entertainment.

A great deal of what happens in rural areas is dependent on what happens in urban areas. Whether agricultural activities are carried on, or children go to school depends on whether the money arrives from town. (This also has the result that the provision of services in urban areas has critical rural consequences. Put differently, a great deal of rural development happens in urban areas.)

In this context significant rural services will be:

(i) schools, especially at the secondary level, and creches;

(ii) information on employment opportunities in town;

(iii) postal communication which delivers remittances and pensions;

(iv) water, which often takes women or children many hours to collect and is the source of most rural diseases;

(v) electricity, as substitute for paraffin, coal and wood;

(vi) transport.

5. The macro-perspective, by contrast, looks at urbanisation through the eyes of various industrial and government sectors. Let me start with capital's interest in various types of labour.

For Marxists, capital sees homelands as sources of either subsidised labour for the mining industry (Wolpe), 'outsider' labour for manufacturing (Hindson) or enclave female labour for light industries and textiles (Bell; Cobbett et al.) In this context, 'rural' means a place without significant power which has, over time, been nudged, persuaded or bullied into service of urban interests. 'Rural' means peripheral. The rural-urban linkage is a functional, often functionalist, one.

From capital's point of view, critical services are:

(i) commuter transport subsidised by central government,

(ii) the suppression or control of trade unions by homeland governments,

(iii) the transfer of service provision to homeland governments, which often means quite a low welfare level,

(iv) the existence of some level of subsistence agriculture to subsidise household incomes,

(v) homeland apprentice training programmes free of White trade union control,

(vi) decentralisation incentive schemes by central and homeland governments, and

(vii) (I suspect) lower levels of inspection and discipline in sanitation, employee safety and pollution.

Commuter settlements vary considerably across the country. But, in one sense, they are all rural, even the ones proclaimed urban, in their lack of access to effective trade union representation and political representation at the homeland government level.

6. The political side of the macro-perspective starts with the South African government's aim of establishing political outlets for Africans who are excluded from representation at the central government level. Much of that intent is mediated by homeland governments/administrations whose central concerns, for our purposes, are political survival, political credibility and self- enrichment (although we need to rethink some of this for Mabuza and the recent Holomisa, perhaps).

From their point of view, 'urban' means the, frequently bureaucratic, people who need appeasement, employment, housing and other benefits in return for political support or acquiescence. In cash-strapped economies, 'rural' are the people who are neglected in investment and development terms. They are the wrong tribal group, the wrong class, they have an ineffectual chief, they lack effective administrations to make development schemes work.

From the perspective of these rural people, critical services might be:

(i) legal advice and media coverage,

(ii) effective development co-ordinators, facilitators and managers.

I have in mind a great deal of what happens at the Mboza project in Northern Natal (Details are provided in two papers by P.J. Derman and C. Poultney, viz. [1] "The politics of production and community development in Rural South Africa", Carnegie Conference Paper No. 226, U.C.T., 1984 and [2] "Agricultural reconstruction in a consumer society : the Mboza Village Project", Development Southern Africa, Vol 4, No 3, August 1987, pp. 553-568) □

B. WELFARE SERVICES

THE IMPACT OF SERVICES UPON RURAL-URBAN LINKAGES

by Libby Ardington

The Population Census is based on an urban/rural divide which has been determined according to whether there is an operational local authority in a particular area. Although this may result in areas being classified as rural when they are in no real sense so, the very existence of a local authority has significant implications for the population which is defined as urban or rural on the basis of the operation of the local authority. This is the case regardless of whether the urban area is in the RSA or an independent or non-independent homeland. Whether an area is rural or urban has, or had, implications for the operation of the Group Areas Act and influx control, and accordingly for the ability to obtain access to an area, security in that area and ability to obtain housing there. With regard to the delivery of services it is, owing to the basis on which services are provided, generally crucial whether an area is considered rural or urban.

When it comes to the delivery of services one may differentiate between urban areas - whether in the RSA or homelands, white-designated rural areas and rural areas in the independent and non-independent homelands. Ease of access and standards or levels of delivery vary enormously between the three.

In urban areas the state or local authority accepts full responsibility for the planning and provision of services such as education, health, recreation, water, electricity, roads, welfare etc. In the rural areas where there are generally no local authorities **no one plans** the provision of services, and where these are provided, the local population is required to bear a substantial portion of the cost. In the homelands the community, for example, has to take the initiative if it wants a school. It has to obtain permission, build the school and bear the full cost until such time as a subsidy may be paid by the state. In white-designated rural areas the state similarly plays no planning role and the provision of services is entirely dependent on private initiative. This reliance on private initiative has been a dismal failure and has resulted in a very inferior quality and quantity of service in rural areas.

The question is whether these differences have had an impact on the urbanisation process and the nature of rural-urban linkages. Do superior educational facilities in urban areas attract whole families to relocate? Does access to a high level of medical attention draw families with chronically ill members to town? Does the absence of educational facilities in rural areas deprive rural dwellers of the skills that would facilitate their movement to urban areas? When urban pensions were double those of rural pensions and easier to obtain did this encourage movement to urban areas? There is no doubt that the black urban population is growing but it is not clear how large the percentage of persons newly arrived from rural areas is, nor whether the newcomers have settled permanently or temporarily. Nor are there any figures which would give some indication of the relative importance of the factors leading to the movement to town.

Overall the percentage of the black population found on white farms and in the homeland rural areas is declining but a closer look at the demographic structure of the population would seem to indicate that this is not a straightforward urbanisation process. In many cases it is not the entire family that has moved to town and many people still appear not to be urbanising permanently. There are no figures that could be used to assess the impact of the removal of influx control on the size and permanency of the urbanisation process, but whereas in the past those laws ensured that a migrant retained rural links it would seem that today the inadequacy of housing and services in urban areas and the inability to obtain a secure foothold in the urban areas is serving the same function - to some extent at least. Urban violence and personal prejudice no doubt also play a role. It would seem that the search for employment opportunities or income generation remains the chief factor influencing movement to town. Despite the unequal way in which services are supplied and the superior levels or standards of services in urban areas, services are so inadequate and the availability of housing or security so elusive, that they may not serve to attract the prospective migrant either to bring his family with him to town or to migrate permanently.

Eighty per cent of the black population of Natal and KwaZulu was rural according to the 1985 Census. The classification of the residents of dense informal settlements as rural is alone sufficient to undermine the validity of this distinction. Overestimated as the rural segment of the population may be its demographic structure may be used to comment on the nature of rural urban linkages. Breaking down the population of Natal and KwaZulu by magisterial district and by sex

and into various age cohorts indicates a very differentiated distribution. Basically children, aged persons and women are concentrated in the rural areas while males, particularly those in the economically active age groups, predominate in the urban areas. In the KwaZulu magistracies the different structures appear closely related to rural depth and the availability of employment opportunities. In Natal the position appears somewhat more complicated.

Although the percentage of the black population resident on white farms has declined drastically in recent years as a result of evictions of squatters and the abolition of tenancy, declining employment opportunities on farms, declining security on farms, and inferior access to education and other services, the population that has remained on the farms appears to be relatively stable and permanent in comparison with the urban or homeland population. Whether persons of schoolgoing, economically active or aged age groups for Natal and KwaZulu are taken into account, the percentage resident on farms does not vary much. 10,9 per cent of scholars are resident on farms, 14,6 per cent of the economically active and 11,0 per cent of the aged. The larger percentage for the economically active age group is explained by the presence of migratory farm workers, chiefly in the sugar belt, as is the above average proportion of males in this age group.

With a few minor exceptions blacks may only reside legally in rural Natal on the property of their employers and with their permission. Outside of the Pietermaritzburg-Pinetown-Durban axis there are only 16 black townships so that it is unlikely that a black working in a white-designated rural area would be able to find legal and secure accommodation in a nearby urban area. Blacks resident in white-designated areas should accordingly be limited to persons employed in the area and their dependents. Practice with this in regard to retirement on the farm on which a person has worked has varied with time and location - in those areas in which there were tenants or permanent employees the majority of aged persons appear to have remained on the farms. This has not been the practice where migrant farm workers are concerned. With the progressive abolition of tenancy and squatting and the very much higher standard of housing and other services currently required on farms the number of persons allowed to reside on farms who are not dependents of full time employees is continually decreasing. Farms are being less frequently used as a base from which to migrate and to which to return on retirement. Those who fail to, or do not wish to, find employment on farms are increasingly making a permanent break with their rural roots as they enter the economically active age group. Although their ability to do so has been improved by the abolition of influx control, the extremely low levels of education on farms and poor resources make it very difficult for farm dwellers to urbanise successfully. Apart from being less likely to succeed in obtaining a job or a house than their urban or homeland counterparts they may well have no home or family on whom they can rely for support should they fail.

Unequal access to education is reflected in figures for the percentage of the population which has received no education at all. It is highest in rural Natal (50,3 per cent), followed by rural KwaZulu (44,4 per cent) and then urban Natal (26,4 per cent). The very poverty of education on white farms hinders the escape of farm dwellers to an area where superior education is provided. Persons become trapped in a vicious circle from which they cannot escape - and yet the farms do not have the capacity to absorb such persons into the workforce and cannot offer them even residential security.

Where the expected escape from such a situation would be to urbanise, in the South African context people may have no choice but to move to another rural area - either in the RSA or a homeland.

In certain white-designated rural areas there are dense black populations whose structure resembles more closely that of a rural-homeland-migrant-remitting-area than of a white-designated rural area. In these areas de facto black settlement has occurred which is not dependent on the location of the employment of the household head. These are areas where tenants have never been evicted; where the population growth on labour farms has been unrestricted; where people have simply settled when evicted from other rural areas or where informal black towns have developed without any formal declaration. A population breakdown in these areas reveals above average percentages of children and aged persons and a predominance of women in the economically active age group. The majority of men in this age group are normally absent as migrants as is the case in the rural areas in the homelands. Such communities are found in the magisterial districts of Babanango, Weenen, Ngotshe, Klip River, Umvoti, Bergville and Estcourt. With regard to service delivery these communities may be in a worse position than homeland rural areas. In theory the provision of services in these areas is dependent on white or employer initiative. Where they are absent there is no one to take the initiative and services may be totally non-existent. In such circumstances it may be necessary for a crisis to develop before the authorities step in to deal with an 'oil-slick situation' or to develop an area prior to consolidation into a homeland. Urban/rural linkages in these communities are probably more current and regular than in the white farm communities.

A comparison of the population structure of the rural areas of the homelands with that of Natal and the urban areas of the homelands combined may throw some

light on the nature of the urbanisation process and the factors influencing it. The partially transitory nature of movement to Natal or the urban areas from the rural areas of the homelands is illustrated by the fact that 28,7 per cent of the 5 - 14 age group, 48,1 per cent of the 20 - 54 age group and 23,1 per cent of those aged 55 or older reside in Natal or the urban areas. Although these figures are static and accordingly do not reflect the movements of individuals over time or necessarily indicate future trends, the implication is still that many urban workers/dwellers are migrants in the sense that they have gone to the urban area alone and left their dependents, both old and young, in the rural areas. A further implication is that many workers will return to the rural areas on retirement. Despite the fact that services are inferior and more expensive in rural areas, it would seem that the likelihood of being unable to obtain access to any services at all, as well as to being unable to find a secure and acceptable home in the urban periphery, encourages many migrants to retain their rural links intact and to return there on retirement.

Educational facilities are worst on white farms and there is considerable evidence of dependents who have been sent away in order to obtain an education. Frequently however they are forced to seek the education which they have found unobtainable in the white-designated rural areas, not in the towns but in the homelands. A similar situation confronts farmworkers facing retirement. They are unlikely to have the option of moving to an urban area. The only openings available, none of which the worker may claim as of right, may be movement to a homeland or to a white-designated area which has de facto become a black resettlement area.

The existence of better health and welfare services in urban areas does not necessarily imply that individuals would be better serviced were they to move to town. Even where this is the case a lack of housing and security might make the cost of taking up the health or welfare service too great. There is however considerable evidence of individual members of households relocating to urban areas when they were chronically ill and required regular attention. In such a case the ill individual might lodge with an individual migrant from the rural household who resides within reach of the superior medical facility.

When social pensions were initially extended to blacks (1944) they were considerably higher and easier to obtain in urban than in rural areas. In 1965 in order to prevent persons moving to urban areas to avail themselves of the larger pension all pensions were equalised. Although service delivery has improved in rural areas there are still places (7 magisterial districts in Natal in 1985) where there is no service at all and others where it is most unsatisfactory. The distribution of pensionable persons however does not appear to have been influenced by this fact. 84,7 per cent of persons aged 65 or older in Natal and KwaZulu are rurally based. The percentage of the population which is pensionable in rural Natal is lower (3,4 per cent) than that in rural KwaZulu (5,2 per cent), reflecting the fact that some farm workers are migrants and that others are not permitted to retire on the farm on which they have been working. Such persons are unlikely to have the option of urbanising to improve their access to pensions and other services.

Discrepancies in levels of access to services or lack of access is not solely explained by the urban/rural divide. It is frequently explained by the KwaZulu/RSA divide. Similarly the possibility of improving service delivery may not lie in an urban area but in the removal of the artificial boundaries between the RSA and KwaZulu.

Improvement in service delivery both for its own sake and to prevent unnecessary urbanisation will be difficult to achieve without planning and the development of rural growth points. In many of the rural areas of the homelands this may require the development of new growth points, but in much of Natal it could be achieved by opening up the already existing approximately 250 small towns to the majority of the rural population who surround and support them. Such persons are unrepresented in the administration of these towns; they do not contribute to their rates; they have no means of applying pressure upon third tier government to ensure delivery of those services which should be supplied by or in such towns. The effective and efficient servicing of rural populations can only be achieved through such towns - but it will not occur until they are democratically controlled by all whom they serve, or should serve. □

UTILITY SERVICES - WATER

by Peter Alcock

No data are believed to be available regarding the water perceptions of blacks newly arrived in urban areas in Natal/KwaZulu. What is known is that the improved availability (volume) of water (not always the reality) is regarded as an additional benefit of translocation to an urban environment. Water quality considerations however, appear to play little or no role in the decision to move, unless water supplies in the rural areas are frequently highly turbid. It should be noted that the primary criterion of water quality, as perceived by blacks, centres on turbidity and not bacteriological quality. There appears to be a general belief that river or dam water for example, is not good quality water in a very broad bacteriological sense, although it is evident that a direct causal relationship between bacteriologically contaminated water and water-borne or water-related disease is not strongly perceived. Such perceptions alter with increasing exposure to western scientific concepts. A previously heightened awareness of the dangers of bacteriologically contaminated water apparent at the time of the cholera epidemic and the water resources drought, has since declined amongst large numbers of rural dwellers.

The **volume** of water available which is a function of the increased number of sources as noted above, is regarded as a positive benefit of urbanisation. It appears that the reality of having to pay for improved water systems in urban areas is not a deterrent to migration. Payment for water cuts across the traditional viewpoint of water (as well as grazing, clay for home building etc.) as a free good available to all. The traditional viewpoint has been changing in the last decade where rural residents have been required to collect money towards spring protection for instance. It is possible that migrants from areas where spring protection has been undertaken to some degree, are more aware of the need to pay for improved water supplies. The implications of constant or regular payment (where applicable) in urban areas, **vis-a-vis** a once-off payment for spring protection are probably not fully perceived prior to migration from the rural environment.

Within urban areas, the decision to settle at a specific site is usually taken by the senior male of the household. A primary consideration is one of access to transport routes to avoid lengthy walks to and from buses or taxis. The responsibility for water supplies is that of the senior woman of the household assisted by relatives and children. It is quite possible therefore that good access to transport routes and good access to water supplies are somewhat or entirely divergent, depending **inter-alia** on topography and settlement density. Given the generally haphazard pattern of settlement in the informal areas surrounding townships, it is quite possible that both the availability and quality of water supplies are as poor or even worse than in rural districts from which migrants originally came. It does not automatically follow therefore that water systems are better in the urban areas, although it is the expectation thereof which partly contributes to the desire to move from rural districts. Urgent attention is now being given by the RSA/KwaZulu Development Project to improved services in the urban areas surrounding Durban and it is likely that with the passage of time, it would be true to say that better water systems are evident in the urban areas **vis-a-vis** rural districts. It is the children and grandchildren of the present-day migrants accordingly, who from a water supply viewpoint, will benefit most by the past decisions of their parents to move to the urban areas. □

LABOUR INTENSIVE ROAD CONSTRUCTION

by R.D. Little

Throughout the Third World labour intensive road construction is used as a method of employment creation and poverty relief. South Africa has seen this used before, but it is only in the last few years that it has been considered again in a serious light. The commonly held view amongst engineers is that machinery is more efficient than labour. It turns out that this is not so and that the comparison must be made for the different construction activities. While one might think that the crushing of rock for concrete aggregate is certainly a machine-made activity, this is not so. A gang with hammers and chisels and the experience of knowing where to apply the impact uses far less energy than the brute force method of mechanical crushers.

South Africa is a country where the labour intensive method is particularly appropriate at the present time. Much of the heavy construction machinery is imported at great and increasing cost as the Rand depreciates. The threat of sanctions is imminent. Furthermore Durban is said to be the second fastest growing city in the world. Unemployment compounds the serious problems we already face. The cost of a project can be measured in purely financial terms and it is found that the cost using capital intensive methods and labour intensive methods is similar. The cost can also be measured with more difficulty in economic terms. Here the social benefits of replacing capital with labour are apparent and the method comes into its own.

The Valley of 1000 Hills has a large population who commute to Pinetown and Durban to work. The roads are all unsurfaced. The main roads are maintained by the KwaZulu Roads Department. The minor roads are built by the people themselves. Needless to say these roads are barely passable, many of them, and the need for better roads together with the need for fresh water are the most pressing felt needs of all.

For the last three years road projects have been undertaken and administered by the Valley Trust and funded by the Department of Manpower. The first of these was a new road, four kilometres long, to a community who had no road access. The method of taking the sick to the nearest clinic was by wheelbarrows. The route was designed by conventional means, but the setting out was not done with a theodolite, only with a tape and an abney level. The route was deviated to avoid houses and crops. Cut to fill was avoided wherever possible. The road followed the contours of the ground creating a pleasant winding alignment. The road is not suitable for large buses but adequate for the minibus. Where the grade was high concrete strips were cast to give traction. It is recommended that grades should be kept to twelve per cent where possible. With the abnormal rainfall in the last year and the steep terrain, erosion is a major problem and roads need constant maintenance. The in situ material was suitable for road making and gravel did not have to be imported. Compaction was done by the passage of traffic and time and there has been no noticeable adverse effect due to the absence of machine compaction. The settlement does cause a change to the crossfall which is corrected by routine maintenance.

At one point the road crosses a stream. Here a ferrocement arch culvert was built with a waterway opening equal to four/600 mm dia. pipes. This was a labour intensive activity which cost forty per cent less than it would have if commercial concrete pipes had been bought.

The labour force consisted of ten teams of thirty people who were each paid five rand per day. To obtain good productivity it was found essential to use the task work system. By this method everyone is given a daily task to complete, after which they may go home. It goes without saying that labour relations are extremely important. A set of site rules has evolved to cope with the more common issues such as rain stoppages and dismissal of staff. Men and women were employed and no problems were experienced with this. Where hard excavation was required this was usually done by the men while the women moved it to fill. The job was finished in four months. These projects can be started up quickly and finished quickly. In India 250 000 people were employed on one project.

The second project completed was a new road of five kilometres. Here a new feature was the making of ferrocement stormwater pipes on site. When the water supply to Durban was cut off in September 1987 this road was the only access left open to the area.

The third project consisted of maintenance work. A team was set up in each of the five tribal areas in the valley. They worked on a total of thirteen roads identified by the local people as those most needing attention.

The fourth project is about to begin, involving maintenance and upgrading work on local roads - some worked on earlier and some attended for the first time. Several students are involved in aspects of the project, which gives useful opportunities for fieldwork and research. □

ELECTRIFICATION – ESKOM'S VISION

by Rob Gordijn

Eskom's vision is simply 'Electricity for All' and the result of this vision has been an entirely different approach to the conventional forms of tariffs, wiring, metering etc. A tariff based on customer needs has been introduced. The S1 tariff consists of an initial charge of R30 for connection and thereafter the consumer will be charged 16c per unit.

The introduction of Budget Energy Controllers and the Ready Board concept will allow the signing-on of customers originally uncatered for.

