

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH

DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Working Papers

**A SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY
OF THE
AMATOLA BASIN**

INTERIM REPORT

**S.B. Bekker, C. de Wet and C.W. Manona
Working Paper No. 2.**



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Grahamstown

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ISBN 0 86810 073 0

September 1981

I PREFACE

Early in 1981, Professor S. Bekker of Rhodes University was invited to attend a meeting of the Amatola Basin Steering Committee of the Agricultural and Rural Development Research Institute (ARDRI) at the University of Fort Hare. At this meeting, Professor Bekker was invited to undertake a socio-economic survey of the Amatola Basin. The Board of the Institute of Social and Economic Research at Rhodes University gave Professor Bekker permission in February 1981 to undertake the research project on condition that it was conducted in the fashion this Institute usually requires.

A research team was organised consisting of two members of ARDRI, Mrs P. Goduka and Mrs C. Kiblewhite, and three members of Rhodes University, Mr C. de Wet, Mr C. Manona and Professor S. Bekker. During the first phase of the research, moreover, Mr J. Trollip and Mr J. Williams were also members of the team.

It was subsequently agreed that the survey, known as 'Amatola Basin VII: Socio-economic survey', was to establish the basic demographic, kinship, consumption and employment patterns of the residents of the Amatola Basin. Practices and traditions related to dryland agriculture would also be identified. Agreement was also reached that an interim report would be written and submitted in mid-1981, and that a final report would be submitted later during the same year.

This report is the Interim Report and does not include specific data which are being collected from two villages in the Basin. These data together with recommendations will be published by ARDRI in a final report.

ii) Location and Infrastructure




The Basin forms the northern section of the Middledrift district. It is approximately twenty kilometres by road from Middledrift (to its south) and Alice (to its west). The Basin is bounded to the east by Kuisakammahak, to the west by the Yama valley which falls under the jurisdiction of Chris Mbandia, and to the north by the Amatola mountain range. Fort Cox is immediately south of the Basin.

There are three gravel roads which give access to the Basin. They are usually in fair condition while certain sections are difficult to negotiate due to stones and erosion. During wet weather, these main access roads can

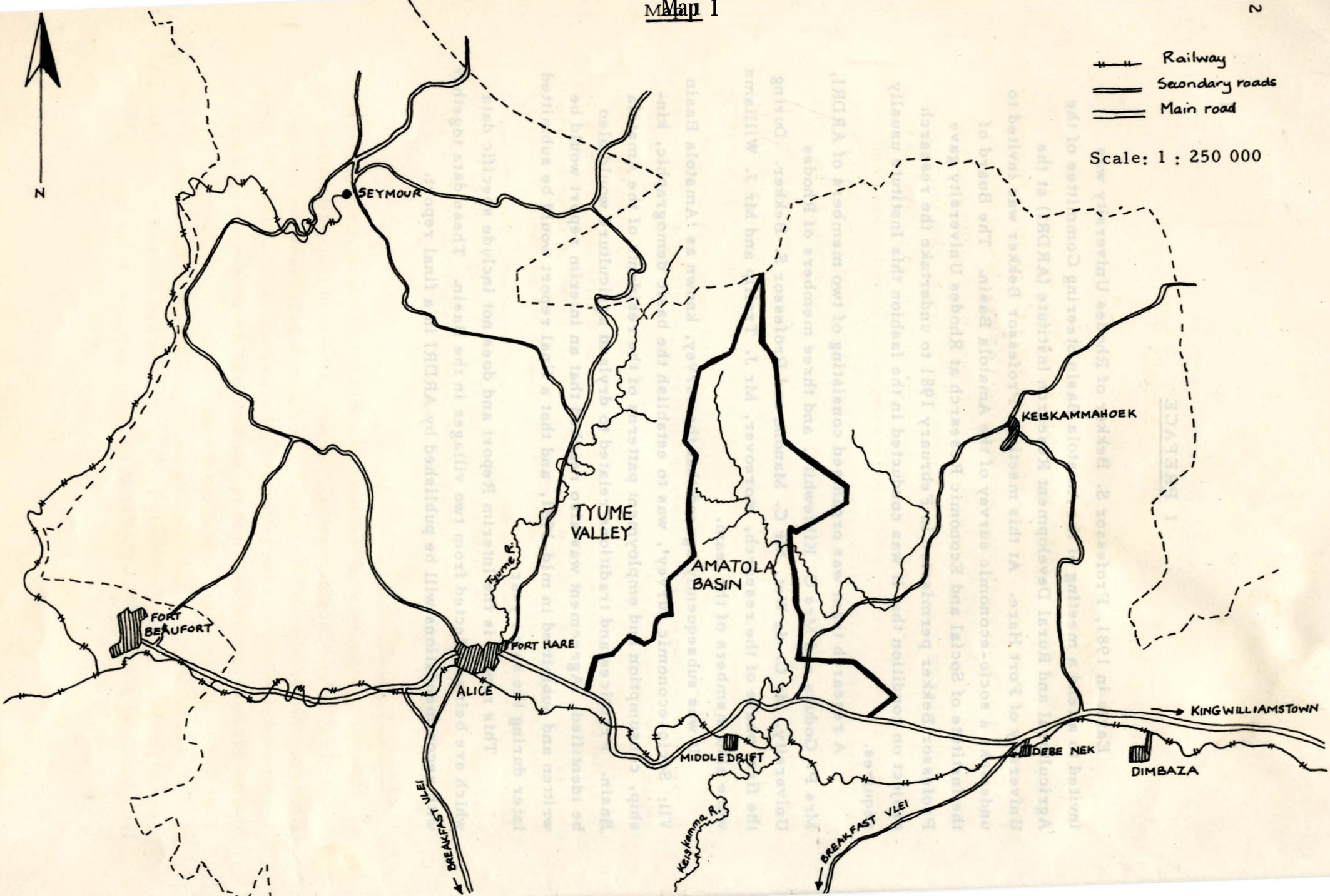


Map 1



-  Railway
-  Secondary roads
-  Main road

Scale: 1 : 250 000



II THE AMATOLA BASIN

i) Introduction

The vast majority of Amatola residents are Mfengu and belong to the Amahlubi grouping. The Amatola Basin, as its name implies, is bounded by high ground to its north, east and west, with a river flowing south to join the Keiskamma river some kilometres south of the Basin. The Amatola community therefore is relatively isolated geographically from the outside world. This community moreover is knit together by kinship links and is probably highly stable: only thirteen households are known to have entered the Basin in the recent past. All but one came from other parts of the Ciskei, and more than half settled in the central village of the Amatola Basin. The major demographic fact of adult migrancy to towns and cities which will be discussed in this report, points to a loss of residents. The residents of the Basin, nonetheless, form a community in both a spatial as well as a kinship sense. Members of one's family, one's village and one's community sometimes leave, to return rarely or for short periods; very few strangers or newcomers settle in one's community.

The ancestors of Amatola residents settled in the Basin in the 1850s after the series of wars between the Xhosa and the British aided by certain Mfengu groupings. The Mhlambiso chiefly line has probably remained intact from the time of settlement to the present, through periods when the South African government demoted chiefs to the rank of headmen. The community cohesion binding Amatola residents together then is strengthened by this history, a history subscribed to by members of the Amatola tribal authority, at least.

ii) Location and Infrastructure

The Basin forms the northern section of the Middledrift magisterial district. It is approximately twenty kilometres by road from Middledrift (to its south) and Alice (to its west). The Basin is bounded to the east by Keiskammahoek, to the west by the Tyume valley which falls under the jurisdiction of Chief Mabandla, and to the north by the Amatola mountain range. Fort Cox is immediately south of the Basin.

