

PROJECT FOR STATISTICS ON LIVING
STANDARDS AND DEVELOPMENT

EASTERN CAPE/BORDER/CISKEI
REGIONAL PROFILE

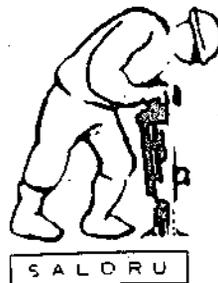
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During 1992 the World Bank approached the Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU), School of Economics, University of Cape Town, to coordinate a study in South Africa called the Project on Statistics for Living Standards and Development. This study was carried out during 1993, and consisted of two phases. The first of these was a situation analysis, consisting of a number of regional poverty profiles and cross-cutting studies on a national level. The second phase was a country wide household survey conducted in the latter half of 1993. The Project has been built on the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty, which assessed the situation up to the mid 1980's.

Whilst preparation of these papers for the situation analysis, using common guidelines, involved much discussion and criticism amongst all those involved in the Project, the final paper remains the responsibility of its authors.

In the series of working papers on regional poverty and cross-cutting themes there are 13 papers:

Regional Poverty Profiles:

**Ciskei
Durban
Eastern and Northern Transvaal
Natal/Kwazulu
OFS and Qwa-Qwa
Port Elizabeth - Uitenhage
PWV
Transkei
Western Cape**

Cross-Cutting Studies:

**Energy
Nutrition
Urbanisation & Housing
Water Supply**

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INTRODUCTION

This study is concerned with 39 magisterial districts in the EasternCape/Border region. These are, as per the terms of reference of the study, Adelaide, Albany, Albert, Alexandria, Afiwal North, Bathurst, Barkley East, Bedford, Cathcart, Cradock, East London, Elliot, Fort Beaufort, Hewu, Hofmeyr, Indwe, Jansenville, Keiskammahoek, King Williams Town, Kirkwood, Komga, Lady Grey, Maclear, Mdantsane, Middledrift, Molteno, Mpofu (Seymour), Pearston, Peddie, Queenstown, Somerset East, Sterkstroom, Steynsberg, Sutterheim, Tarkastad, Venterstad, Victoria East, Wodehouse and Zwelitsha as indicated in **Map 1**¹.

Most magisterial districts above fall into the Cape portion of the Republic of South Africa. The others - Hewu, Keiskammahoek, Mdanstane, Middledrift, Mpofu/Seymour, Peddie, Victoria East and Zwelitsha -comprise Ciskei as indicated in **Map 2**.

This particular region is problematic for two main reasons. Firstly, there are marked disparities between the magisterial districts themselves (as discussed in Section 2 of this paper) with "white" farming areas forming a "region" with poverty stricken Ciskei. The treatment of the above magisterial districts as a region has to be considered in terms of the criteria issued to the Technical Commission on Delimitation of Boundaries for the current negotiation process. These criteria are:²

- (a) Historical boundaries, including provincial, magisterial and district boundaries and infrastructures
- (b) Administrative considerations including the availability or non-availability of infrastructures and nodal points for services
- (c) The need or otherwise to rationalise existing structures (including the TBVC states, self-governing territories and regional governments)
- (d) The necessity of limiting financial and other costs as is reasonably possible
- (e) The need to minimise inconvenience to the people
- (f) The need to minimise the dislocation of services
- (g) Demographic considerations
- (h) Economic viability
- (i) Development potential
- (j) Cultural and language realities

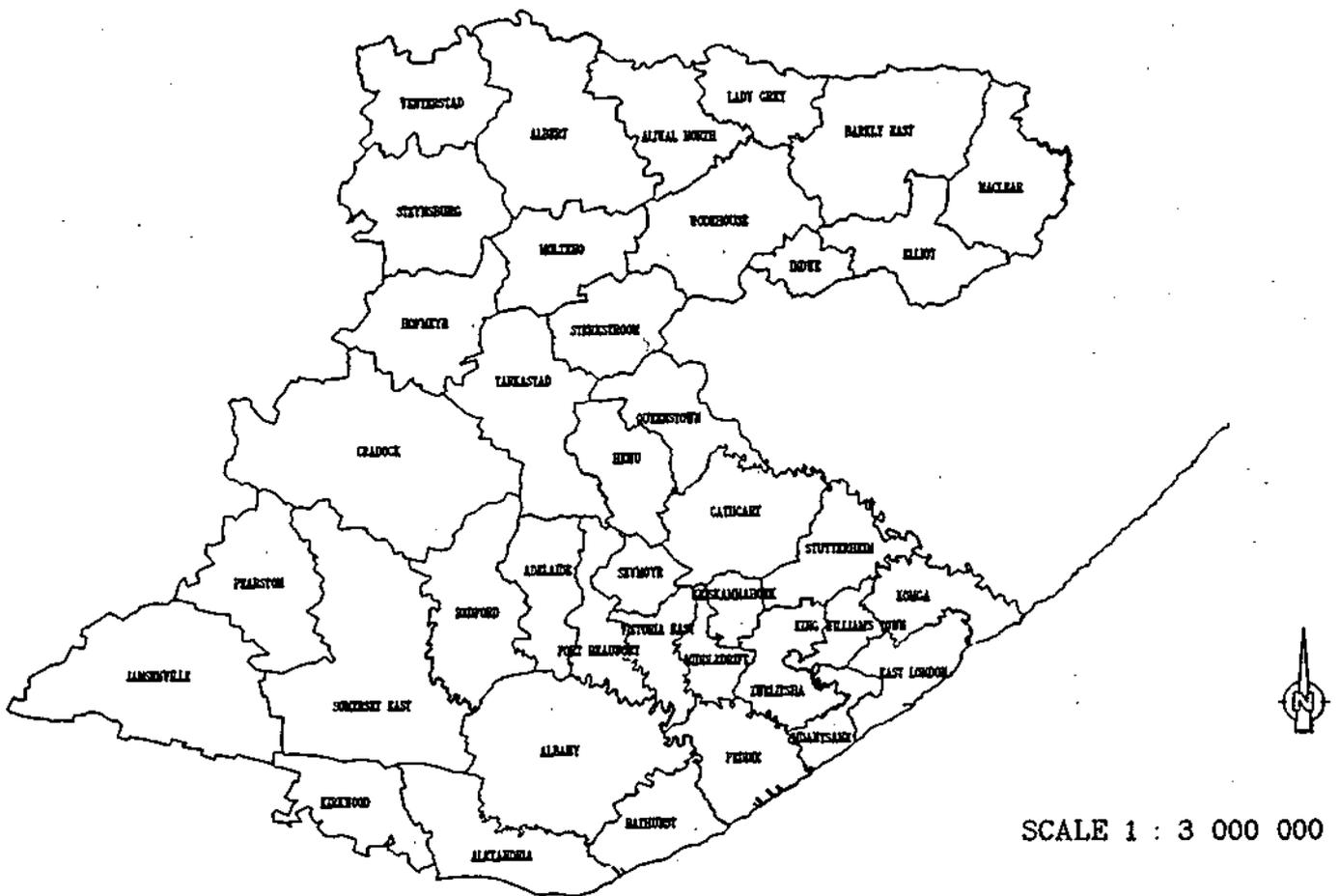
Proposals for new regional boundaries have been at the negotiating table and development strategies will, no doubt, be formulated on regional lines. The possibility of this region, which is to be considered in this paper, being part of a much larger region is a distinct possibility. Thus, the long term benefits of collating figures for this region as a whole becomes questionable. The process of collecting statistics for this region has emphasised the need for a distinct development strategy for particular sub-districts in the region as whole.