For example, the Ready Board - which makes available several plug sockets and a light fitting without requiring the dwelling to be wired - can easily be used in mud huts, or can function as a distribution board where conventional wiring exists. The Budget Energy Controller - which requires the use of a pre-paid magnetic card to obtain access to the electricity paid for - reduces the need for meter readers, addresses, high initial deposits and allows the individual to budget in advance.

Effect of electrification

Up until recently, the rural areas only had access to electricity through the tariff D system, which by its cost structure put electrification out of reach for the majority of Black rural consumers. Those families who could afford electricity were substantially better off and therefore were not included in the sample for the rural areas.

Those areas electrified by the new S1 tariffs are still in the pioneering stage, so we can only at this stage forecast the effects of electrification in the rural areas.

In early 1989, ESKOM'S western Natal Region undertook a survey in four areas ranging from rural to urban. The four areas were:

Nkelebantwana
Peace Town
Dick's Halt
Frischgewaag (Bilanyoni)

Description of Pilot Sites

Dick's Halt, between Newcastle and Utrecht, has a township appearance. It is laid out on a grid of intersecting streets; there are many shops, a butchery and small business; there are many solid-looking homes built with concrete blocks; it is within commuting distance of a reasonably large centre of employment.

On the other extreme, Nkelebantwana near Bulwer has a very rural appearance, typical of an unviable subsistence economy supported by remittances from migrant workers. Nearly all homes are made of mud. Although it is right on a main road, there are no significant centres of employment within commuting distance.

Peace Town in the Ladysmith area falls somewhere between these extremes. Like Nkelebantwana, most of the homes are made from mud, but there are a few which are built of concrete blocks and a number have sprouted TV aerials. It is better situated than Nkelebantwana with regard to employment opportunities, but it lacks the township flavour of Dick's Halt.

Frischgewaag in the Paulpietersburg area represents a formal township with infrastructures provided by the Natal Provincial Administration.

Inter alia, the following results were obtained from the survey:

The respondents were posed the question:

(Figure 1)

"How do you think you and your family's life would would your life differ from the way it is now?"

Reasons for Believing Electricity is Important (Figure 2)

As an open-ended question the respondents were free to giv these are the 5 most frequent replies given:

1. It is **versatile**/use for different kinds of things.
2. Everything will be **quick** and **fast**.
3. It will make **life easier**/more comfortable.
4. The house will be brighter.
5. Will be able to **save** money.

Figure 3 shows other less frequently given replies.

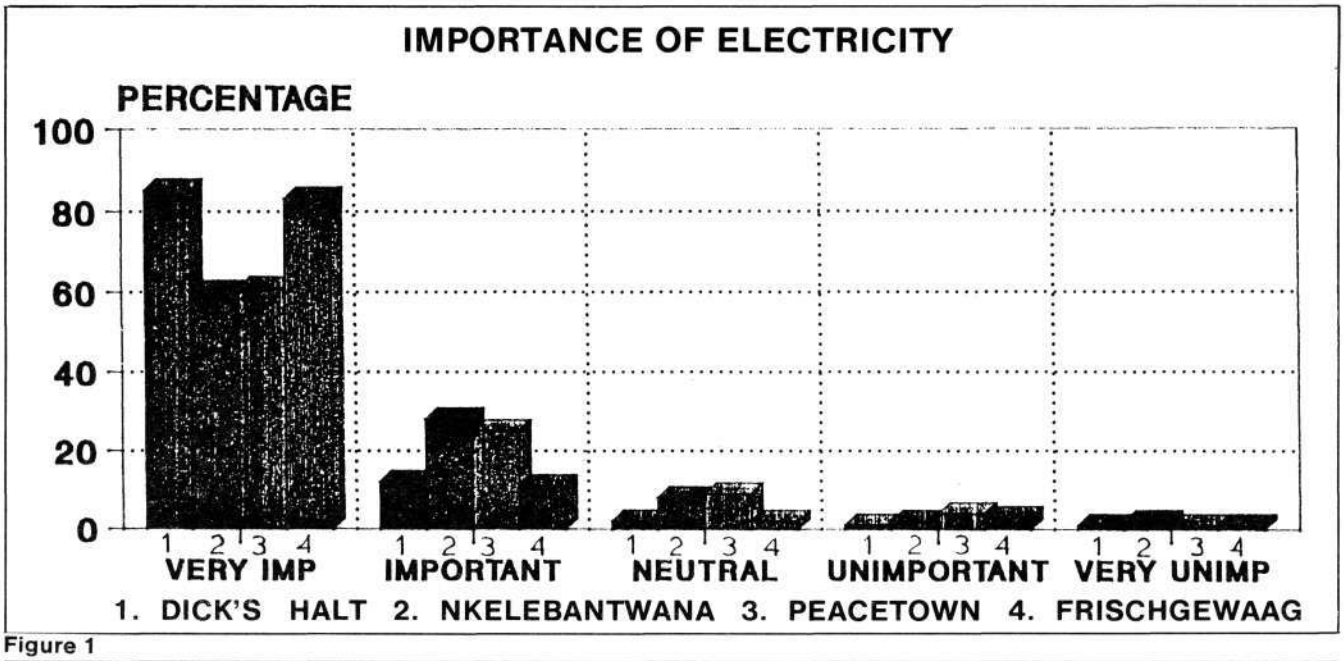

Figure 1

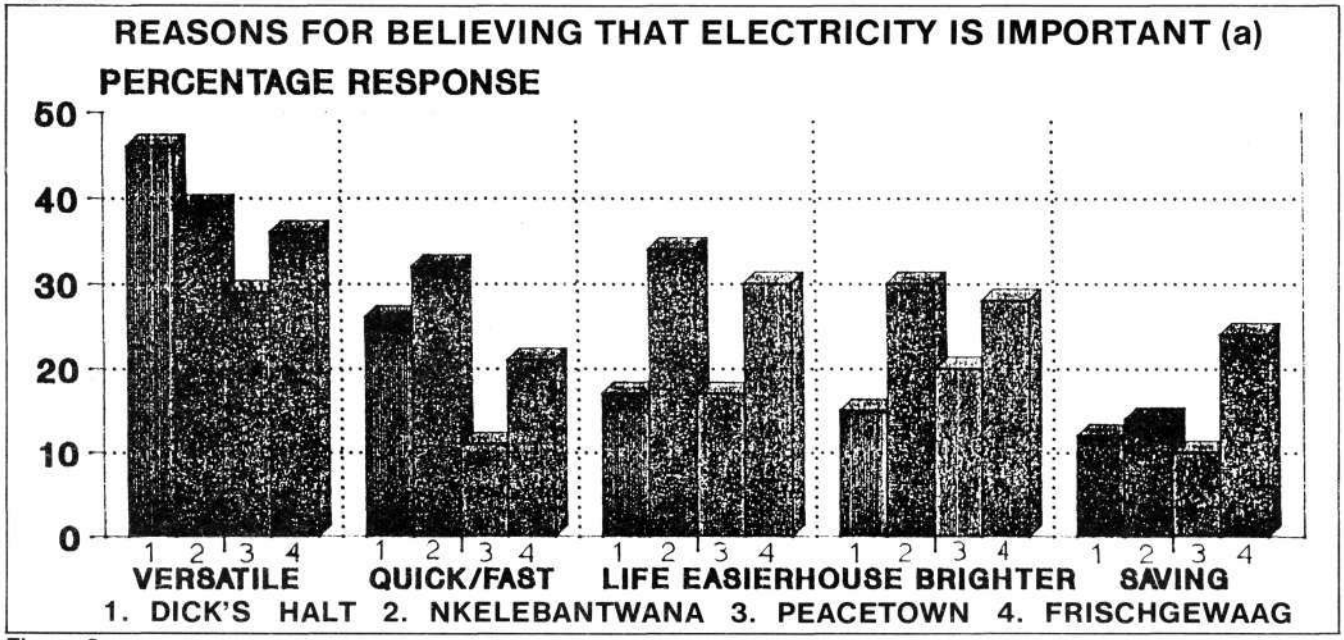

Figure 2

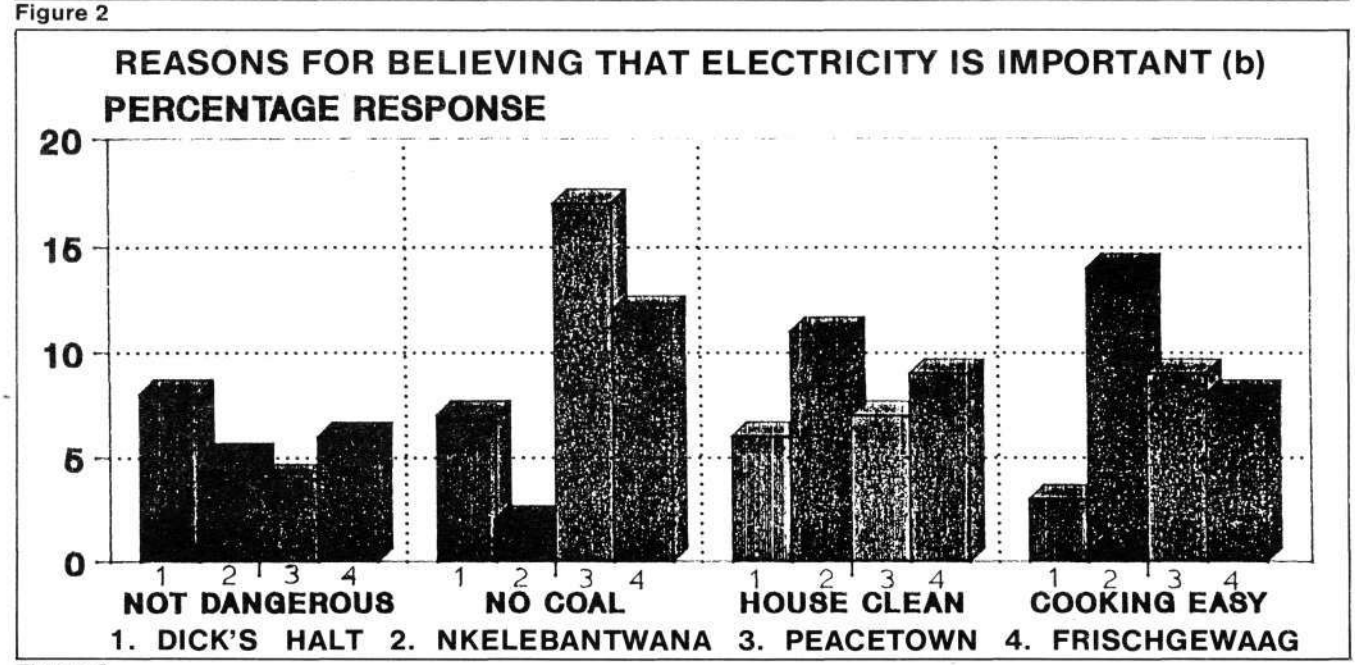

Figure 3

1. Appliances which would be purchased when electricity is available

These statistics are based on a rating system where the first three appliances were rated. This information was then checked to see if the consumer understood the cost of each appliance. This proved to be the case - Figures 4 and 5 show the top ten choices.
(Incidentally the consumer perceived that he would have to save for a year to purchase a stove).

Lights
- to light up/brighten the house
- economical
- to study (probably lead to seeking work in urban areas)

Television
- entertainment
- education
- acculturation (become 'urban' whilst still living in rural areas)

Fridge
- keep food fresh
- less trips to store
  (less reliance on Spazas? i.e. home-based small shops)

2. Beliefs of possible life-style changes

The respondent was asked to detail perceived lifestyle changes. What the results reveal is in fact the "benefits" the consumer is actually purchasing.

Figures 6 and 7 show the expected benefits from electricity. Figure 6 shows the top seven beliefs.

1. Will only use **one source** of energy i.e. the purchase of CONVENIENCE.

2. Electricity has **many uses** i.e. MULTI-BENEFITS.

3. Will do many things **more easily**.

4. Will be able to **save** money i.e. good VALUE FOR MONEY.

5. Everything will be **quick**/fast i.e. Purchase of discretionary TIME.

6. Will no longer use **wood**/candles.

7. The house will be clean (hygienic). i.e. The purchase of HEALTH.

Propensity to start a business

This question was posed to determine the receptiveness of introducing the Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC) to the area. The rationale behind such a move was that business development will make the community more affluent, and that businesses would need and consume more electricity.

The results, however, indicated that business formation was not a priority at this stage and thus we will wait until the consumer is familiar with the benefits of electricity before introducing the facilities of the SBDC.

Figure 8 shows the propensity to start a business.

Conclusion

The effect of electrification on the urbanisation process cannot be accurately determined, but based on research findings approximations can be made.

It would appear that electricity is (taking into account the cost factor) in high demand and the benefits of electricity appear to be accurately understood. The potential customer can, through the use of electricity, obtain the products of urbanisation and through television become more familiar with the norms and culture of urban residents.

Products such as fridges, stoves and-later on-vacuum cleaners, etc. all allow the housewife greater time. This 'time' can now be used in pursuit of other interests or work similar to those pursuits found in more urban areas. In an attempt to determine these changes, the housewive's daily routine was established and this will be used as a benchmark for similar studies later on.

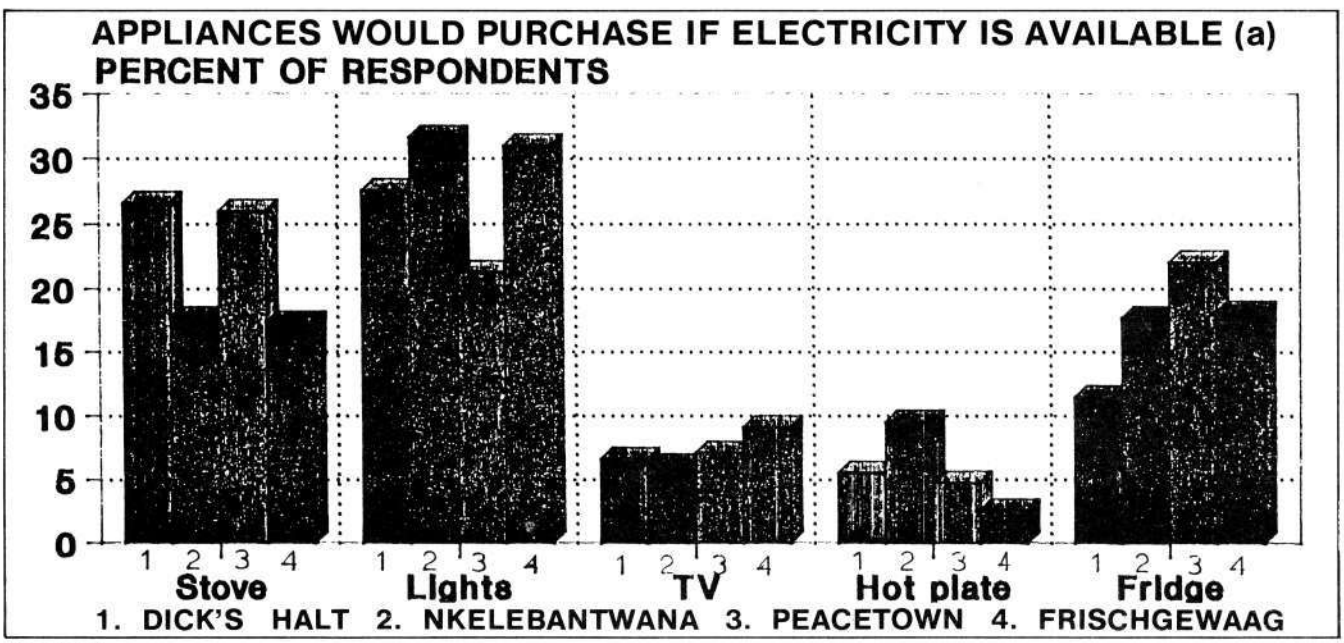

Figure 4

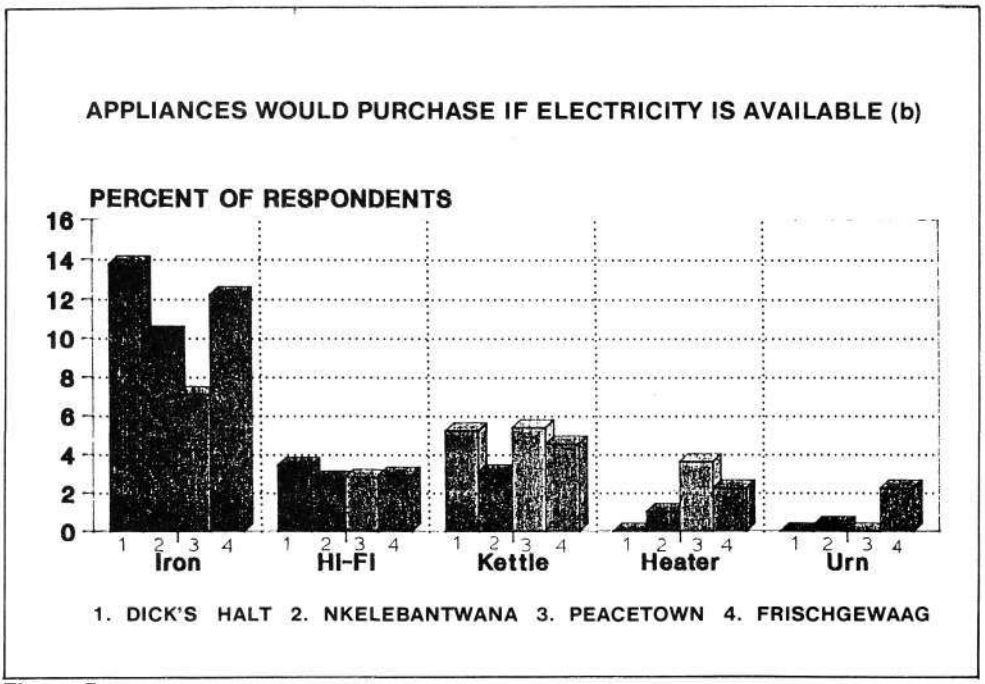

Figure 5

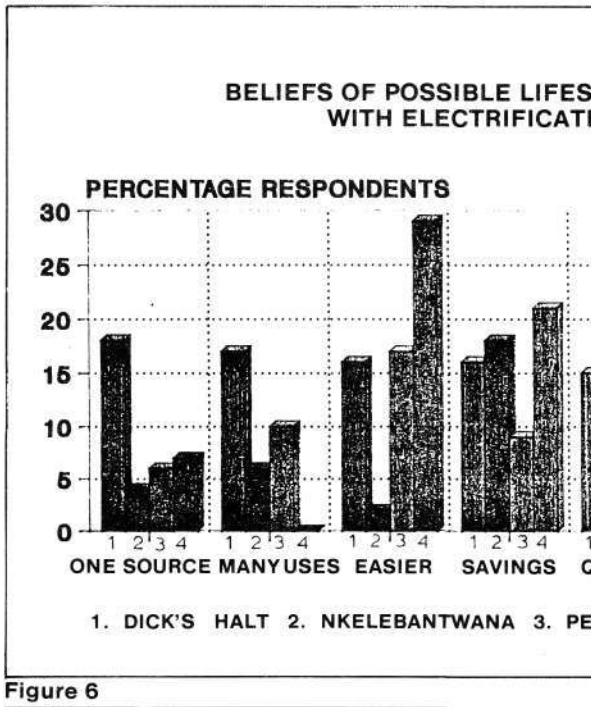

Figure 6

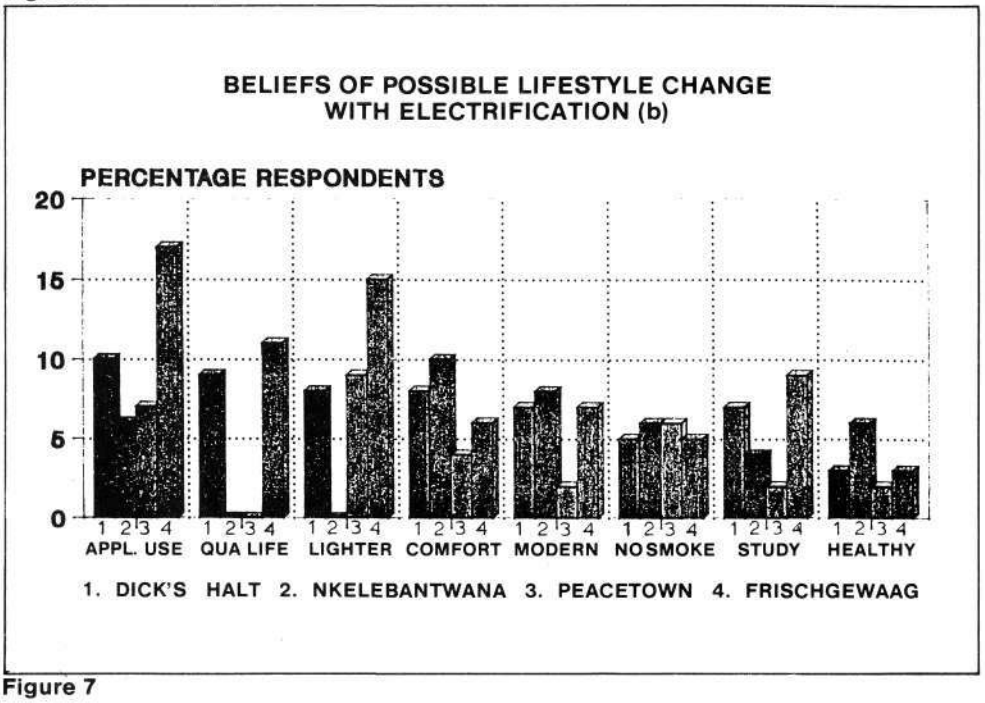

Figure 7

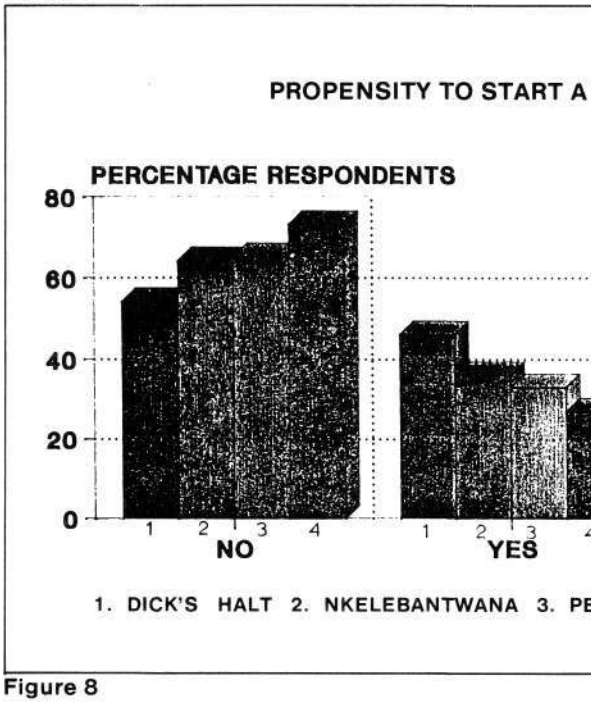

Figure 8

THE ROLE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS SERVICES IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT.