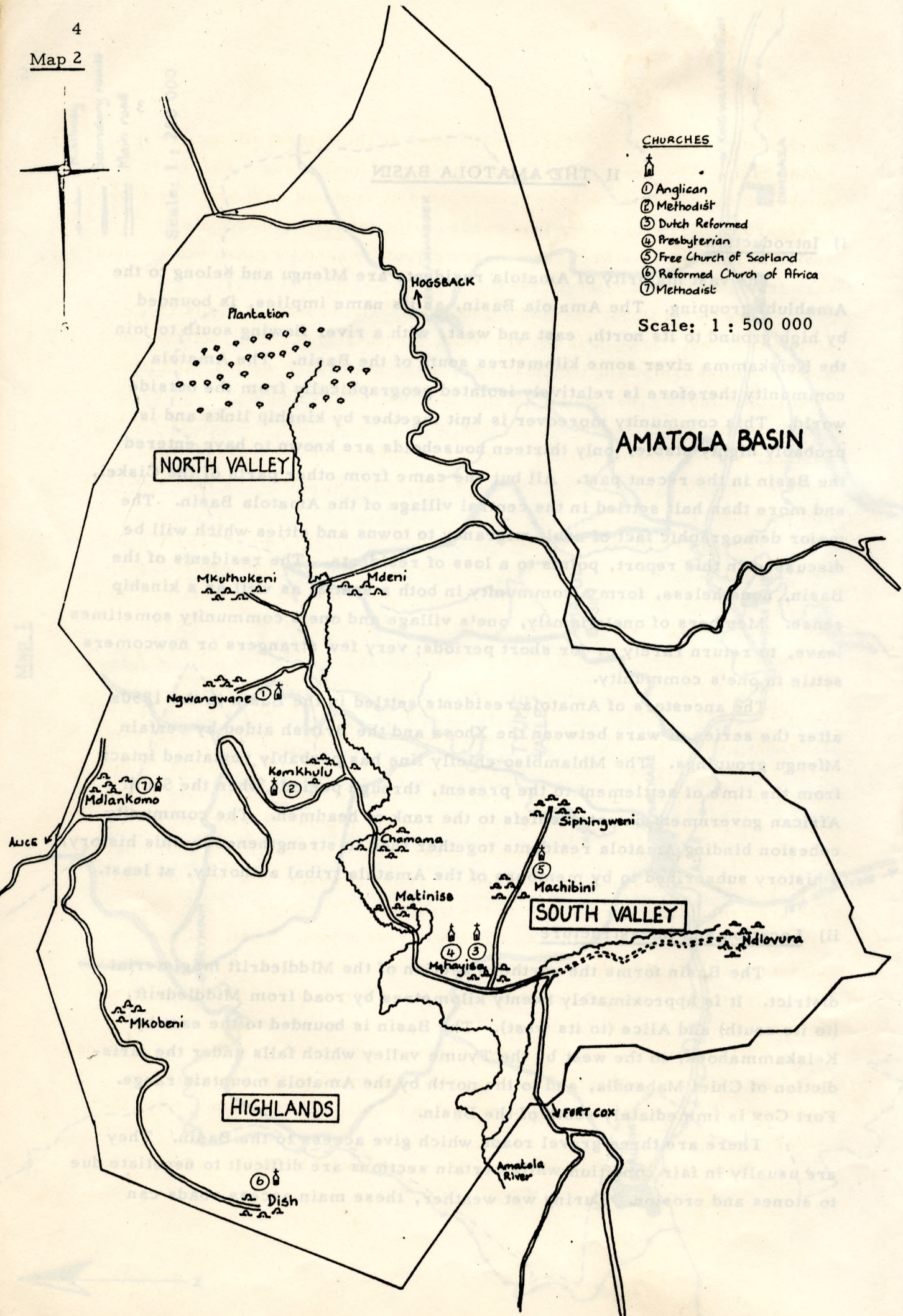
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CHURCHES

- ① Anglican
- ② Methodist
- ③ Dutch Reformed
- ④ Presbyterian
- ⑤ Free Church of Scotland
- ⑥ Reformed Church of Africa
- ⑦ Methodist

Scale: 1 : 500 000



AMATOLA BASIN

NORTH VALLEY

SOUTH VALLEY

HIGHLANDS

HOGSBACK

Plantation

Mkhuthukeni

Mdeni

Ngwangwane

Mdlankomo

Komkhulu

Chamama

Matinisa

Mahayisa

Siphingweni

Machibini

Ndllovura

Mkobeni

Dish

FORT COX

Amatola River

Alice

deteriorate considerably. These roads meet in the central village of Khomkhulu - 'The Great Place' - as is indicated on the map. There are a number of by-roads which have been created by constant use, and they should be regarded as tracks rather than roads, being difficult to negotiate by vehicle. Distances between the villages directly linked by gravel or by-roads vary from one to four kilometres.

The Basin is not served by a railway. The nearest stations are at Middeldrift and Alice. It is not served by a regular bus service either: such a service runs from Middeldrift to Keiskammahoek twice weekly, and from Jwara, a village in the Tyume Valley, to Middeldrift. The only service to the Basin is a single bus which arrives from King William's Town on Friday evenings and returns on Sunday evenings. Other means of transport are private vehicles, twenty-three of which are owned by Basin residents, horses and walking.

There are thirteen villages in the Basin. These can be grouped into those situated in the North Valley (3 villages), in the Highlands (3 villages), and in the South Valley (6 villages). These three clusters are situated around the central village of Komkhulu. In the South Valley, the three villages of Chamama, Matinise and Mqhayisa are collectively known as Zixinene, and effectively form a chain of densely settled homesteads on both banks of the Amatola river. This river which flows from north to south, is close to most villages. The Highland villages, collectively known as Lugcwini, however, are approximately two kilometres from the river. The other village, Ndlovura, which is located well above the valley and is equally isolated in many respects does have the relative advantage of a reasonably regular stream in its proximity. There are at least twenty other streams in the Basin which have been given specific names by residents. These however flow intermittently and are probably as predictable as the weather. There are, in addition, eight small dams used mainly as stock watering points. Small indigenous forests are located in the Highlands, and close to Ndlovura. In the north of the valley there is a pine plantation, and some areas of remaining indigenous forest.

The villages consist mainly of homesteads together with their gardens and cattle-kraals, with arable land used by villagers in the close vicinity (Appendix I). Communal grazing ground is usually a little further from the village.

Homesteads consist of one to four residential buildings, constructed

as rondavels or rectangular units, built from mud, wattle and daub or, rarely, brick. Their roofs are thatched or, increasingly, made from corrugated iron sheeting (offering the advantage of water conservation from rain). Gardens and kraals are usually fenced off with branches and sticks, and wooden stakes. Pit latrines are employed and often shared by the residents of a number of households. Most villages have a primary school, a number have churches, and all have graveyards on land which is set aside and can therefore not be used for other purposes. Apart from a few trading stores, informal shops and shebeens, there is little other village infrastructure in any formal sense. It is in fact worth noting that the Amatola Basin, though it has endured a good deal of control from outsiders over its own affairs, has never had a white settler community and therefore has little institutionalized economic or social infrastructure.

What infrastructure there is, is found with few exceptions in the central village of Komkhulu. The chief and his tribal authority, the one Basin high school, its main trading store ('Weiss'), the clinic and the residence of the agricultural extension officer, all are located in Komkhulu. There is a bore-hole which supplies fresh water to the high school and clinic, the only four telephones in the Basin, and a generator at the main trading store. There is also a postal agency at the main store. The agricultural extension officer and the one agricultural co-operative in the Basin are also located in this central village.

There are four licensed trading stores in the Basin, two in Komkhulu and one each in the villages of Mdeni and Mqhayisa. All four traders own vehicles and buy commodities from wholesalers in Alice and King William's Town. Mr Weiss, the only white trader in the Basin, is due to be bought out by the Ciskei National Development Corporation in the near future. His turnover figures from 1978 to 1980 show a slight upward trend from R225 000 to R250 000. Since he and the other traders offer monthly credit facilities, Weiss's monthly turnover is split into approximately R15 000 for cash and R8 500 for credit. It would seem that this trading store adds twenty-five percent to wholesale prices and that other traders use this trading store as their pricing index. The stores offer a range of foodstuffs as well as kitchen and household commodities.

As shown on map 2, there are seven active churches in the Basin. The largest denomination is Presbyterian (42% of household-heads) and the second largest Methodist (34%). There are also a number of other voluntary associations

which will be described later. It is worth noting here that most of these associations have religious links. There are also nine schools in the Basin, eight offering primary education. These too will be discussed in a later section.

In the Ciskei Legislative Assembly in Zwelitsha, Amatola residents have two representatives: their elected member, Mr Hoyana lives in Middledrift and seems less active in the Basin than Chief Cyrus Mqweli Mhlambiso, their second representative. The chief is the head of the Amatola Basin tribal authority, the local government and judiciary in the Basin. He can be viewed as the mouthpiece of his people, bound by the customs and traditions they still maintain, and by the rule of consensus; as chief legislator with his councillors on certain affairs in the Basin; and he is also a judicial officer trying, according to customary law, a number of local cases. Chief Mhlambiso is a member of the ruling Ciskei National Independence Party which he joined a few years ago after having been a member of an opposition party for some time. The tribal authority in the Amatola Basin is officially known as the Gaika-Mbo Tribal Authority.

This authority consists of the chief, two headmen, and nineteen councillors representing the various villages. These positions are salaried. One of the councillors is appointed chairman. Other members of this authority are the sub-headmen who are elected representatives of each village in the Basin. Sub-headmen do not receive a salary.

Tribal authority meetings usually take place monthly, and involve most councillors and those who have proposals to make. All councillors are men, and participants at such meetings are overwhelmingly, if not exclusively, men. The tribal authority court meets when required, and deals with approximately sixteen cases per month. Local stock theft, stick fights, and damage claims as a result of girls' pregnancies are typical cases which are brought before the court. Sentences are usually monetary fines which are enforced through the confiscation of property (usually stock). More serious cases involving violence or theft are heard in the Middledrift magistrate's court to which local defendants have the right to appeal on local decisions.

The Agricultural Extension Service of the Ciskei Government is represented by one agricultural officer in the Basin. Residing in Komkhulu, this officer has the task of advising cultivators and farmers on more efficient practices. He also acquires three tractors which are kept, while in the Basin, at his homestead. These government tractors are hired out to cultivators

(at about R12,50 per morgen in 1980). The Basin has one cattle dip located in the vicinity of Matinise. The stock inspector who does not live in the Basin, is responsible for the obligatory fortnightly dipping of registered stock in the Basin. Other officials of the Ciskei Department of Agriculture and Forestry are forest rangers responsible for the protection and upkeep of the Basin's afforested areas.

An agricultural co-operative based in Komkhulu trades in commodities such as paraffin, seed, and foodstuffs (samp, beans, peas and soup, for example). Membership is R25- and members enjoy preferences and cut prices for co-operative commodities.

Arable land is held by landed household heads under perpetual quitrent: a nominal annual fee is paid to the state in return for the exclusive right to cultivate the land. This quitrent tenure system is said by Amatola residents to have been introduced at the turn of this century into the Basin, in the North and South Valleys initially, and in the Highlands a little later. There are 409 perpetual quitrent deeds of grant registered at the Middledrift magistracy. Both landed and landless households have registered residential plots in one of the thirteen villages. These plots are probably held under a form of restricted freehold tenure, restrictions empowered by the Black Administration Act, No. 38 of 1927 as amended, and by the Regulations contained in Proclamation 293 of 1962 as amended by various subsequent regulations. Communal grazing land and plantations in the Basin are South African Trust land.