The second problem in relation to this particular region is that it does not correspond to accessible data banks which hold figures on poverty indicators. Very few data banks sort information on the basis of magisterial districts, and those that do present figures mostly in terms of sub-regions. South African government statistics exclude magisterial districts in the Ciskei. Ciskei Government Statistics obviously relate only to the Ciskei. The Development Bank of South Africa (DBSA), whose statistics are the most accessible, sub-divides the regions on yet other criteria. The magisterial districts in this study span all 5 of the sub-regions in their Region D³. (See **Map 3**.) The Border Kei Development Forum collects and collates data on still different criteria.

The general indecisiveness around boundaries has important implications for future development strategies. Accessibility to research data which is collated on definite criteria and data banks which are standardised are of paramount importance.

Given the above this paper is divided into three main sections. The first section sets out indicators for the region as a whole, drawing on sources which have presented figures in terms of magisterial districts. The second section of the paper draws comparison between the Ciskei as a whole and the "other" magisterial districts in the region - in an attempt to illustrate the marked disparities and argue for a focus on Ciskei specifically as the most concentrated area of poverty in the region. The third and final section of the paper focuses specifically on the Ciskei within the parameters as set out in the terms of reference of the study.

MAP 1 : REGION UNDER STUDY AS PER MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS



MAP 2: THE CISKEI AS PER MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS



SECTION 1: INDICATORS FOR THE REGION AS A WHOLE

In April 1991 J Erasmus of the Development Bank of South Africa compiled a detailed report on Region D. The data collected for this report is the most up-date compilation of statistics on the region and is published under the title Economic and Social Memorandum: Region D 1990. This comprehensive document presents both statistics and analysis of the data. All magisterial districts in this study fall within the DBSA Region D which is identified as "...the region most in need of development".⁴

This regional profile draws heavily on the information contained in the above mentioned document. Rather than re-inventing the wheel the focus of this section is to utilise the data presented in the document to give a general overview of the region as determined by the terms of reference of the project.

Table 1 below indicates overall figures for the salient features for the region as a whole.

TABLE 1: SALIENT FEATURES OF THE BORDER/EASTERN CAPE REGION⁵

Area Km ²	85 631 km ²
Population	1 710 374
Mean population density	37.53 km ²
Population growth 1985 - 89	0.56 pa
Children under the age of 14 years	44.54%
Adults between 15 and 65 years	49.84%
Adult males	47.09%
Adult females	52.62%
Urban population	50.27%
Participation rate	56.84%
Economically active	28.47%
GDP in R' 000	5 853 118
GDP per capita in R' 000	2.77

percentages of Total Population

** percentage of the total number of adults 15 - 65 years

This region has a population of 1 710 374⁶, which constitutes 4,6% of the total population of South Africa (which in 1989 was set at 37 080 000⁷). The region has a mean population density of 37,53 persons per square kilometer⁸, which is slightly higher than the national average which is set at 30,4. Population densities vary greatly with the minimum population density cited for the magisterial district of Pearston (1,8 persons per square kilometre) and with Mdanstane in the Ciskei having a population density of 471,4 persons per square kilometre.

Although this region has shown a relatively low average population growth rate (0,56 per annum for 1985-1989, while the national average for the years 1970-1989 is cited as 2,85) the large proportion of children (44,54% of the total population or 761 800) indicates that the population of the region will increase rapidly within the next half century as the children reach child-bearing age. The magisterial district of Albany has the lowest proportion of children (36,8% of the total population) while Maclear is recorded as having 54,2% of its population under the age of 14 years.

Adult females constitute 52,62% of the total adult population, with Hewu in the Ciskei recorded as having an adult female population of 63,8% of the total population and Kirkwood 45,7%. In real terms this figure of 52,62% is substantially higher than the national average of 49,8%. The high female:male ratio has implications for population growth and participation rates in the region.

The urban population for the region is calculated at 50,27% of the total population. King Williamstown has the highest urban population (84,1%) while Keiskammahoek in the Ciskei has only 2% of its population living in an urban area. Obviously, the definition of urban area as an "...area with some form of local authority"⁹ allows for areas such as East London to be compared to much more rural areas such as Keiskammahoek.

Participation rate for the region is set at 56,84%. Participation rate is defined as "...the percentage of people actually available to the labour market, i.e. the economically active population as a percentage of the potential economically active population"¹⁰. This is marginally lower than the national average which is set at 59%. Participation rates for magisterial districts vary from 20,2% in Molento to 69,1% cited for Cathcart and Steynsburg.

The economically active population, defined as "...all workers in an area, whether employers, employees, self-employed or unemployed, as well as trans-frontier commuters and resting migrant workers present in their area of origin at the time of the census"¹¹, is calculated for this region at 28,47% as a percentage of the total population. East London is recorded as having highest percentage (40,8%) of the total population in the economically active category, while Middledrift in the Ciskei is recorded as having 9% of its total population in this category.