by S.E. Stravrou

The delivery of services to underdeveloped rural areas is characteristically rudimentary, and telecommunications systems have suffered even greater neglect than many other services. The blame for this is partially attributable to the state, and partially to rural development planners who have ignored, to a large extent, the input of telecommunications into rural development programmes. It is clear that the implications of this neglect could well be serious when one considers the need to link remote, underdeveloped rural areas with the more rapidly developing economic centres, as well as the general need to modernise the former.

This neglect stems from the failure, until recently, of social scientists to come to grips with the role that communication plays in the development process. There is also a failure to consider the impact that access to a system of information transmission (or the lack thereof) will have on development performance. This is changing as more research is conducted in this field. This research falls into three categories:

(i) statistical studies relating telecommunications development to national economic development;

(ii) non-empirical studies of the impact made, in a broad sense, on development by telecommunications;

(iii) case studies of particular telecommunications projects.

In order to understand the role of telecommunications in development, it is necessary to consider the role of information in this process. The role and significance of information is inextricably linked to the concept of telecommunications, and it is necessary to understand the former in order to understand the latter's effect upon the development process. Telecommunications make possible the transmission of information over long distances instantaneously, and they have value only if the information being transmitted has value. Furthermore, this medium of information transmission is cheaper and more rapid than others, and its availability may alter existing channels of information acquisition. Its economic impact will depend on a number of variables:

1. the increase in information flows;

2. the socio-economic receptiveness of economic agents to new information;

3. the economic outcome of new strategies arising out of new information.

This last factor is influenced by, amongst other things, the availability of necessary market inputs for outputs. In short, if there are any benefits to be derived from any form of communication, people must first perceive that the information transmitted has some value to them.

The rural sectors of the Third World are often subsistence economies whose primary function is to provide labour for the urbanised (and usually more developed) sectors. Rural sectors are thus characteristically poorly serviced with regard to water, food, fuel, shelter, roads and power. Until these needs are met it is difficult to prioritise telecommunications development. Two issues need to be considered:

1. when do telecommunications become essential to the development of rural areas? and

2. what level of telecommunications technology is appropriate to satisfy the requirements of such regions?

During the earliest phases of development, radio communications and telegraphy are often satisfactory: they are cheaper, and easier both to install and maintain. Inevitably, though, the development of a socio-economic subsector will necessitate more sophisticated communications, starting with a telephone system. Should this need not be satisfied, further socio-economic development will be seriously constrained. It is crucial to determine the moment when the widespread distribution of telephones becomes a necessity rather than a luxury. Unfortunately no formula exists to enable planners to calculate when this point is reached.

A telecommunications network, however advanced, can lead to an improved quality of life in a community if it serves that community's interests. This is only possible if a certain level of organisational development and basic elementary infrastructure already exists to maximise the socio-economic benefits that may result. Communication is restricted at first to members of extended families, broadening later to embrace first the community and then beyond. With each successive step, the organisational development of the community spreads. Similarly, as more complex social, economic, legal and political structures emerge, there is a greater need for cheap, accurate and rapid information dissemination. □

HEALTH/HEALTH SERVICES

by Steve Knight

In assessing the effects that access to services have on rural-urban linkages and the urbanisation process, health or primary health care is more important to consider than health services.

There are different levels of health services:

Primary - e.g. a consultation of a patient with a GP
Secondary - e.g. Hospitalisation for a common problem
Tertiary - e.g. Specialist care

There are different types of preventative health -

Primary - Vaccination against disease such as polio
Secondary - Prevent a condition from getting worse
Tertiary - Rehabilitation

PHC includes primary clinical care, primary community care and preventative health.

"Health for All by the Year 2000" (HFA) is the World Health Organisation's overall aim. Primary Health Care (PHC) is seen as the key to achieving HFA.

The original description of PHC put forward by the World Health Organisation at Alma-Ata in 1978 and reaffirmed at Riga in 1988 is a splendid and succinct definition. Primary Health Care (PHC) is defined as essential health care based on practical, scientifically sound and socially acceptable methods and technology, made universally accessible to individuals and families in the community by a means acceptable to them, through their full participation and at a cost that the community and country can afford. It forms an integral part both of the country's health system of which it is the nucleus and of the overall social and economic development of the community. It is the first level of contact of individuals, the family and community with the health system, bringing health as close as possible to where the people live and work.

PHC is not:

- primary medical care - prescribing pills and potions to patients
- only first contact medical or health care
- only health services for all - although this aspect is the easiest to measure and to comment on.

PHC is intended to:

- reach everybody, particularly those in greatest need;
- reach to the home and family level, and not to be limited to health facilities;
- involve a continuing relationship with persons and families;
- involve communities and individuals in their own health.

Essential health care includes:

Promotion of proper nutrition,
Adequate supply of safe water,
Basic sanitation,
Mother and child health care,
Immunisation against the major infectious diseases,
Prevention and control of locally endemic disease,
Education concerning preventing health problems and methods of preventing and controlling them,
Appropriate treatment of common diseases and injuries.

Primary Health Care is in other words too important to be isolated and defined solely within the health sector. It is concerned with a developmental process by which people improve both their lives and lifestyles.

Accessibility is an important PHC principle in attaining Health for All.

How big a problem is movement of people within the health service?

Cross Boundary Flow:

Natal/KwaZulu is divided into 9 Health Planning Subregions (HPSR). During 1987, 59 hospitals were surveyed to see whether the inpatients came from the HPSR in which the hospital is situated or from outside the HPSR. The outflow of patients to adjacent HPSR's from a particular HPSR ranged from 85 727 for the Durban HPSR to 373 393 for South Coast HPSR, representing 3,9 per cent and 36 per cent respectively, of the particular HPSR total catchment population.
Net flow varies from -222253 to +685443. This flow could be explained by saying it is towards the tertiary hospitals situated in the regions. But this does not tell the whole story.

How does this patient flow affect an overburdened tertiary hospital out-patient department?

A survey was conducted in the pediatric department of King Edward hospital to determine firstly the proportions of new patients attending Pediatric out-patients department (POPD) who were referred and who could have been treated in a primary health care facility and secondly, whether unreferred, as compared to referred, patients present more often with problems that are primary care in nature. A large proportion (42,2 per cent) of the 80 000 patients who attend POPD could have been treated in a PHC facility. 78,5 per cent of patients were unreferred. Visits by unreferred patients were more often unjustified (48,6 per cent vs 18,6 per cent in the referred group.)

Why do patients attend King Edward Hospital in preference to their closest health facility?

Many patients cited specific concerns about peripheral hospitals and clinics. They complained that facilities were often inaccessible, as they were located far off available bus routes, requiring a lengthy walk, and had only limited operating hours which conflicted with their working hours. In contrast King Edward Hospital was easily accessible by bus or train and was always open.

Some parents expressed concern over political unrest in the townships and viewed King Edward Hospital as a safer alternative. There are an array of operational problems in the clinics. Supplies are often exhausted, consultations from doctors were preferred to those from nurses. Overall parents believed their children would receive better treatment at King Edward Hospital than in the more peripheral health facility.

How does access to health affect the rural/urban linkages?

Essentials of Health

Primary health care services are not equitably distributed between rural and urban areas in the Natal/KwaZulu region. Access to some of the essentials of health would undoubtedly have an affect on urbanisation.

WATER:

People in rural areas still collect water from unprotected sources, and sparsely scattered pumps, whereas these days most urban areas are to some degree supplied with potable water.

SANITATION:

Access to sanitation probably does not influence the urbanisation process. Although the numbers of toilets in urban areas is significantly higher than in rural areas, the demand for pit latrines is not as high where superficial burying of faeces is still possible.

NUTRITION:

There is some evidence that certain rural areas have less malnutrition than some urban areas. The food available however is difficult to get at compared to the ease of purchasing supplies. Drought and increasing consumerism counter this as a factor in hindering urbanisation.

Transport and communication access have been discussed already. These affect health.

It is access to the other essentials of health - mother and child care, diagnosis, treatment and care of common conditions, prevention of endemic diseases and supply of basic medical supplies and drugs - that are easier to measure.

Availability of Medical Practitioners:(Figures 1 and 2)

Health is traditionally considered the work of the medical practitioner. How accessible are doctors in this region?

Health Care Facilities per population (Figure 3)

The overall clinic per population in Natal/KwaZulu is 1:26 850. There is a marked range in between subregions. The worst region, Newcastle, has a ratio of 1:59 105. The region with the best clinic to population ratio is Empangeni (1:16 163). Ideally a clinic should serve about 10 to 15 000 people in a given geographic region.

These clinics are operated by Professional Nurses (PN's). Only about 20 per cent of these PN's are specifically trained to work in the clinics. A large proportion of the work they are doing is work traditionally done by medical practitioners. They work mostly unsupervised, in remote areas and with poor support from the health service. In the Northern region clinics were receiving one visit per month from a medical practitioner and a single visit a quarter from a matron. Community Health Workers and real involvement of communities in their own health is really just beginning in this region.

Cost accessibility

There is a variability of attendance in clinics and hospitals with the time of the month, significantly more during the week after pay-day as compared to the last week of the month. Much stricter cost control is carried out in the urban than rural areas. People attend for medical care late and one of the commonly given reasons is the cost of medical services.

Distance accessibility

The WHO has recommended PHC facilities should be 3 kms or 45 minutes walk from where people live. People living more than 5 kms from a health facility had significantly poorer vaccination coverage than those living closer to the facility.

Time accessibility

Urban clinics and health facilities are more likely to be

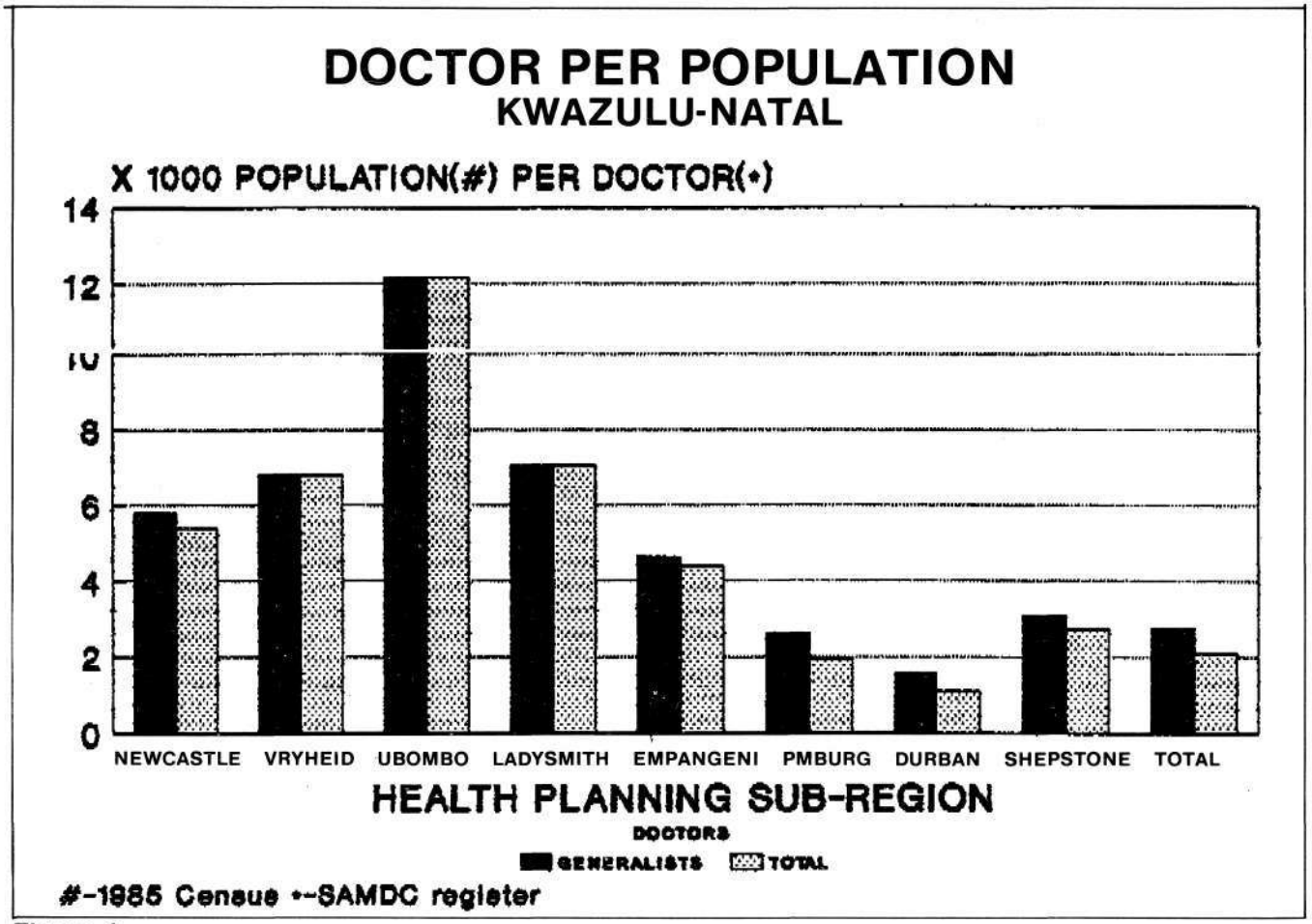

Figure 1

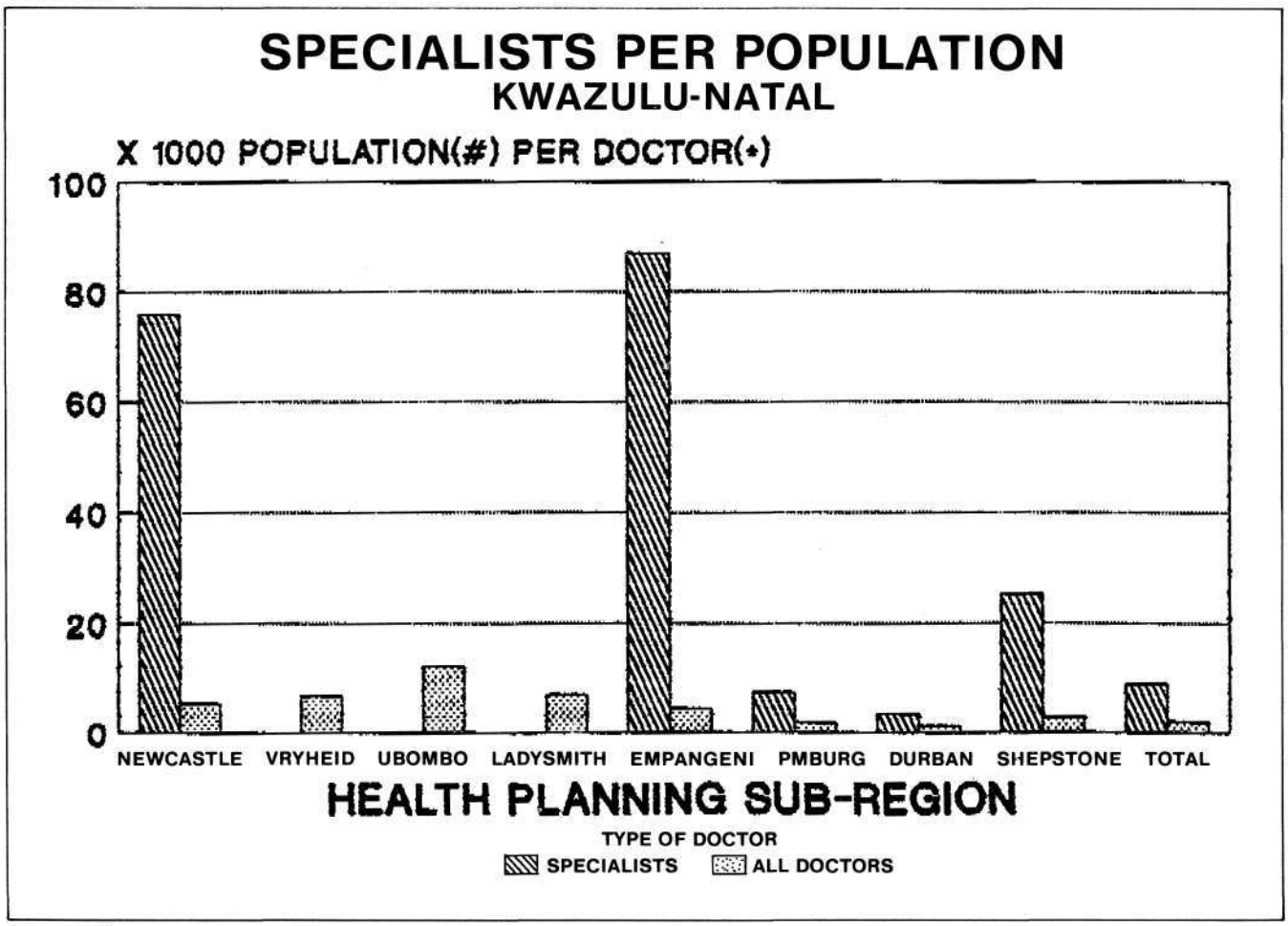

Figure 2

open 24 hours per day, and so enable workers to attend for health care after normal working hours.

Intellectual accessibility

People must understand what is happening and sense that the service wants to see and serve them. This is a major problem with health services in this region.

