

SECOND CARNEGIE INQUIRY INTO POVERTY
AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Levels of living in Ciskei:
A quantitative and qualitative
analysis
by
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demographically, socially, and economically, with the Republic and with the Eastern Cape, in particular. These linkages, economic ties above all, reflect a relationship of dependence of Ciskei upon institutions and forces in the Republic. Ciskeian planning, if not compatible with planning and policies in the Republic, has little chance of success.

At the time of Ciskeian independence, the South African government launched a regional development strategy (Good Hope, 1981) that aimed to base economic development on regional economies which had more chance of becoming viable than had earlier homeland economies. Ciskei is situated within one region - Region D - that includes the Eastern Cape and Southern Transkei. Though this regional plan which had been discussed with homeland governments intended to promote economic development in areas other than solely that of industrialisation (Working Paper no. 10), the thrust of the policy comprised incentives aimed at industrial decentralisation. Ciskei inherited an approach to development that was both urban-industrial at heart, and of a scope falling partially outside the Ciskei government's area of jurisdiction.

The two changes in emphasis the Ciskei government has introduced took place in early 1983, and in early 1984. The first was a significant shift to accepting rural issues as of the highest priority (Rural Development Programme, 1983); the second an acceptance of the process of privatisation as fundamental to development in the country as a whole (Swart, 1983). This second change reflects the earlier espousment by the South African government of the same principle.

To complete this thumb-nail sketch of Ciskei in the eighties, reference is needed to demographic, political and economic issues. Largely as a result of the in-migration, both forced and voluntary, of black people into Ciskei, the population has been increasing dramatically over the last decade (Quail, 1980, Working Paper no.10). Within the country, there has been an equally dramatic migration from the northern and western regions toward the Mdantsane/Zwelitsha conurbation.

This conurbation which is situated close to East London and King Williamstown has, since independence, been passing through a series of political upheavals during which the Ciskei government has acted particularly harshly (Haysom, 1983). In the rest of the country, sporadic school boycotts which coincide with those in South African cities have been evident. The University of Fort Hare has remained a centre of opposition to the government.

Constraints on development are most evident in the economy. Lacking in most exploitable natural resources, Ciskei exports its one major potentially valuable resource: labour. Shown in the simplest of forms, (Table 1), resident black Ciskeians contributed one third of Ciskei's GDP, the remainder coming, in large part, from exported labour.

Table 1

(Working Paper no. 10)

GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT	<u>Percentage</u>
Black resident Ciskeian workers	34%
White residents	2%
Black frontier commuters	40%
Black migrants	24%

In short, with little control over its resources, and little consequent choice over developmental alternatives, Ciskei on its own seems to have had, in the early eighties, little chance of develop.

- II. The concept, 'level of living' can be used as a tool to describe the living standards of different communities in Ciskei. A working definition can be obtained from the allied concept, 'quality of life'. Concisely stated, the level of living of a given community refers to the objective indicators of that community's quality of life. It refers therefore to those aspects of quality of life that are commonly measured on an institutional basis, excluding those that are commonly viewed as 'subjective' or 'attitudinal' aspects.

The identification of levels of living serves an essentially comparative purpose. In this section, comparisons will be drawn between three Ciskeian communities: those that are urban, those that are rural, and those that reside in closer settlements. These communities will be analytically and spatically defined, and will be quantified. Subsequently, the following well-known indicators will be used to establish the relative levels of living in these communities: unemployment rates, labour participation rates, per capita income, and demographic profiles. These indicators will be obtained from case studies carried out in each of the communities. Though they do not purport to be strictly generalisable to the communities as a whole, they will nonetheless trace the relative levels of living in these three categories of Ciskeian residents.

In Ciskei, urban communities live in town developed with Development Trust funds which provide housing and township infrastructure similar

in quality to South African black towns. Rural communities live in villages most often created as a result of betterment schemes introduced during the fifties and sixties. Households in these rural villages either have rights to arable land and grazing, or may enter into sharecropping and other cooperative arrangements with land and stock owners. Most households may thus supplement their income through cultivation and stock farming. Communities living in closer settlements are of recent origin and live in rudimentary houses which are either self-built or provided by the authorities. With few exceptions, households in these communities have rights neither to arable land nor to grazing. Sharecropping and other forms of cooperative cultivation cannot develop in these settlements (Simkins, 1981).