The Gross Geographical Product (GGP) for the region is calculated at a total of R 5 853 118 for the whole region, with a mean per magisterial district of R150 079. GGP is defined as "...a measure of the value of final output produced by a regional economy over a period of one year"¹². Hofmeyr is cited as having the lowest GGP (R6,487 million) and East London the highest at R2 344 million.

The mean GGP per capita is calculated at R2 779, with East London's GGP per capita set at R11 200 and Seymour (Mpofu) in the Ciskei having a GGP per capital of R700. The mean GGP per capita is substantially lower (R3 302 lower) than the national average which is set at R5 581.

This region, as argued by the DBSA, can be considered to be one of the regions in South Africa most in need of development. The structure of the population in terms of children and male:female ratios will have important implications for both population growth rates and unemployment. Over and above this, in terms of services the region has a below-average ratio of doctors and nurses to population. The literacy rate is 5% lower than the national average. The participation rate is more than 10% below the national average. The region has the highest level of unemployment and one which is increasing, compounded by a high dependency ratio (3,1 as compared to a national average of 2). The current status of the local economy is one which is unable to absorb youth. In short, the prospects for this region are poor. One of the few positive points for this region, noted by the DBSA, is that it has a comparative advantage over other regions in terms of agriculture.

The DBSA's conclusion to its analysis of Region D is worth quoting verbatim as it succinctly locates the predicament of this region.

Region D is a typical example of a dualistic economy in that it consists of both a first world core and a third world periphery. This creates enormous potential for conflict between the 'haves' and 'have nots', or even the 'have nevers' - those who will never get the opportunity to work in the formal economy, should present trends continue. This problem is exacerbated by the demonstration effect of the core, which causes high and rising aspirations and expectation among people in the peripheral economy.

Three main obstacles prevent those expectations from being fulfilled (and will do so increasingly in time to come). The first is the high potential for future population growth, as reflected by the large proportion of children under the age of 15. Considerable numbers of 15-year-olds enter the labour market annually, only to find no employment. This is indicative of the second factor, which is the inability of the economy of the region to provide adequate employment. Region D had an unemployment rate of 25% in 1989, the highest of all regions in South Africa. With high unemployment, high dependency ratios large-scale semi-permanent migration and a sizable peripheral sector, Region D's labour market is in a desperate situation, even worse than the rest of the South African labour market. The third factor is that, apart from its inability to create jobs, the economy of region D is also growing rather slowly, especially after the relocation of firms to the PWV area.

In conclusion, the formal economy in Region D is unlikely ever to be able to accommodate all job seekers. In addition, migration is not a permanent solution as no single regional economy can provide adequate employment for migrants. Thus it is imperative that development of the peripheral economy be facilitated through the removal of restrictive laws and local authorities' practices. Access to the opportunity to create one's own employment seems to be the only obvious, but at best partial, solution to these problems.¹³

The above quote is illustrated more clearly in the comparison of the Ciskei magisterial districts to that of the other magisterial districts in the region under investigation in this study.

SECTION 2: CISKEI COMPARED TO OTHER MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS

The apartheid policy, along with creation of the "homeland" states, has markedly skewed the development of South Africa as a whole. The uneven development of the "homeland states" in relation to the surrounding areas in the rest of South Africa is clearly demonstrated if one compares salient features or indicators. This section attempts this comparison and points to the uneven development of a particular sub-region - the Ciskei.

Table 2 below gives comparative figures¹⁴ for salient features of the Ciskei and other magisterial districts (those located in the "Republic") as per the terms of reference of the study.

TABLE 2: COMPARATIVE SALIENT FEATURES

	CISKEI	OTHER
Area Km ²	8 100	77 531
Population	803 578	906 796
Mean population density/km ²	122.95	15.49
Population growth 1985 - 89	0.92 p a	0.47 p a
Children under 14 years	45.87% *	44.40% *
Adults 15 to 65 years	47.97% *	50.33% *
Adult males	40.50% **	48.79% **
Adult females	58.13% **	51.20% **
Urban population	22.81%	57.36%
Urban population growth	1.9 p a	2.33 p a
Participation rate	33.92%	62.75%
Economically active	16.47%	31.56%
Dependency ratio	5.78	2.2
Unemployment rate	39.54	21.94
Male absentee rate	- 33.08	- 4.24
Illiteracy	29.54% **	31.68% **
Cultivated land (% of total)	8.1%	3.96%
Natural pasture (% of total)	82.4%	89.46%
Forests (& conservation areas)	7.7%	5.18%
Non-agricultural land	1.8%	1.36%
GDP in R' 000	R 1 291 890	R 4 561 228
GDP per capita	R 1.11	R 3.13

* percentages of Total Population

** percentage of the total number of adults 15 - 65 years

The Ciskei has an area in kilometres squared which is almost 10 times smaller than the area in the rest of the region. At the same time the Ciskei accommodates just under half of the population for the region as a whole (80 3578 people on 8 100 square kilometres as opposed to 906 796 people distributed over 77 531 square kilometres). The mean population density of the Ciskei is almost eight times greater than the rest of the region (122.95 persons per square kilometre in the Ciskei as opposed to 15.49 in the rest of the region).

The population growth in the Ciskei between 1985 and 1989 is almost twice that of rest of the region, although both are comparatively low as opposed to the national figure of 2.85 in 1989¹⁵, (0.92 per annum for the Ciskei and 0.47 per annum for the rest of the region).

In relation to the structure of the population there is very little difference between the respective areas in terms of the percentage of the populations under the age of 14 years (Ciskei 45.8% and the rest of the region 44.40%). The percentage of population constituted by adults in the 15 to 65 years category is also relatively similar for both the Ciskei and the rest of the region (Ciskei 47.97% and the rest of the region 50.33%). There is, however, a marked disparity in terms of the male:female ratio, with the calculated percentage of females (as a percentage of the total adult population) being 58.13% and 51.20% for the Ciskei and the rest of the region respectively. This becomes especially important when one considers the number of female-headed households in the Ciskei (see Section 3 below) where women are the sole breadwinners and the nature of "white farming areas" with the existence of the "farmer's wife". Comparative figures for the number of female headed households in the areas outside of Ciskei were unobtainable.