In 1980, the Agricultural and Rural Development Research Institute (ARDRI) of the University of Fort Hare initiated a development project in the Amatola Basin. As a result of its activities during the first year of the project, a number of innovations have been introduced. Village committees have been formed in all villages and these are becoming involved in a range of homestead, agricultural, health and welfare programmes. The agricultural co-operative which had become inactive in the late seventies has been resuscitated. Trial plots have been created, three in the Amatola valley in which maize and other cereals are planted, and one with vegetables in the Highlands. Thirdly, there has been a strong agricultural extension input with the present Amatola agricultural officer and the project director remaining involved on a full-time basis with the project (Appendix G). It is planned that the ARDRI input into the Basin will gradually be phased out as these innovations become self-sustaining.

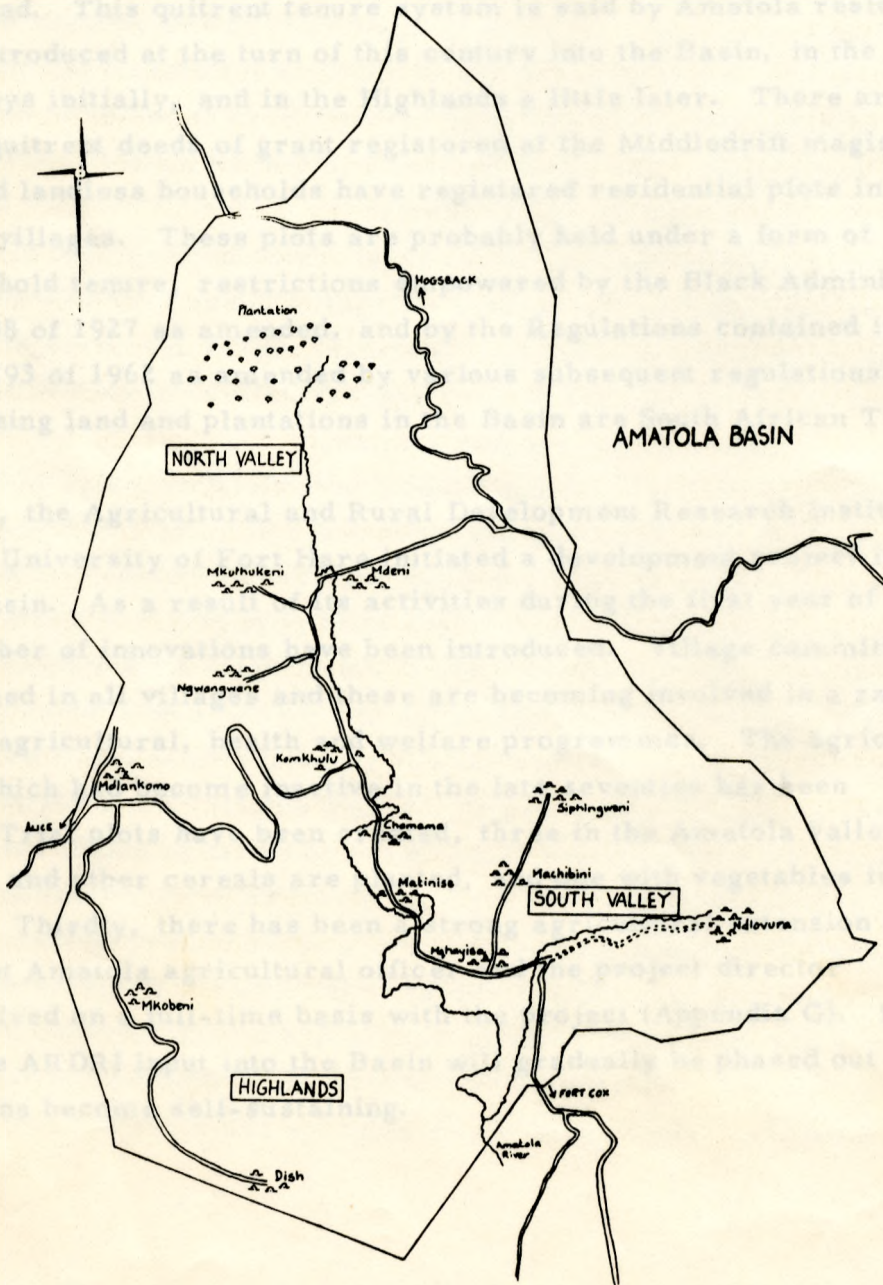
Figure III, 1

AMATOLA BASIN: POPULATION

Village	Total No of Homesteads	Occupied Homesteads Household Members		Empty Homesteads
		Present	Away	
1. Mqhayisa	97	392	103	9
2. Mkutukeni	80	350	234	2
3. Mkobeni	83	461	323	5
4. Machibini	75	372	179	8
5. Matinise	72	371	170	6
6. Mdlankomo	71	309	128	7
7. Ndlovura	67	326	112	4
8. Ngwangwane	59	250	133	6
9. Komkhulu	51	258	147	7
10. Mdeni	49	181	83	5
11. Dishu	48	251	77	2
12. Esphingweni	45	165	63	6
13. Chamama	42	157	51	5
TOTAL:	839	3 830	1 803	72

Total de facto population of the Basin

Map 3



III DEMOGRAPHY

i) Total Population and Regional Dispersion

There are thirteen villages in the Amatola Basin. These villages, which vary in size from forty to one hundred homesteads, are dense settlements within which all Amatola residents live (Appendix I). Not all homesteads are occupied. In fact, 72 out of the total 839 homesteads stand empty - at least for most of the year - since their owners and families live and work elsewhere. Within the occupied homesteads (numbering 767), household members are usually related to one another by ties of blood and marriage. These households consider the Amatola Basin as their home, or at least their rural home.

Not all members of these households are resident in the Basin. The villages are small, and none offer wage or salaried employment on anything but a minimal basis. Agricultural activities do not meet the aspirations of most of the younger adults. The need to obtain an alternative source of cash income is therefore compelling. This need is met by the migration of most economically active Amatola Basin adults to towns and cities in South Africa. The links between these migrants and those who remain in the Basin are maintained by various means: the regular remittance of cash or material goods to their homesteads; visits 'home'; and often, the return for schooling of children whose parents (or at least, fathers) effectively live in cities far from home. The other face of this link between migrant and homestead in the Basin is found in the migratory labour system regulations which require that migrants return to their rural homes annually, and prescribe that they may not take up permanent residence in the cities in which they work, even if they do so desire.

For these reasons, the total de facto population of the Basin - 3 830 persons - represents solely a part of those who are members of households with homesteads in the Basin. In fact, a further estimated 1 803 members of these households live and, in most cases, work outside the Basin. This figure of 1 803, moreover, excludes members of empty homesteads who were not enumerated in the survey.

