

SECOND CARNEGIE INQUIRY INTO POVERTY
AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Aspects of poverty in Gazankulu:
Three case studies
by
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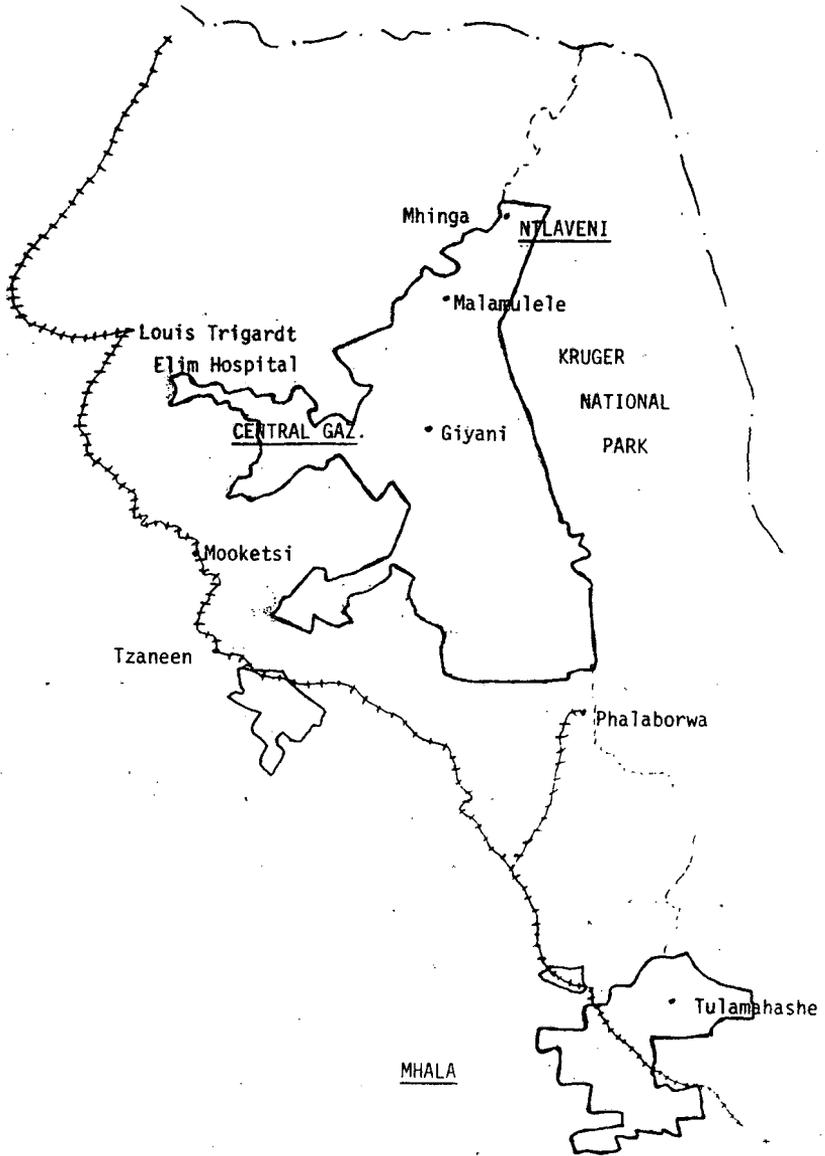
Carnegie Conference Paper No.67

Cape Town

13 - 19 April 1984

ISBN 0 7992 0850 7

SKETCH MAP OF GAZANKULU



ASPECTS OF POVERTY IN GAZANKULU : THREE CASE STUDIES

by Patrick Harries and the History Research Group.*

This paper is concerned with indices of poverty in three areas of Gazankulu. The Bantustan, which lies in the north-eastern corner of the Transvaal had a total budget of R98,633,000 in 1982/83. Of this amount 29% (R28,187,000) was generated locally, while 71% (R69,446,000) revolved from the central (Pretoria) government. (1) Thus, economic development in Gazankulu is ultimately controlled by Pretoria and, as the Bantustan is opposed to accepting independence, the amount of money given by Pretoria is far smaller (less than half in 1980) than that given to a similar sized "independent" Bantustan such as Venda land. (2) Presumably for similar reasons, the budget of the Shangaan Tsonga Development Corporation (SUDC) has also fallen, from R12 million in 1980 to R5.5 million in 1982. (3)

The three areas dealt with are, firstly, Village Blocks H, I and J of the Ntlaveni complex of settlements. The people in these three blocks are largely Makulekes who in 1969, were removed from their home on the triangle created by the Levubu and Limpopo rivers. As will become evident in the paper, this was a particularly harsh removal as the people were shifted to an ecologically foreign triangle of land excised from the Kruger National Park. The Ntlaveni Village Blocks are each composed of between one and two thousand people. The second area of examination is referred to in the paper as "Central Gazankulu". It is situated about 60 kms east of Mzimba and covers part of the Bungeni and Ribungwane Tribal Authorities and the Tiyane and Khamanyani/Xigalo Community Authorities.