The urban population of the Ciskei is less than half of that of the rest of the region (22.81% and 57.36% respectively). Mdanstane, the Ciskei township "servicing" East London, with a urban population of 76,3%, distorts the overall mean of a region with a predominantly rural population. The definition of "urban" is also problematic when one compares, on like criteria, areas such as Mdanstane and Middledrift for example.

The urban population growth for the rest of the region is just under double that of the Ciskei (2.33 and 1.9 per annum respectively). Both areas show a low urban population growth and this would be indicative of the inability of the urban areas to absorb an influx of people seeking employment.

The participation rates (defined as "...the percentage of the people actually available to the labour market, i.e. the economically active population as a percentage of the potential economically active population¹⁶) in the Ciskei are almost half that of the rest of the region (33.92% and 62.75% respectively), as is the percentage of the population who are economically active (16.47% for the Ciskei and 31.56% for the rest of the region).

The dependancy ratio (defined as "...the number of people supported by a single economically active person, excluding him- or herself⁷) in the Ciskei is almost three times higher than that of the rest of the region (5.78 and 2.2 respectively). The dependancy ratio for the Ciskei is almost three times higher than the national average which is set at two.

Ciskei has an unemployment rate of 39.54% and the rest of the region has an unemployment rate which is substantially lower - 21.94%. Both areas have unemployment rates which are substantially higher than the national average which is calculated at 14,8%, with the Ciskei's rate being almost three times higher. The definition of unemployment, as a percentage of the supply of labour, reduces the level of real unemployment significantly by those categories of people who are excluded from the definition. Forty-five per cent of women are, for example, not classified as part of the supply of labour category, on the assumption that they do not choose to work. The high percentage of female-headed households in the Ciskei raises serious questions in terms of the definition of unemployment and the unsubstantiated assumptions utilised.

The male absentee rate (i.e. the difference in the ratio of males to females in the 15 - 64 year age group¹⁸) indicates a marked disparity between the two areas, with Ciskei's rate calculated at minus 33.08 and the rest of the region at minus 4.24. These figures are indicative of the large proportion of female-headed households in the Ciskei and the inability of the area to absorb labour resulting in a high number of migrant work seekers.

According to the figures from the DBSA calculated on magisterial districts, the Ciskei has a lower illiteracy rate than the rest of the region (29.54% of the total population of the Ciskei with no degree of formal education at all, 31.68% for the rest of the region). This may be a result of the large number of farming areas in the rest of the region. Also, one must acknowledge the difficulty in establishing literacy rates. Over and above this, education has historically been one of the main areas of activity in the Ciskei with the existence of institutions such as Lovedale College and the University of Fort Hare.

There is little difference between the two areas in terms of land usage, as Table 2 above indicates. The Ciskei has 8,1% of its total land area under cultivation, while the Cape portion has 1.36%. Ciskei has 82.4% of its land surface which can be classified as natural pasture, while the Cape portion has 89.46%. The Ciskei boasts 7.7% of its land area under forest

and/or conservation areas, while the Cape portion has 5.18%. The percentage of land under non-agricultural pasture is similar for both areas: Ciskei 1.8% and the Cape portion 1.36%. What is significant here though is the actual size of the land and the number of people which these land areas have to support. Each square kilometre in the Ciskei "supports" 122.95 people while the Cape portion is much less crowded with 15.49 persons on each square kilometre. Over and above this, the type of farming activity undertaken in each area needs to be considered. While the Ciskei agricultural land usage is predominantly subsistence, the rest of the region's farming lands are devoted to large scale farming.

The GGP for the Ciskei is three-and-a-half times lower than that of the rest of the region (R1 291 890 and R4 561 228 respectively), which is reflected in the GGP per capita (R1 110 for the Ciskei and R3 130 for the Cape portion).

In summary, a comparison between the Ciskei and the Cape portion of this region shows marked disparities and points to the need for development plans and strategies to take these disparities into account. Section 3 is an in-depth focus on the Ciskei as the area within this region most in need of development.

SECTION 3: A FOCUS ON CISKEI

3.1 Income, Expenditure and Employment

Household composition

An HSRC report¹⁹ sets the total number of household for the Ciskei, as calculated from 1991 census, at 117 028.

Table 3 below indicates household composition which is indicative mainly of the patterns of migrancy. The table has been compiled from a report by Fabricius and McWilliams²⁰, on a survey of 5 magisterial districts in the Ciskei.

TABLE 3: HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION - SALIENT FEATURES

Children in household	47.9%
Grandchildren in household	23.7%
Husband mostly at home	43.8%
Husband at home less than once pm	14.8%
No husband at all	38.9%
Women residing at home permanently	95.1%
Women absent for long periods	1.1%
Female head, no husband	39.1%
Single parent households	55.3%
Average size of household	7.79
Household members away for long periods	15.1%

The researchers found that 47.9% of the average household were children, while a further 23.7% of the household were grandchildren. These figures include all children irrespective of whether they are dependants or not. These figures are indicative of the high ratio of children to adults in the region.

Less than half (43.8%) of households have a husband who "mostly" sleeps at home, while 38.9% have no husband at all. 14.8% of the households have a husband who returns home less than once a month. These figures highlight the high levels of migrancy and inability of the local economy to absorb job-seekers.

Fabricius and McWilliams point out that almost all (95.1%) of women reside permanently in their homes, with only 1.1% absent for long periods and 0.7% absent for longer periods. These figures may be indicative of the inability of women job-seekers to enter the labour market, either locally or as migrants.

Fabricius and McWilliams' analysis of heads of households illustrate the large number of migrant workers in the region, as well as the predominance of female-headed households, as set out in Table 4 below.

TABLE 4: HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD ANALYSIS²¹

Male head, wife mostly sleeps at home	39.1%
Female head, no husband	39.0%
Female head, husband absent for long periods	14.8%
Female head, husband sleeps mostly at home	3.1%
Male head, no wife	3.0%
Male head, wife absent for longer periods	0.9%

Table 4 indicates that by far the majority (56.9% i.e. 39 - 14.8 - 3.1) of all households are in fact headed by females. This definition included those households where the male is away for long periods of time and the responsibility of heading the household falls on the woman.

Fabricius and McWilliams argue that 55.3% of households in this area were single-parent households, with the highest percentage of single-parent households in the district of Keiskammahoek (62.2%). Very few households were found to be childless (1.3%). This figure of 55.3% excludes childless households.