Using 1980 census data, the following breakdown of the total population in Ciskei was calculated :

1980:	<u>Urban Ciskei</u>	<u>Rural Ciskei</u>	<u>Closer Settlements</u>	<u>Total Ciskei</u>
	228 489	341 240	62 294	632 023
	36%	54%	10%	

It is worth noting that the number of people living in closer settlements is almost certainly an under-estimate. On a regional basis, the northern district of Hewu, and the rural areas of Zwelitsha, contained the highest percentages of people living in closer settlements. The former district received migrants from Herschel and Glen Grey after these districts had been incorporated into Transkei in the late seventies, while the latter district received and continued to receive migrants in search of residences as close to the Mdantsane conurbation as possible.

	1980:	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Rural</u>	<u>Closer Settlements</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Hewu</u>	no.	17 825	26 414	29 826	74 065
	%	24%	37%	40%	
<u>Zwelitsha</u>	no.	48 433	92 035	26 460	166 928
	%	29%	55%	16%	

It would seem reasonable to conclude, therefore, that at least two Hewu residents out of five, one Zwelitsha district resident out of six, and one Ciskeian out of ten lives in a closer settlement. These closer settlements provide neither modern urban services and modern amenities, nor access to resources to provide an agricultural surplus for family subsistence. Residents in these communities are almost totally dependent upon remittances from migrants and commuters working elsewhere, and upon state aid usually in the form of old age pensions (and, in some cases, rations).

It has already been noted that most income earned by Ciskeians derives from sources external to Ciskei itself. In comparing levels of living in rural, urban and closer settlement Ciskeian regions, therefore, it is relevant to use indicators that are sensitive to this phenomenon. In short, when unemployment and labour participation rates are used, we will distinguish between rates based on the de facto population (including solely adults who reside permanently in the settlement), and the de jure population (including adults who belong to the settlement and are actively employed elsewhere).

On this basis, as is evident in Table 2 below, the household employment situation in Ciskei generally is a poor one. Comparatively,

the indicators point clearly to levels of living that drop as one moves from urban to rural communities, and that are lowest in closer settlements. It is worth emphasizing that a (de facto) labour participation rate of 6,6 represents a community in which solely seven out of a hundred persons are working. Income derives in major part from household member who work and live elsewhere, as migrants or commuters.

Table 2 (Working Paper no. 10)

		Unemployment Rate ^a		Labour Participation Rate ^b	
		de facto	de jure	de facto	de jure
Closer Settlements	<u>Kanmasikraul</u>	75,9	35,5	4,0	18,8
	<u>Glenmore</u>	61,9	38,2	6,6	15,6
Rural Community	<u>Amatola</u> <u>Basin</u>	60,0	16,2	10,8	27,5
Urban Communities	<u>Sada</u>	53,6	28,7	11,4	27,5
	<u>Dimbaza</u>	41,4	35,0	19,3	25,5
	<u>Mdantsane</u>	25,6	-	29,2	-

a. de facto includes solely those actively employed adults permanently residing in the settlement.

de jure includes all residents as well as persons who belong to the settlement and who are actively employed elsewhere. This latter group may spend substantial periods of time away.

b. Labour Participation Rate is defined as the total number of employed adults divided by the total population, expressed as a percentage.

With regard to per capita income, a similar decrease in levels of living is established. In 1981, UNISA's Market Research Bureau found that the annual per capita income level in large urban areas was equal to R679, compared to R301 and R333 for small urban and rural areas respectively. It should be emphasized moreover that 'small urban areas' do not coincide with 'closer settlement' though it is probable that there is substantial overlap.

Demographic profiles can provide some idea of the persistence of levels of living in a community. The greater the number of economically active people who work outside a settlement, the less likely levels of living will change in that settlement, particularly as a result of internal changes. The same can be said of the proportion of adult males who work outside the community: adult women have arduous tasks to fulfill as mothers, keepers of households, and guardians of the elderly.

Once again, demographic profiles highlight lower levels of living, in all probability of a long term nature, in rural areas and closer settlements. In Mdantsane and Zwelitsha, demographic profiles appear to be close to 'normal', reflecting age and gender distributions compatible with the black population of South Africa as a whole.