The third area of investigation is the southern-most district of Gazankulu, named Mhala. Development in the latter two areas has been heavily influenced by resettlement, although, unlike Ntlaveni, they are not resettlement areas per se. Settlements are composed of 100-300 households each.

The paper has been written on the basis of personal observation, interviews and the completion of just over 300 questionnaires (200 of which are drawn from Mhala). The indices of poverty are :

1. The system of taxation
2. Food and agriculture ; consumption and production
3. Cash incomes ; local, commuter and migrant wages and pensions
4. Water
5. Infant mortality
6. Fuel
7. Housing
8. Education

1. The system of taxation

People are today required to meet a large number of local taxes which pay for the running of the system of indirect rule represented by the Tribal Authorities system. These "fines", as they are locally translated, are paid either to the chiefs who transfer the money to the Tribal Authorities account or the Gazankulu government (Giyane). The Giyane taxes include a uniform Gazankulu

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"special tax" of R2.50 p.a., income tax and sales tax. In 1981/2, GST amounted to R1.05 million. Local revenue generated from income tax is limited by the small number of paid employment opportunities in the Bantustan.

The chiefs in all three areas receive an annual "employees tax", R1 or R2, that is paid by all migrant workers. To bring a complaint before the tribal court costs from R5 to R16.50, an amount that, together with half of all fines (maximum R400 for criminal and R30 for civil cases), accrues to the tribal account. Ad hoc special levies are determined by the chief and his councillors for a number of specific projects considered to be of benefit to the tribe, such as the construction of schools, clinics and boreholes.

The special levy may also be used to provide the chief - as was the case with the 21-year-old chief of the Amashangana Tribal Authority in Mhala - with a BMW car, a bakkie and a new house. Special levies range from a few Rand to as much as R20. A kondza fee of between R20 and R30 is payable by all immigrants who wish to settle in a new tribal area, as is a valelisa fee of R20 to R30 by those who wish to depart. These taxes encourage the chief to accept resettled people whose ability to move is severely restricted. To cut the thatching grass found on communal land requires a payment of R1.50 for 25 bundles. Permission to cut poles, used in the construction of rondavels or cattle kraals, costs from 20c a pole to R5 for a large headload. In Ntlaveni, where we had access to the revenue books of the Tribal Authority, dog taxes amount to R2 for bitches and R1 for dogs, while customary levies are paid for male circumcision and female initiation rituals of R6.50 and R10 respectively. In the same area an annual "Gazaherbalist" fee of R15 and R10 is paid by specialist and practising diviners. The payment of these local taxes is enforced by the Tribal Authorities' police. A comparative list of these taxes is in the appendix attached to this paper.

A number of other fees are collected by regional magistrates but are earmarked for Tribal Authority funds. These include taxes on residential stands (usually R1) and agricultural plots (R2 to R3). A dipping fee of 25c and a grazing fee of 20c is levied on each head of cattle. The removal of labour bureaux from tribal authorities to regional magistracies has added a bus or taxi fare of up to R5 to the labour registration tax of R1. (4) Tribal Authorities are able to supply Giyani with free labour for public projects such as the construction and maintenance of dipping tanks. (5)

The transfer of fiscal control from the Tribal Authorities to the magistrates is noticeable in other areas. The magistrates court is increasingly used in preference to the tribal court and chiefs are no longer allowed to issue licenses of R10 to vegetable hawkers, a move that has diverted R2000 p.a. away from a chief like Bungeni in Central Gazankulu. (6) Chiefs have also lost the right to allocate arable land to their followers. Permission for this is now channelled through the magistrate who passes the request to the agricultural extension officer. (7) Because people have to report to the magistracy in order to request a wide range of permits, the state is now able to exert a more efficient control over the population and is particularly able to enforce the payment of taxes. (8) The transfer of power to the magistrates is a recent phenomenon and marks

a change from the previous system according to which, after 1948, the government attempted to bolster the powers of patronage of the chiefs.