The average number of people per household was 7.79.²² This figure should be considered in relation to the average dependency ratio, cited above as 5.78. A logical assumption here would be that, on average, at least two other people in the household have some regular source of income.

The same survey found that 15.1% of the members of households were away from home for long periods indicating, mostly, the absence of migrant workers. Four-and-a-half per cent of the members of the households slept away from the home for weekdays. This figure may be accounted for by the geographical location of the Ciskei which borders within commuting distance but with a poor transport infrastructure the surrounding business or industrial areas.

Income

Fabricius and McWilliams analyse income and expenditure patterns by calculating the income distribution of households, average household monthly incomes, average income per income type, distribution of salaries and wages per income categories, and average household expenditure per expenditure type.²³ This same survey found the average personal per capita income to be in the region of R96.00 per month (at 1990 values).

Table 5 below indicates total household income and shows that by far the majority of households (64.3%) have a total household income of less than R501 per month

TABLE 5: TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOMES PER MONTH

Nil	0.5%
1 - 50	0.4%
51 -100	3.8%
101 - 200	16.6%
201 - 300	16.9%
301 - 400	14.7%
401 - 500	11.2%
501 - 1000	22.2%
More than 1000	13.5%

The average income per month for various household income earners was calculated at R638.20. Women generally earn much lower salaries than males. The average total income per month per household is the lowest in the Seymour/Mpofudistrict and is cited as R270.47 pm.

Table 6 below shows in order of importance the sources of income and the monthly averages. Salaries and wages account for the most important source, in both rural and urban area. In the rural areas remittances account for second largest source of income, while in the urban areas pensions are the second largest source of income.

TABLE 6: SOURCES OF INCOME

Salaries and wages	R 313.86
Remittances (cash and value)	R 144.39
Pensions	R 85.51
Own business activity	R 41.25
Bonuses/tips	R 22.47
Things made and sold	R 12.59
Grants and welfare allowances	R 6.94
Other income	R 4.90
Child support	R 3.09
Overtime payment	R 2.50
Sub-let of house	R 0.54

The HSRC report shows a slightly different pattern in relation to sources of income. Their reported findings were that the largest contribution, as above, to annual household income was from salaries and wages (62% according to the HSRC report and 49.19% above), with pensions (HSRC: 15%; above: 22.63%) accounting for the second largest. Remittances from migrants constituted the third largest (HSRC: 8%; above: 13.40%), while profits from self-employment contributed 7% (HSRC: 7%; above: 6.46%). Together these items account for 92% of the total annual income (HSRC: 92%; above: 91.68%).

Employment patterns

Fabricius and McWilliams analyse the employment status of the region and show that by far the majority are in fact scholars.²⁴ Table 7 below indicates, in order of the most common, how people in this region are "employed".

TABLE 7: EMPLOYMENT STATUS

Scholar	41.5 %
Full-time employment	12.6 %
Unemployed	10.8 %
Pension/retired	8.1 %
Housewife	6.2 %
Not working	1.9 %
Medically unfit	1.4 %
Informally employed	1.1 %
Part-time employment	1.0 %
Non-scholar	0.7 %
Student	0.7 %
Pre-school	14.0 %

The second most significant feature of the figures presented in the table above is the low percentage of people in full-time employment (12.6%). Table 8 below indicates the occupational categories of those who are in employment. By far the majority are employed as labourers, with only a minute percentage employed in the managerial category.

TABLE 8: OCCUPATION BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY

Labourers	42.6 %
Service	19.7 %
Professional	12.0 %
Clerical	8.0 %
Sales	6.7 %
Transport	3.8 %
Artisans	2.3 %
Operators	2.2 %
Supervisors	2.0 %
Managerial	0.5 %

In terms of fields of employment Fabricius and McWilliams showed that the government was by far the largest employer, followed by manufacturing, with the financial sector absorbing the lowest percentage of people (See Table 9 below). These figures indicate, to a certain extent, the level of industrial development in the region. The service sector absorbs the largest portion of formally employed people. Although manufacturing constituted the second largest area of employment, overall this 20.5% is a relatively small portion of the total.

TABLE 9: FIELDS OF EMPLOYMENT

Government service	41.5 %
Manufacturing	20.5 %
Agriculture	9.6 %
Commerce	8.2 %
Private sector	7.5 %
Informal sector	6.2 %
Construction	3.0 %
Transportation	2.2 %
Mining	0.8 %
Financial sector	0.3 %

Fabricius and McWilliams identify the most important towns of employment. By far the majority of people, in terms of percentages, who are employed are employed in their local towns. As table 10 below indicates, in terms of "local" migrancy or weekly commuting, Dimbaza and Alice absorb the largest portion of workers. Both these towns are based in the Ciskei and account for 27.2% of all the areas of employment. Dimbaza is the main industrial area in the Ciskei and was developed as part of the decentralisation policy of the South African state. Alice is predominantly a service centre with educational institutions being the main employers in the town.

The Ciskei itself provides 79.1% of all employment, with the surrounding areas accounting for only 16.5% of the employment given. The table indicates that Mdantsane provides little employment (although employment figures for this area may be included in the "local town" category).

A noticeable feature of the figures presented below is the very small percentage of people who are employed in the main industrial areas (PWW, Free State Goldfields and Durban Pinetown). These areas provide just over one per cent of the total employment for people residing in this area.

TABLE 10: AREA OF EMPLOYMENT

Local town	31.2 % *
Dimbaza	14.7 % *
Alice	12.5 % *
Rest Eastern Cape	6.3 % *
Bisho	6.2 % *
East London	3.9 % **
Middledrift	3.8 % *
Peddie	3.5 % *
Port Elizabeth	3.5 % **
Keiskammahoek	3.1 % *
King William's Town	2.8 % **
Seymour	2.2 % *
Zwelitsha	2.0 % *
Mdantsane	1.9 % *
PWW area	0.8 %
Cape Town	0.6 %
Free State Goldfields	0.2 %
Transkei	0.2 %
Durban/Pinetown	0.1 %
Other	0.1 %

* Town located in Ciskei

** Town located in surrounding areas

Migrants

In the HSRC report's analysis of migrant employment, the following patterns were reported. Table 11 below indicates the economic sectors of activity of migrants, with most employed outside the Ciskei (78.6% as opposed to 21.4%) and the mining industry absorbing the largest proportion of migrants. Table 12 below indicates the occupation category of the migrants, with the "unskilled labour" category accounting for the largest proportion.