There are many health related factors that could affect urban/rural linkages. Access to primary health care is an important factor and is probably more important than access to health services only. Not all aspects of health or health care would encourage the urbanisation process. □

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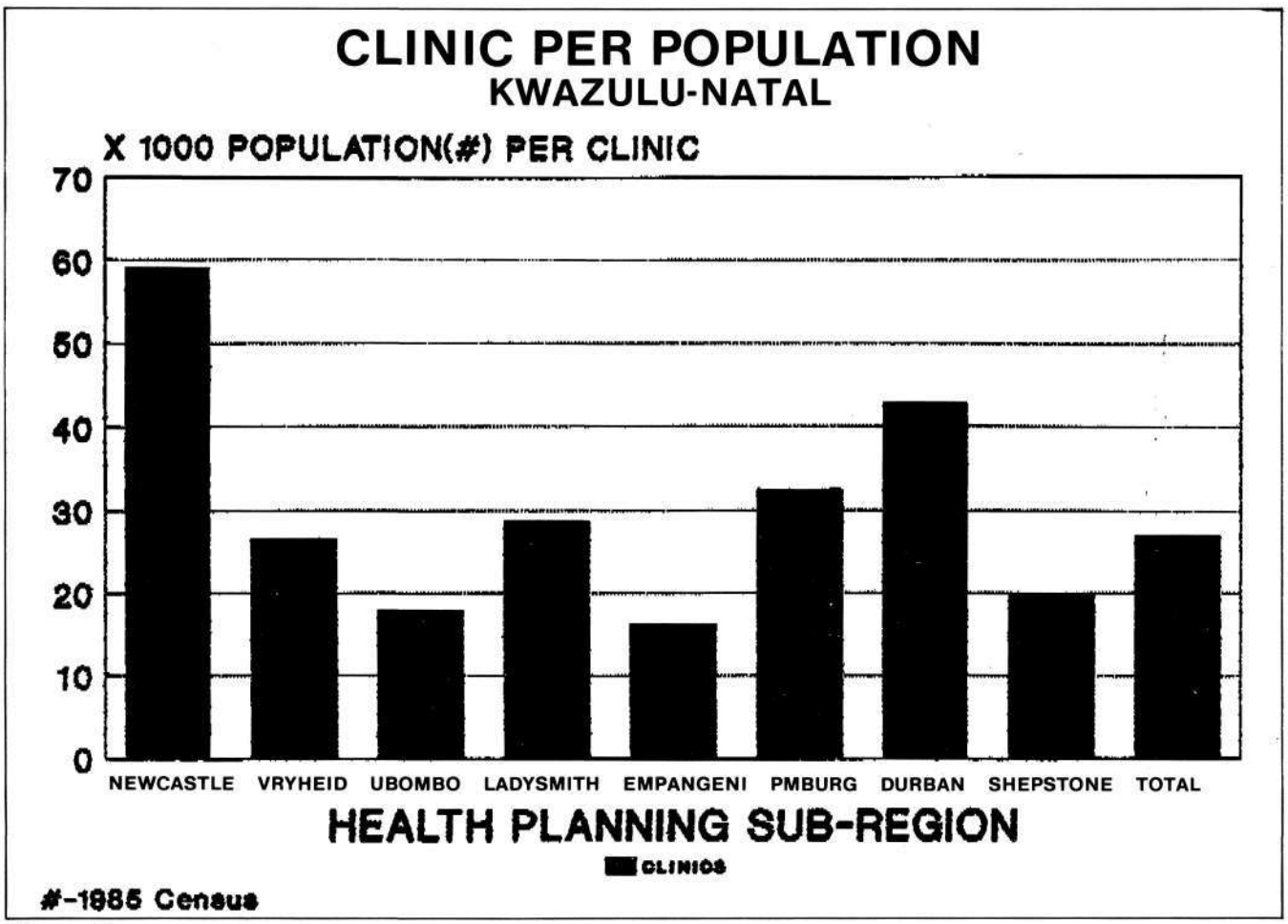


Figure 3

THE URBANISATION PROCESS: SOME EFFECTS ON ACCESS TO EDUCATION IN KWAZULU

by Craig Doria

Introduction

Being a practitioner in the field of rural (and mostly non-formal) education, I do not have statistical back-up for a number of trends which I perceive to be taking place in the field of black education in Natal. There are educational research organisations which may have generated statistics relating to these trends, but I do not intend to quantify my perceptions by making much use of statistics. Secondly, I do not have a significantly developed macro-perspective of the region to propose trends which affect education in all of 'KwaZulu'. Rather I intend to raise a number of trends, which Community Organisation Research and Development (CORD) perceives in formal education in some of the areas in which it works. It is necessary to take a simplistic view of what is rural and what is urban in order to make the topic manageable.

Access to services

It is widely accepted that access to facilities in Natal (and South Africa) has a strong bias toward urban dwellers and that the provision of facilities and access to them, even in urban areas, is inadequate. What is not as widely agreed upon, is how the provision of, and access to, services in urban and rural areas should be linked through the interests of a national economy - which is clearly not how they are linked at this stage. The present link is one of capital using rural areas for the cheap labour they may provide by subsidising migrant incomes with the remnants of a peasant economy.

Access to education

Control over education in black schools in Natal is often quite confusing. In black schools in 'white' Natal, the Department of Education and Training is the controlling body. In the Trust areas in Natal which are designated for incorporation into KwaZulu, education is controlled by the Department of Development Aid (DDA) and the Department of Education and Training (DET) which are the so-called development agents. The aim here is for these schools to be handed over to the KwaZulu government once incorporation takes place. In areas which are part of rural KwaZulu, most schools are Community Schools with other Church Schools, and DET schools.

In the case of Community Schools the state has laid down certain minimum building standards which result in the cost per classroom being R10 000. The people living in the area which is to be serviced by such a school are required to raise the R10 000. Once the school is built, the state reimburses the contributors to the tune of R5 000 and has thus matched the contributors on a rand for rand basis. In practice however few rural communities can afford to raise the required R5 000 at any one time and classrooms may thus take some years to build. The bulk buying of materials is thus not possible and classrooms usually cost the communities in excess of R10 000. There is an example of a school in an area in which CORD works, which had ultimately to pay three times what certain materials would have cost had they been purchased all at the same time.

In DET schools, most of which are in urban areas, the state provides educational services at a far lower cost to the people who are to be serviced by it. Why then is the delivery of education in urban areas treated differently to the delivery of education in rural areas?

Historically the urban areas have tended to be the site of significant revolutionary organisation and action. It is in the urban areas that a volatile and organised youth has been able to pose a threat to the existing system of education for oppression. And it is in the urban areas where state upgrading of education has tended to be concentrated. This process of educational reform has been a case, not only of 'too little too late', but also of insignificant change which is shown by the continuation of education-related protest.

In rural areas there has historically tended to be a lack of local organisation to put sustained pressure on the state which might result in educational reform as has been the case in urban areas. There is also some confusion over responsibility for education, or lack of willingness to accept responsibility for education, on the part of the various government departments concerned. For example, CORD works with the Mboza Village Project which is situated on Trust Land in Northern Natal/Maputaland. There is a great deal of confusion over responsibility for education in the area between DDA, which is meant to be the department concerned with development preparing for incorporation, and the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture. The two schools at Mboza are Community Schools, the building of which is a significant victory for the

community which is under threat of removal. It is through local organisation that the people living at Mboza have managed, to some degree, to exploit this confusion to win permission to occupy.

So state upgrading of education has tended to concentrate on urban areas and this has probably been due to mass protest against state education. It is largely as a result of this mass protest that international pressure has been brought to bear on the state and that the state has begun to implement a reform process. It has been suggested that part of the aim of this reform process is to foster the growth of a large black middle class in an attempt to defuse the revolutionary potential of the working class. Whether the state took the initiative to adopt such a package of educational reform, or whether it was simply a case of crisis management in the wake of the events of 1976, or to what degree it is a combination of both can only be debated.

Post 1976

There is, however, a trend in black education in South Africa which may affect the state's reform policy in the field. Students living in rural areas tend to migrate in two ways. Firstly, there are more junior secondary schools in rural areas than full high schools and students thus have to move within rural areas, usually to larger sub-centres, in order to matriculate. Secondly, students have historically been perceived as moving to urban areas in order to matriculate due to the shortage of full high-schools in rural areas.

Since the protests of 1976, however, there has been a very definite URBAN TO RURAL migration of students who wish to continue schooling in rural areas as access to education in urban areas deteriorates as a result of political violence. What needs to be established now is whether this is a significant trend or whether it is a minor 'hiccup' in the state's reform process.

It has been difficult to find statistical support for this trend in order to establish the extent of such migration. In order to qualify for entry into rural schools, students often stay with relatives from the area and do not give their home address. Schools often require a letter of transferral from the student which states where his/her previous school was. Community Schools are however managed by school committees made up of local people and the relatives of students wishing to enroll at these schools often have 'contacts' on such school committees which allow students to enroll. This is not to suggest that students do not have problems moving to rural areas and enrolling at schools, but rather that it does occur. Students in urban areas are often not re-admitted into schools in urban areas if they fail or have taken part in protest activities and this may further encourage the move to rural schools where access may be slightly easier through extended family contacts and local school committees.

It is our experience that students moving from urban to rural areas to continue their education do not lose political consciousness, but help to politicise the arena of education in rural areas. Two schools in two different rural areas in which CORD works have recently had student boycotts. This is not to imply that rural people cannot organise against the state : the very existence of the Mboza Village Project is as a result of community pressure against removal. The history of school protest has however tended to be concentrated in urban areas and there is a possibility that students previously from urban areas may act as facilitators to enable local students to contextualise their position as black students within a wider political framework and to organise to put pressure on the authorities.

What is important is that this urban to rural movement of students breaks the norm and indicates the significance of the political (in its narrowest sense) in theories of rural to urban migration. What does need to be established is the extent of such movement among students and what the potential results of such movement could be.

The above discussion has reflected mainly on rural-urban trends in access to education at schools i.e. up to matriculation level. At the level of work or tertiary study both for pre- and post-matriculants, significant opportunities simply do not exist in rural areas and people are forced to migrate to urban areas. In the Maputaland region it has been our experience that people would rather remain in the area than migrate to urban areas for work. This is possibly due to the relatively unspoilt natural resource base which still exists in the area. It thus becomes important to develop local employment/work opportunities and non-formal education with production programmes which may inform to some extent policy for a post-apartheid South Africa.

There are a host of other educational factors which should be discussed in a forum such as this but time does not permit. For example the urban bias of the curriculum; the unwillingness of teachers to work in rural areas and the consequent abundance of underqualified teachers in rural schools; and finally, information on study and work is generated in urban areas, usually has an urban bias, and does not reach rural areas on a systematic basis.□

PERCEPTIONS OF LOCAL ATTITUDES ON ACCESS TO SERVICES (1)

by Rudi Hillerman

I wish to share with you my perceptions of local attitudes on the urbanisation process and access to services as a "white" South African who earns his living by being one of the many interveners in the development process that is occurring, particularly in the areas around Durban and Pietermaritzburg administered by KwaZulu and the Department of Development Aid.

What we as interveners should always be mindful of is that we, either as individuals or representing an organisation, should be facilitators in this transformation or development intervention and that we are likely to be used/manipulated by individual(s) or organisation(s) to achieve their own ends.

Past and Present Situation as Reference Framework

In arriving at a perception on local attitudes one must remember that past and present experiences would have influenced both the perception by myself and the attitudes of the residents in these areas.

At present we have black urban township areas in which the local government systems are not functioning or where individuals are allowed to rule; services are generally available although they might be intermittent or of a poor quality (when compared to White areas); housing delivery has been fully privatised so that only middle to upper income earners (in Black terms) have formal access to land; and social services are usefully under-provided.

In the adjacent rural areas my perception is that the situation is slightly better in that the tribal administration is generally reasonably effective (within its own limitations); services are unfortunately also declining - mainly the pollution of rivers and streams; housing delivery has always been an individual's own affair and formal access to land through the tribal authority is possible to low income earners (Black); and social services are also under-provided.

Local Attitudes

The Black inhabitants compare their situation with the situation in adjacent White, Indian and "Coloured" areas, where they see larger houses, larger sites, clean streets, competitive shopping facilities, big and even double-storeyed schools with play facilities, etc. In response to this comparison the assertion is generally made that the residential areas should have equal facilities and services i.e. Black and non-Black areas.

I have frequently heard it said by Blacks that the Government is "duty bound" to provide access to land (a site) and basic services to provide for the basic needs "of its citizens". As a white citizen of South Africa (might I say a privileged citizen) this was never an issue which concerned me.

Some comments on the existing residential areas. Firstly, it is often said that the ruling site sizes (300 m^2) are too small and yet many of the development actors (officials, professionals, township developers) are talking of smaller sites (down to 180 m^2) to achieve greater densities and hence economies of scale. Secondly, registration of ownership (title) has also become confusing. In the past, families were liable to be dispossessed of their title (Deed of Grant) if the head of the household lost his job. The introduction of rights of leasehold has done little more than confuse everybody. On "freehold" title the misconception exists that one can do on that land what one likes - "as, for example, in Clermont." (This refers specifically to erecting further structures on one's property). Thirdly, having now experienced the present alternative to the so-called "matchboxes", namely houses built by private developers, residents are asking that Government again intervenes in the housing delivery process.

Compared with the urban area, the rural area gives residents more freedom within the land allocated to them.

My perception regarding the mobility of people in the urban areas is that, if it can be afforded, the monied family member would move from an area with rudimentary services to an area with full services, whilst still retaining his first dwelling for family members.

The "unemployment plague", the fear of losing one's income and thence not being able to pay one's monthly installments for a house and/or services, is a further cause of uncertainty in the urban area, this not being the case in a rural area.

What needs to be done

When asking myself the question : "What needs to be done?" I have the following suggestion to make:

a) Recognize that as "outsiders" we have a different culture, ethics and humanity, and yet do not accentuate the difference but find commonality and otherwise show respect for one another.

b) Inform each other and be informed and involve ourselves so as to gain knowledge of and an insight into matters that concern and/or are clear to us.

c) Understand that any intervention, however trivial it may be, must be carefully considered and the full intention and scope understood by the target group.

d) That both an internal and external monitoring and evaluation process be implemented by the development agent.

e) Do not neglect the rural areas whilst paying attention to the development within urban areas and vice versa, so as to achieve as harmonious and balanced a development as possible.

f) If at all possible, acquire a working knowledge of each others' language.

PERCEPTIONS OF LOCAL ATTITUDES ON ACCESS TO SERVICES (2)

by Thulani Mthembu

The movement of people from rural areas to cities predominantly takes place among a poor, ill-educated and unsophisticated population which ventures thereto in search of employment and to partake of the opportunities of city life. There are usually a number of reasons urging them to elect to move to cities, e.g. drought, floods and hunger.

In moving to cities, they usually leave behind a life which had no or little state intervention, in that the only visible statal or para-statal activity they know of is livestock dipping tanks operated once a week or month by authorities from the local Magistrate's Court, and pension payments. The only services which are provided are those engineered by the community at large. Let us now tackle those basic services that make human life possible.

Essential services

Water

In the countryside, communities live on natural springs or rain water. Springs are usually communal, having been protected by the neighbourhood as an entity and used strictly by the families which partook in its protection activities.

Moving to cities, they find the only source of water to be stand-pipes along the roads or water-kiosks as we see them in Inanda and in parts of Edendale. In most cases, this facility has to be paid for in monetary terms. In this case if you have no money, you become automatically excluded from this facility or service.

Attitudes

To an unsophisticated person having to pay for a natural commodity like water is difficult to understand, let alone accept. The comment - "Oh! the state is <u>now</u> selling God's water to us" - is heard all around. Such comments lead naturally to bitterness and to the vandalisation of water-kiosks and other metered water sources. This attitude, of course, changes as people become more and more aware of the difference between hygienically treated water and natural spring water. The need for education becomes clear here.

Effluent Disposal

Since in the rural areas, people have been using pit-latrines which are self-built and monitored, little or no difficulty is experienced in urban areas where pit latrines or water-borne sewerage is used. With proper building material, they are able to put up suitable superstructures themselves.

Attitudes

Difficulties in urban townships have arisen where the dreaded bucket system is largely used and not constantly emptied by authorities. It is true that this effluent disposal method has never been acceptable to the black community and is considered as the worst service ever encouraged by the state. In Clermont, for instance, the service is so badly handled that on any given day, walking on the pavements you find spilled effluent, if not uncollected buckets full of effluent. The Sanitation Project survey conducted by the University of Zululand has revealed that the majority of Inanda people will only use pit latrines, be they VIP's (Ventilated Improved Privies) or Aqua Privies, as temporary sanitation measure until waterborne sewerage is provided. The question of costs seems not to be problematic.

Refuse Collection

In rural areas this is usually an individual family task. Each family will, within its premises, dig a pit, for the disposal of its solid waste. As soon as the pit is full another pit is made.

In the urban townships, this has not created problems, as authorities have encouraged families to keep their own refuse drums, which are emptied by private contractors on a regular basis and for a fee which is largely affordable. Problems have been experienced in informal areas like Bambayi, Gandhi Settlement and Congo (in Inanda) where shacks are built so close to one another, leaving no open space between them. Residents eventually empty their refuse bins into the river or stream banks or on any space they find open on their way to shops or to collect water etc.

Attitudes

Surveys have found that people detest seeing rubbish dumps in front of their houses and feel this encourages scavenging and dumping of unwanted new-born babies etc. It is true that their lives are also threatened by this sort of uncontrolled refuse disposal. For instance since the Department of Development Aid introduced waste disposal skips, as a trial run, in Inanda, this service has been extensively supported by the locals and has proved effective.

Transport

Whilst transport service available in rural areas functions as a link between town and the countryside, in urban areas, transport makes life manageable in that it is faster, nearer the people and cheaper. It thus makes it possible to carry out your business within a short space of time. With the introduction and expansion of taxi businesses, access to employment, shopping and trade centres has been made affordable and the competition between buses and taxis results in more efficient service.

Attitudes

Our cities are growing through the rapid expansion on their peripheries of areas almost exclusively occupied by blacks, most of whom are of low-income groupings. People are forced to travel considerable distances to work, shops etc. This imposes enormous costs. In short, people's earnings are drained by travelling costs, leaving them with little to support their families. This is unacceptable and detested. In Inanda, for instance, the only mode of transport other than by expensive taxi, is by bus. When recently we experienced a bus strike, most people could not make it to work, schools, etc.

People need reliable transport services. It has been demonstrated on more than one occasion that the community prefer squatting near busy roads. After being settled at Goqokazi, a number of people left the area and moved towards major bus routes like the Soweto squatter area and Ntuzuma Unit G near Dalmeny Road.

Light/Electricity

Light brings so many things to people in their residential environment. It creates a sense of security and it is inexpensive and safe if properly used. People argue that all electrical appliances have a longer life-span.

Attitudes

Electricity/light is considered the ultimate requirement in a residential environment. In places like Inanda this service is still not largely used and is only accessible to a few affluent members of the community because of the costs involved in its installation. People are forming clubs to combine their resources to acquire this service which they need so much. The process is slow at the moment. The provision of electricity is perceived as an enabling service that will promote continued development in the broadest possible way.

I have endeavoured to touch briefly on those services which are essential both to urban and rural communities. There are other services like health, education etc. which are of great importance to both communities. Educational services in the rural area, unlike in an urban environment, are always perceived as not being sufficiently provided. For instance, teachers in rural areas do not have teaching qualifications, and usually have no inclination to better or further their qualifications. Schools are poorly equipped.

Health services are provided on a satisfactory scale. In rural areas health assistants are employed to run health points in areas far from clinics. These officials are trained to handle and treat common ailments and refer serious cases to local clinics. People accept this service and make use thereof extensively.

Perceptions in urban areas on access to health facilities are usually bad. This attitude results from staff shortages and overcrowded and inadequate health services. Inanda, for instance, with a population of half a million is serviced by the King Edward VIII Hospital which serves all the Durban Metropolitan areas. The need for a regional hospital in Inanda has always been emphasised by the community. Fortunately, it appears the authorities are now addressing this problem.

Conclusion

Finally, the community of Inanda seems satisfied with the notion that it should be the government's task to provide all those services needed in a residential area. The perception is that housing needs should be left to individuals. Provision of services should be heavily subsidised by the state and be left open for the full and fair use by every member of the community.

It must also be remembered that rural communities have a strong anti-urbanisation attitude and consequently guard against any drastic changes in their life styles. They perceive development as a direct invasion of their traditionally based way of life and urban life is accepted as a last resort. □

C. PRODUCTIVE SERVICES

EMPLOYMENT, UNEMPLOYMENT AND RURAL-URBAN LINKAGES

by Norman Bromberger

Introduction

Recently I have been doing survey work on family histories of urbanisation (towards Pietermaritzburg). The project is not complete however, and so I intend to put together some results from earlier work in this area which seem to have some bearing on the topic. What does need to be stressed is that the discussion relates to the Pietermaritzburg area - and so is not informed by detailed knowledge of deeply rural areas.