Demographic profiles of an isolated rural area, the Amatola Basin, and of a peri-urban closer settlement, Tseletsele, are given below. These communities share two striking demographic features. Residents are overwhelmingly young and very young. Adults are overwhelmingly women, and adult men return to their rural homes for short periods a few times a year. The major differences between the communities are found in the rural nature of Amatola and the fact that

Tsweletswele lacks agriculturally viable employment opportunities. In the second place, Amatola is an isolated community that requires job-seekers to migrate long distances to find remunerated employment. Tsweletswele, on the other hand, is close to East London and enables most adults to commute from their peri-urban homes on a fortnightly basis.

In the Amatola Basin three out of four men, and one out of two women, of working age, are migrants. As a consequence, half the resident population of the Basin is at school, the median age of heads of households is over sixty, and most effective heads who take the important household decisions are women. These women are either aged widows, or the wives of migrant males who cannot successfully play the dual roles of cash-earning migrant and absent head.

In Tsweletswele, the young form a majority of the resident population of the settlement. Two out of every five residents (40%) are under the age of ten, and two out of every three (66%) under the age of twenty. Adult residents are overwhelmingly women. When the commuter profile is considered, it is clear that men predominate. In fact, sixty per cent of adult men (aged 20 to 60) are commuters whereas two out of every three adult women (66%) are residents in Tsweletswele. In sum, during the week, Tsweletswele is a youthful community with mothers or grandmothers caring for homesteads and children whilst over weekends, fathers and, to a lesser extent mothers, return to their homesteads.

In short, levels of living are the lowest in Ciskeian closer settlements. The fact that rural development initiatives have not

been successful in terms of the creation of additional employment opportunities, implies that migration out of rural areas will continue. Within the context of South Africa's present influx control restrictions, it would seem that closer settlements will continue to develop.

Not only are the levels of living lowest in closer settlements, but there are indications that the situation in some of these communities is critical. As an example, a nutritional survey in Tswelletswele found that two out of every five young children in the settlement show signs of wasting and are underweight when measured against internationally accepted norms. Most children moreover show signs of stunted growth. Focussing on malnutrition, the researchers found that one out of every ten young children was suffering from kwashiorkor.

III. Potential for Development

Development can be seen to comprise two process: the improvement of the life chances and living conditions of residents, on the one hand, and the promotion of an indigenous process of wealth creation, on the other. Trade-offs need to be made by planners and state decision-takers on these two separate aims.

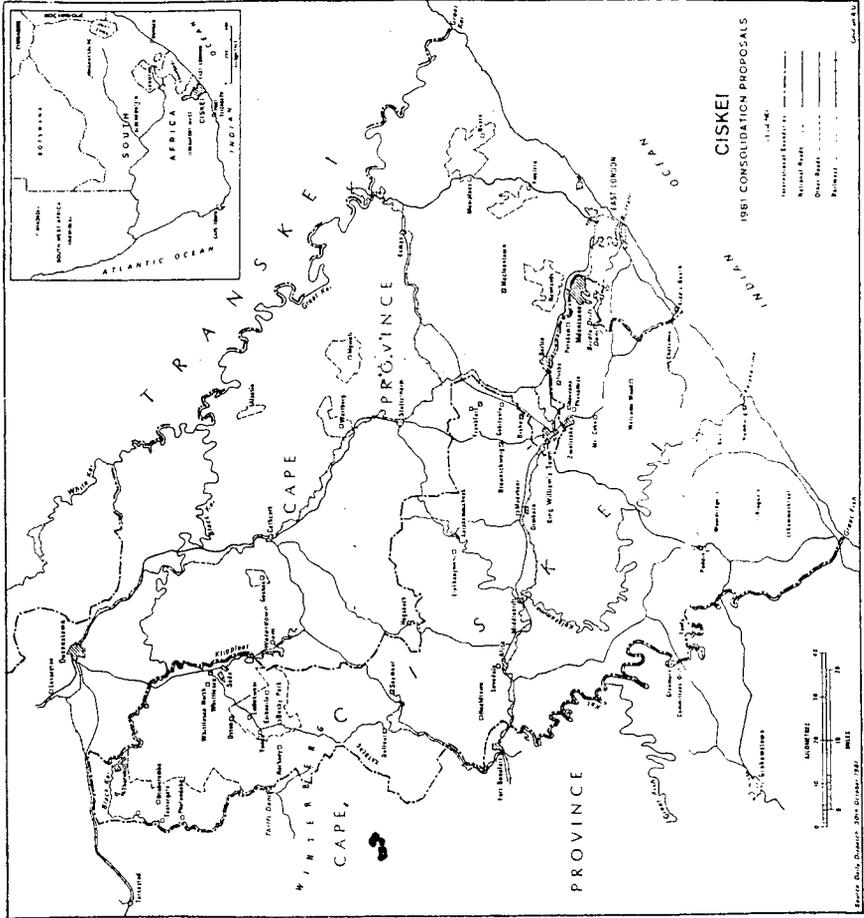
In the short term, the basic needs of Ciskeians need to be met. As was shown earlier, these needs in rural and closer settlements should be given priority. Effectively, state resources should be allocated on a priority basis to non-urban areas. Basic needs