Partly because they have lost power to the magistrates, the chiefs are anxious to attract followers whose taxes will boost the size of the Tribal fund. This determines the amount of patronage they are able to dispense; from the building of classrooms to the siting of water taps. The size of the Tribal fund is also important in that it is used by officials from Giyane and the regional magistracy to determine the salaries of sub-chiefs. In Central Gazankulu, a Tribal Authority secretary stated that Chief Ndabula's sub-chiefs earned about R160 per month. Chief Makuleke, who administers the poor communities living in Ntlaveni Blocks H, I and J, and who is officially recognized as a sub-chief under Chief Mhinga, was adamant that his monthly salary was only R125.50c. He is however, allowed to draw on the Makuleke tribal account for bona fide reasons of administration. A further inducement for sub-chiefs to attract followers is that the chief of a populous area might be made the head of an independent Tribal Authority. This would entitle him to a seat in the Gazankulu legislative assembly and an annual salary of R8,076. A seat in the legislative assembly gives a chief access to ministerial positions with salaries of R30,588 plus non-taxable allowances of R2,088. The perks paid to MF's can raise their salaries by as much as R45 per day. (9)

2. Food and agriculture : consumption and production

The government's relocation policy, when combined with the system of inducements given to chiefs in order to encourage them to increase their followings, has resulted in massive overcrowding. The number of residential stands in Chief Makuleke's Block I increased from 245 in 1975 to 460 in 1980 and his sub-chiefs at Block H and J administer 240 and 290 stands. The population of Mhala district has almost doubled in 10 years, from 66,251 in 1970 to 128,516 in 1980. Similar figures are available for Central Gazankulu where the Ribungwane Tribal Authority grew by 25% annually from 1970-1976, the Bungeni Tribal Authority by 12% and the Tiyane Communal Authority by 8%. (10)

This influx of people into already overcrowded areas has placed heavy pressures on the availability of arable land. Many respondents, particularly in Mhala, stated that only "old residents" had access to arable land. This shortage of farm land is constantly raised in the Gazankulu legislature. (11)

Most people pay R3 for up to a morgen of dry land. But, as one of the members of the Giyane legislature stated, "no man can make a decent living from an income which is derived from 1.5 hectares." (12) This is certainly the case in the Malamlele district, an area of heavy resettlement in which the Ntlaveni complex is situated, where only about 1.3% of the population can make a living off the land. In Mhala only 2% can make a living from agriculture, while in Central Gazankulu the figure is about 10%. (13)

The existing land shortage will become more acute if there is an implementation of plans to alienate subsistence farmers from land that will be given to "modern farmers". (14) These farmers are assisted by the Gazankulu Agricultural Company (GAC) which helps

purchase seeds and fertilizer, hires out equipment, lends money and assists with specialist advice and marketing. The GAC gets 50% of its capital from the CED and 50% from the STDC. Two respondents in our Mhala survey had hired irrigated land from the STDC (R48 p.a.) and GAC (R20 p.a.) One of these men complained that with the water shortage, the neighbouring STDC fields were irrigated before his.

Gazankulu is one of the areas of South Africa worst hit by the present drought. By September 1983, some 89,000 head of cattle had died, and for the past three seasons in most areas people have been unable to harvest crops. Informal sources of food such as wild vegetables (moroko) which grow freely on old lands during the "hunger period" of August-September, have not appeared. The mopani or matomani worms that normally proliferate in the Bushveld are scarce as the intense heat causes undersized worms to drop off the trees. Due to the lack of foliage and grass, even the small locusts eaten by children are scarce. Achatina land snails and cane rats are caught and eaten, but the hunting of stray animals and protected game is prohibited. Nevertheless, in some areas, poaching is an important dietary supplement. Particularly serious is the severe shortage of vitamin and protein-rich relishes, normally made from groundnuts, fish or vegetables, that people consume with mealie meal. Even the wide variety of wild fruit trees that serve as drought breakers and providers of food during the hunger gap, have been badly affected by the drought. There is a widespread fear of famine which is expressed in popular songs and chants. In the following song, the lyrics stress the importance of the chief, as a political force and distributor of patronage, during times of hardship :

The young people of the drought
This year we shall not be safe because of the drought
Let us go to Chief Xigalo this year about the drought
This year we shall not be safe because of the drought

But in other chants, such as the following one collected in the same area, the tone is more despairing :

This year we shall all perish we people of Chauke
we found everyone with tears, crying for mealies

Ntlaveni is probably the worst hit of the three areas investigated. In Mhala some 30% and in Central Gazankulu 12.5% of those interviewed still had some cattle. But in Blocks H, I and J there are no cattle left alive and, more importantly, no plans for restocking the area. Particularly in Ntlaveni, people are dependent on money to purchase food. Cabbages are the most extensively purchased vegetables. But they are expensive and people associate them with deficiency diseases. In the Ntlaveni villages, the women sing popular songs, powerful expressions of their poverty, which contrast their present conditions with the idyllic old home at Makuleke in the Levubu-Limpopo area. They recall their relishes of fish, meat and wild vegetables, the lala palm and a profusion of wild fruits, particularly sweet figs and the Mafureira almond of the Natal mahogany (nkuhlo; Trichilia emetica). The pulp and nut of this fruit is rich in oil and, ripening in November and December, it is an important drought-breaker:

Go into the unknown
they take us to the wild country
we have left our figs and mafureira almonds and lala beer

we have left our graves behind us
 we have left the wild fruits
 and there is no relish in this place
 malnutrition is destroying us

In a similar song, the Ntlaveni women recall the Eden-like Kenzani of their old home area.