TABLE 11: ECONOMIC SECTOR OF MIGRANT ACTIVITY

	Ciskei	Other	Total
Agriculture, fishing and forestry	1.7%	1.07%	2.79%
Mining and quarrying	0.00	14.39%	14.39%
Manufacturing	4.03%	10.12%	14.14%
Electricity, gas and water	0.00	1.11%	1.11%
Construction	2.19%	6.08%	8.27%
Wholesale/retail, catering and accomodation	1.15%	6.54%	7.60%
Transport, storage and communication	1.70%	8.86%	10.56%
Finance, insurance, fixed property and business services	1.62%	2.81%	4.43%
Community/government/service	0.57%	9.67%	10.24%
Total	21.40%	9.67%	100.00%

TABLE 12: OCCUPATION OF MIGRANTS

	Ciskei	Other	Total
Professional	1.67%	0.00	1.67%
Proprietor/manager	1.15%	1.68%	2.83%
Administrative/clerical	1.08%	0.54%	1.63%
Skilled labour	2.79%	14.45%	17.25%
Semi-skilled labour	5.63%	18.10%	23.73%
Unskilled labour	6.89%	35.16%	42.05%
Unknown	2.19%	8.67%	10.86%
Total	21.40%	78.60%	100.00%

Household expenditure patterns

Table 13 below, according to Fabricius and McWilliams, shows the average household expenditure per expenditure category in order of the category which consumes the greatest income. Total average expenditure amounts to R371.93 per month. The category which consumes the largest proportion of income is food, with liquor and tobacco consuming the lowest proportion.

TABLE 13: AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURE PER CATEGORY

Food Only	R 153.74	41.37 %
Furniture	R 43.08	8.62 %
Clothing	R 29.36	7.90 %
Insurance and saving	R 28.15	6.53 %
Fuel and lighting	R 24.27	6.53 %
Transport	R 21.33	7.73 %
Education	R 19.29	4.41 %
Cleansing material	R 16.40	4.41 %
Medicine	R 15.33	4.12 %
Housing/rental/rates	R 7.54	2.02 %
Entertainment	R 7.06	1.89 %
Liquor/tobacco	R 6.07	1.63 %

The HSRC figures are comparable (calculated per annum) with the four highest expenditure items being food (31%), transport (10%), furniture (9%) and clothing (8%).

The same HSRC survey calculated the annual value of products produced and consumed by Ciskeian households at R30 030 per annum, broken down as set out in Table 14 below.

TABLE 14: ANNUAL VALUE OF CROPS/ANIMAL PRODUCTS PRODUCED AND CONSUMED PER ANNUM.

Meat, offal	21318	70.98 %
Eggs	2884	9.64 %
Vegetables	2300	7.65 %
Milk, maas	1420	4.72 %
Grain, bean, nuts	885	2.90
Vegetables	2300	7.65
Milk, maas	1420	4.72
Grain, bean, nuts	885	2.90
Other crops	666	2.21
Cream, butter, cheese	371	1.23
Fruit	175	0.58
Total	R 30 030	100.00

3.2 Non-income Indicators of Poverty

Education

Fabricius and McWilliams analyse the education status of region on the basis of the highest standard of education obtained by the head of the household and the levels of education for members of the the population who are 18 years and older.²⁵ The most significant results are that more than 20% (20.3%) of all people in the region have had no formal education at all. Only 1.6% of the population has had any tertiary education.

Table 15 below shows the levels of education obtained by the heads of the household. Of significance is that more than half (54.7%) have not completed primary school. The accumulative percentages in Table 15 below indicates the overall number of heads of household with particular standards of education.

TABLE 15: EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

STD	% of Total population	Accumulative %
None	21.0	21.0
Pre-school	0.0	21.0
Sub A	1.7	22.7
Sub B	2.7	25.4
Std 1	6.3	31.7
Std 2	6.4	38.1
Std 3	6.1	44.2
Std 4	10.5	54.7
Std 5	11.9	66.6
Std 6	16.8	83.4
Std 7	3.0	86.4
Std 8	4.0	90.4
Std 9	1.2	91.6
Std 10	4.4	96.0
Tech diplomas	0.2	96.2
Ed diplomas	2.6	98.8
Degree	0.9	99.7
Nursing dip	0.3	100.00

Table 16 below indicates the highest level of education of all people over 18 years of age. Just under half the population of 18 years and older have not completed primary school. Less than 4% of people have any tertiary education at all.

TABLE 16: EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS OF POPULATION OVER 18

Std	% of Total Population	Accumulative %
None	11.4	11.4
Pre-school	0.0	11.4
Sub A	1.1	12.5
Sub B	1.5	14.0
Std 1	3.5	17.5
Std 2	5.2	22.7
Std 3	5.5	28.2
Std 4	8.5	36.7
Std 5	11.6	48.3
Std 6	13.9	62.2
Std 7	8.0	70.2
Std 8	9.9	80.1
Std 9	6.5	86.6
Std 10	10.0	96.6
Tech diplomas	0.2	96.8
Ed diplomas	2.1	98.9
Degree	0.6	99.5
Nursings dip	0.5	100.00

Literacy

Figures calculated from the DBSA statistics set the illiteracy rate at 38.61% which is comparable, to a certain extent, with the Fabricius and McWilliams survey which calculates literacy at 73.3% (if calculated using figures for people with a educational qualification of above Standard 4) and at 63.6% if Standard 3 is the cut off point. The reliability of stating literacy figures or levels on the basis of standards of education passed is questionable. No statistics could be found which differentiate functional literacy, semi-literacy, illiteracy etc.

Health indicators

Table 17 below lists health indicators as calculated by Fabricius and MacWilliams.

TABLE 17: HEALTH INDICATORS

Average fertility rates	4.32
Teenage births	11.9 %
Infant mortality rate	46.3/ 1000
Life expectance	59.2 years

The average fertility rate, cited as 4.32, applies to the average number of children that would be born alive to a woman during her child-bearing years (15-49), given static fertility rates.

The teenage birth rate, cited at 11.9%, indicates the percentage of all live children born to women under the age of 20 years, that is 11.9% of all children born in the Ciskei are born to women under the age of 20 years.