Figure III, 2

HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS; LIVING IN THE BASIN

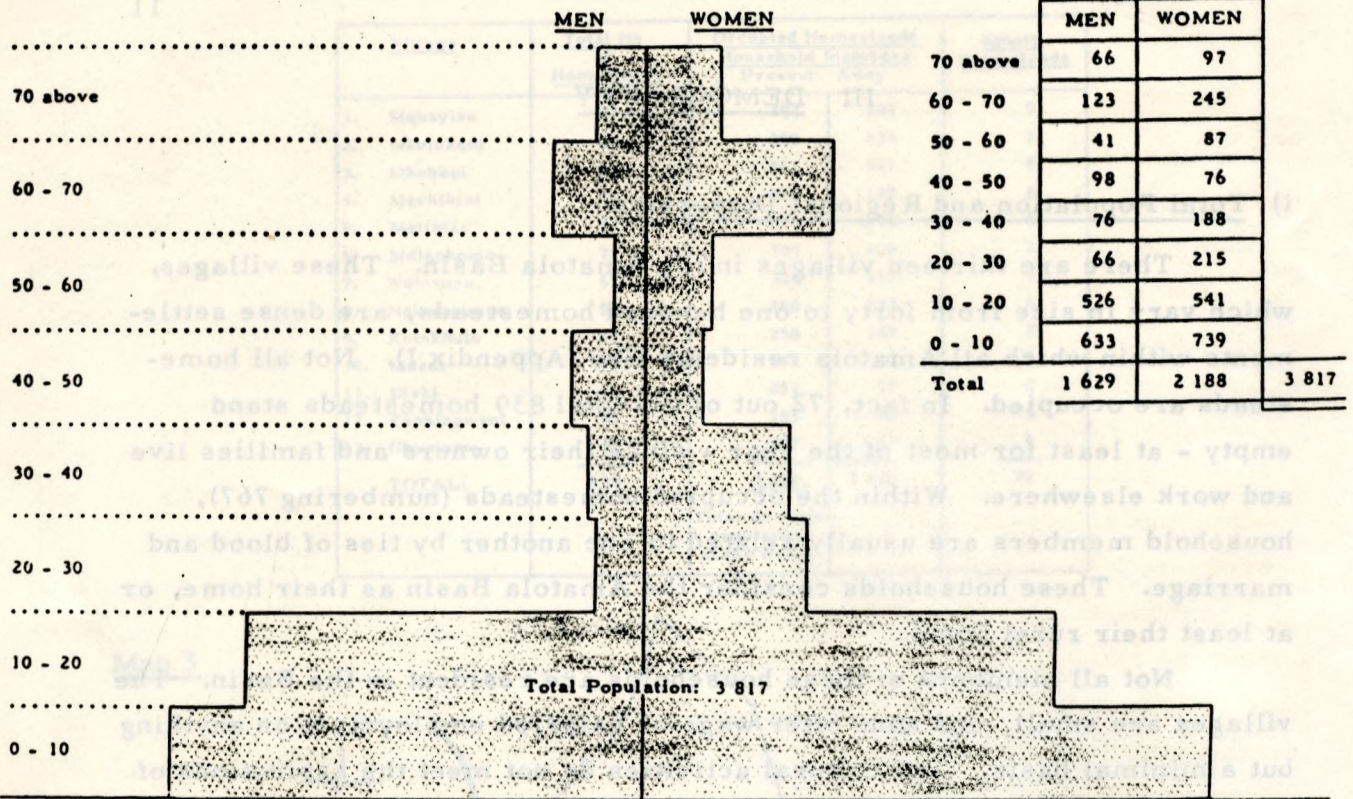
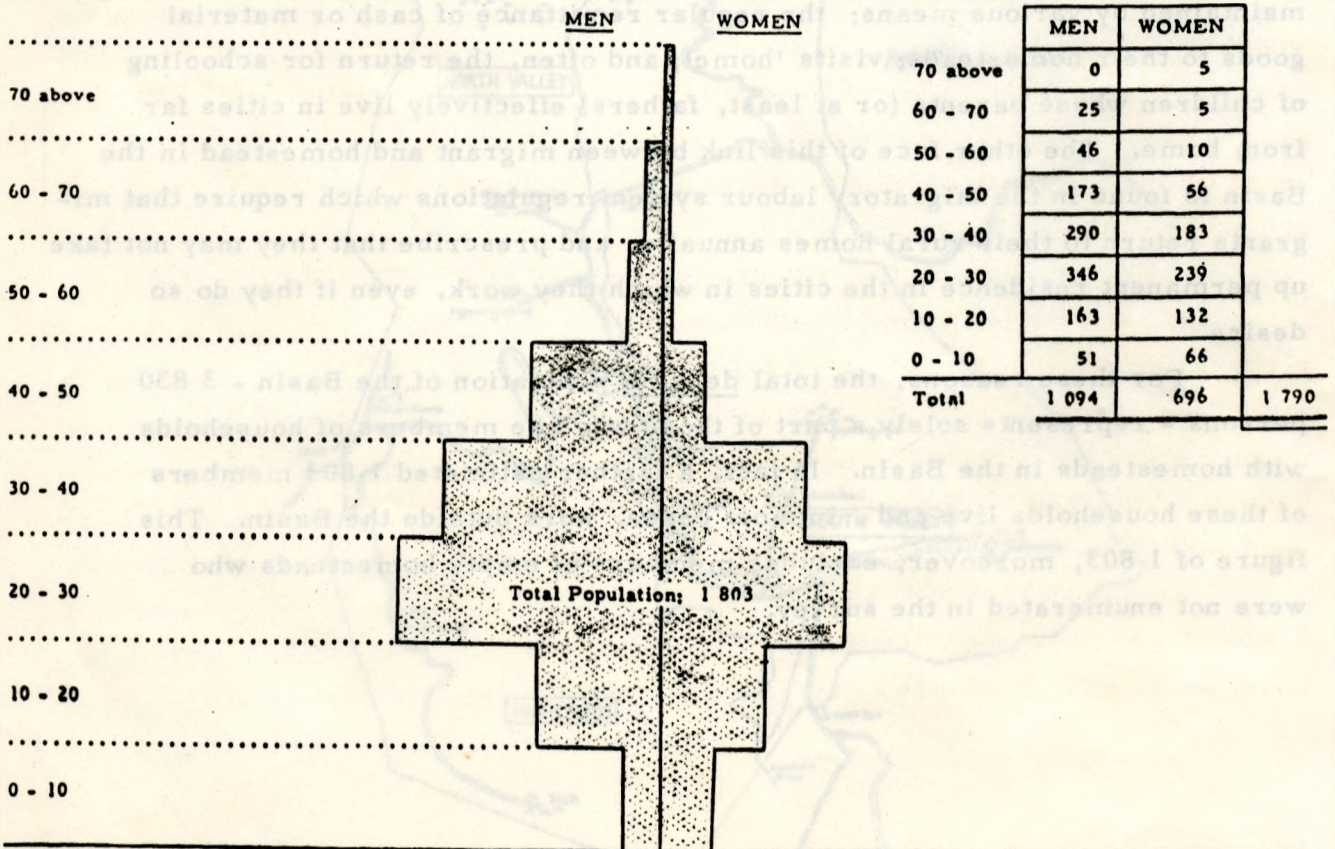


Figure III, 3

HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS; LIVING OUTSIDE THE BASIN



ii) Household, age and sex structure

As is clear from the sex and age pyramids opposite, adults between the ages of twenty and sixty are the most likely to be living and working outside the Basin. In fact only twenty-five per cent of men and fifty-four per cent of women in this age category are resident in the Basin (Appendix A). As a result, those who live in the Basin consist overwhelmingly of children and the aged, with a consequent tremendous responsibility being placed upon the relatively few adults, mostly female, between the ages of twenty and sixty. In fact, sixty-four per cent of the Basin's resident population is under twenty, and thirty-six per cent under ten. Two adults out of three (67%), moreover, between the ages of 20 and 60 are women (Appendix A).

This tremendous demographic imbalance is reflected in the household structure found in the Basin: though two out of three heads of household are men (63%), one third of these male heads (21% of total) is absent and therefore attempting to play the double role of head of household and cash-earning migrant. Effectively, in almost all these cases, the migrant's wife - resident in the Basin - acts as head of the household with regard to Basin-oriented activities. In fact, more than half the effective heads of households in the Basin are women, twenty-one per cent being wives of absent migrants, and the rest widows (36%) with a few women who are separated from their husbands (Appendix B).

The age distribution of these effective heads follows this established pattern of demographic imbalance. More than half the heads (55%) are sixty years of age or older, and the majority of heads younger than sixty (66%) are women.

If Amatola households (comprising members resident and away) are classified as three (47%) and two generational (51%), one third of the three-generational households have both parents living outside the Basin, leaving grandparents and children resident in the homestead in the Basin (18% of total). A few households (2%) consist of a single person or a couple who have lost family and other ties, and form a small household unto themselves (Appendix B).

The mean size of households resident in homesteads in Amatola is 5,01 (median 4,37) whereas that of complete households (including members living outside the Basin) is 7,36.

iii) Demographic Changes

No information is available to assess the rate of population change in the Basin. Clinic records show that 59 and 62 babies were delivered in 1979 and 1980 respectively. Some pregnant women however undergo ante-natal inspections at the clinic and then leave the Basin for the birth of their children. The birth rate in the Basin is therefore probably higher than the above figures indicate.

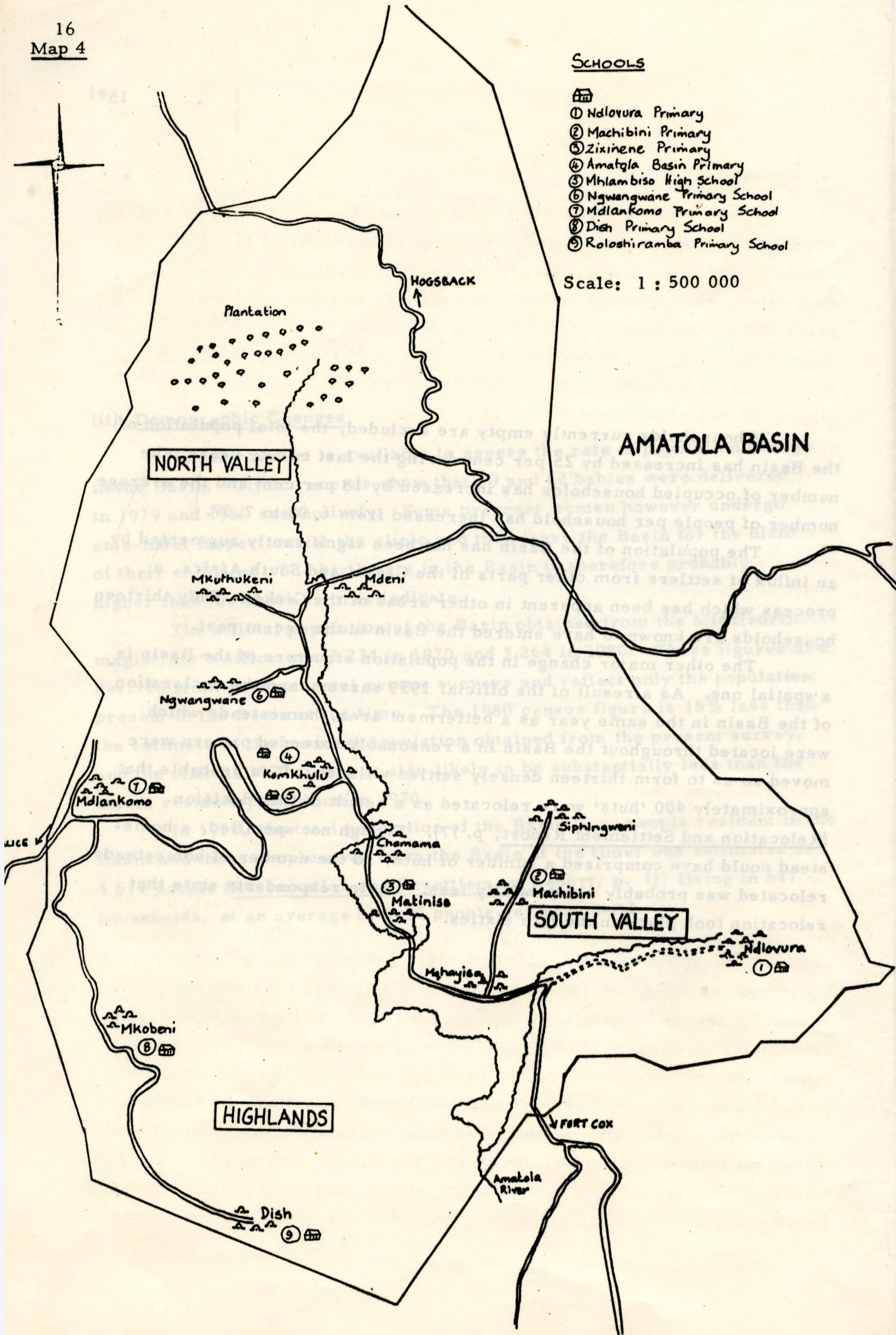
The official population of the Basin obtained from the Middledrift magistrate's office was 3 234 in 1970 and 3 264 in 1980. These figures are derived from governmental census surveys and reflect only the population present in the Basin at the time. The 1980 census figure is 16% less than the estimate of the resident population obtained from the present survey, and the official 1970 figure is also likely to be substantially less than the actual resident population in 1970.