Employment

1. I suppose the place to begin is with **individuals** in rural households - whether those households are in 'reserves' or on commercial farms, or occasionally on something else such as freehold African land, 'mission reserves' etc. - who move to urban areas to work or look for work. Wage employment in rural areas is limited in supply and/or low-paying; market-oriented self-employment in farming or other rural-based activities is risky and (for the most part, given low-density markets) yields low average returns; and 'subsistence production' provides an own-consumption supplement but does not (by definition) give access to the desired levels and types of material consumption (of purchasable commodities).

2. A common pattern historically (at least partly as a result of legislative/administrative controls) has been for such individuals to move on a **temporary** basis - at least to start with - returning for shorter or longer periods to the rural households to which they remain attached. It is often assumed that these 'migrants' are predominantly **male**. However, where substantial suburban populations exist in large urban areas, there is scope for female migration to domestic service jobs - and my impression is that some version of this pattern will be perpetuated as the employment of domestics increases among higher-income African urban families.

3. At some stage, for **some** of the employed individuals, **a more permanent settlement** is made in the urban area - involving the acquisition of own accommodation and the establishment of a family/household in town. I do not know what the determinants of these choices are - why some men (say) live out their working-lives in hostels in Durban and retire to Eshowe, whereas others move (say) to a 'tribal area' closer to Durban, or become part of an informal settlement, or rent rooms (eventually perhaps a house) in Clermont or some such area. I am sure studies of migrancy by Schlemmer, Møller and others will have shed some light on this question.

4. The above move from oscillatory migration to permanent urban settlement may presumably **take place in stages** - along both the family and spatial dimensions. It is the latter I am interested in. Within historically - and otherwise - defined circumstances, permanent movement away from rural locations towards towns has often taken place

(a) to **peri-urban areas outside towns** - either 'tribal' or freehold African (as is the case of Edendale outside Pietermaritzburg) or 'squatter' etc.;

(b) or **ex-farm to 'tribal' (or reserve) areas** - but I imagine usually with an urban-orientation.

In the parts of KwaZulu to the South-West and South-East of Pietermaritzburg both of these processes can be observed. In both Vulindlela (West) and Ximba (East - near Cato Ridge) **about, or just under, half** of household heads were born elsewhere and have moved in to the localities. Of these in-migrants **more than half** (about 30 per cent of the total number of household heads) were born on farms.

5. Within a rural/peri-urban/urban belt around the Pietermaritzburg-Pinetown-Durban axis a good deal of **commuting to employment** takes place (I am looking at this from the Pietermaritzburg end). Some of it is daily, some weekly or monthly, and some involves longer distances and absences. But this is how the connection with urban employment is made and sustained. Perhaps I can illustrate this with some detail from Ximba (near Cato Ridge).

We carried out a 512 household survey there in 1987. Labour-force participation was relatively low (for females in the working age-group : 34 per cent) and unemployment high (male 31 per cent, female 47 per cent). Still, on average 1,5 persons were employed per household.

Of these employed persons, only 4 per cent might be said to have been working at a substantial distance from Ximba. Of those whose work localities are known, 7 per cent worked locally in the area, 30 per cent in Cato Ridge and a further 11 per cent in other localities

within a few kilometres (Camperdown, Umlaas Rd, Ashburton, Drummond etc.). In other words, just on one half worked within a short distance from home. At increasing (though still small) distances, Hammarsdale took 10 per cent, Pinetown 8 per cent, Pietermaritzburg 7 per cent and Durban 13 per cent.

57 per cent of employed workers slept away from home on an ordinary working night. Almost all such absent workers in the Ximba case returned at least once a month to their peri-urban homes (in Vulindlela some 30 per cent of absentees return **less** frequently than once a month).

6. What is the urbanised end of this community-with-absence-from-home like? Where do people stay? Presumably hostels, lodging, and employer's premises are available.

(a) A sub-sample of a larger sample survey in Vulindlela in 1986 will illustrate : Near Mpophomeni township in an area called Emashingeni 87 individuals in a population of 546 (close to 16 per cent) usually 'slept away' (81 were away working). Of the 46 male absentees who were working, 37% were in work-hostels or compounds, 35% in lodging, 20% in general hostels, 4% were live-in domestics and 4% lived in their own houses elsewhere. Of the 34 female absentees who were working 74% were live-in domestics, 18% were in work-hostels or compounds and 9% were lodgers.

(b) In the heart of the 'lodger-belt' in Edendale (Machibisa) a recent survey of 514 'plots' established that about 80 per cent of these had some form or degree of **lodging**. The total number of 'family units' (including simple families) on these plots was close to 2 830 (or over 5 on average). Female presence is very marked here. Many people have come in from country areas (reserves) and female labour-force participation is much higher than in tribal areas 20 or 30kms out; here it is as high as the male rate.

7. What happens to the urbanisation tendency when urban unemployment levels rise? Presumably we have to start with a (rough) version of the Todaro hypothesis which implies that if there is a substantial gap between rural and urban incomes then people may still continue to move to town in the face of substantial urban unemployment. This will hold all the more for many rural-dwellers who do not have land or only engage in very low-yielding subsistence agriculture. However we must remember that there **are** rural opportunities in commercial agriculture and S. Stavrou has found some evidence in the Wartburg area of farm workers returning to farms after unsuccessful forays into urban work-seeking.

Unemployment

1. How is unemployment distributed between rural/peri-urban and urban areas? First, you have to decide how you are going to measure it - which means saying who is in the labour-force (if you wish to express unemployment as a rate). Are Vulindlela workers working in Durban part of Vulindlela's labour-force or Durban's? I have tended to take the former option. Then, you need to notice that the wage-labour force participation rate varies with locality - partly because the further out you are the less you conceive of employment as a possibility and so the less you are likely to regard yourself as 'wanting' or 'seeking' (certainly) employment, but partly because the more rural the area - perhaps I am making too large a claim - the more likely you are to be integrated with a pattern of time-use and allocation which does not fit easily with wage-employment.

2. One example of this : responses to a hypothetical offer of 'employment scheme' work to women (1989) in Vulindlela/Ximba indicated that about 60 per cent of people classifying themselves as 'not in the wage labour force' said they would **not** take **local** employment on a scheme involving manual work at R7,50 per 3 hour work stint. Even more said they would not for R7,50 per day.

3. Measured unemployment in 1986 was lower in Vulindlela (peri-urban 'tribal' area, 10 to 40 kms from city centre) than in the African townships (first 4 localities below), though the differences were not enormous.

	CPS* definition	**Own Classification**
Sobantu	**25	**29
Imbali	30	34
Ashdown	34	40
Edendale	31	37
Vulindlela	24	32

* CPS = Current Population Survey (source of official unemployment statistics).

** Employment scheme organised in Sobantu. □

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION, ACCESS TO SERVICES AND EMPLOYMENT, AND ECONOMIC WELL-BEING IN TWO RURAL CISKEI VILLAGES

by Chris de Wet and Murray Liebbrandt

In this paper we want briefly to look at how the relative geographical isolation or accessibility of two rural settlements in the Keiskammahoek District of the Ciskei has affected their access to educational institutions and to employment opportunities, and therefore to general economic well-being.

The first village, Chatha, is situated at the end of a valley tucked up against the Amatola mountains, which form part of the boundary between the Keiskammahoek and Cathcart magisterial districts. It is thus in a relatively isolated location. The second village, Rabula, is much more accessibly located, being situated on the main road between the local town of Keiskammahoek, and the important administrative and commercial centre of King William's Town.

Rabula's location has meant that it has had easier access to a wider range of educational institutions over the years. While records are not directly comparable, it appears that at the time of the Keiskammahoek Rural Survey, (a major socio-economic survey of the area conducted between 1948 and 1950) the average adult inhabitant of Rabula was better educated than was the case in Chatha.

The most significant economic change since then has been the extent to which the average annual cash income of households had risen in both Chatha and Rabula. In nominal terms the Chatha figure grew from R51,20 in 1948 to R840,00 in 1981 which, converted into real terms, is an increase of 169 per cent. For Rabula the nominal increase has been from R45,12 in 1948 to R3 987,84 in 1987. This translates into a 631 per cent real increase.[1] Even allowing for the fact that real cash incomes may have increased between 1981 and 1987 in Chatha, it seems clear that real incomes have grown significantly faster in Rabula relative to Chatha.

A number of developments, taken together, account for the general rise in cash incomes in the two villages. Firstly, state-financed old-age pensions have become a significant additional source of income since the 1948/50 period. Secondly, the rise in real wages in the mining and manufacturing sectors in the 1970's increased the earnings of migrants. Thirdly, substantial regional economic changes have taken place since 1948. East London (the regional port) began to expand rapidly in the 1950's and King William's Town and other hinterland towns also experienced rapid growth from the 1960's onwards. From the late 1970's there has also been some industrial expansion within the Ciskei itself. Finally, a recent development has been the growing importance of the Ciskeian state bureaucracy as a provider of employment.

Table I, which presents the sources of cash income, makes it clear that Rabula has benefited far more from these regional developments than has Chatha.

TABLE I : SOURCES OF CASH INCOME

	Chatha 1981	**Rabula 1987**
Wages and Salaries	13,30%	35,85%
Other local sources made up of	40,70	34,26
a) Pensions	34,00	24,08
b) Remainder	6,70	10,18
Remittances	46,00	29,89

The 13,30 per cent contribution of locally derived wages (i.e. within the Keiskammahoek district) in Chatha in 1981 is noticeably lower than the 35,85 per cent for Rabula in 1987. This, together with the low (6,7 per cent) contribution of self-employment and local entrepreneurial activity, makes the households in Chatha more heavily dependent on pensions (34 per cent) and remittances (46 per cent) from migrants working outside the region relative to Rabula (24,08 and 29,89 per cent respectively).

This is supported by the fact that 71 per cent of the employed members of households in Chatha were migrants working in the more distant Johannesburg, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth regions, while only 26 per cent found work within the local Ciskei/Border region (i.e. Keiskammahoek, Ciskei/King William's Town and East London). In contrast to this, the corresponding figures for Rabula in 1986 were 25 per cent and 74 per cent respectively.

Furthermore, in Rabula an average of 1,07 people per household are employed within the Ciskei in industrial, bureaucratic, educational or other jobs related to the development of the homeland policy in the Ciskei as compared to an average of 0,26 people per household

for Chatha.[2] Once again, making due allowance for the fact that the Chatha survey was done in 1981 and the Rabula survey in 1986, the discrepancy between Chatha and Rabula of 1 to 4 still seems to suggest that Rabula has capitalised on employment generation in the Ciskei to a far greater degree than Chatha. Even the unemployment rate for able-bodied, work-seeking adults is higher for Chatha (21 per cent in 1981) than Rabula (17 per cent in 1986) and, given the rising unemployment rates in the Eastern Cape/ Border area over the last few years, it is unlikely that this differential would have narrowed through the 1980's.

A significant part of the explanation of why Rabula households have been distinctly more successful in benefiting from changes in the regional economy, would seem to relate to the relative educational opportunities available to households in the two villages.

It was mentioned earlier that in 1948/1950 the average adult in Rabula was better educated than in Chatha. This educational superiority on the part of Rabula has been maintained, and today (1986), the average educational level of working and unemployed adults (i.e. over 18 years) in Rabula, is 8,28 years. This contrasts with Chatha, where in 1981 working and unemployed adults had an average of 5,95 years at school. The fact that the levels of technical and vocational training differ between the two villages is as important as these years of formal schooling. The number of people per household with completed technical or vocational training in Rabula is 0,478 as compared with 0,105 in Chatha.

That these educational differences have a real effect on employment opportunities can be seen by comparing the relative employment rates of the two villages in Ciskei government - related jobs of a skilled nature (e.g. teachers, nurses, clerks, agricultural officers). In 1981, 0,106 persons per household in Chatha held one of these jobs, while the corresponding figure for Rabula in 1986 was 0,53. Indeed, one of the most notable employment differences between the two villages is the fact that considerably more residents of Rabula than of Chatha are finding employment in the state bureaucracy at Bisho, Zwelitsa and Keiskammahoek, as well as in nursing and teaching posts in all parts of the Ciskei. Clearly all of these jobs have relatively high educational entrance requirements.

There would appear to be fairly straight-forward reasons why Rabula's superior initial educational position has perpetuated itself over the years. Better education has enabled people to obtain the more skilled jobs which have been created since the Keiskammahoek Rural Survey. This had led to their earning higher incomes, and being in turn able to afford a better education for their children. The role of higher incomes in this regard is particularly important as neither Rabula nor Chatha have schools which offer education beyond standard 8, or any form of technical training. Pupils wishing to study further thus have to attend institutions outside their villages, and only the financially better-off households are able to afford the costs that this involves. Rabula has been further favoured by its location, which has provided easier access to the range of secondary schools and tertiary institutions which have been established in Ciskei as part of the homeland policy.

In addition, Rabula's location offers its residents a direct employment advantage over Chatha because it is located closer to the industrial and bureaucratic growth points that have arisen in the Ciskei as a result of the homeland policy. For example, the most successful of the industrial growth points inside the Ciskei has been Dimbaza. Fortuitously, Dimbaza is situated within 20 km of Rabula, with a regular bus service in operation. The residents of Rabula have therefore been able to take advantage of these expanding employment opportunities, whilst residents of Chatha are effectively too far from Dimbaza to make such commuting feasible. Even the major town of King William's Town is within daily commuting distance of Rabula. The importance of this direct locational advantage can be gauged by the fact that 9 of the 45 wage earners in the Rabula sample were working in Dimbaza and King William's Town while there were no wage earners in the Chatha sample working in these places.

The superior ability of Rabula residents to obtain jobs in the local and regional economy has provided them with significant social and economic benefits. One-fifth (21,2 per cent) of the working members of the Rabula sample in 1986 were living at home, either working in, or within commuting distance of Rabula, as opposed to less than one-tenth (8,9 per cent) in Chatha. Double the number of working male heads of household in Rabula (34 per cent) are living at home, as compared to Chatha (17 per cent). Not only are less heads of household away from home in Rabula, making for less social disruption, but daily commuters tend to bring most of their pay-packet home with them, instead of spending most of it themselves, as many migrants in more distant centres tend to do.

Rabula's superior location, on the main road, has over the years provided it with better access to education services and to better paying jobs closer to home. These two factors have interacted in a mutually reinforcing manner, and it is in these terms that we think that Rabula's superior economic position in relation to Chatha can best be explained.

References

Houghton, D.H. and Walton, E.M. (1952) : **The Economy of a Native Reserve** (Keiskammahoek Rural Survey, Vol 2) Pietermaritzburg, Shuter and Shooter.

Notes

1 The 1948 income figures have been calculated from Houghton and Walton (1952), p. 106, at the 1961 conversion rate of 1 British Pound to 2 South African Rand. Real incomes have been calculated by means of the South African Reserve Bank's Consumer Price Index. The 1981 figures for Chatha, are taken from De Wet's research, from a once-off sample of 78 out of 405 households, trying to trace income patterns back over a 6 month period. In Rabula, Leibbrandt sampled 46 out of possibly upward of 600 households in 1987, going back to each household five times over a period of a year.

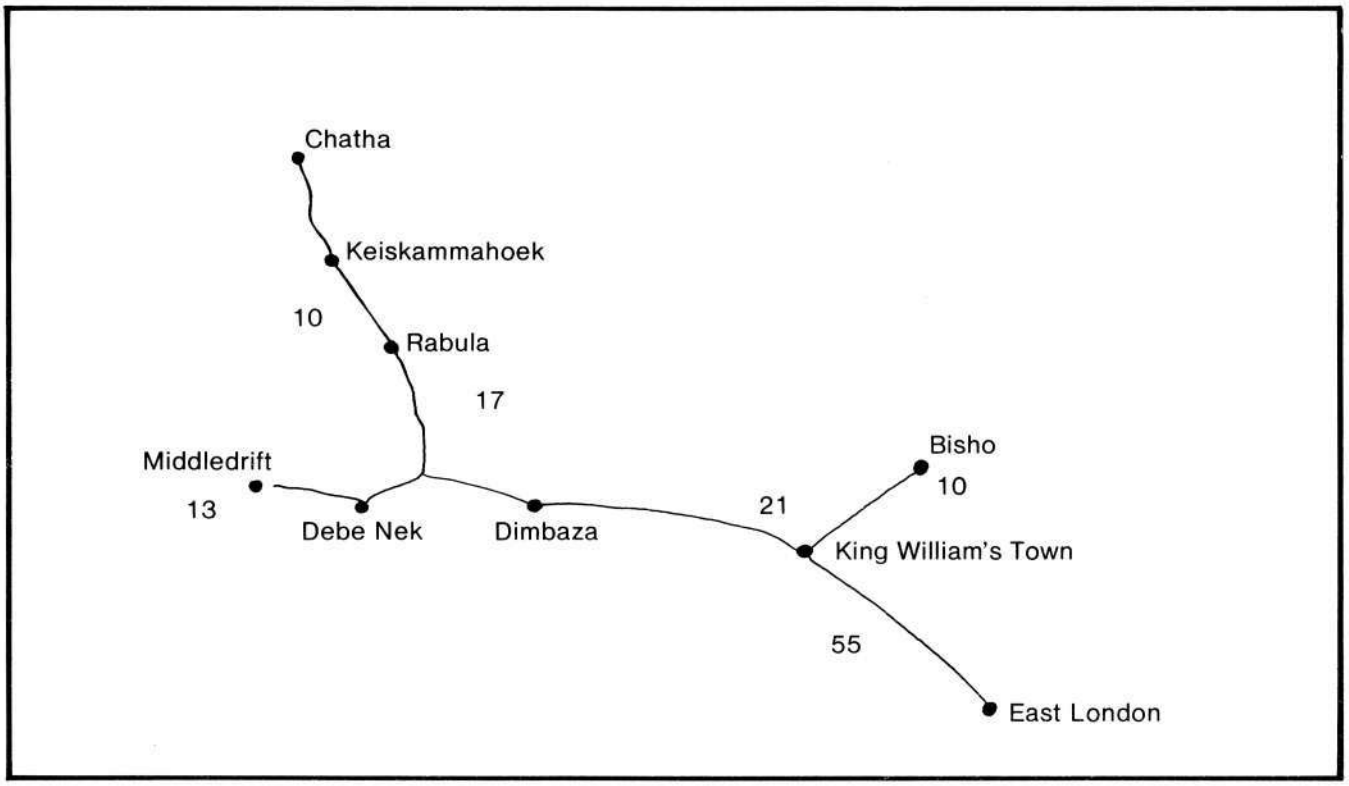
Statistics are derived from a sample of 162 households in Chatha during 1981 and a sample of 99 households in Rabula in 1986.

COMMERCIAL SERVICES AND RURAL-URBAN LINKAGES

by Murray Leibbrandt

Opening points

This paper will frame its discussion in terms of the commercial linkages between the Ciskeian village of Rabula and the surrounding regional economy. Given that the story is told by looking outwards from Rabula, commercial linkages are being explored through a rural lens. The rough map below presents the key dramatis personae.



A macro-perspective on commercial linkages

In a technical sense, commercial linkages can be modelled as a series of flows with goods and services flowing in one direction and payments flowing in the opposite direction. Such an approach offers a useful starting point in documenting the development of commercial linkages and the various institutions through which these operate. The map above represents a contemporary snapshot of these flows. At the time of the original Keiskammahoek survey (1949), the regional economy would only have included Rabula (which had three trading stores) and the town of Keiskammahoek. East London was effectively as distant as any of the other urban centres with the only linkages being those sustained through long range migrant labour.

Clearly, significant changes have taken place in the regional economy over time. The growth of King William's Town has provided a new and accessible source of supply for commercial services. The increasing number of Rabulan residents finding employment within the region and the improved transportation system has greatly increased the number of daily commuters and weekly migrants which, in turn, has pulled East London and many other surrounding towns into the network of suppliers of commercial services to Rabula.

There have also been changes in the flow of commercial services out of Rabula over time. However, changes in these outflows appear to have followed a more uneven course than the simple increase in the inflows. The second volume of the Keiskammahoek Rural Survey (1952)[1] states that traders coming into the district in order to sell goods also bought a small quantity of wool, skins and hides for resale outside of the district. From the anecdotal accounts of current residents of Rabula it seems that these exports had largely ceased by the 1960s but that, due to the provision of a furrow irrigation scheme on one area of trust land, a lively export trade in vegetables had taken their place. Along with the collapse of the irrigation project, these exports had also died out by the 1970s. Over the last few years, a small supply of some commercial services (mainly meat and vegetables) has again begun to flow from Rabula to the region. In fact, Middledrift, Debe Nek and Dimbaza are included on the map as demanders of commercial services from Rabula rather than as suppliers. Keiskammahoek has also offered a market for these services but, in this case, the dominant flow of services is in the other direction. The stuttering development of exports out of Rabula gives an indication of the difficulty that rural areas have in trying to balance the increased inflows of commercial services with increased outflows.