Let's go to Kenzani
 Kenzani. The whites. Let's go to Kenzani.
 They have stopped us from bone-throwing in that country
 We have left the lala beer at Makuleke
 And here they have brought us to perish in this place
 we get no relish here
 Our lips are parched due to the malnutrition caused by the
 cabbages

They have taken us away from a lovely country
 In this country we have suffered
 We wish for home at Makuleke where we were safe and happy.

Similar songs were recorded in Central Gazankulu where the people of Chief Xigalo sing :

Home at Xigalo, at the foot of the fig tree
 where we eat the meat
 we are dying (chorus)
 because we have been shifted
 we are dying, we are dying (chorus)

To many of the drought relief workers that we interviewed in Ntlaveni foods like sugar and jam, coffee and milk products are luxuries only to be consumed on special days such as Good Friday and Christmas.

The price of foodstuffs differs radically from one area to another and seems to depend on the avarice or monopolistic position of the local shopkeeper. In Southern Mhala, the cost of a kilo of sugar in July 1983 ranged from 79c to R1.30c, 2.5 kilos of sugar from R1.75c to R2.40c; paraffin from 45c to R1 per litre; soap from 35c to 89c; candles from 60c to 90c; coal from R4 to R5.50c per bag, and importantly 80 kilos (one sack) of maize from R26.27c to R37.50c.

At Tulamahashe in Mhala we priced the following produce: bananas, 4 for 20c; oranges, 8 for 50c; potatoes, 50c for about half a kilo; tomatoes, 50c for half a kilo; onions, 50c for a third of a kilo. Only the tomatoes were produced by local African farmers, the other foodstuffs came from surrounding white farms. The following is a list of the average prices of selected foodstuffs in specified areas in July 1983:

	<u>Northern Mhala</u>	<u>Southern Mhala</u>	<u>Ntlaveni Block I</u>	<u>Central Gazankulu</u>
Bread	35c	35c	35c	35c
1 kilo sugar	81c	82c	90c	81c
1 litre paraffin	68c	62c	n/a	61c
Soap	57c	58c	40c	54c
Candles	76c	83c	n/a	62c
Coal per bag	R4.20	R4.75	n/a	R5
Maize (80 kilos)	R30.40	R35.52	R27	R30.98
Firewood	n/a	R20	n/a	R20
(per bakkie load)				

Southern Mhala

Central Gazankulu

Chickens	R3.80-R4.00	R1.50 - head and feet
Cabbages	n/a	70c-R1.00
Spinach (bunch)	n/a	20c
Powdered milk	R3.96 (500 gms)	n/a
Sausages (kilo)	n/a	R5
Chops (kilo)	n/a	R5.50

3. Cash incomes : local, commuter and migrant wages and pensions

As agriculture cannot provide the money needed to pay taxes and purchase consumer necessities, increasing numbers of people have been propelled onto the labour market. It has been estimated that some 50-75% of Gazankulu families are today dependent on incomes from migrant labour. But there are few local employment opportunities and consequently some 53% of all males between the ages of 15 and 64 are continuously absent, working in the "white areas" of South Africa. In 1982 there were only 21,000 wage-earners in the whole of Gazankulu and the per capita GNP of the year was estimated at R94. (15) Unskilled wages are so low that in 1979 another member complained that, "ordinary workmen do not earn enough to buy a bag of mealie meal" (which costs about R33.) (16)

In order to provide job opportunities for people like widows with school-going children, the Gazankulu government has started several sisal plantations. In 1982 it was reported that some of these women earned as little as R18 to R20 per month. (17) But in interviews undertaken in Central Gazankulu and Mhala in July 1983, we were told that sisal workers earn monthly wages of R60. They have to supply their own food and work from 6.45 a.m. to 5.00 p.m., five days a week with a one-hour lunch break.