themselves can be prioritised. Given the skew demographic profile in non-urban areas, it is clear that nutrition, health and education (for the young) and welfare (for the elderly) should enjoy priority.

Simultaneously, to pioneer a process of economic production, attention should be paid as a matter of priority to the development of a peasant strategy in rural areas, and the development of permanence and small commercial activities in closer settlements. These should be paralleled with controlled decreases in rural population densities and improved job opportunities for Ciskeians outside Ciskei.

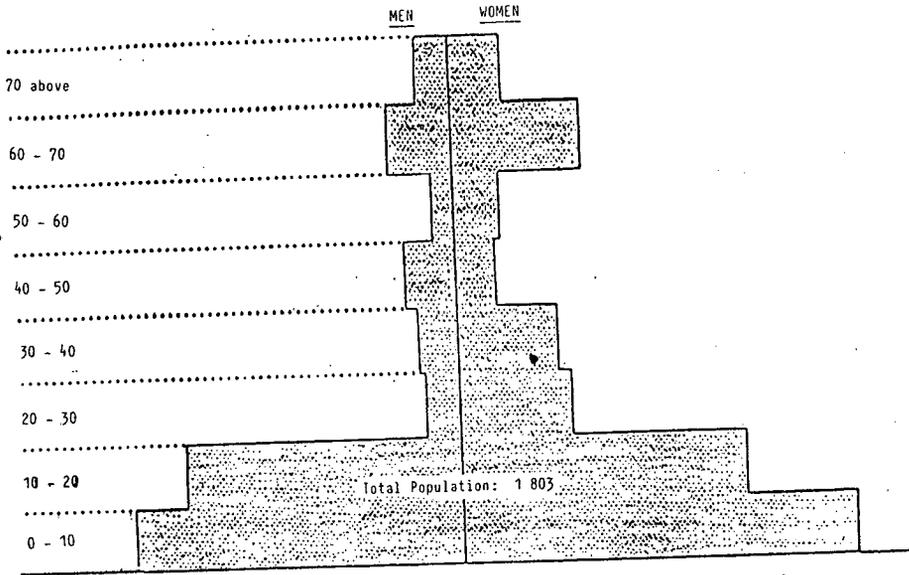
At a regional level, it is equally clear that Ciskei needs to plan in consultation with, and in concert with, the Eastern Cape authorities, and the South African government. It is only in this wider spatial context that better use of resources, and wider planning choices become available.

In short, Ciskeian development needs to be explicitly rurally oriented, and to aim for short-term crisis-management in terms of a basic needs strategy and for long-term economic production. These can only be achieved with the resources, expertise and cooperation of organisations in South Africa, the South African government in particular.