To the extent that this flow model deals with commercial services as a generic category, it is losing a lot of detail and is therefore, analytically, rather blunt. The Rabulan experience makes it very clear that changes in the provision of commercial services occur in heterogeneous ways. Food, clothing and building supplies serve as good examples in that, assuming that there was a time in which they were all supplied to residents through the local traders, they have since evolved in very different directions.

Today, almost all new clothing is purchased outside of the village (mainly in King William's Town) and the stores in Rabula stock very little clothing. Therefore, clothing represents a commercial service in which very strong urban/rural linkages prevail and in which an urban dominance characterises the relationship. The supply of building materials lies on the other extreme, in that the local stores still do a busy trade in building supplies, with supply from outside the village and particularly outside the Keiskammahoek district being limited. Thus, for building materials the urban/rural linkages have remained weak. Food represents the middle ground between clothing and building materials because supply is spread fairly evenly between the local stores, Keiskammahoek and King William's Town. There are strong linkages present but these reflect a more complex urban/rural balance.

In trying to explain these differential outcomes the importance of transportation is highlighted. All the places on the map are linked by regular bus and taxi services. This type of service is adequate for personal transportation and therefore gives people free reign as to where they wish to buy (or sell) their clothes. It is less satisfactory as regards food transportation and most unsuited to moving building supplies. It therefore seems that transportation is one of the key constraints affecting the rural and urban linkages in commercial services.[2]

A closer look at the delivery of grocery services

During the course of a research project on incomes and expenditures in Rabula regular price surveys were undertaken of the three stores in Rabula as well as grocery stores in Keiskammahoek (two), King William's Town (three) and Bisho (one) which were frequently used by Rabulan residents. There were also a few of the residents who were operating informal grocery stores out of their kitchens. Rough sets of accounts were assembled for two of these informal stores during the fieldwork. One of these sets is sufficiently detailed to pull into a comparative price analysis for all of these stores. This comparison is illustrated in the table below.[3]

Table: Prices of groceries supplied at different places in the Rabulan regional economy

	Bisho	KWT	KKH	Rabula	
				Formal	Informal
Soap	0,95	1,15	1,38	1,22	0,90
Washing Powder	3,09	3,61	3,97	4,71	4,50
Matches	0,35	0,41	0,44	0,52	0,50
Candles	0,89	1,00	1,06	1,20	1,10
Tobacco	1,49	1,56	1,61	1,78	2,00
Tea	2,79	3,24	3,66	3,60	4,50
Mielie Meal	8,65	8,63	8,65	8,50	11,88
Samp	9,23	9,88	9,95	10,44	15,60
Yeast	1,97	1,92	1,91	1,98	2,00
Sugar	13,62	16,16	15,72	16,78	20,00
Total	43,03	47,56	48,35	50,73	62,98

Given that it costs R2,80 for a return bus trip from Rabula to King William's Town and 80 cents for a return trip to Keiskammahoek, the ascending order of the total prices seems to accord rather well with **a priori** expectations. By locating a store closer to a group of villagers the store keeper is saving them both time and transport expenses and this should entitle the store keeper to some premium on prices. However, this general point should not be pushed too far. In

particular, the actual magnitudes of the differences in prices can not be accounted for in any precise way by transport costs.

For the purpose at hand this table can be used to tell a story of rural people who are alert to price differences and to the opportunities which these create for them. The large difference in prices between Bisho and the informal store in Rabula is very telling in trying to understand why a number of these informal stores were opening up in Rabula at the time. However, the Rabulan experience also makes it clear that it is not simply a question of rural households recognising that an opportunity exists. In order to capitalise on this they have to have the means to do so. As stated earlier, buses and taxis are not a satisfactory means of transporting groceries in large quantities. Without exception, those in Rabula who were able to set up these stores had access to independent means of transport. A further requirement was for potential store owners to have built up some savings in order to be able to sell on credit as all the local formal stores offered this service to their customers. Some of the stores could not or would not do this and this severely hampered their progress because it meant that it was only in cases of emergency or for small purchases that customers would make use of their services.

It needs to be stressed that it is not only those who might be able to exploit price differentials directly who need to be included in this story. To do so would imply that, besides making sure that they bring a bag of groceries back with them when they return home from a funeral in East London, most of the residents of Rabula are unresponsive to these developments. In fact, these prices are offering the community signals about changes taking place in the environment within which they are living. There are many ways in which members of the community can and do respond to these signals. The agricultural decisions of households can be considered by way of example. The fact that, even at the highest local prices, the cultivation of maize is not a viable proposition provides a signal to the community that the production of maize, even for subsistence purposes, is not worth the effort. This has indeed been the signal to the Rabulan community and they have responded accordingly. However, vegetable, meat and milk prices have been sending different signals. In these cases there definitely is scope for subsistence production and a demand does exist within Rabula, Dimbaza and other neighbouring areas for any surplus production. Once again, there is evidence of the community taking account of these signals.[4]

Closing thoughts

It is obvious that Rabula is well meshed into the regional economy. In this sense Rabula is an atypical rural community and one wonders to what extent it can yield insights into the fewer (but better defined) linkages operating between more removed rural areas and the urban areas. In a speculative vein, the Rabulan experience does reveal two trends about the way in which commercial linkages evolve over time. Both are rather gloomy from a rural perspective.

Firstly, there appear to be very few commercial services in which rural areas do have any sort of an advantage over urban areas. Therefore, although the peri-urban areas may offer rural communities some export opportunities in the medium term, well-developed linkages in the long term will be characterised by urban dominance.

Secondly, to the extent that improved linkages do open up improved possibilities for the rural areas, these possibilities do not appear to be available to the rural poor as they do not have the means to make effective responses. This is particularly sobering because it is also the rural poor who find it hardest to make the move from the rural to the urban areas. □

NOTES

1 Houghton, D. and Walton, E. **The Economy of a Native Reserve.** Shuter and Shooter, 1952.

2 It is important to note that transport is not necessarily a binding constraint in the provision of commercial services. The supply of furniture to the rural areas provides a good counter example. Clearly furniture is most unsuited to transportation by bus or taxi but there must be enough incentive to the suppliers to want to overcome this problem because the furniture stores take it upon themselves to provide deliveries even into remote rural areas.

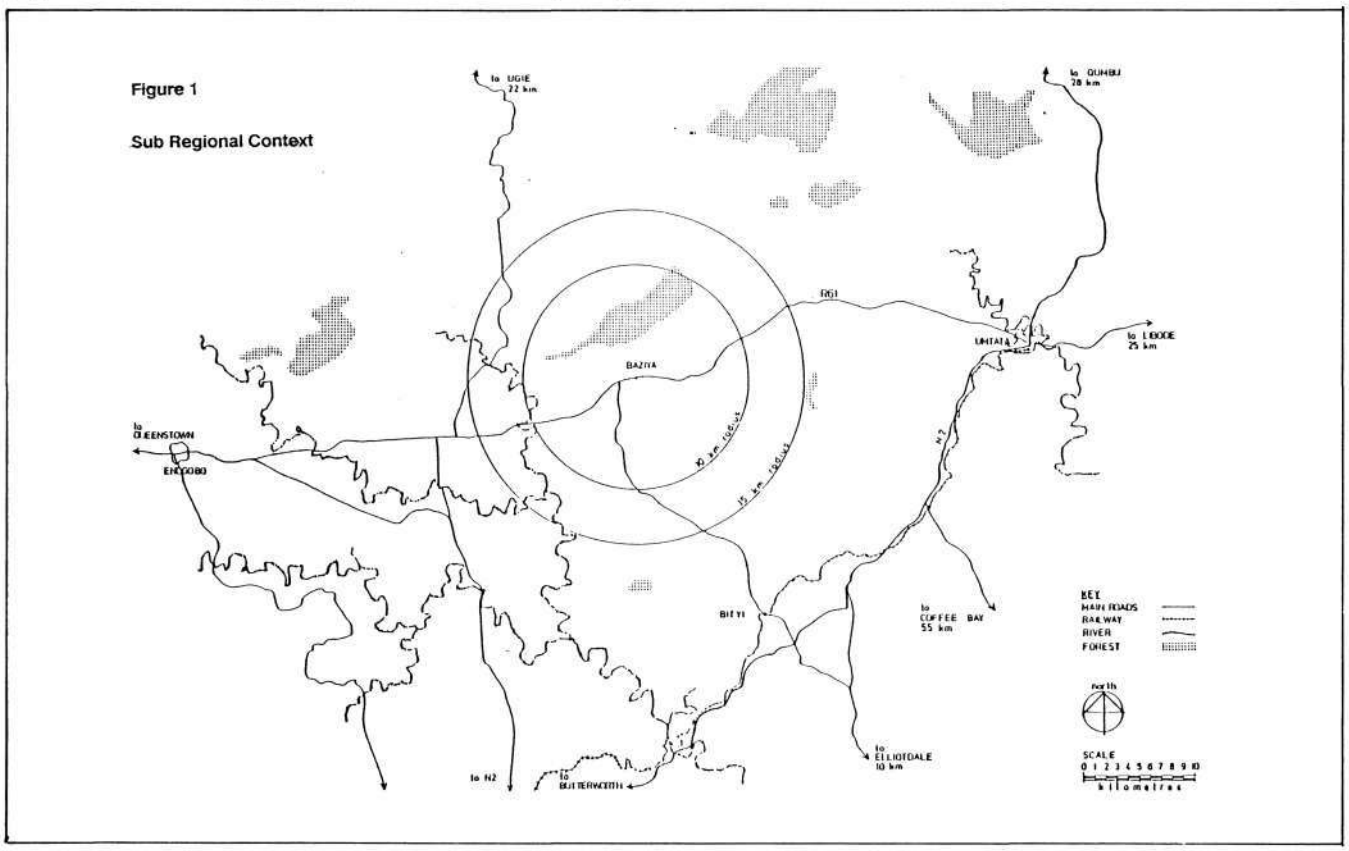
3 Some technical notes on the price data:
- The actual goods included in the comparison were determined by the goods which the informal store was selling and the month in which the informal store data was gathered was used consistently for all the price data.
- For King William's Town, Keiskammahoek and Rabula (formal) the price given is an average price taken from all the stores which were surveyed in each area.
- The Rabulan stores include tax in their prices and therefore all prices are presented as after tax prices.
- Clearly, relative price differences in goods which are expensive are going to dominate in determining the overall differences in cost. However, as relative price differences are fairly consistent, I have not attempted to standardise the data.
- The survey asked for prices of specific brands which should ensure that price differences do not reflect brand differences.

4 In the peri-urban areas rental income has far exceeded income from growing vegetables thus leading to the growth of 'shack farming'.

COMMERCIAL SERVICES IN RURAL AREAS - A CASE STUDY

by Dr P.S. Robinson, T.S. Geabashe and T.M. Sullivan.
Presented by Dr P.S. Robinson.

This short paper aims to make a few points about access to commercial services in the context of the debate on rural-urban linkages and urbanisation. The arguments are illustrated by examples from a case study of Baziya tribal authority (1986)[1] but supporting evidence can also be found from studies in other rural areas in Natal, KwaZulu and Transkei. Baziya has a population of 16 000 people (1900 households) living in 42 small villages within a radius of 15 km from the main centre of activities (3 shops, clinic, tribal authority office, disused sawmill). It is about 40 km west of Umtata, along the main road to Queenstown. (see Figure 1[2]). The purpose of our study there was to establish consumption patterns for goods and services as well as the productive potential of the area.



The first point to be made is that Baziya does not have a viable subsistence economy and in this respect it is typical of most rural settlements in South Africa. Most of the consumption needs are provided by goods purchased in urban areas and paid for by incomes originating in urban areas. Even in rare situations like Maputaland where rural households do produce a large proportion of subsistence needs (7 bags of maize annually - 9 bags are generally regarded as a subsistence level) as much as 60 per cent of household income is spent on basic foods and consumer goods produced outside the region[3].

Secondly, in order to focus the discussion, three main groups of actors need to be considered:

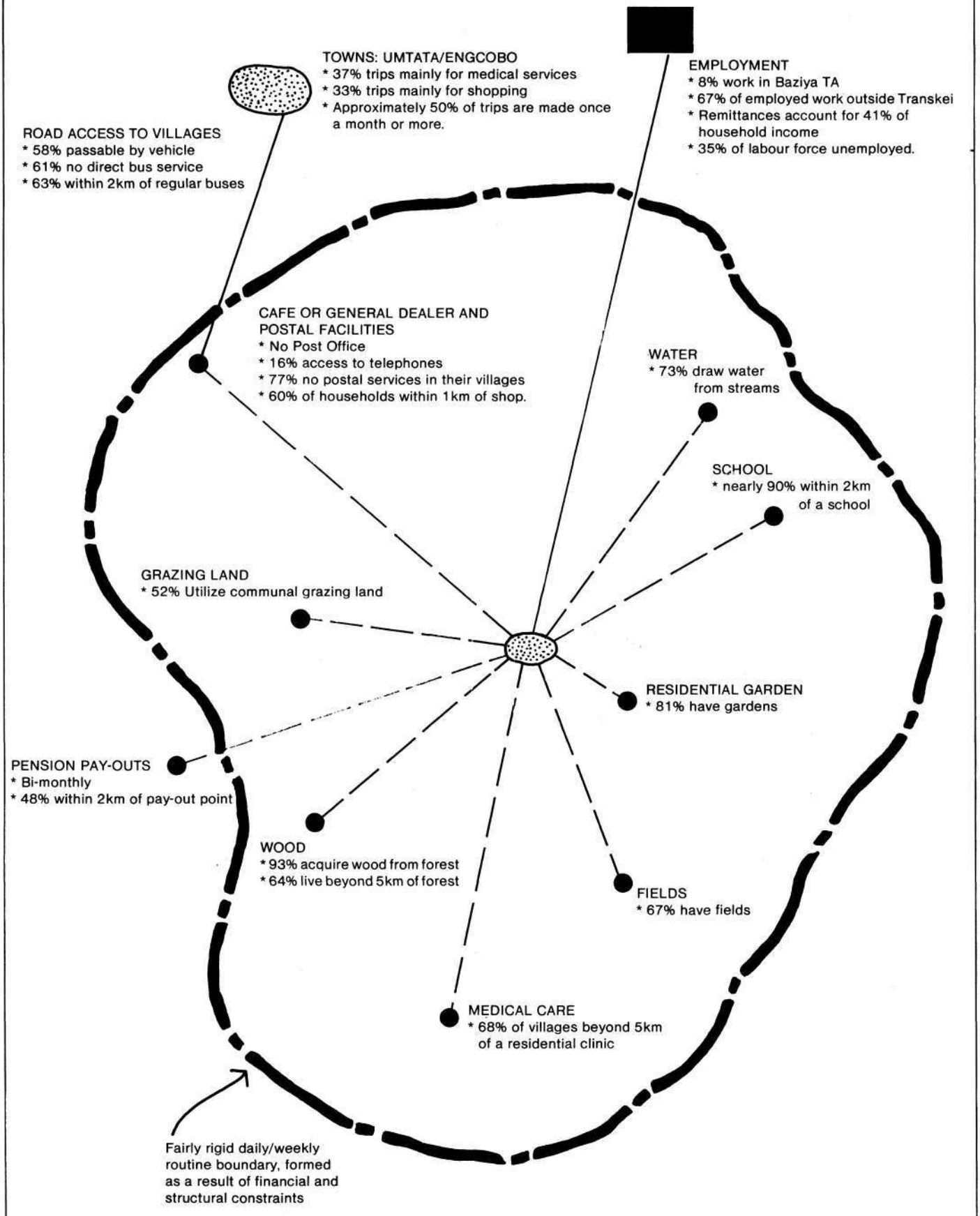
(a) Rural households which are mainly consumers, although they do produce a little.

(b) Operators in the urban economy, including migrant workers who remit wages, government services and sources of income (pensions, disability grants, unemployment etc.) as well as producers of consumer and durable goods.

(c) Those who operate at the rural-urban interface particularly, from the commercial point of view, rural traders and transport operators.

Thirdly, a discussion of commerce and rural areas would be incomplete without reference to the dispersed

Figure 2
Profile of rural life in Baziya



Source:
Information from Chapter 3, Report I
Concept adapted from C. Waddy (1983)

nature of settlement patterns (Figure 2). Baziya, with its 42 villages ranging between a few hundred and 1 200 people, is typical of many areas. In Transkei's north-west region (in which Baziya is situated) only 34 per cent of villages are on the network classified roads (i.e. those maintained by Transkei's Department of Works as opposed to tribal authorities) and 63 per cent of the region's people live in villages that are beyond a day's walk from the nearest town. This problem of access, coupled with the lack of basic infrastructure in villages (e.g. water, electricity, roads passable by buses and taxis), mean that households have to devote a substantial amount of resources to assembling basic inputs for survival (e.g. water, firewood, paraffin etc.) Quite apart from the time, effort and cost involved, there is the opportunity cost of resources that could be devoted to productive activities such as vegetable gardens, sewing, building instead. The many facets of poor accessibility makes life in rural areas expensive.

Turning more explicitly to income and expenditure, emphasis should be placed on the dynamics - the diverse in- and out- flows of goods and services from Baziya which illustrate the extent and nature of dependence that households in rural Baziya have on the urban economy.

The five main types of **inflow** to Baziya identified in Figure 3 are: cash income; interest on savings; information and innovation; public decisions and investment; other goods and services.

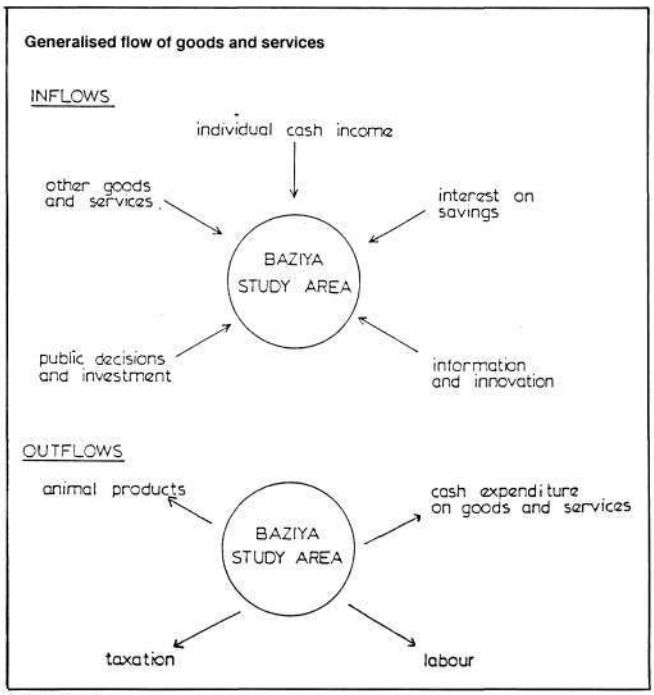


Figure 3

Household incomes in the study area are low in absolute terms, with the median for a household of 8,3 persons being in the order of R100 per month. Sources of cash income are analysed from sectoral and spatial points or view in Figure 4. These reveal that only 14 per cent of income earned by Baziya households is generated directly within the study area, while a further 8 per cent is from within and beyond Baziya. The bulk income (78 per cent) is generated outside Baziya; 41 per cent from Transkei (mainly Umtata) and 37 per cent from the RSA. Interest on savings is another flow of cash into the study area. This amount may be considered negligible as very few households save (6 per cent of the sample) and savings account for little over 2 per cent of household expenditure.