In 1959, the total population of the Basin (i. e. people resident in the Basin and those people away from the Basin at the time) was estimated at 4 514 people (Reclamation and Resettlement Report, p. 7), living in 647 households, at an average of 6,98 people per household.

SCHOOLS

- ① Ndlovura Primary
- ② Machibini Primary
- ③ Zixinene Primary
- ④ Amatola Basin Primary
- ⑤ Mhlambiso High School
- ⑥ Ngwangwane Primary School
- ⑦ Mdlankomo Primary School
- ⑧ Dish Primary School
- ⑨ Roloshiramba Primary School

Scale: 1 : 500 000



AMATOLA BASIN

NORTH VALLEY

SOUTH VALLEY

HIGHLANDS

FORT COX

Amatola River

HOGSBACK

Plantation

Mkuthukeni

Mdeni

Ngwangwane

Kemkhulu

Mdlankomo

Chamama

Matinisa

Siphingweni

Machibini

Ndlovura

Mkobeni

Dish

iv) Education

In the Amatola Basin, there are nine schools which form part of the Middledrift Circuit. They not only create a very important set of activities for the children of resident households - half of the population living in the Basin (48%) is at school - but they also provide salaried employment for fifty-four teachers (in 1980).

There is one high school located in Komkhulu which offers schooling from Standard Six to Standard Eight. Of the other eight schools, four offer schooling to Standard Five, two to Standard Four, and one each to Standard Two, and to Standard One. The location of the nine schools is shown on the map opposite. Since five villages do not provide primary schooling at all, and another four villages schooling to levels less than Standard Five, many young children must walk long distances daily if they wish to attend school. The location of the one high school in Komkhulu exacerbates this problem for older children. This partially explains the fact that over half the Amatola school children living outside the Basin are attending secondary school: they have left to live close to the schools they attend (Figure III, 5).

All Amatola school principals pointed to the inadequate accommodation available at their schools. Both classrooms and toilets are of poor quality. In 1980, the average number of pupils per classroom for the Basin as a whole was fifty (50, 3; 54, 7 in 1979), with pupils of more than one Standard sharing rooms in almost all cases. In the primary schools, half the rooms used as classrooms are private or church property. Not only therefore is accommodation inadequate, but in short supply.

The other main issue raised by most of the principals was that of staff shortage. In the Basin as a whole, the average number of pupils per teacher in 1980 was thirty-three (33, 5; 37, 5 in 1979). One probable reason for this shortage of both staff and accommodation, and for the large numbers of school children in the Basin, is the presence in the Basin of children of households living elsewhere, often in urban areas, for the purpose of attending school. Apart from inadequate facilities for rugby, netball and athletics in Komkhulu, no other sporting facilities exist for anyone in the Basin.

Though no statistics for the extent of truancy, or the drop-out rate were available, school principals agreed that illness, bad weather, distances which children must cover from home to school, and tasks usually related to household livestock (dipping and ploughing) were the main reasons. Since

Figure III, 4

EDUCATION OF ADULTS

MEN

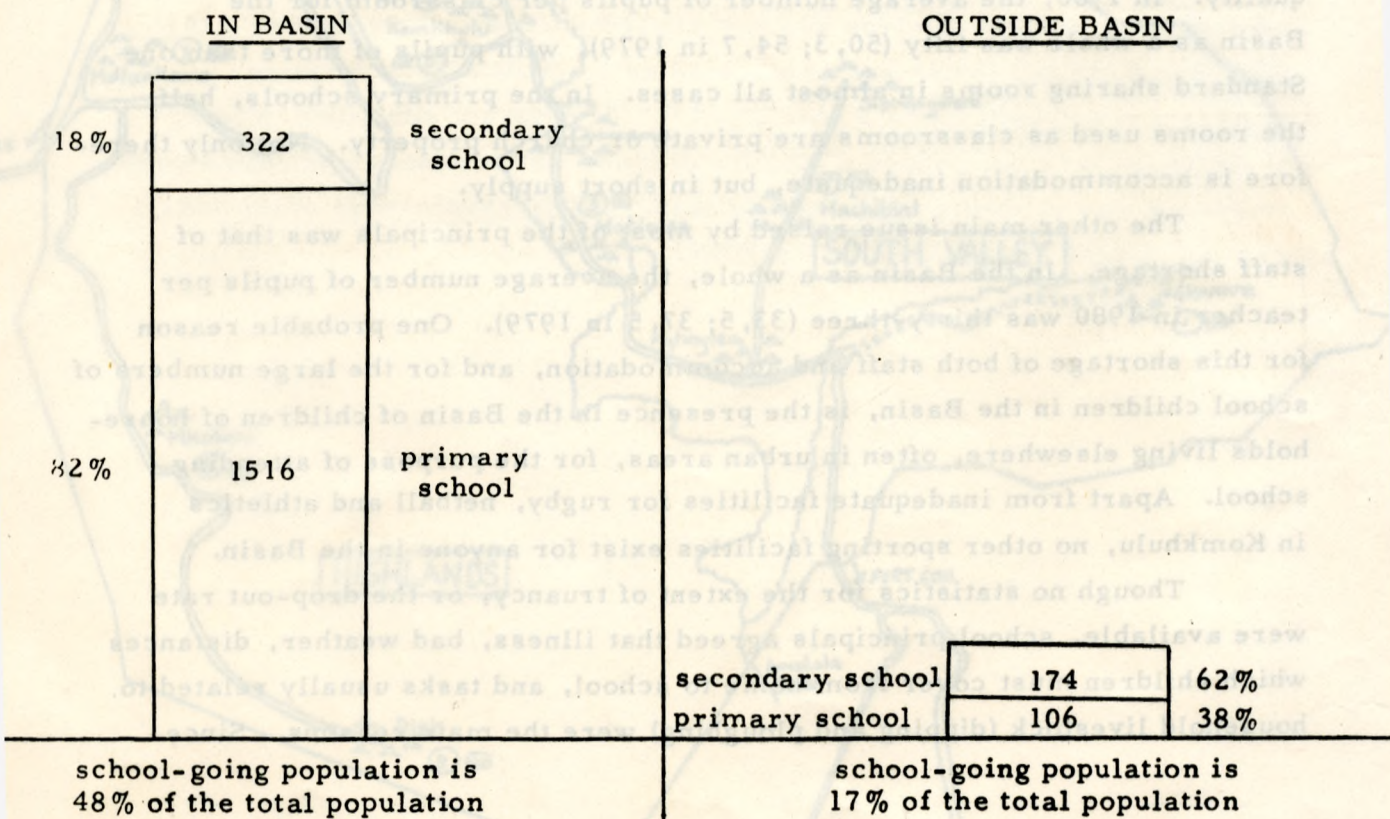
<u>Living in Amatola</u>		<u>Living outside Amatola</u>
24%	Std 6 and higher	31%
32%	Std 4 and 5	42%
44%	Std 3 and less	27%
100%		100%

WOMEN

<u>Living in Amatola</u>		<u>Living outside Amatola</u>
31%	Std 6 and higher	61%
43%	Std 4 and 5	33%
26%	Std 3 and less	6%
100%		100%

Figure III, 5

Number of School-going Children



these latter activities are usually reserved for older children, the effect is probably felt most at high school level, among boys rather than girls. Additional information on all schools is given in Appendix C. It is worth noting that the very high failure rate in 1980 among Standard Seven and Eight pupils is related to the country-wide school boycott movement of that year.

Among adults - men and women over twenty and not attending school - two very definite educational trends are apparent: women have higher qualifications than their male counterparts, and those living and (in most cases) working outside the Amatola Basin have higher qualifications than their counterparts resident in the Basin (Figure III, 4).