The Infant Mortality Rate, cited at 46.3 per 1000, indicates the number of children per 1000 live births who do not reach the age of 1 year old. This figure of 46.3 would be classified as a relatively high infant mortality rate (with low IMR rates being set in the region of 5 - 7/1000 live births).

3.3 Availability of/access to Essential Goods and Services

Education

Fabricius and McWilliams found that 8.6% of all children in the 6 to 18 years age category were not attending school.

According to the Ciskei Department of Statistics²⁶ in 1991 there were 72 873 pupils enrolled in school (both junior and senior). The student-staff ratio was 1:30, that is 2 452 teachers to 72 873 students. The student-classroom ratio was 1:43, that is 72 873 students to 1 694 classrooms. The shortage of classrooms for 1991 was set at 607.

Table 18 below gives enrolment figures for both junior and secondary schools for 1991. Interestingly, according to these figures, female students constitute 51.03% of enrolments at junior school level and 59.81% at secondary school level.

TABLE 18: ENROLMENT FIGURES 1991

Junior males	25 262
Junior females	26 330
Senior males	8 551
Senior females	12 730
Total	72 873

The Ciskei Department of Statistics, in a projected forecast for the year 2000, estimate that a total of 228 697 students will be in school and will require 5717 classrooms at a classroom-student ratio of 1:40. Assuming the validity of this forecast and questioning a classroom student ratio 1:40, 4023 classroom will have to be built over the next 7 years.

The Ciskei Department of Statistics reports 79 pre-schools in the region catering for 153 701 children in the age group 0 -4 years. Cheriyan²⁷ reports that only 21 government pre-schools existed for the whole of Ciskei in 1991.

Housing, water, energy, sanitation and modes of transport

Table 19 below has been compiled from the Fabricius and MacWilliams²⁸ study and indicates the salient features of the availability of or access to essential goods and services.

There are obvious difference between urban, semi-urban and rural areas and the figures presented below are either averages of the total or the most common, that is, the highest percentage.

TABLE 19: ACCESS TO ESSENTIAL GOODS AND SERVICES

Most common material for dwelling - mud	53.6 %
Average number of habitable rooms	3.52
Most common source of water - river	29.6 %
Average distance to water source (metres)	908.02
Average time to water source (minutes)	26.41
Most common energy source (lighting) - paraffin	78.3 %
Most common energy source (cooking) - paraffin and wood	30.2 %
Most common type of toilet - pit latrine	73.2 %
Most common form of transport for a 3 km or more journey - taxi	67.1 %

More than half of the dwellings (53.6%) in the area are made of mud. Obviously, the number of brick dwellings in the urban areas skews the mean. In those areas, classified as rural, by far the majority of dwellings are made of mud.

The average number of habitable rooms, per household, is set at 3.52. This figure excludes kitchens and bathrooms, but includes living rooms, dining rooms and bedrooms. Once again, the dwellings in urban areas affects this mean and does not indicate the predominant characteristic of the rural dwellings - that of entire households living in one habitable room.

Rivers account for the main source of water (29.6% of people in the Fabricius and MacWilliams survey draw their water from rivers). In the urban areas water taps are common, with a small percentage of people having water inside the house. Wells, boreholes and reservoirs do exist in some areas but where water pipes are not available the main source of

supply is the river, which on average (mean) is 908.02 metres away from the dwellings. Fabricius and MacWilliams calculate that, on average, it takes the "average" person 26 minutes and 41 seconds to fetch a bucket of water.

As in most rural and underdeveloped areas electricity is scarce. Paraffin is the main source of energy for lighting (78.3% of all households reported using paraffin). The most common form of energy for cooking is in the form of wood and paraffin (30.1%). Coal is not readily available in the region and therefore is an expensive source of energy. Electricity is only available in urban areas.

Water-borne sewerage is non-existent except in some of the urban areas. By far the majority of households (73.2%) have access only to pit latrines.

Public transport, in terms of buses or trains, is not readily available and by far the majority of people rely on private taxis as their main form of transport.

The HSRC report²⁹ gives the following figures (Table 20 below) for facilities available to households and indicates the marked rural/urban differences. (Figures are percentages of the total population in the sample).

TABLE 20: FACILITIES AVAILABLE TO HOUSEHOLDS

	Urban	Rural	Average
Running water	85.9	15.6	50.75
Stove (electric/gas)	49.0	7.5	28.25
Fridge (electric/gas/paraffin)	40.7	9.3	25.00
Own transport - motor vehicle	11.7	3.7	7.7
Own transport - bicycle or scooter	1.9	3.7	2.8
Own transport - cart	0.0	1.6	0.8

Table 21 below indicates the materials from which dwellings are built in this region, with mud being the most common and mud and wood the least common. Dwellings in urban areas account for the high percentage of brick structures recorded. This has to be seen in relation to the low percentage of the population (22.81%) who reside in so-called urban areas.

TABLE 21: TYPE OF MATERIAL OF DWELLING

Mud	53.6 %
Brick	39.2 %
Wood	4.0 %
Shanty materials	1.7 %
Mud and wood	1.4 %

The Ciskei Department of Statistics estimated the 1991 housing backlog at 15 000 and forecasts that by the year 2000, 40 000 more houses will be required.

Table 22 below indicates sources of drinking water, again with obvious urban bias in terms of piped water. The most common source of water is from rivers, with average distance from the source of water calculated at 908.02 metres (maximum 1068.51 metres) and the average time in minutes to non-piped water calculated at 26.41.

TABLE 22: WATER SOURCE

River	29.6 %
Tap in street	28.6 %
Dam	13.2 %
Outside tap on site	8.1 %
Tap inside	7.8 %
Borehole	5.2 %
Rainwater tank	4.8 %
Other	2.2 %

Table 23 below indicates, in order of the most common, the main sources of energy for lighting. Paraffin is by far the most common source of energy for lighting (78,3%). Of significance here is that even in the urban areas, Eskom electricity accounts for only 40% of lighting energy, while in the rural areas the figure is as low as 0,2%.

TABLE 23: ENERGY SOURCES - LIGHTING

Paraffin	78.3 %
Paraffin and candles	10.4 %
Eskom	6.0 %
Candle	2.0 %
Power generator	1.5 %
Other	1.5 %

Table 24 below indicates, in order of the most common, the main sources of energy for cooking. A combination of paraffin and wood were found to be the most common. As above, of significance here is that even in the urban areas, Eskom electricity accounts for only 37.2% of cooking energy while in the rural areas the figure is as low as 0,4%.