In Southern Mhala, those men able to find work locally or as migrants earned an average monthly income of R155, ranging from R40 for a watchman to R300 for a teacher. In Northern Mhala, the average migrants' income is just over R100 per month. Proximity to road and rail arteries is an important determinant of a community's standard of living and has resulted in a high degree of internal migration. There is also an informal sector : one basket-maker earns R100 per month, another respondent earns R2 per day making bricks while a few others are able to sell small amounts of vegetable produce and poultry. In only one case did a respondent claim to have been unemployed for six months and that his family was starving.

While most men may be considered long distance migrants who seek work in towns and cities, predominantly on the Reef, women may be considered short distance migrants or commuters. The tomato plantations at Mooketsi on the Tzaneen-Louis Trichard railway are a favourite source of employment for women from Ntlaveni. We were told that women earn monthly wages of R30.80 at Mooketsi plus free board and lodging, which includes accommodation for children. On the Saepeka Tea Estates near Elin Hospital in Central Gazankulu, men earn R60 and women R40 per month plus a production-linked bonus of two 12.5 kilogram pockets of mealie-meal. They work six days per week and have one week-end holiday each month. On an avocado pear farm near Louis Trichard, basic daily wages are R1.60 for women and R2 for men. On a cattle farm near Louis Trichardt, a man's wage "could go up to R35" plus an 80 kilo bag of maize. A sense of exploitation is sharply expressed in the following two songs sung by women from

Central Gazankulu:

1. I am a woman who suffers ~
only those who are strong go to town
we stay behind and we work for nothing
we are being persecuted
we work for nothing.
2. Agricultural officer pay as we are suffering
No, we have been reduced to serfdom (chorus)
we work for a shilling
we work for mealie-meal.

Old age pensions are a major source of income. In 1982 the number of pensioners in Gazankulu rose from 16,059 to 18,799, i.e. nine out of every twenty people who receive a steady income are pensioners. This required an expenditure by Giyani of R7.6 million. Pensions have kept pace with inflation as payments, made every two months, rose from R59 to R73 in 1982 and then to R107 in October 1983. Two small bonuses of R18 were paid in 1981/2 and war veterans receive a marginally higher pension of R117. But, ostensibly due to the lack of government funds, not all pension applications have been granted. (18)

4. Water

The provision of clean water is probably the single most important problem in the three areas. According to Mars and van Rensburg, the amount of water available to a community is as important as its state of cleanliness. In South Africa, it is estimated that the average white person uses 200 litres of water per day, whereas each African family in the Bantustans consumes 50 litres. To eradicate water-borne diseases such as cholera, typhoid and gastro-intestinal problems, as well as water-washed diseases such as traceoma, bilharzia and malaria, it is estimated that one tap would need to be installed per household. Yet, despite the allocation of R5,861,000 for the supply of water in 1982/3, there are very few water outlets in Gazankulu.

In Southern Mhala the ratio of people per tap averages at 833:1, and in Northern Mhala 624 people per borehole. Several respondents gave "the whole village" as the number of people served by one tap. Similar figures were given in Central Gazankulu. Chief Khamanyani said that 980 families in his area are supplied by 13 taps, while Chief Mtsetweni gave a figure of 3 taps for the 644 families in his area. In Ntlaveni, Block I, the community of over 460 families is served by six taps. In Northern Mhala, 34% of respondents have access to taps, 27% to boreholes and and 38% use river water of doubtful cleanliness.

One of the major problems in the provision of water to communities is the cost of reticulation systems. Plastic piping sells for R1 per metre and boreholes can often only be sunk several kilometres from a settlement. If the borehole breaks down or the diesel runs out, an entire area may be left without water, which will necessitate a walk of up to 10 kilometres to the neighbouring tap. There is an obvious need in all three areas for back-up boreholes. Water supply in villages such as the Ntlaveni Blocks does not require a long haulage, but in many areas water points are situated 2-3 kilometres from people's homes. This, together with long queues, makes the fetching of water a time and labour-consuming task.

borehole water in Mhala was declared almost everywhere to be good and clean although in one or two areas such as Gottenburg, people claimed that the water was brackish and barely drinkable. In southern Mhala, many people have to look to local rivers for their source of water. Riverine water was invariably referred to as "dirty" or "not always clean". In some areas, particularly eastern Mhala, water is sold from private boreholes.