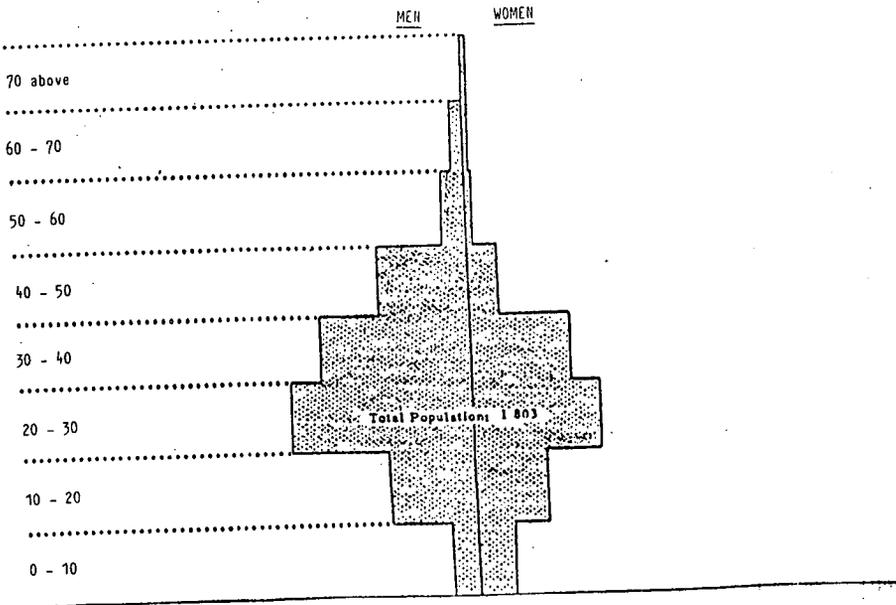


AMATOLA

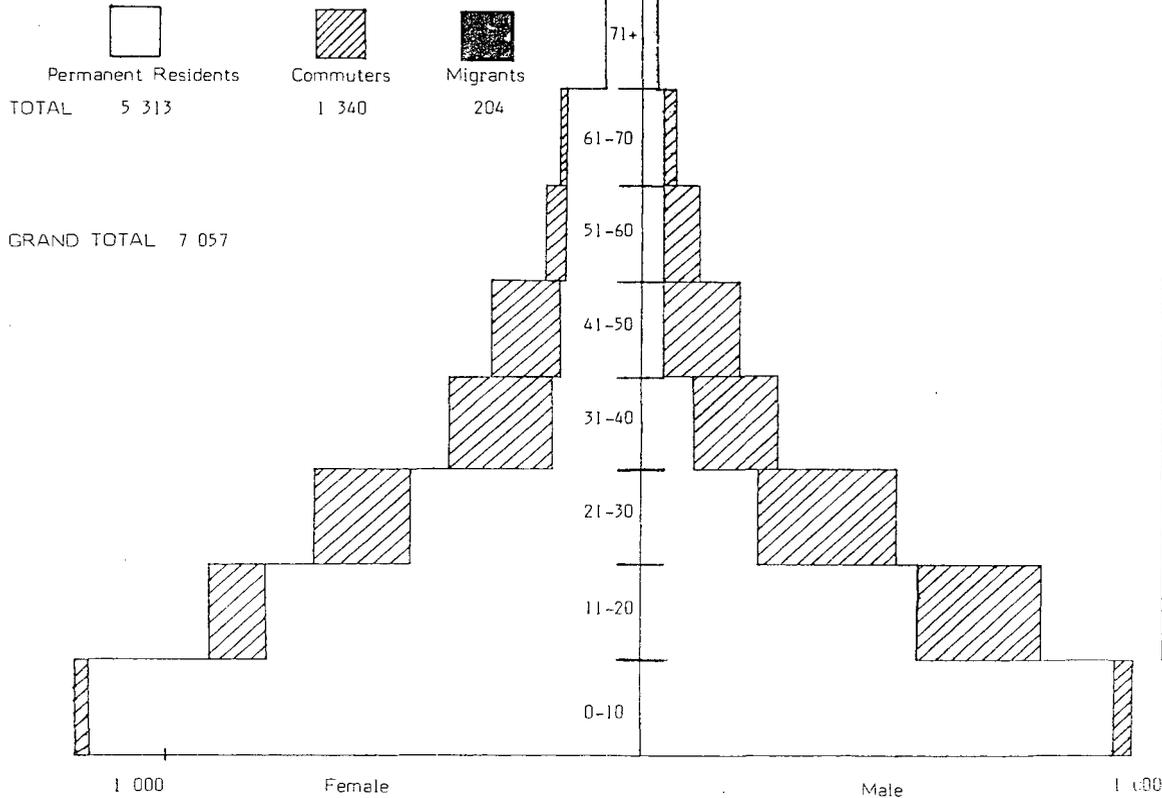
HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS: LIVING IN THE BASIN



HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS: LIVING OUTSIDE THE BASIN



Age and Sex Pyramid, Tswelentswele



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

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