A number of possible explanations can be offered for these trends. Activities which boys are expected to perform such as cattle herding and ploughing interfere with school attendance whilst girls' duties such as baby sitting, nursing and gardening do not to the same extent. Many boys, too, leave the Basin in their mid-teens to seek employment in South African cities. The higher qualifications of those outside the Basin is a well-known trend. Rural-urban migration is a selective process since it is those with higher expectations and talents to offer that move in search of employment with the maximum cash remuneration. The other reason for this differential is quite simply that the adult population in the Basin is older than that outside. Older Amatola household members have lesser qualifications than their younger counterparts. In 1959, in fact, there were six schools in the Basin, four offering Standard Six and three Standard Three (Relocation and Settlement Report, p. 9). Education is more accessible today than it was then.

Within the Basin, nonetheless, one adult man out of four has Standard Six or higher qualifications (24%), and for women, this ratio rises to one out of three (31%). As already pointed out, the more highly educated and younger adult group in the Basin consists of a clear majority of women, many the wives of men playing the dual role of (absent) household-head and cash-earning migrant.

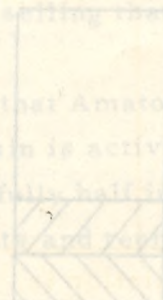


Figure III, 6

LOCATIONS OF THOSE LIVING OUTSIDE AMATOLA

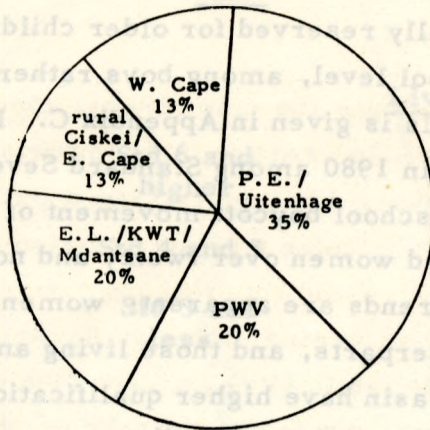
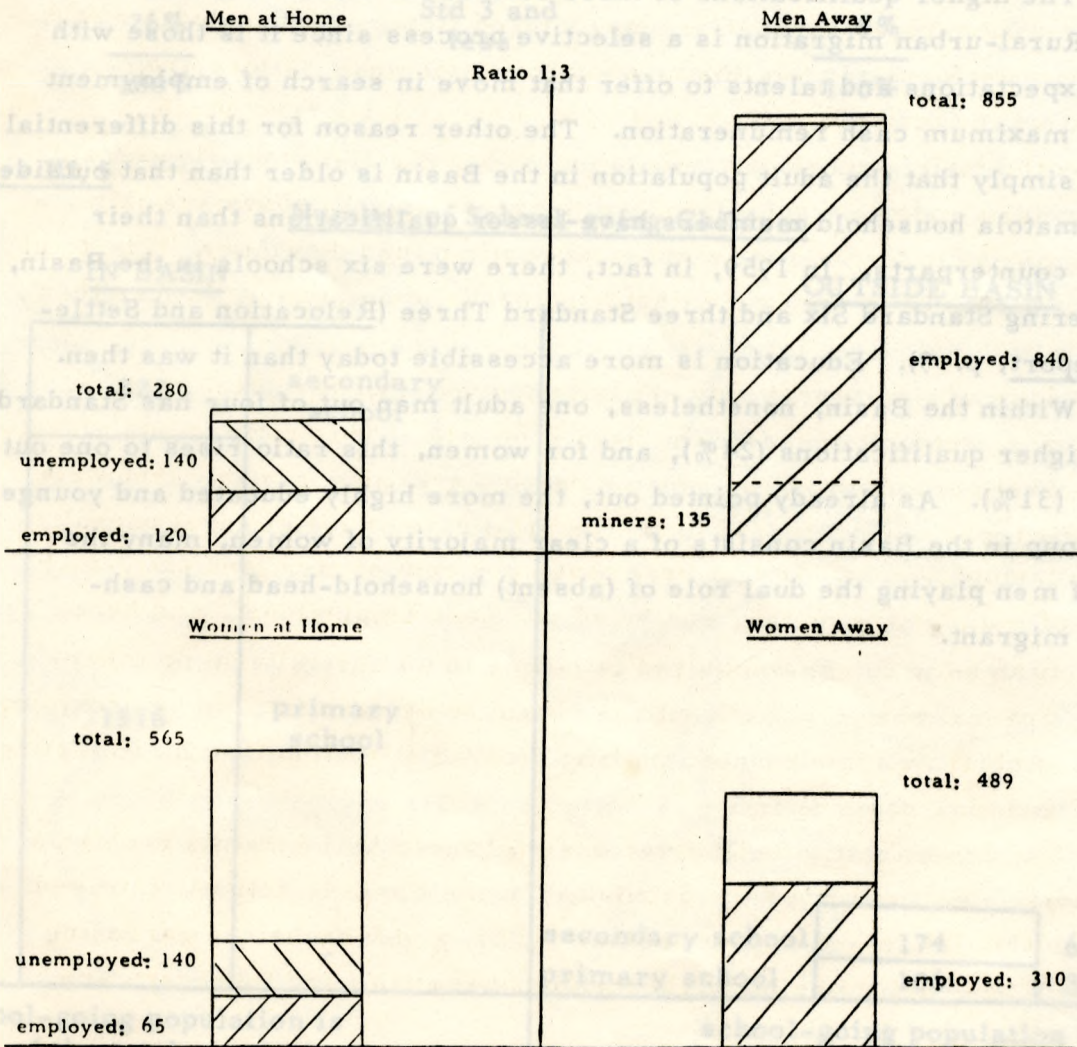


Figure III, 7

AMATOLA BASIN:
ADULTS BETWEEN THE AGES OF
TWENTY AND SIXTY



v) Labour

It has already been shown that the majority of Amatola adults between twenty and sixty years of age live and work outside the Basin (Figure III, 7). The overwhelming majority of these men are employed (98%), and the same for the majority of women (63%). These migrants are employed in a wide variety of jobs ranging from skilled and supervisory to unskilled. One out of six employed men is working as a miner (16%). The location of these people - all of whom live outside the Basin - is given opposite, and is based on each individual migrant since a number of households have members in different parts of South Africa. The vast majority of these migrants live and work in towns and cities (those in the Western Cape residing overwhelmingly in greater Cape Town), and one out of five lives in the Transvaal.

In the Basin itself, there are few jobs which are wage or salary-earning. These are almost all state-paid jobs and include teachers, foresters, civic employment such as headmen and the chief, clinic staff, agricultural officers and labourers. Non-state remunerated employment includes a few drivers who work outside the Basin, and shop assistants. There are opportunities for temporary, casual employment as labourers which is offered by the civic authorities. Recently, drought relief funds (londoloza) have been used to employ work-seekers temporarily. As shown opposite, men gain access to wages and salaries more often than do women. The total number of such jobs in the Basin (including casual employment) is less than 200.

Adults who state that they are unemployed, that they seek wage or salaried jobs, outnumber those who have such jobs. This ratio points clearly to the general perception in the Basin - particularly among men - that wage and salaried jobs are preferred to the uncertainties of agricultural pursuits, and of self-employment. In fact only seven per cent of men (and sixty-four per cent of women) are neither employed nor seek employment, and hence most likely to become self-employed full-time in an agricultural or other pursuit. Several people in each village obtain some cash income by providing services such as building houses, making furniture, selling thatch, collecting firewood and making medicines.

This general attitude however does not mean that Amatola residents do not work. Almost half of the population of the Basin is actively involved in field cultivation in one way or another (43%), and fully half in gardening (48,5%). These activities highlight the fact that adults and teenagers are

constantly involved in the production of food, as well as homestead tasks and chores.

There is a sexual division of labour apparent in these activities. As has already been said, teenagers (11 - 20) are actively involved in field and garden cultivation. In the fields, two out of three boys (65%) are involved, whereas one out of four teenage girls (28%) works. On the other hand, two out of three boys (73%) and girls (68%) spend some of their time gardening. If the adult group of field and garden cultivators (over 20) is divided in a similar fashion, the same tendency, for men to be engaged in field cultivation, and women in garden cultivation, is apparent. Men form fifty-seven per cent of field cultivators, women sixty-one per cent of gardeners. The sexual division of labour, though note-worthy, is nonetheless by no means exclusive; many adult women are field cultivators, many men gardeners.