TABLE 24: ENERGY SOURCES - COOKING

Paraffin and wood	30.2 %
Paraffin	29.7 %
Wood	27.8 %
Eskom	5.7 %
Cadac gas	2.8 %
Paraffin and Cadac gas	2.3 %
Other	1.1 %

Table 25 below indicates, in order of the most common, different forms of sanitation. Again there are major rural/urban differences with only 0,4% of households in the urban areas having no toilet system at all, while areas such as Seymour/Mpofu recording as many as 39,9% of households with no facilities at all.

TABLE 25: TOILET FACILITIES

Pit latrine	73.4 %
No facilities (veld)	11.6 %
Flush toilet - piped system	6.9 %
Bucket system	4.4 %
Septic tank system	4.0 %

Table 26 below indicates, in order of the most common, the types of transport used for travelling more than 3 kilometres. Taxis are, by far, the most common form of transport, but in some poorly serviced districts, such as Seymour/Mpofu, walking still accounts for up to 22.3% of journeys over 3 kilometers.

TABLE 26: MODES OF TRANSPORT

Taxi	67.1 %
Bus	16.0 %
Foot	8.2 %
Own car/bakkie	5.1 %
Taxi and bus	2.9 %
Animal/animal drawn vehicle	0.3 %
Employers car/bakkie	0.3 %
Train	0.1 %

Hospital services and facilities

A Ciskei government Department of Health and Welfare document³⁰ states that there are nine hospitals serving this region, of which two are private and one is a "two-day hospital". The total number of beds is 3 597, with Cecilia Makiwane in Mdanstane accounting for 31% of these beds. The average bed occupancy is calculated at 69% with the hospital in Peddie recorded as having a bed occupancy of 137%.

There are 109 clinics in the region with Seymour/Mpofu having one clinic serving a population of 9 145. Clinics in only six areas have beds, with Middledrift and Seymour/Mpofu having only day clinics.

3.4 Poverty Alleviation Programmes

There are a number of non-governmental organisations operating in the Ciskei, but information relating to the essential features of each programme proved difficult to obtain. The only accessible figures are those issued by the Ciskei Nutritional Development Programme (CNDP) under the Ciskei government. These records report the following³¹:

- between September 1992 and March 1993 the CNDP spent a reported amount of R8 200 00 on nutritional aid;
- an estimated R24 million is required for the next 12-month period (R10 million has been approved for the 1993/1994 period)
- a total of 51 253 people have applied for monthly nutritional aid and the estimated number of people who require nutritional aid, according to the report, exceeds 100 000.

CONCLUSION

The data presented above is obviously not all inclusive but when the statistics for this region are compared to other regions it is clear that the Ciskei, with the biggest population and the smallest land space in the region as a whole, is the area which is most in need of comprehensive development plans and strategies.

The subject matter of this paper - the collection and collation of data on the region - has resulted in the embryo of an accessible and comprehensive data bank (linked to a "GIS" computer system) for the Ciskei and surrounding areas to be established at the University of Fort Hare.

The intention is to use the above information as the basis for the addition of further data and the continual updating of existing data to serve not only academics but policy makers and those who are to implement development strategies.

This project has highlighted the fact that data is accessible and readily available for the magisterial districts which fall into the "Republic", but there is a dismal lack of coherent and reliable data for the "homelands". This will hinder the implementation of development strategies in both the short- and long-term. If this project has achieved anything, it is the identification of the absolute need for standardised, reliable and accessible data to allow people to make informed decisions and plans.

ENDNOTES

1. . This map and the two that follow have been generated from the GIS system in the Department of Surveying, University of Fort Hare.
2. . From the official Multi-Party negotiating Forum Document on the establishment and tasks of the Technical Commission of Constitutional Issues. Reference: Plancomm/Document Commiss.Res. 18 May 1993
3. . See Economic and Social Memorandum: Region D. Compiled by Erasmus J, DBSA, Halfway House, April 1991, for sub-regions in Region D.
4. . Erasmus. J, Economic and Social Memorandum: Region D 1990. DBSA, April 1991, p.1
5. . All figures in this section of the paper have been calculated by extracting DBSA figures, on a magisterial basis, and entered onto a database programme. The figures are presented here as either means or sums depending on the category
6. . Figure calculated as a sum of the data in Erasmus,J. (1991) op cit. All figures in this section draw on the same source and are calculated as either means or sums. Data for each magisterial district was extracted and entered onto a data base programme linked to the GIS system.
7. . Erasmus, J. (1991) Op cit, p.2
8. . All comparisons to national figures are drawn from the same source (Erasmus. J, (1991) op cit and have been referenced to the 1989 Census figures.
9. . Ibid, p.107
10. . Ibid, p.106
11. . Ibid, p.105

12. . Ibid, p.106

13. . Ibid, pp.103-104

14. . This section, once again, utilises DBSA figures. These figures are presented either as sums or means.

15. . Ibid., p.2.

16. . Ibid, p.106

17. . Ibid., p.105

18. . Ibid, p.106

19. . Income and Expenditure Patterns of Households in the Republic of Ciskei, Centre for Statistics - Human Science Research Council, June 1992.

20. . Fabricus, M. And J.McWilliams, (June 1991), Population Development Survey of Five Magisterial Districts in the Republic of Ciskei, Research Report No.42.

21. . Ibid, p.14

22. . Ibid, p.18

23. . Ibid., p.35ff

24. . Ibid, p.47ff

25. . Ibid., p.41ff

26. . Figures quoted here are drawn from the official statistics collated by the Ciskei Department of Statistics, unpublished document, 1991.

27. . Cheriyan, P. (1992) Project Proposal - Ciskei School and Social Work Project, Unpublished paper, Department of Health, Welfare and Population, Ciskei.

28. . Ibid., pp. 20ff

29. . HSRC (1992), op cit, p.8

30. . Figures quoted here are drawn from official statistics collated by the Ciskei Department of Statistics, unpublished document, 1991.

31. . Data here was extracted from a document, Ciskei Nutritional Development Programme: Emergency Interim Finance Plan, Ciskei, 1991.

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