SECOND CARNEGIE INQUIRY INTO POVERTY

AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Area study on Gazankulu

by

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AREA STUDY ON GAZANKULU[1]

1 INTRODUCTION

Gazankulu lies in the North Eastern Transvaal and covers approximately
739 400 ha. It consists of four seperate regions: Giyani which borders
the Kruger National Park on the east; Ritavi I and II to the south-west
of Giyani; and Mhala, at some distance to the south of the rest of
Gazankulu. It falls for the most part within the Transvaal Lowveld
with rainfall varying from 500 to 700 mm p.a., increasing on the
escarpment. Gazankulu is drained by various rivers, mainly the Klein
Letaba and its tributaries, joining the Groot Letaba and the Shingwidzi
River. However, only the Levuvhu and Groot Letaba Rivers are perennial.

2 POPULATION

2.1 Accuracy of population figures

As with other black areas, some controversy surrounds the population
of Gazankulu as determined by the 1980 census. The Institute of
Development Studies at RAU made population estimates based on an
underestimate of 4,2 per cent of the 1970 population census and
population figures collected at various time intervals by the
Gazankulu Department of Agriculture. The 1980 population according
to this estimate is 374 592. The preliminary 1980 census figures are
based on a 10 per cent sample of the 1980 census and are much higher,
viz. 480 824 in 1980. This wide variance (+ 25 per cent) makes it
difficult to accurately determine the needs of the population.
However, the difference is of degree only and does not in any way
change the problem(s) nor the development issues referred to in this
study. While both figures could be wrong, we feel that the estimates
made by the Institute of Development Studies are more accurate for
the following reasons: accepting an under-enumeration of 4,2 per cent
in 1970, the 1980 census figure results in a population growth rate of
5,62 per cent. No changes in mortality or birth rate could be found
to account for this high rate of increase, no influx on the scale

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1) Paper prepared by Elize Moody and Christina Golino, based on A
    Development framework for Gazankulu, Vols. I and II by the Institute
    for Development Studies, RAU, Jhb, 1983

required to cause this rate of increase took place, and the few border
changes which took place between 1976 and 1980 were accommodated in
the estimates made by The Institute of Development Studies. Population
figures used in the main body of this report will therefore be based on
the estimates made by the Institute. Tables showing population figures
based on the 1980-census are given in the appendix. <u>Where relevant two
sets of figures are given in the text: the first refers to figures
based on the Institute's population estimates, while the second figure
in brackets refers to figures based on the 1980-census.</u>

2.2   Population composition and projection

The population is projected to increase from 374 593 in 1980 to 765 157
(975 795) in 2005 at a rate of increase of 3,1 per cent between 1980
and 1985, decreasing to a rate of increase of 2,6 per cent between 2000
and 2005.

TABLE 1

PROJECTED POPULATION INCREASE, 1980 TO 2005

Year	Males		Females		Total	Annual rate of increase (%)
	Number	% of total	Number	% of total		
1980	161 194	43,0	213 399	57,0	374 593	3,149
1985	192 330	44,0	245 067	56,0	437 397	3,066
1990	227 473	44,7	281 224	55,3	508 697	2,868
1995	265 178	45,3	320 761	54,7	585 939	2,806
2000	307 817	45,7	365 082	54,3	672 899	2,603
2005	352 866	46,1	412 291	53,9	765 157	-

While it is projected that the proportion of males in the population
will increase, females continue to outnumber males by approximately
one-fifth throughout the period 1980 to 2005.

The dependency ratios, which are extremely high are expected to decrease
over the period 1980 to 2005. In 1970, total dependency in Gazankulu
was 455 and male dependency was 427. These dependency ratios were
significantly higher than those for other black areas (<u>cf</u>. average
dependency for all black areas in 1970 of 301).

In 1970 the population in the economically active age group was 42,9 per cent of the total population. By 1980 this proportion had increased to 48,7 per cent of the total, and it is projected to increase to 54,6 per cent by 2005. The combination of a higher proportion of males in the population and the higher proportion of the population in the economically active age group will reduce the dependency burdens.

TABLE 2

AGE COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION, 1980 TO 2005

Year	0-15 years		15-64 years		Over 64 years		Total
	Number	% of total	Number	% of total	Number	% of total	
1980	180 928	48,3	182 427	48,7	11 238	3,0	374 592
1985	207 326	47,4	217 824	49,8	12 247	2,8	437 397
1990	239 596	47,1	255 364	50,2	13 735	2,7	508 697
1995	170 704	46,2	300 587	51,3	14 648	2,5	585 939
2000	301 459	44,8	355 290	52,8	16 150	2,4	672 899
2005	329 018	43,0	417 776	54,6	18 363	2,4	765 157

3   EDUCATION

Population pressure and a lack of adequate finance have resulted in acute shortages of facilities and equipment. In 1979 the pupil to classroom ratio was 76,4:1. The rate of increase in enrolment for primary schools between 1970 and 1979 averaged 9 per cent p.a. Between 1980 and 2005, total enrolment is expected to increase from 141 971 to 311 918 (440 000), at an average rate of 3 per cent p.a. (i.e. approximately equal to the total population in 1980). In order to reduce the pupil to classroom ratio to 50:1 at primary schools and 34:1 in secondary schools a capital expenditure of R7,7 (R14,1) million would be required.