Water shortages have also been reported at Mtsetweni, Shitatshi and Shivamba in Central Gazankulu. Chief Xigalo complained in 1982 that due to the water shortage, his people have to travel up to 6 kilometres, to the cholera-infested Levubu River. (19) At Manyeleti, Seville and Gottenburg, the price of water has risen in the last 8 to 10 years from 20c to 50c per 25 litres. At Acornhoek water is sold for 5c per 25 litres, at Merry Pebble Stream for R2 per 44 gallons (198 litres), (20) while at Eglinton, people pay R1.20 per month for unlimited access to water. At Champagne, in nearby Lebowa, 25 litres of water costs 10c and Gazankulu residents complain that people from Lebowa draw water in Western Mhala which they then sell at home for 30c/25 litres. The people of Nyavani have to get their water from a neighbouring Bantustan for which they have to pay by pumping water for the residents' cattle. At Arthurstone and other places the water supply has had to be cut over weekends in order to preserve meagre supplies. (21) The lack of water in Mhala was an important cause of the cholera epidemic of 1982. The epidemic also brought benefits as it attracted an allocation of R750,000 from the central government for the development of water facilities. The present drought has also caused Pretoria to allocate money for the construction of dams, boreholes and reticulation systems.

In order to combat water-borne diseases like cholera and typhoid, aspects of health education such as hygiene and nutrition, the building of toilets and the chlorination of household water are stressed, particularly by the highly successful care groups. (22) The construction of toilets remains a major problem as it is time, labour and capital-consuming. Sutter and Ballard estimated that in 1980, only 50% of schools and 20% of households were equipped with toilets. In 1982, it was admitted in the Giyani legislature that only 10% of schools have "adequate" toilets; 30% have inadequate toilets and 60% have none at all. (23) At Ntlaveni, the building of a drop pit lavatory system for each stand was enforced in July 1983. The fine for non-compliance is much resented, particularly as it was raised from R30 to R50 in October 1983.

5. Infant mortality

One of the most reliable barometers of the general standard of living of a population is its infant mortality rate. Research at Elim Hospital in Central Gazankulu has shown that 35% of all children under the age of five are malnourished as are 45% of all infants in the 1-2 year age group. At the children's ward of Elim Hospital, malnutrition causes 28% of all the deaths (kwashiorkor- 17% and marasmus- 11%). This excludes children who suffer from malnutrition but die of related diseases. (24) In a 1980 report, a RAU team estimated an infant mortality rate for Gazankulu of 9.34% for girls and 12.6% for boys. Life expectancy at birth is 55.3 years for girls and 49.5 years for boys. For five year olds it is 59 and 55 years respectively.

Our survey indicated that infant mortality and disease varied sharply from one area to another. The mortality rate for infants under the age of one year was highest in the Ntlaveni Block I community (28.4%), which has suffered most from relocation and which is furthest from centres of employment. In Central Gazankulu the infant mortality rate

was slightly lower at 25.1%, while in Mhala, the closest district to centres of employment, it stood at 14.4%. Infant mortality probably accounts for the disparate family sizes of 5.3 (Ntlaveni), 5 (Central Gazankulu) and 7.9 (Mhala). The disease profile was also sharply different. People at Ntlaveni reported high incidences of malnutrition (20% of those questioned or their families) and TB (22%). But in Mhala where the inadequacy of the water supply is particularly marked, people had suffered far more from water-related diseases such as cholera (29.4%), infant gastroenteritis (15.1%) and typhoid (14%).(25)

The cost of medical treatment was raised in 1982 from 80c to R2 per appointment. The effects of this price hike have yet to be felt. But when in 1949 the Transvaal Administration declared that all Africans at Elim Hospital should be treated free of charge, there was a 33% increase in the number of patients.

The "informal" cost of medical health is increased in numerous ways. Transport is particularly expensive as it involves a journey to the local clinic from where, because of the lack of ambulances, a taxi must be taken to hospital. This can cost R25-R30 in taxi fares alone. (26) Ethnic antagonisms generated by Bantustan politics have further increased transport costs for people in Southern Mhala, many of whom refuse to use the Masana Hospital at Bushbuckridge as it falls under the Lebowa government and they fear that they will be mistreated by the "north Sothos". Instead, they will pay for a bus, train or taxi ride that will take them to the "Shangaan" Tinswala hospital at Acornhoek.

6. Fuel

The provision of fuel for cooking and heating has become an increasingly serious problem. In Ntlaveni, a new tax on wood fuel, registered as "forest income", was introduced in October 1982. When Ntlaveni was excised from the Kruger National Park in 1968/69, the area produced an abundance of wood fuel which people, from as far afield as Louis Trichardt and Sibasa, collected unhindered until 1977. A pole tax of 20c per pole was introduced in 1972 and the Gazankulu Conservation Act of 1975 prohibited the felling of trees. But attempts by the tribal police to stop the destruction of trees proved ineffectual and the misdemeanor has been recently transferred to the jurisdiction of the Gazankulu police. Forest income is calculated according to the amount of wet wood taken from the surrounding trees. Failure to pay this tax may result in a fine ranging from R20 to R50 or one to three months in prison. The fuel shortage, water restrictions and general impoverishment at Ntlaveni, which is commonly known as Xingwedzi, is recalled in the following song addressed to a young woman named Dzuludzulu:

Take down the baby from your back, Dzuludzulu
We have left the graves at Makuleke
Take down the baby from your back
We have left the figs; take down the baby from your back
Hoo-hoo-hoo (chorus)
We go and fetch wood; they will arrest us
If we go and wash in the dam they arrest us
We have left kendzani behind
Take down the baby from your back
We have left our graves behind Xingwedzi
In the Xingwedzi country we are dying

Ozuludzulu take down the baby from your back
The honey refuses to come out
who gets the relish at Kingwedzi?