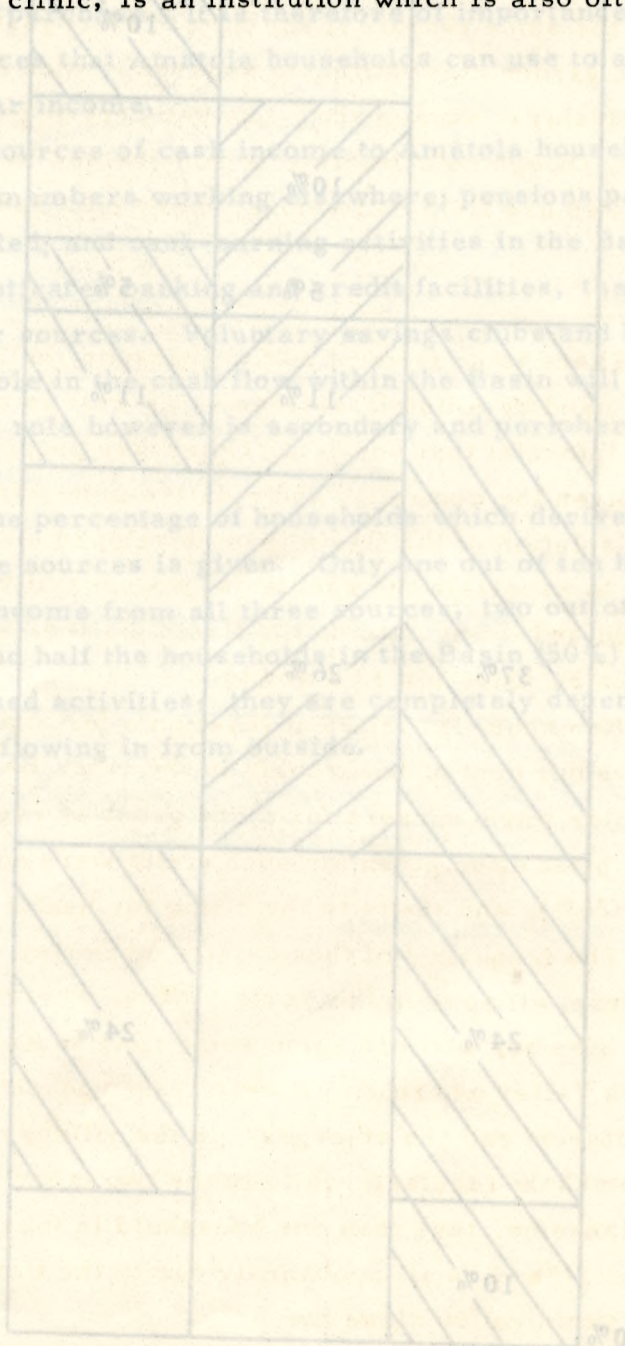
vi) Travel

There is no form of public transport in the Basin. The twenty-five vehicles used by Amatola residents, as well as other outside vehicles, do offer an informal taxi service. Otherwise people walk or travel on horse-back. Given the centrality and relative importance of Komkhulu to residents, and the isolation of the Basin from developed towns in the vicinity, it is of interest to ascertain the residents' patterns of visiting: how often are Komkhulu and towns outside the Basin visited, and for what purposes? (Appendix H, Question 13 a and b).

Komkhulu is visited at least on a fortnightly basis by a member of sixty-five per cent of households in the other Basin villages. Schoolchildren and regular wage-earners form one group of regular visitors. The other reasons most often given for such visits were social and religious responsibilities (25%), and visits to the clinic for health reasons (18%).

The frequency of these visits moreover changes significantly as one moves from villages in the North Valley, where virtually every household had had one member who had spent some time in Komkhulu each fortnight, to the South Valley where visits were less frequent (66%). In the Highlands, a quite different pattern emerges. In the village of Dish, almost all households visit Komkhulu regularly while in the two other highland villages, Mkobeni and Mdlankomo, less than one household in four had visited the central village. This is in all probability due to the proximity of villages and shops in the Tyume valley close by.

As to visits outside the Basin, two households out of five (38%) had had a member pay a monthly visit to one of the towns in the vicinity of the Amatola Basin. Of these visitors, the vast majority (77%) had visited Alice. Other towns visited were Middledrift, King William's Town, East London and Port Elizabeth. The main reasons for these visits were to shop (50%) and to obtain medical attention (22%). Situated east of the Basin in the direction of Keiskammahoek, St Matthew's Hospital, which has direct responsibility for the Komkhulu clinic, is an institution which is also often visited.



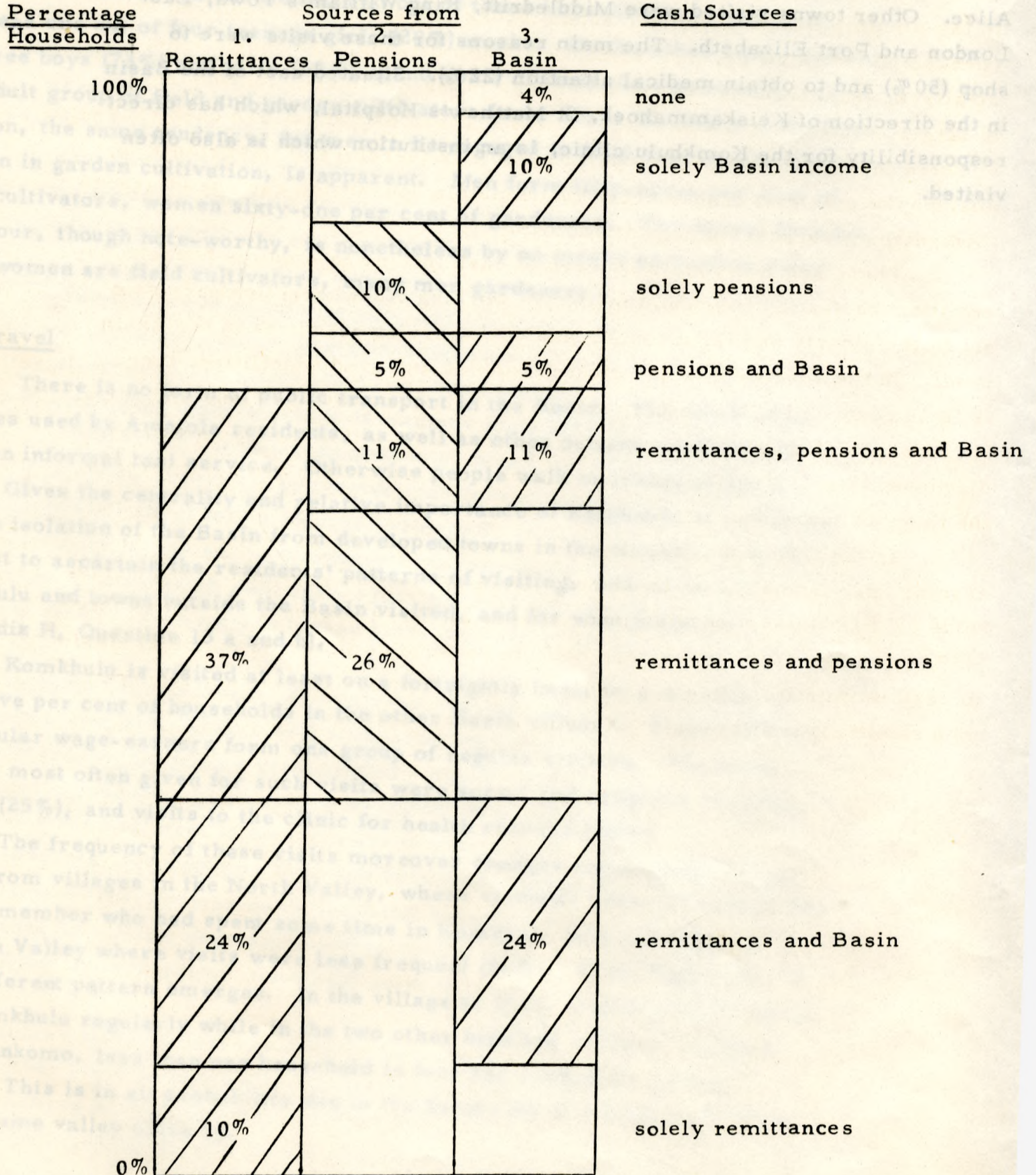
remittances and Basin

solely remittances

Figure IV, 1

HOUSEHOLD SOURCES OF CASH INCOME

1. Remittances from Family Members
2. Pensions
3. Cash-Earning Activities of Amatola Residents - Basin



IV INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

The presence of a cash economy permeates almost all aspects of life in the Amatola Basin. Clothes, school books and stationery, food and drink, corrugated iron roofing, and furniture for homesteads, are bought from retailers, from traders, at the four shops in the Basin and, increasingly, at larger outlets in Alice and other towns. These exchanges are cash exchanges or some form of credit or hire purchase. It is therefore of importance to analyse the potential cash sources that Amatola households can use to assure themselves a reasonably regular income.

There are three main sources of cash income to Amatola households: remittances sent by household members working elsewhere; pensions paid out to the elderly and the disabled; and cash-earning activities in the Basin itself. In the absence of sophisticated banking and credit facilities, there is little chance of other regular sources. Voluntary savings clubs and burial societies which do play some role in the cash flow within the Basin will be discussed later. Their overall role however is secondary and peripheral to the three primary sources.