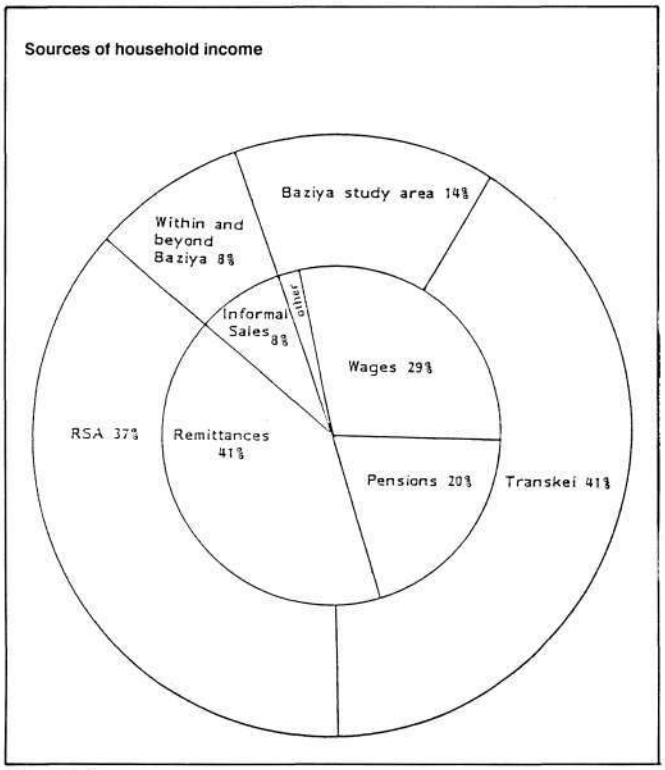


Figure 4

Information flows into the area by means of public media (e.g. press and radio), as well as institutions such as schools, clinics, government and non-governmental extension officers. The ideas transmitted include educational, entertainment and innovative information. A major source of innovation, and one that has yet to be tapped for development purposes, derives from the working experiences and urbanising influences of migrant workers in the RSA.

Government makes policy decisions that influence and control life in the study area. These decisions also give rise to investment (mainly public) in the region. It was beyond the present terms of reference to quantify this investment, but it would include such physical infrastructure and equipment as schools, clinics, roads, ploughing facilities, boreholes, dipping tanke, etc., as well as the wages paid to officials based in the area.

Other goods are brought into the area by local traders, speculators, people resident in the area who travel outside of the area in order to purchase goods for their own use, returning migrants, travelling sales people, informal operators particularly at pension pay points, and via catalogue ordering systems.

Services are administered in the area by both government agencies (e.g. schools, health services, agricultural extension, veterinary and dipping services etc.) and non-governmental organisations (e.g. communal gardens, savings clubs etc.).

The main types of **outflow** shown in Figure 3 are cash expenditure; labour; taxation and to a very limited extent, animal by-products such as wool.

Figure 5 indicates the sectors in which expenditure is made. It must be noted that almost all the expenditure items are, in fact, produced outside the study area, with the result that it is only the profit from sales which accrues to local traders. They, in turn, use most of their profit to buy goods manufactured outside the area. The survey of household purchasing indicated 25 per cent of purchases of lower order durable goods, such as paraffin stoves and blankets, were made outside the study area. All purchases of higher order goods such as radios and tractors were also made outside the area. It was only purchases of food products that were made almost exclusively within Baziya.

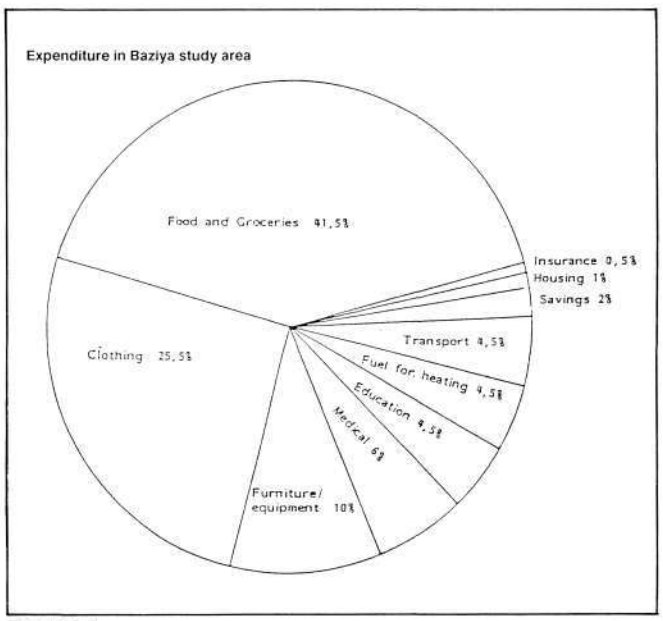


Figure 5

The labour force in the study area comprises 32 per cent of the total population, 21 per cent of whom were in active employment at the time of the survey while 11 per cent were temporarily unemployed and seeking work. Unemployment in the study area is thus in the order of 35 per cent of the labour force. The spatial distribution of these jobs shows that 10 per cent work within a 15 % radius of Baziya, 22 percent in Umtata and at other places in Transkei and 68 per cent in RSA.

Residents of the area pay various taxes to central government such as livestock tax, income tax for wage earners and general sales tax. Migrants also pay various forms of indirect taxation while in R.S.A. the main tax paid to the Tribal Authority is a levy varying from R2 - R10/household depending on the size of the village. Although it has not been possible to quantify this expenditure formally, some preliminary estimates can be made using prevailing levels of GST, and assuming a median household monthly cash expenditure of R150,00 for the 1 902 households in the study area. On this basis the households in Baziya Tribal Authority pay an estimated R16 000 per month by the way of GST. Stock tax at annual rates of R1,50 per head for cattle and horses, R5,00 for donkeys and 25c for sheep and goats, yield an annual outflow from Baziya of almost R10 000. Only 12 per cent of the households in the sample earned incomes above the lowest taxable level (R2 520 per annum). These households pay an estimated R3 000 per year in income tax.

Overall, the estimated annual outflow from Baziya by way of taxation is as follows:

TABLE A : TAXATION OUTFLOW FROM BAZIYA

General sales tax	R192 000
Stock tax	R10 000
Income tax	R26 600
Total	**R228 600**

Quantified estimates were made of two categories of outflow: cash expenditure and taxes. The dominant pattern of cash expenditure flows is one of transfers from households to traders in the area (food, groceries, durables and some services accounting for 89 per cent of cash expenditure) from whom in turn, transfers are made to the Transkei and RSA economies respectively. Less significant is the direct expenditure by Baziya households in Transkei and the RSA, mainly on durable goods. Taxes flow from households to the Transkei government coffers. It is only the 9 per cent of cash expenditure on education and some medical services that appears to circulate in the local economy.

The income and expenditure flows are summarised diagramatically in Figures 6 and 7.

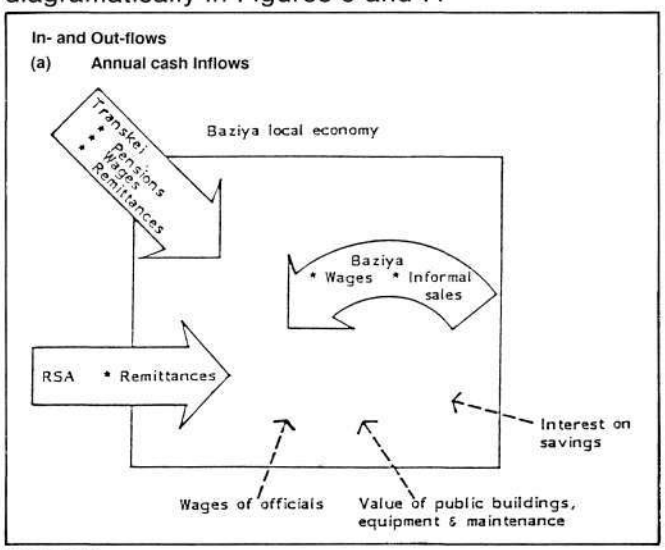


Figure 6

Cash inflows to the Baziya study area emanate from three main areas: local (14 per cent), Transkei (41 per cent) and the RSA (37 per cent), with a further 8 per cent from both within and beyond the study area. In addition there are other inputs (unquantified at this stage) in the form of wages paid to officials based in the area, interest on savings and the value of public buildings, equipment and maintenance.

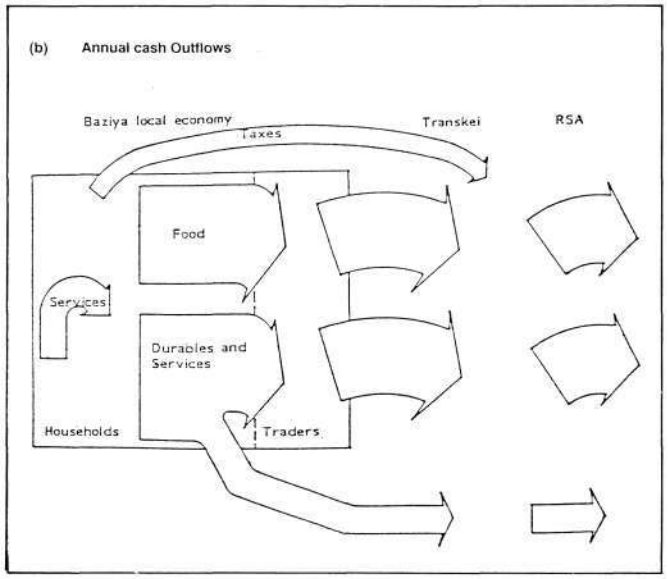


Figure 7

The outflows from Baziya are mainly in the form of labour (10 per cent to Transkei and 90 per cent to the RSA), cash expenditure and taxation. Four main patterns emerge. Firstly, from households to local traders, to Umtata retailers or wholesalers, to RSA producers, e.g. in the case of purchases of food, or lower order durables. The second pattern is from Baziya households directly to Transkei in the form of taxation or the purchase, in Umtata, of items manufactured in Transkei. A third pattern is directly from households to RSA firms, mainly involving the purchase of higher order durables. Finally, only a small proportion of cash expenditure by Baziya households remains in the area to circulate via payments for services such as health care, schooling or purchase (formal and informal) of locally produced goods.

Finally, we should consider shopping patterns **per se**. The full spectrum of items bought by Baziya households has been grouped into three categories according to frequency of purchase, durability and cost. These are:

- consumption goods which include food, groceries and items generally associated with daily household subsistence, such as candles, soap and samp;
- lower order durables, which are fairly low cost capital items purchased less frequently than consumption goods, and include such products as blankets, crockery and paraffin stoves;
- higher order durables, which are those seldom purchased, high cost capital items including furniture, radio-cassettes and hi-fi sets.

Goods of all three types are available at stores within the study area as well as in the closest towns, Umtata and Engcobo. In practice, the actual place of purchase of goods of each order is determined by a variety of factors.

(a) Consumption goods are typically purchased on a daily or weekly basis at the store nearest the homestead. Less often, bulk purchases of these items are made at larger general dealers or at supermarkets outside the study area, usually at monthly intervals. It would appear that the main determinants of where, and how often, these items are purchased, relate to the household consumption rate and the capacity of the household to store goods, particularly perishables. Consequently, purchases are often made at short intervals from the nearest shop. in the north-west region surrounding Baziya there are 1 143 rural shops (33 in Baziya). An earlier region-wide survey (1982) revealed that many were poorly stocked and carried a very limited range of goods. On average only **two** items were purchases on a shopping trip with a median expenditure of R1,20 (1982 prices)[4].

(b) Lower order durables. Purchases of these goods occur typically at monthly to yearly intervals and are made either at the large general dealers in the study area or the nearest towns. Almost half the purchases were made within the 10 km zone, while a quarter were made beyond the study area in nearby towns. Baziya Enterprises, situated on the main road adjacent to the sawmill and close to the best-off villages in the area, emerged as by far the most significant shop in the area.

(c) Higher order durables generally reflected "once-off" purchases. About 20 per cent were bought within the Baziya area, 40 per cent in Umtata and 40 per cent elsewhere, mainly in the PWV area.

The survey also investigated the **full cost** to Baziya residents of obtaining certain durable items from the nearest towns, Umtata and Engcobo. Table 8 shows product purchase profiles of a number of durable items. Figures quoted here refer to cash costs, to which should be added the opportunity costs of time taken in travelling to make the purchases and the assistance given by members of the village community in carrying goods home from the bus stop. It should also be borne in mind, however, that trips are made regularly to Umtata and Engcobo for a number of reasons including the purchases of durables; furthermore, most of the items bought, were also available at shops in the study area. The reasons given for purchasing them in Umtata

or Engcobo were either because these items were perceived as being cheaper in the larger centres, or because they were more readily available.

The case reports trace the route taken (with costs) from the place of purchase to the buyer's home, indicating the different transport modes used.

Table B.

PRODUCT [Quantity]	TOTAL PURCHASE COST (R)	PLACE OF PURCHASE	DESTINATION	DIS-TANCE (km)	COST OF DELIVERY TO BUS RANK(1) (R)	TRANSPORTATION FARE TO VILLAGE (R) MODE	FARE (R) Person Return	FARE (R) Goods	DELIVERY TO HOMESTEAD MODE	DELIVERY TO HOMESTEAD CASH COST	TOTAL COST (R)	REASON FOR PURCHASE
Window frames [3]	183,00	Mandla ka-Moya Umtata	Jojweni	40	3,00	Bus	7,00	1,50	Assisted by villag-ers	Nil	194,50	Not available at Baziya Enter-prise(4)
Door frame[1]	24,60	Engcobo	Nqwati	70	Nil	Bus	4,00(2)	0,40	Carried by own child-dren	Nil	29,00	Not specified
Ceiling board[1]	9,94	Jobs Hardware Umtata	Sikobeni	34	Nil	Bus	3,40	0,70	Carried by own children	Nil	69,95	Not specified
Cover strips[16]	49,92		Sikobeni	34	Nil	Bus				Nil		Not specified
Trunk[1]	49,90	Johannes-burg[3]	Kwa Saba	36	3,00	Bus	2,25	0,25(2)	Self	Nil	52,40	Returning mig-rant
Creosote Poles[2]	13,00	Mandla Ka-Moya Umtata	Bityi	47	Nil	Bus	5,20	1,00	Self	Nil	19,20	Ordering takes too long
Corrugated iron sheets [5]	55,00	Mandla Ka-Moya Umtata	Mbekezweni	43	Nil	Bus	9,60	2,50	Carried by own child-ren	Nil	67,10	Cheaper here

Notes 1. People are available to assist transporting goods from stores to the bus rank for a fee.
2. Estimated from the schedule of fares and tarrifs.
3. Although the purchase was made in Johannesburg, only transportation costs from Umtata were considered.
4. Also purchased R81,00 worth of groceries in this trip.

Subject to reservations about drawing statistical conclusions from a sample of this nature, an attempt was made to arrive at the likely proportional increase in costs due to transport. The mean increase attributable to transport costs was 11,5 per cent of purchase price. This seems plausible because the purchases were made at wholesalers in Umtata/Engcobo where a shopkeeper's price currently varies between 10 and 50 per cent of the wholesale suppliers price.

The conclusions to be drawn from this brief review are limited. But we can say that access to commercial services are an integrated part of rural-urban linkages, that they constitute an important strand of the oscillating urbanisation process and that their characteristics are fairly complex. □

NOTES

1 The Baziya case study is based on 3 reports: Vandeverre, Aspey, Robinson and Associates (1986) I "Activity patterns in Baziya"; II "Agriculture in Baziya" and III "Baziya Tribal Authority - interpretive summary" commissioned by Transkei Appropriate Technology Unit (TATU).

2 All figures and tables are taken from Baziya Report III.

3 VARA (1989) "Ubombo-Ingwavuma Structure Plan" Report to Department of Development Aid and KwaZulu Department of Economic Affairs.

4 VARA (1987) "Transkei North-West Region: Spatial Development Plan" Report to Transkei Development and Cabinet Secretariat.

D. LOCAL AUTHORITIES

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND SERVICE DELIVERY. THE AMATOLA BASIN IN CISKEI

by C.W. Manona

The Amatola Basin in Ciskei is administered by a Tribal Authority which was established in 1966. A chief is the head of this body which constitutes a part of a Regional Authority which in turn is linked to the Ciskei Legislature. The authority comprises the chief, two salaried headmen and 19 councillors who receive no remuneration for their services. Candidates for headmanship are chosen by the people and require the approval of the Ciskei Government. No formal elections are held when a headman is to be chosen: nominations are made at a meeting of the Tribal Authority and several such meetings are held before a final decision is made on the matter. Similarly, the councillors who represent their villages on this Tribal Authority are recruited to their positions in a somewhat informal manner: they are nominated by the Tribal Authority itself without prior consultation with their local communities whom they represent on this council. Although the sub-headmen of the various villages are not fully-fledged members of this council, they are expected to attend all the council meetings. The sub-headmen are not paid for their services even though the bulk of the responsibilities of this council is handled by them. All the members of the Tribal Authority are men and participants at meetings are overwhelmingly men. Women usually attend these meetings only when they are involved in the court cases handled by this body. Other people who are associated with the council are the urban representatives of the chief- one based in Port Elizabeth and another in Cape Town- who keep Amatola Basin residents working in town informed about developments at home. They are chosen by the local residents who work in town and do not receive payment for their services. Occasionally they collect funds which they remit home for some of the projects undertaken in the Basin, e.g. the building of the local high school and the teachers' quarters.

The principles underlying the Tribal Authority system seek not only to reconstruct old customs and usages but also to revive traditional leadership. Therefore, it is not surprising that this council tends to be a homogeneous body of men who are advanced in age: two councillors are aged eighty-three and eighty-two, eight are in their seventies, ten in their sixties and only two are in their fifties. This gives an average age of 68 years for the councillors. Moreover, with the exception of the chief who is a qualified teacher and taught for many years before taking up his present position, the majority of the members of this council have only a few years of schooling. Seven passed either Sub A or Standard One, ten passed Standards Two or Three, one passed Standard Four and only three passed Standard Six. All have worked for longer or shorter periods outside the Basin and little of their work experience is relevant to their present positions.

These factors characterise the Tribal Authority as a conservative body which does not reflect the educational and occupational diversity of the community. As a result, the younger and better educated members of the community have virtually no influence over the affairs of the council. Although an entirely 'elite' council would probably be equally unrepresentative, the point to note is that most councillors lack the educational background which would enable them to deal more efficiently with administrative matters. Older and less educated people do not easily adapt to change and are not in a position to articulate the varied interests of a society undergoing rapid change. Moreover, this leadership is oligarchical in the sense that roughly the same councillors serve on the Tribal Authority year after year. This is largely due to the fact that no specific period is prescribed for the members' tenure of office and councillors can serve on this body for as long as they like. Similarly, the exclusion of women from the membership of the Tribal Authority is no longer consistent with the present situation in which women play an active role in many organisations. Women serve on virtually all the committees that are associated with various organisations locally and they constitute a significant proportion of the members of the nine school committees in the Basin.

The Tribal Authority court meets about twice a month and deals with a varying number of cases. Petty quarrels, minor assaults, local stock theft and damage claims arising from girls' pregnancies are typical cases which are brought before this court. Sentences are monetary fines which are sometimes enforced through the confiscation of property. This task is undertaken by one of the councillors who serves as a messenger of the court. But the extent to which this council can enforce its decisions is extremely restricted. Sub-headmen also settle minor disputes in their villages and refer other cases to the Tribal Authority. Anyone not satisfied with a decision of a sub-headman can appeal to the Tribal Authority court. In like manner, defendants in the Amatola Basin can appeal to the Middledrift

Magistrate's Court where cases involving serious violence and theft are heard. The comprehensive duties of the Tribal Authority include:

1. The maintenance of roads, dams and bridges.

2. The organisation and promotion of agricultural activities, e.g. the control of grazing and arable land, the establishment of agricultural co-operatives as well as the purchasing of stud stock.

3. The promotion of education by means of erecting and maintaining school buildings, granting of bursaries and loans to scholars.

4. The improvement of the economic and social life of the people through measures like the organisation of relief employment, the screening of applications for old age pensions and other social benefits and care for the aged and indigent.

5. To organise meetings at which labour recruiters contact workseekers living in the Basin.

Although the Tribal Authority has a wide range of duties, the fact that it has limited budgetary powers and meagre financial resources has adverse effects on its performance. Initially, the finances of Tribal Authorities were handled by Regional Authorities but in 1969 this function was transferred to the then Department of the Chief Minister. The tendency towards the centralisation of government functions is evident here. The bulk of its funds are voted by the central government while the revenue it generates locally (mainly in the form of court and pound fees) constitute only a small proportion of its annual income. During each year the council, in conjunction with the magistrate, makes recommendations for its estimates of income and expenditure for the following year and submits them for consideration by the central authorities who alone make final decisions on such matters. The Tribal Authority itself exercises no influence over this budget and its ineffectiveness locally stems largely from the fact that its annual grants are small. For example, apart from various amounts of money which the government made available for the administration affairs of this council, expenditure approved by head office in Zwelitsha for the financial year ending 31 March 1983 included R200 for the purchase of stud stock and R50 for economic improvement. Since these are only small amounts, it is not possible for the Tribal Authority to be the focal point of rural administration which can be responsible for the promotion of the general well-being and economic development of the community.