There is a total ban on the cutting of two or three tree species, but the collection of dry firewood is free.

7. Housing

In April 1982 it was estimated that a properly thatched rondavel in Gazankulu cost from R50 to R150 to construct. (27) The material used for house construction differed from one area to another. Most houses are built of baked mud with wooden supports. Poles cut from the bush are considered stronger than plantation poles, but straight ones are scarce and require a considerable labour investment in terms of searching for and cutting the trees. To cut bush poles also requires the payment of a "poles tax" to the chief. Thus in areas like Mhala people tend to buy blue gum poles which are supplied by government forests and white farmers. In Tulamahashe, poles of approximately 5 metres by 3 inches circumference cost 50c, 1.5 inch, cost 20c, and 5 inch- R1. Cement bricks cost 45c each. In areas like Mhala where people can afford them, zinc roofs are common, particularly as the drought and overpopulation has limited access to thatching grass. Roofing remains a problem, for, as a representative of the Giyani legislature stated, "many of our residents are poverty stricken and they do not have the money to buy corrugated iron." (28) To collect grass from the lands of the Tribal Authority, a "thatching tax" has to be paid. In poorer areas like Ntlaveni, zinc roofs are rare, but the thatch roofs are unlikely to withstand strong rainfalls.

One informant told us that in 1975, her one-roomed house on the outskirts of the Tulamashashi township cost R43; R20 for wall poles; R15 for rafters and R8 for corrugated iron sheeting. In 1983, a single roomed baked mud and pole house in the same area cost R150, the largest single cost being zinc sheeting (11 to 12 sheets each costing R12). In Mhala, split blue gum poles are often used in wall construction. A small three-roomed house constructed of split blue gum poles cost R365 - R57 for planks; R12 for poles; R12 x 24 zinc sheets). In the rural areas, people are obliged to pay the Tribal Authority an annual R1 tax for their residential plot.

Several residents of the Tulamahashe district in Mhala stated that they had chosen to move to the township in order to take advantage of the facilities such as electricity and running water. To live within the township residents are required to pay an initial R48 for a stand, followed by a R2 monthly rental. A temporary dwelling (wood or baked mud) may only be lived in for two years, after which a stone house has to be erected in its place. These restrictions only apply to residential stands lying within the defined borders of the township.

A four-roomed house in Tulamahashe cost R6,350 in 1980, a three-roomed house R5,500 and a two-roomed house R3,000. These are all sold by the STDC which in 1981/82 built 280 residential houses throughout Gazankulu and sold 237. (29) STDC requires that the buyer be a Gazankulu citizen. To purchase a house a down-payment of 10% had to be made and interest on the bond was set at 10%. By 1983 the cost of a four-roomed house

had risen to R11,000 and the interest rate had risen to 14%. About 75 people have home loans in Mhala district. These new houses are all equipped with electrical wiring, although not all are connected to the township's supply. About 60% of the Tulamahashe township has electricity which costs each household about R2 per month, according to usage. About 35% to 40% of the township houses have telephones. Two public telephones are situated at the post office. Local calls are free but calls directed through the switchboard cost 20c. A standard phone rental of R6 is charged. A flat monthly rate of R1.50 is paid to the superintendent of the township for the removal of refuse and R1.50 for water.

8. Education

The Gazankulu government sees education as a priority. However, the percentage of Giyani's total budget spent on education has fallen markedly over the last three years - from 29% (R14.2 million) in 1980/81 to 28% (R20.2 million) in 1981/82 to 21% (R20.8 million) in 1982/83. Nevertheless, even for the 1982/83 financial year, this latter figure represents 74% of locally generated revenue.

The education structure is divided into lower primary schools of four years (Sub A to Standard 2), higher primary (Standards 3 to 5), junior secondary (Standards 6 to 8) and senior secondary (Standards 9 and 10).