In 1979 the pupil to teacher ratio at primary schools was 57,6:1. To achieve a ratio of 50 pupils per teacher at primary schools and 30 pupils per teacher at secondary schools by 1995, would require an additional 3 000 (4 300) teachers.

Investment in education is largely wasted, however, due to the high drop-out rate of pupils. Only 42 per cent of the pupils who enrolled in 1970 was still at school in 1975. Of those who enrolled for Std. 6 in 1971, only 12 per cent matriculated in 1975. No more than 2 per cent of the original sub A class matriculated. This drop-out rate, though it is estimated to have improved, influences the availability of skilled labour and managers, as well as future supply, and qualifications, of teachers.

4   HEALTH

Very little is known of the factual morbidity and mortality situation in Gazankulu, especially of infant mortality. It is logical to assume that water supply, sanitation, housing and dietary patterns affect morbidity, and it is known that infective, parasitic and contagious diseases play a major role in the morbidity pattern in Gazankulu.

Currently there are 4 (3,1) hospital beds to each 1 000 of the population (cf. WHO standards of 5:1 000), a total of 1 517 beds. In order to maintain a ratio of 4 beds to 1 000 of the population will require an increase of 3 122 (3 751) beds by 2005.

In 1980, there was one doctor to each 20 810 (26 712) people and one nurse to each 5 400 (6 900) people. To maintain these ratios over the next 25 years will require an additional 20 (29) doctors over the present 18, and an additional 35 (45) nurses per year.

The total budget for the Department of Health in Gazankulu in 1981/82 was R9,4 million. Expansion and maintenance of hospitals alone in 1980 was estimated to cost R21,0 million.

5   THE ECONOMY

The data base in Gazankulu is inadequate. This extends to every facet of decision-making. The national accounts are estimates - little is known of the exact extent and distribution of migrancy and commuting;

wage remittances are estimated; very little is known of the economic interaction and links with surrounding areas of the rest of South Africa.

5.1   National accounts

The GDP increased from R11,1 million in 1972 to R62,3 million in 1980. At constant 1975 prices the GDP increased from R15,9 million in 1972 to R37,6 million in 1980 at an annual average rate of 11,4 per cent.

TABLE   3

GDP   OF   GAZANKULU,   1972   TO   1980

Year	Market sector		Market sector		Non-market		Total R000
	R000	%	R000	%	R000	%	
1972	4 801	43,1	2 510	22,5	3 830	34,4	11 141
1973	6 384	43,4	3 078	20,9	5 238	35,7	14 700
1974	8 372	32,5	4 112	16,0	13 236	51,5	25 720
1975	9 424	44,2	5 998	28,1	5 907	27,7	21 329
1976	11 770	44,2	6 091	22,9	8 738	32,9	·26 599·
1977	14 312	46,1	7 024	22,7	9 687	31,2	31 023
1978	15 909	43,1	7 478	20,3	13 495	36,6	36 882
1979	20 614	40,7	12 788	25,3	17 233	34,0	50 635
1980	26 926	43,2	17 014	27,3	18 389	29,5	62 329

It is obvious that values imputed to social services delivered makes the largest contribution to the GDP in Gazankulu. Ignoring the sub- sistence sector, government services contribute approximately 65,0 per cent to the GDP, while the private formal sector contributes approximately 35,0 per cent on average.

GDP per capita increased from R40,03 in 1972 (assuming a population of 286 626 in 1972) to R166,39 (R129,62) in 1980. In real terms (1975 prices), GDP increased from R57,18 in 1972 to R100,29 (R78,13) in 1980 at an annual real average growth rate of 7,3 per cent (4,0 per cent).

Government revenue is derived mainly from grants and loans from the
South African government.