In particular, it is worth noting that although the council has the responsibility of erecting and maintaining school buildings, the budget made no provision for such an undertaking. Consequently, the council's functions of promoting education locally are extremely limited and this important task is almost entirely in the hands of school committees which operate largely independently of the Tribal Authority. The delivery of services in this community is affected by the fact that the Tribal Authority has limited executive powers and on many issues it may not act independently (to any degree) of the central government. Instead it has to focus its attention mainly on the ways and means of carrying out instructions received from higher authorities. For instance, parliamentary matters hardly feature in the debates of the council: before the parliamentary sessions there are no resolutions made specifically for parliament and no report-back meetings are held. Similarly, a perusal of the council's records and observations shows that many of the issues discussed by the council are concerned mainly with matters emanating from outside the community and almost invariably such matters necessitate the raising of funds.

Other problems which the council experiences stem from poor communication between it and higher offices. Most of the time it is isolated and instances where government officials attend Tribal Authority meetings are few. Consequently, urgent problems often remain unresolved. This was illustrated on the occasion when early in 1982 the roof of the assembly hall of the council was badly damaged by wind. Although the council made several appeals to the magistrate for assistance in this regard, by the end of the year the hall had not been repaired. The Tribal Authority eventually decided to levy a sum of R5,00 from every household in the Basin for this purpose. Similarly, in 1979 a fence around a mountain camp broke and created problems regarding the herding of cattle. It was only after a number of letters had been written and delegations made to the Middledrift Development Office that the fence was mended. Council minutes also reflect instances in which the Tribal Authority fails to get replies to letters written to the magistrate's office. These are some of the problems which indicate the council's lack of co-ordination with higher authorities. Councillors find themselves in an ambiguous position in which they have to carry out government instructions while they have neither adequate guidance from the government nor easy means to channel people's needs to the central government. The views of a senior member of this Tribal Authority give some indication of this feeling of frustration and powerlessness:

> "We are lagging behind other districts in the Ciskei. I do not know the reason for that. Since the time when I joined this council (in 1966) we have had little success in solving our problems here. Things are simply at a standstill. For years we have been pleading with the government to provide us with a bridge over that stream. Up to now nothing has been done."

A consideration of the relationship of this Tribal Authority with the people it serves raises other problems of trust and legitimacy. One of these is related to the fact that councillors are nominated by the Tribal Authority itself without prior consultation with the villages the men represent. That their authority is based on appointment from above rather than on the consent of the people raises major problems when one considers that the people have no direct sanctions they can apply over this council. In this sense, the councillors represent the Tribal Authority, not necessarily the people. They are not directly answerable to the residents of their villages for the decisions they make in the Tribal Authority. At the village level their positions are secure in that it is not their duty to hold village meetings concerning the matters discussed by the Tribal Authority: this is done by the sub-headmen to whom people turn for many of their problems. Moreover, the fact that the residents know that the councillors themselves have no power of their own means that it would be useless for the people to exert any pressure on the councillors who also have to respond to a situation which they can hardly control.

Another great weakness of the Tribal Authority system is its lack of effective contact with the villages it serves. Reflecting the constraints of the wider political system which is based on a large measure of authoritarianism, e.g. the one-party system, the Tribal Authority has failed to encourage participation at grass-roots level and the various villages have consequently lost much of their autonomy. Virtually all decisions on important local matters are made by the Tribal Authority and there are hardly any instances where issues to be decided are even referred to the residents in their villages. As a result, most meetings in the villages are convened merely for the purpose of notifying the residents about routine administrative matters or for the passing of instructions from the Tribal Authority. In this situation the councillors tend to be out of touch with the residents' needs and aspirations and have to make decisions concerning a community they know less and less. Also, this body operates solely in the central village and the fact that its council and court meet there results in a waning of its influence in the outlying villages. The greater part of the infrastructure that exists in the Amatola Basin is in the central village and the villages further away from this centre experience great difficulties regarding school facilities, roads, shops, water supplies, clinics, etc. □

THE CHALLENGE OF METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT IN DURBAN

by Simon Bekker

Local and metropolitan government

One might begin by pointing to one of the essential characteristics of good local government: to match collective services to local needs. In order to do this, local government must satisfy a number of criteria. First, it must have adequate capacity or powers, including the power to raise and allocate revenue at local level. Secondly, it must also be legitimate - so as to remain sensitive to local grievances and needs - which demands that it be both accepted by, and representative of, the community it purports to serve. Thirdly, it must be viable, meaning that it must have adequate financial resources and management skills, so that it can effectively and efficiently go about its business of service delivery.

Finally, in a metropolitan region, each separate local government should be fairly and adequately integrated with others in a representative metropolitan authority, so as to streamline service delivery (including capital projects) to the metropolis as a whole. It must, moreover, be recognised that certain public services do show economies of scale, others do not. It makes sense for the metropolitan government to become responsible for the former, and local governments for the latter.

Local government which fulfils these criteria is a particularly important institution, contributing significantly to both democracy and governmental efficiency.

Local government in South Africa today.

The present system of local government in South Africa falls far short of this ideal. It lacks adequate power. It lacks legitimacy (particularly in black communities) and its viability falls far short of what is required. In addition, the system of metropolitan government which is in the process of being implemented has major weaknesses, though it does also have some strengths.

Before turning to Durban, we will first acknowledge the particular significance of local government in South Africa today, and then focus upon the system of metropolitan government which is being established in the country as a whole.

Three very good reasons underlie the special significance of local government in the country. First, it is common wisdom that urbanisation is proceeding apace and bringing with it escalating demands for serviced land, residential units, adequate water, education, transport and health services. Those requiring these services are, and will remain, largely the urban poor: unable to afford, on an immediate cost-recovery basis, the services which are so vital.

Secondly, given this reality - coupled with the scale of need - it is evident that only the state has the resources to provide many of the services so urgently required. In addition, the state has already begun to acknowledge the inadequacy of its past provision and to recognise that it must do better in future. Critically, moreover, it is also beginning to recognise that it cannot properly achieve this goal without community participation. Community participation, however, lies usually beyond its grasp (a reality of which it is also increasingly aware). And, given the limited resources avaliable - resources which contrast sharply with high aspirations - the difficult political decisions which must be taken need to be taken within a participative context.

Third, local governments and service delivery issues have been, over the past five years, at the centre of sustained conflict and confrontation between black communities country-wide and the South African government. The result is that city and local government in South Africa has become highly politicised and highly problematic - posing a major managerial and developmental challenge.

The issue of metropolitan government is raised when we turn to a recent innovation in the structure of local government: the introduction of Regional Services Councils (RSCs). These are intended to act as an extension of existing third-tier institutions and are responsible for "general affairs" - ie the bulk (or "wholesale") supply of hard services (such as water, electricity, sewerage, transport and planning) as well as the provision and maintenance of infrastructure in areas of 'greatest' need. The primary local authorities constituting an RSC, remain responsible for "own affairs", especially the reticulation (or "retailing") of services to the household level.

RSCs are intended to fulfill a three-fold function. According to the Department of Constitutional Planning and Development, they will promote efficiency and cost-effectiveness through the rationalisation of service-provision; introduce a forum for multi-racial decision-making; and generate substantial revenue (from two new levies on business) for the development of

infrastructure in the areas of greatest need : viz., the black, coloured and Indian townships.

A number of additional reasons underlie the introduction of RSCs. First, they provide a mechanism for "transfer payments" to black, coloured and Indian local authorities, as recommended by the Browne and Croeser enquiries into local government finance. Secondly, they extend the principle of "own and general affairs" from the national tier and the provincial level to the third tier of government. And, thirdly, they provide umbrella institutions at the local level intended to strengthen legitimacy and viability, and thus enhance the capacity of local government, to meet the challenge of rapid urban growth.

RSCs have been established in the Cape, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State. Their process of establishment in Natal was halted as a result of opposition from a number of quarters, including the KwaZulu government. An alternative form of metropolitan authority - a Joint Services Board which at present is intended to be substantially similar to an RSC - is shortly to be introduced. This makes it important to assess the RSCs which have been introduced to date, in order to identify both their positive elements and their substantial weaknesses.

Positive features of RSCs include:

- the quality of their administrators and managers, or, in other words, their administrative and institutional capacity;
- the fact that they bring together different representatives of different areas of the larger metropolis;
- the recognition they engender of the extent of mutual interdependence within each region;
- the appreciation they bring of the shortcomings and needs of less developed (black) areas;
- their ability to raise and redistribute regional revenue;
- the discretion - and concomitant flexibility - which they have in two important respects:
  - (i) the interpretation of the requirements of the Act, and
  - (ii) the provincial administrator's gate-keeping role.

The flaws of RSCs include the reality that RSCs:

(i) are based on 'own affairs' local authorities or LAs, many with little credibility;

(ii) are not directly accountable to residents (since representation is indirect via participating LAs);

(iii) are in a cleft stick regarding their finances: torn between the need for revenue for capital projects, and the realisation that increased turnover and payroll taxes are likely to depress urgently required economic growth and development;

(iv) are undermined by deep-seated suspicion on the part of many residents of any state-created administrative and service delivery body.

Metropolitan government in Durban

Let us now turn to the city of Durban.

Over the next decade, this city will grow from three and a half to five and a half million people - an increase of two million in ten years. By the turn of the century, over half of all black residents of KwaZulu/Natal will be living in Durban. The informal or shanty settlements within which approximately one half of black Durban residents presently live will, in all probability, further expand, and will continue to accommodate no less than half of these Durban residents.

An overview of the present public institutional situation in the Durban Functional Region (DFR) reflects :

(i) a mosaic of unco-ordinated local authorities ('own affairs' local bodies within Natal and a variety of tribal and other bodies within KwaZulu);

(ii) a resultant fragmentation of service delivery to the DFR's different communities;

(iii) a highly diversified political culture in the region;

(iv) a number of rapidly expanding informal settlements with high priority development needs;

(v) centralised governmental control over planning in the region (rather than devolved and participative planning); and

(vi) deep division over alternative future scenarios for the city of Durban and the wider metropolitan region.

Given this division and diversity, it is clear that a metropolitian authority is urgently needed in the DFR. Second, as earlier indicated, the metropolitan authority to be established will not be an RSC but a somewhat different body to be called a Metropolitan Joint Services Board. This MJSB will differ in (at least) two significant respects from the RSCs created elsewhere:

(a) it will cross the homeland boundary, drawing in local bodies from both Natal and KwaZulu.

(b) it will be responsible, not to the tricameral parliament (via the appointed provincial administrator), but to the Joint Executive Authority, thus placing it in a potentially qualitatively different political position.

Given the critical role of local government, coupled with the demographic realities earlier outlined, it is vital that the MJSB be as effective, efficient and participative as possible. What strategies can be adopted to ensure that the MJSB - to be established next year, in all probability - will meet the criteria and thus be of maximum benefit to the DFR?

Three strategies are possible:

Strategy 1: to oppose the establishment of a DFR-wide metropolitan body until an acceptable negotiated constitutional solution has been hammered out at national level.

I believe that this strategy - which is perhaps the easiest to implement since it requires, at present, primarily protest political action - suffers from four flaws:

- since the time-scale involved is uncertain, the pressing developmental needs in the DFR (especially in its informal settlements) will be exacerbated in the interim;
- absence of action will probably allow the MJSB (which will almost certainly be established in any event) to slide into a RSC-type body with the same flaws as earlier defined;
- valuable revenue which will be raised by the MJSB may, in consequence, be used for less than effective purposes;
- this non-collaborationist stance may not, in fact, bring us closer to the generally accepted goal of a just and democratic society and city.

Strategy 2: The DFR gives its own stamp to the MJSB by exploiting the positive features of the RSC system and engineering changes to identified RSC flaws.

This strategy is undoubtedly more challenging and more difficult to implement. However, it should be recognised that there are a number of factors which would facilitate its successful implementation:

(i) it would take place in a regional climate characterised by Indaba-type initiatives, and in a national climate in which the emphasis is being placed on negotiation and participation;
(ii) it is possible to learn from RSC experience elsewhere and to emulate some of their positive steps, such as the creation, in the region, of community committees aimed at exposing RSCs to community perceptions and priorities;
(iii) the MJSB will be accountable to the Joint Executive Authority on which KwaZulu and Natal enjoy equal power and representation;
(iv) it is evident that there is expertise available, coupled with significant willingness to participate in an MJSB;

There are also a number of requirements which need to be met if this strategy is to be successfully implemented.

- MJSB participants need to be open to participative planning and decision-making;
- the MJSB needs to be able to obtain sufficient funds for capital development, without too severely constraining economic development in the DFR;
- leaders within the MJSB need to seek imaginative solutions to the challenges in the DFR, especially regarding its informal settlements;
- the DFR public need to be succinctly and simply informed of the nature, functions and significance of the MJSB.

Strategy 3: Accept an RSC-type structure in the DFR and in Natal/KwaZulu.

If this strategy is followed, and the MJSB becomes simply an RSC by another name, the following negative results will become apparent:

(i) participation (and visibility of participation) will be insignificant;
(ii) planning and activities will be concomitantly technicist;
(iii) non-participative planning will provide, for the DFR's pressing developmental needs, at best short-term solutions; at worst, a series of planning disasters.
(iv) Finally, and most importantly, it must be remembered that this strategy (like the others) must be viewed in the context of on-going attempts at national constitutional negotiations. For this reason, a rigid and static RSC-type service delivery body stands a good chance of being 'left behind' politically: losing further credibilty and therefore viability as more advanced national constitutional structures are publicly discussed and begin to emerge.

To conclude:

I believe that strategy 2, rather than strategy 1 or strategy 3, will bring about in the DFR

- a greater measure of democratic participation;
- a redistribution of revenue wider in scope and more effective in application; and
- an improving quality of life for all residents of the rapidly growing city of Durban.

It is my firm belief, moreover, that this process of transition must be an incremental process - one step at a time - rather than a sudden and radical change of local and metropolitan authorities. I say this since these authorities require, as a prerequisite, the continued involvement of experienced and often excellent managers and administrators who presently undertake the complex business of delivering public services to millions of Durban's residents. Let me also, however, immediately say - lest some interpret this statement as a plea for more time - that we need to take these incremental steps as rapidly as possible. We need to accelerate the process of incremental change, to push for one step to follow quickly upon another. □

CONCLUSION

by Simon Bekker and Craig Clark

This conclusion does not attempt a summary of the papers published above. Instead, it tries to draw together some of the main points raised by some of the papers regarding service delivery in rural areas and the allied issue of the urban bias in the delivery of collective services, together with some key issues raised in the discussions around some of the papers.

Firstly, it needs to be noted that there are three zones in existence, and the nature and quality of services delivered to a community depends upon the specific zone into which a community falls. In urban areas - both black and white - local authorities shoulder the responsibility for service delivery. Service delivery in white-designated rural areas, on the other hand, depends largely upon the private initiatives of white farmers who farm the area and employ residents in black communities. The tribal authorities and the state in the independent and non-independent homelands are charged with service delivery in those areas, and often possess neither the finances nor the expertise to provide adequate services. Frequently then, rural communities have to pay for the establishment and maintenance of whatever services they may require.

Three continua may be identified as means to defining these zones. One is based upon the predominant modes of production, identifying those areas concerned with agricultural production as "rural" and those with industrial production as "urban". This continuum is particularly applicable to rural-urban linkages in white-designated areas.

A development-based continuum, with those areas experiencing less provision of employment, infrastructure and institutions being "rural", is particularly appropriate to rural-urban linkages within the homelands.

A continuum based on institutional definitions - i.e. those areas not under the jurisdiction of a local government are "rural", irrespective of whether or not they include dense settlements - is appropriate to rural-urban linkages in zones where local governments and tribal authorities operate.

The fact that the concepts "rural" and "urban" may best be defined as points on a continuum rather than as discrete and diametrically-opposed entities indicates the complex relationship between rural and urban areas. Rural areas can be seen as a "mirror-image" of urban areas : they provide a stable environment for the nurturing of children away from the recently-unstable townships, a supplement to income and a retirement "nest egg" for the elderly; furthermore, in rural areas of white-designated South Africa, they provide a regular and predictable income, and some form of services. They remain however largely dependent upon urban areas and the fulfilment of these roles depends almost entirely on the financial support they receive from urban areas, which are a source (through both the formal and the informal sectors) of significant income.

A significant trend which emerges in service delivery is the bias towards delivery in urban areas. This is true not only of the comparative efficiency with which services are delivered but also of the allocation of state funds to the delivery of services. This urban bias can be explained in four ways.

Firstly, there is an historical explanation, which as Simkins observes earlier in this issue, can be traced back to two factors : the universal phenomenon of urbanisation as a result of the expansion of urban-industrial modes of production and the Land Acts which divide rural South Africa into the rural areas of the homelands and other rural areas in "white" South Africa. In the latter, service delivery remains the responsibility of white farmers; the delivery of services in the former has been significantly shaped by the Verwoerdian dream of independent black homelands. This policy, rather than concentrating on the promotion of urbanisation within the core areas, encouraged urban settlements within the homelands, with poor or no infrastructures and services. The rising costs of development aid to homelands, the need in the cities for skilled manpower, and the rise in militant opposition to apartheid forced a change of policy upon the state, which has subsequently attempted to address the needs of the increasing numbers of poorly serviced urban residents.

A second explanation can be sought in the influence played by employment opportunities upon patterns of migration. In concordance with Todaro's thesis, the urban areas are perceived as the location of productive opportunities and services, and so increasingly service delivery challenges are found in these areas. The complex pattern discerned by Bromberger in his paper underlines the need for careful planning of service delivery, not only within urban areas but also within areas on the fringes of existing metropolitan areas : informal settlements and other forms of peri-urban area. At present, the influx of migrants into urban areas in

search of employment biases the delivery of services towards these areas.

Spatial and geographical factors also influence the delivery of services and contribute towards the urban bias. The growth of transportation and communications networks promotes a closer interaction and interdependence between urban and rural areas, and favours certain communities which, as a result of spatial and geographical factors - i.e. situation on or near transport routes - have better access to employment and commercial opportunities. The more remote a settlement is, the greater its dependence upon urban areas for the satisfaction of its needs, and the greater its needs for service provision. Paradoxically, it is precisely such areas which have the poorest delivery of services.

Finally, institutional factors influence the delivery of services in urban and rural areas. Manona notes the lack of viability of such authorities, who are often constrained by a lack of funds as well as by traditional forms of acting (in the case of tribal authorities in rural areas) and lack of political credibility (in the case of black local authorities). As Bekker observes, moreover, RSC levies augment funds to provide bulk- and link- infrastructure in those areas where such infrastructure is most needed. Since there are more businesses to levy in metropolitan and urban areas, the result is a greater ability to provide such services in urban areas. This again reinforces the urban bias in service delivery, particularly since there exist no local authorities in white-designated rural areas to guarantee service delivery.

It is clear that it is both necessary and possible to improve the access of rural communities to services. But such changes will act as an incentive to rural residents to migrate to urban areas unless they include those services that will enable communities to become producers rather than consumers. Without access to opportunities for employment, the delivery of welfare services alone will increase the costs of maintaining rural households, and the income necessary to cover these increased costs will have to be earned elsewhere. The long-term effect then of the delivery exclusively of welfare services to the neglect of productive services will be the further impoverishment of rural areas and their loss of their most important asset : their population.

It is obvious that the most important step to be taken by rural development planners is the introduction into rural areas of appropriate productive services. Secondly, since the state's allocation of funds to the upgrading of services in rural areas seems likely to remain inadequate, a number of strategies must be implemented. These might include Ardington's suggestion of the utilisation of small towns as rural development growth points; the identification of those regions where services may optimally be linked with the launch of productive activities; and the empowerment of rural residents in such regions, rather than the mere support of rural elites and their patterns of patronage. These strategies will correct to some degree the urban bias in state policy and practice noted above. This is not to say that the urban situation should be ignored : the rural and the urban areas of South Africa are interconnected and interdependent, and the execution of a development policy in one will influence the other. But the alternative is to maintain the present and seriously inadequate policy of service delivery which will only perpetuate and exacerbate the severe impoverishment of both rural and urban areas.

(A more detailed paper on this subject has been published by Simon Bekker and Craig Clark in **Indicator Vol 7 No 1** under the title 'Stand and Delivery : Waiting in the Service Line').

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