Lower and higher primary school education costs 40c annually, but the teacher-pupil ratio is high (1:59 in 1981/82) and the drop-out rate is precipitous; 68% of primary school children are crowded into the first three years. The building of primary and junior high schools is left to the Tribal Authorities which levy ad hoc special taxes from all their constituents in order to construct or extend schools. These might amount to R20 for a new school or R10 for new classrooms. To assist the Tribal Authorities, Giyani officially agreed in the early 1980's to add R4 to every Rand collected by the Tribal Authorities. Giyani also pays teachers' salaries. (30)

In Mtlaveni Block 1, a R12 tax paid in instalments, has recently been levied in order to pay for the extension of the Block J primary school. Between January 1982 and August 1983, a total of R2,515 was collected, to which Giyani will add a subsidy of R4,000. In eastern Mhala, we visited a primary school with 1,020 pupils, 20 teachers and 8 classrooms. Most classes were held outside in temporary shelters. Similar conditions existed at the Mtlaveni Block I primary school. Many people are critical of the community school system as the special taxes place an unnecessary burden on the poor and do not qualify a child for a place in the school of a neighbouring community. People were also critical of Giyani for not constructing sufficient senior secondary schools.

High school education is effectively streamer, either purposefully or because children attend schools in advantaged or disadvantaged areas. Thus the Rheto Nxumayo school in Giyani North, which produces its own food, takes only gifted children and in 1982 had a 96% Standard 10 pass rate of which 52% were university entrance passes. The Mtlaveni school has a Standard 10 pass rate with 27% at the level of university entrance. But in the impoverished district of Mlamulele

east, which includes Mtlaveni and other areas of heavy resettlement, the pass rate was 30% with a university exemption of less than 0.5%.

With a standard 10 pass rate of 54%, it is estimated that between 2% and 4% of those children who enter Sub A will finish high school. Only 10% of matriculants in Gazankulu obtain university exemption. The major reasons for the high failure rate are the shortage of qualified teachers and lack of facilities. In 1976 there was a shortage of 500 classrooms throughout Gazankulu, which would cost R4 million to construct. The expansion of the school system requires the provision of 280 new classrooms each year at a cost of R1.4 million. (31) Our survey indicated that the number of pupils in one class was often determined by the physical size of the classroom. A further reason for the high drop-out rate is the cost, perceived or real, of schooling. Fees are low; R1.20 for higher primary school, R4 for junior secondary and R7.50 for higher secondary. The major cost of schooling arises out of the withdrawal of children, particularly females, from the domestic economy and from the purchase of books and uniforms, stationary and the provision of adequate home facilities for learning - from food to lighting and space. While most people are fairly close to primary schools (average distance of 5.4 kms in Southern Mhala and 2.8 kms in Northern Mhala), there are fewer secondary schools and, as there are few boarding facilities, this gives rise to new costs in the form of transport. In Southern Mhala people gave the average cost of books and uniforms as R55.82 and R86, and in Northern Mhala as R50.70 and R78. The cost of boys' uniforms was often given as 50% more expensive than that of girls'.

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APPENDIX

SOME LOCAL TAXES - EXCLUDING INCOME AND GENERAL SALES TAX - PAID BY THE RESIDENTS OF FOUR GAZANKULU TRIBAL AUTHORITIES

	<u>Gazankulu Special Tax</u>	<u>Dipping Fee</u>	<u>Grazing Fee</u>	<u>Residential Stand</u>			
Ribungwane T.A.	R2-50	20c cattle 15c goats	n.a.	R1			
Amashangana T.A.	2.50	25c cattle	40-50c for cattle	R1			
Jongelanga T.A.	2.50	25c cattle	5-15c for goats	R1			
Ntlaveni/Makuleke	2.50	25c cattle	20c for cattle	R1			
	<u>Arable Land</u>	<u>Kondza Fee</u>	<u>Valelisa Fee</u>	<u>Employees Tax</u>	<u>Special Levy</u>	<u>Court Fee</u>	<u>Tatching Fee</u>
Ribungwane T.A.	R3	R25	R25	R2	R6	R5	n.a.
Amashangana T.A.	R2	R20	R20	R1	to	R5	R1.50
Jongelanga T.A.	R2	R30	R30	R1		R10	R1.50
Ntlaveni/Makuleke	R2	R20	R20	R1	R19	R16.50	
	<u>Poles tax</u>	<u>Dog Tax</u>	<u>Customary Levy</u>	<u>Gaza herbalist</u>	<u>Labour Bureau Registration</u>		
Ribungwane T.A.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	-	R1		
Amashangana T.A.	R5	n.a.	n.a.	-	R1		
Jongelanga T.A.	R5	n.a.	n.a.	-	R1		
Ntlaveni/Makuleke	20c per pole	R2 bitches R1 dogs	R6.50 or R10	R10 or R15	R1		

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

The Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development 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 information about the Inquiry, please write to:

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