TABLE 4

SOURCES OF GOVERNMENT REVENUE, 1971 TO 1982

Year	Own sources		Grants and loans		Total
	R000	%	R000	%	R000
1972	351	8,7	3 661	91,3	4 012
1973	409	8,2	4 571	91,8	4 980
1974	1 648	28,3	4 172	71,7	5 820
1975	2 148	28,7	5 324	71,3	7 472
1976	2 596	26,6	7 152	73,4	9 748
1977	3 670	29,3	8 842	70,7	12 512
1978	7 072	26,7	19 381	73,3	26 453
1979	9 650	32,8	19 794	67,2	29 444
1980	11 011	25,9	31 447	74,1	42 458
1981	13 499	22,3	47 169	77,7	60 668
1982	13 790	18,0	62 801	82,0	76 591

Between 1970/71 and 1979/80, government expenditure increased from
R4,1 million to R33,3 million. The amounts voted to the office of
the Chief Minister, Finance, Economic Affairs, and the Department of
Justice averaged 6,4 per cent over the period, the amount to the
Department of Works averaged 30,1 per cent, that to the Department of
Education averaged 28,1 per cent, and the amount to the Department of
Agriculture, averaged 13,3 per cent. The functions of the Department
of Health and Welfare were fulfilled partly by the Gazankulu Department
of the Interior and partly by the South African Department of Health
and Welfare up to 1976/77. Between 1970/71 and 1979/80, revenue voted
to these two departments averaged 22,1 per cent. Between 1977/78 and
1979/80, revenue voted to the Department of Health and Welfare averaged
18,4 per cent of the total for the three years.

5.2   Employment

The main structural problem in Gazankulu is that the economy cannot

provide sufficient employment opportunities for the economically
active population. There were 21 263 paid employment opportunities
in Gazankulu in 1980, while 182 261 (210 201) people were in the
economically active age group. .It must therefore be assumed that the
161 000 (189 000) people of working age who have not been absorbed in
the formal economic sector with Gazankulu found employment as migrants
or commuters, or are voluntarily or involuntarily unemployed or
underemployed.

TABLE 5

POPULATION IN THE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE AGE GROUP, 1980 TO 2005

Year	Males	Females	Total	% of total population
1980	68 337	113 926	182 261	48,7
1985	85 880	131 827	217 707	49,8
1990	104 883	150 509	255 392	50,2
1995	127 000	173 537	300 537	51,3
2000	154 152	201 132	355 284	52,8
2005	185 083	233 102	418 184	54,6

It is estimated that 7 089 (8 319) people will enter the labour market
each year between 1980 and 1985. By 2005, annual new labour market
entrants will be 12 580 (14 544).

TABLE 6 .

AVERAGE ANNUAL INCREASE IN THE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE
AGE GROUP, 1980 TO 2005

Year	Male	Female	Total
1980-1985	3 508	3 580	7 088
1985-1990	3 801	3 736	7 537
1990-1995	4 423	4 606	9 029
1995-2000	5 430	5 519	10 949
2000-2005	6 186	6 394	12 580
Average 1980-2005	4 670	4 767	9 437

Total agricultural income potential is estimated at R20 million.
Working on the assumption of an annual farm income of R2 400 a
maximum of 6 938 farmers can be accommodated in the private
agricultural sector.

There are currently 62 000 (84 355) families in Gazankulu. Of these
31 460 families have agricultural rights and 30 560 (49 197) families
are landless people living in rural areas. Until employment
opportunities can be created within Gazankulu or the surrounding
areas to absorb these families and draw them off the land, they
cannot be displaced. Fragmentation of agricultural land and low
productivity and production in the agricultural sector is therefore
the result.

5.3   Income

The lack of employment opportunities and fragmentation of agricultural
land has led to extremely low average and median incomes. In 1975,
average annual income was R93 per capita and median annual income
was R56,50 per capita. (According to Benso, 1982, NNY at constant
1970 prices was R107 per capita in 1975 and increased to R118 per
capita in 1980).

As a consequence of the extremely low income levels, as well as factors
such as lack of infrastructure, distance from major commercial and
manufacturing centres in South Africa, and competition with surrounding
areas, the secondary and tertiary sectors are very small.

Due to the small size of all three sectors of the economy, income
leakages are very large. In 1975 it was estimated that 85,0 per cent
of all income earned in Gazankulu was spent outside the region. The
value of the multiplier is consequently very close to the minimum,
viz. 1,18 in 1975.

The above factors have resulted in the tax base being very small.

6   SPACE, SETTLEMENT AND INFRASTRUCTURE

The single most overriding spatial constraint to development in
Gazankulu in the location of the region within the larger South
African spatial system. The physical linkages between Gazankulu
and the rest of the periphery are at present poorly developed. Apart
from the Louis Trichard - Punda Milia road which runs along the part
of the northern boundary of Gazankulu, there is only one other tarred
road (linking Giyani to Duiwelskloof), and no railway connection
except for that in the Mhala region and at Nkowankowa in Ritavi.

Gazankulu itself consists of four seperate regions, thus it cannot
be regarded as a single spatial system or subsystem.

Ritavi II is the only part of Gazankulu which, because of proximity
to Tzaneen and infrastructural links with it, seems to exhibit
possibilities for growth in the secondary sector. The situation of
Giyani and its poorly developed infrastructural links with the
surrounding region, suggest that growth there will be mainly in the
government/administrative sector and related activities. Thus economic
life tends to focus on Nkowankowe/Tzaneen and not on Giyani or any
other more centrally situated town in Gazankulu.

Settlement is undifferentiated and lacks function. The service
function of the system of central places is e.g., not related to
size of the population.

It is obviously of crucial importance that the males living in
agricultural villages are mostly migrant labourers and are not
employed in situ. The main economic base of people's lives is thus
not in the village, though farming activities of part of the community
would partially fill this gap.

Proclaimed towns (4) had a population of 13 950 in 1980.* At these

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According to Benso, 1982, the population of the four proclaimed
towns in 1981 was 15 742, and the number of housing units was
2 896.

proclaimed towns more physical infrastructure is provided (e.g. sanitation, electricity and telephones) than in the rural areas. Any averages for infrastructure provided therefore present a skewed view, as services are concentrated at the few urban centres.

Total electricity consumption in 1980 was 7,6 MVA (7 650 KVA), but it must be noted that this is used only by industries, hospitals, government offices and a few residential areas.

Apart from the 59 km of tarred road, the remainder of the road network consists of 700 km of gravel roads and 1 500 km of gravel and access roads. While almost every small village is linked by a rough track to other access roads, many of these roads become impassable during the rainy season.

Demand for housing is dependent on various factors such as demographic variables, but is also influenced by the low level of income of the average household. Given the cost of the most basic 51/9 house of R8 000, government-built housing is beyond the means of the average Gazankulu family with an annual average expenditure of about R600.

10   CONCLUSION

An estimate is made in the Report of the investment required to finance the physical infrastructure programme necessary to facilitate development as well as exploring the sources of finance. The aim of this paper was, however, to give a brief overview of the present state of the economy, with special reference to factors affecting poverty. This paper therefore deals with numbers of economically active people, employment opportunities and factors affecting these, income and social services.

SOURCES

1 INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES, RAND AFRIKAANS UNIVERSITY
   1983   A Development Framework for Gazankulu, Vols. I and
                 II, Johannesburg

2 BENSO
   1982   Statistical Survey of Black Development, 1981,
                 Part I, RSA/Self-governing National States,
                 Pretoria

APPENDIX

TABLE 1

PROJECTED POPULATION INCREASE 1980 TO 2005

Year	Males		Females		Total	Annual rate of increase
	Number	% of total	Number	% of total		(%)
1980	205 460	42,7	275 364	57,3	480 824	2,799
1985	240 947	43,7	311 036	56,3	551 983	2,815
1990	281 670	44,4	352 505	55,6	634 175	2,862
1995	328 922	45,0	401 341	55,0	730 263	3,038
2000	357 280	45,7	460 852	54,3	848 132	2,844
2005	450 277	46,1	525 518	53,9	975 795	2,987

TABLE 2 .

AGE COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION, 1980 TO 2005

Year	0-14 years		15-64 years		Over 64 years		Total
	Number	% of total	Number	% of total	Number	% of total	
1980	256 123	53,3	210 201	43,7	14 500	3,0	480 824
1985	283 406	51,3	251 796	45,6	16 781	3,0	551 983
1990	302 449	47,7	312 781	49,3	18 945	3,0	634 175
1995	322 802	44,2	386 241	52,9	21 220	2,9	730 263
2000	376 182	44,4	448 754	52,9	23 196	2,7	848 132
2005	429 261	44,0	521 472	53,4	25 060	2,6	975 795

TABLE 3

POPULATION IN THE ECONOMICALLY
ACTIVE AGE GROUP, 1980 TO 2005

Year	Males	Females	Total	% of total population
1980	74 171	136 030	210 210	43,7
1985	95 919	155 877	252 796	45,6
1990	127 108	185 673	312 781	49,3
1995	162 323	223 918	356 241	52,9
2000	193 371	225 382	448 754	52,9
2005	229 215	292 259	521 475	53,4

TABLE 4

AVERAGE ANNUAL INCREASE IN
ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE AGE GROUP, 1980 TO 2005

Year	Males	Females	Total
1980 - 1985	4 350	3 969	8 319
1985 - 1990	6 238	5 959	12 197
1990 - 1995	7 043	7 649	14 692
1995 - 2000	6 210	6 293	12 503
2000 - 2005	7 169	7 375	14 544
Average 1980 - 2005	6 202	6 249	12 451

These papers constitute the preliminary findings of the
Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Develop-
ment in Southern Africa, and were prepared for presen-
tation at a Conference at the University of Cape Town
from 13-19 April, 1984.

The Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Develop-
ment in Southern Africa was launched in April 1982,
and is scheduled to run until June 1985.

Quoting (in context) from these preliminary papers with
due acknowledgement is of course allowed, but for
permission to reprint any material, or for further infor-
mation about the Inquiry, please write to:

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