In the table opposite, the percentage of households which derive regular cash income from these sources is given. Only one out of ten households (11%) obtains a regular income from all three sources, two out of three (66%) from two of the three, and half the households in the Basin (50%) obtain no cash income from Basin-based activities: they are completely dependent upon remittances and pensions flowing in from outside.

cash remittances



remittances in kind

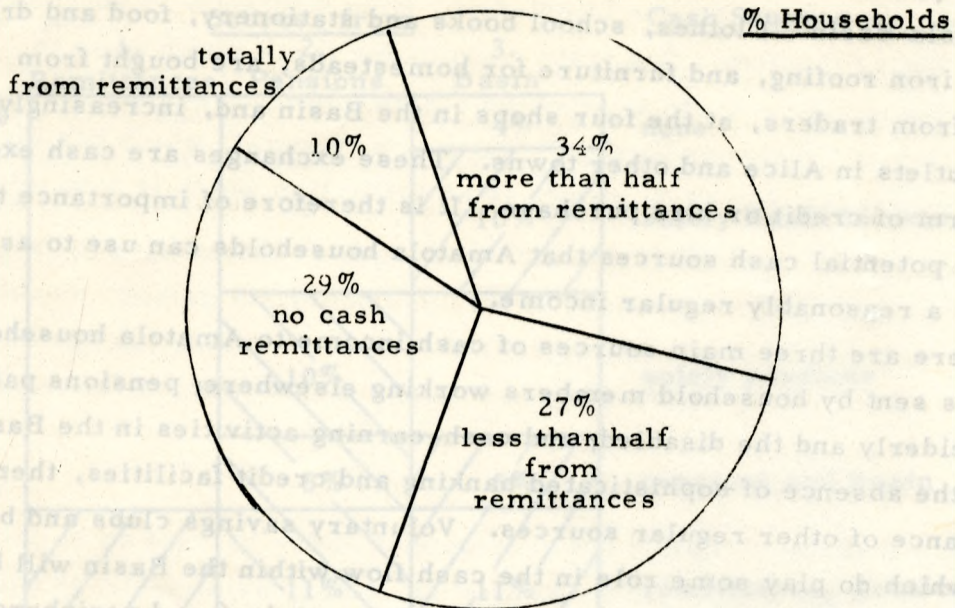


Figure IV, 2

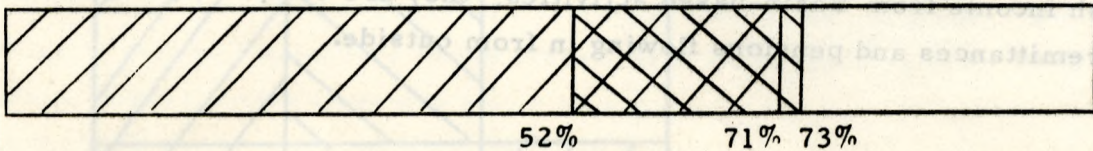
1. Household Source of Cash Income:



Remittances

Remittances as part of Household Cash Income



Percentage Households receiving remittances



-  cash remittances
-  remittances in kind

i) Remittances

Remittances probably fulfil a number of different functions for Amatola households: attempts at maintaining and solidifying marriage ties between absent husband and wife with children; sons who wish to support their homes (and assure their inheritance); capital for investment in homestead, stock and crop production; or cash upon which Amatola residents of poorer households depend almost totally.

Not all who are employed and living outside the Basin remit, nor do those that do necessarily remit regularly. Men (73% of men employed) are more likely to remit than women (44% of women employed). Two probable reasons are that men are more likely to have spouses in the Basin, and younger men will probably have some expectations regarding inheritance of land and stock in the Basin. A little over half of those remitting (52% of men, 60% of women) do so regularly, usually on a monthly basis. Irregular remittances such as cash amounts brought home by a returning migrant, then, are commonplace. This irregularity and unpredictability causes difficulties and hardship for Amatola residents, particularly for the poorer households. It also affects the ability to cultivate regularly.

It is also common for people to remit in kind: homestead furniture, agricultural implements, corrugated iron roof-sheeting, and various gifts for family members form an incomplete list. Moreover, as is shown opposite, these material goods are almost always supplementary to, rather than in place of, cash remittances.

Close on half the households in Amatola (44%) depend on cash remittances for over half their monthly household (shown in the pie opposite), and fewer than one household in three (29%) receives no cash from remittances.

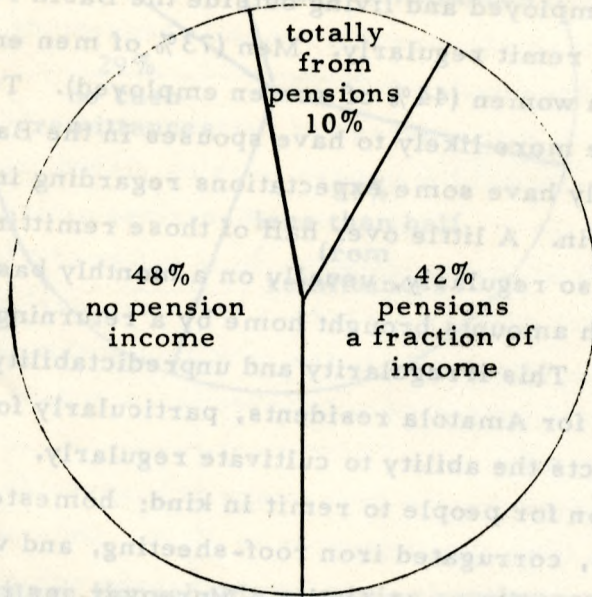
Remittances

Figure IV, 3

2. Household Source of Cash Income:

Pensions

Pensions as part of Household Cash Income



Number of Pensioners in Basin

<u>Old Age</u>	<u>Disability and other</u>	<u>Total</u>
372*	49	421
88%	12%	

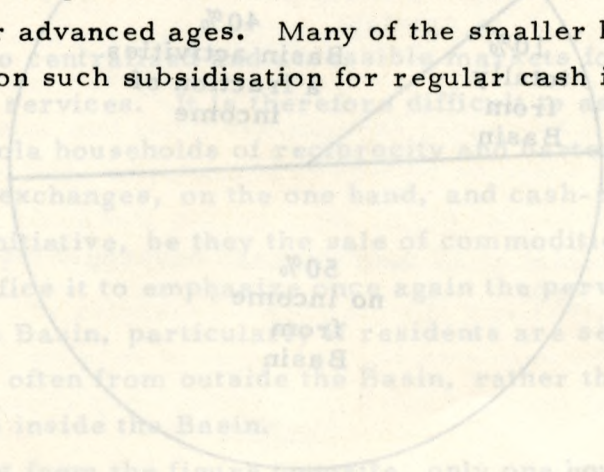
* Not solely state pensions: officially there are 280 old age, and 52 disability and blind pensioners. (Middledrift magistracy, March 1980).

Cash Earning Activities of Amatola Residents

ii) Pensions

State pensions are paid out every second month to Amatola residents at three points in the Basin by officials of the Middledrift magistracy. These points are located in Komkhulu, the South Valley (Mqhayisa) and the Highlands (Mdlankomo). The cash value of these pensions is approximately R33- per month. Official magistrate's figures indicate that there are 280 old age pensioners in the Basin, and 52 disabled and blind pensioners. Our survey results identified substantially more persons receiving old age pensions, many from former employers in the private sector.

As is apparent from the pie opposite, every second household (52%) includes (at least) one pensioner. Nine out of ten (88%) receive subsidies as a result of their advanced ages. Many of the smaller households are largely dependent on such subsidisation for regular cash income.



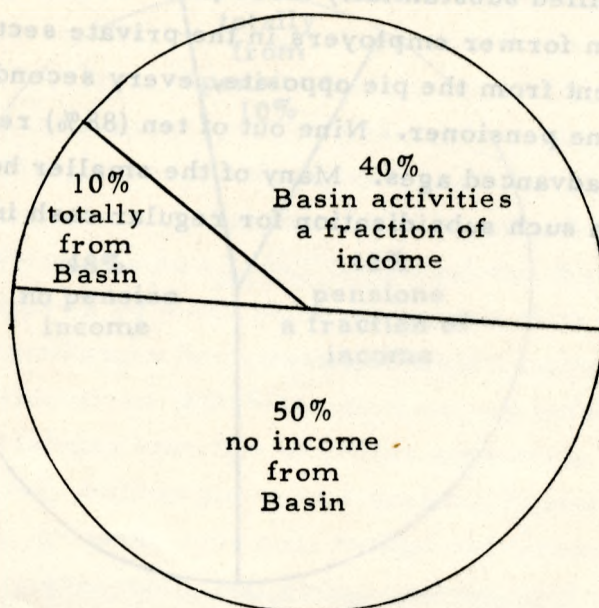
As is evident from the figure opposite, only one household in two earns cash in the Basin (50%), and more persons obtain an income from wage and salary (59%) than from any other source. The majority of the cash income is derived from the informal sector and sale of produce (41%).

	Men	Women	
Wage and Salary	151	65	
Informal Sector and Sale of Produce	74	68	
Total	225	133	358

* including casual wage labour such as drought relief employment.

Figure IV, 43. Household Source of Cash Income:Cash Earning Activities of Amatola Residents

- (i) Wage and Salary Cash Source*
- (ii) Informal Sector and Sale of Agricultural Produce

Basin Resident Activities as part of Household Cash IncomeNumber of Amatola Residents Earning Money

	Men	Women	
Wage and Salary	120	65	
Informal Sector and Sale of Produce	74	68	
Total	194	133	<u>327</u>

* Including casual wage labour such as drought relief employment.

iii) Cash-Earning Activities of Amatola Residents

This source of cash income can be subdivided into a component comprising wages and salaries and a component including cash-cropping, the sale of stock, as well as other informal sector activities such as homestead construction, the sale of medicines and other such services. Salaries and wages for the few jobs described earlier vary from monthly amounts in the range of R200- to R600- for teachers, R100- to R200- for stock and agricultural rangers, and R60- to R100- for regular labourer employment. There are extremes with the chief on the one side, and irregular casual labourers on the other. The latter receive something in the region of R2- per day worked.

There are no centralised and accessible markets for most Basin-produced goods and services. It is therefore difficult to assess the relative importance to Amatola households of reciprocity and barter, share-cropping and other non-cash exchanges, on the one hand, and cash-producing activities through individual initiative, be they the sale of commodities or services, on the other hand. Suffice it to emphasize once again the pervasiveness of the cash economy in the Basin, particularly if residents are seen as consumers buying commodities often from outside the Basin, rather than as producers selling commodities inside the Basin.

As is evident from the figure opposite, only one household in two earns cash in the Basin (50%), and more persons obtain an income from wage and salaried employment (59%) than from self-employment. One household in ten (10%) is fully dependent upon this combined source of cash for its monthly budget.

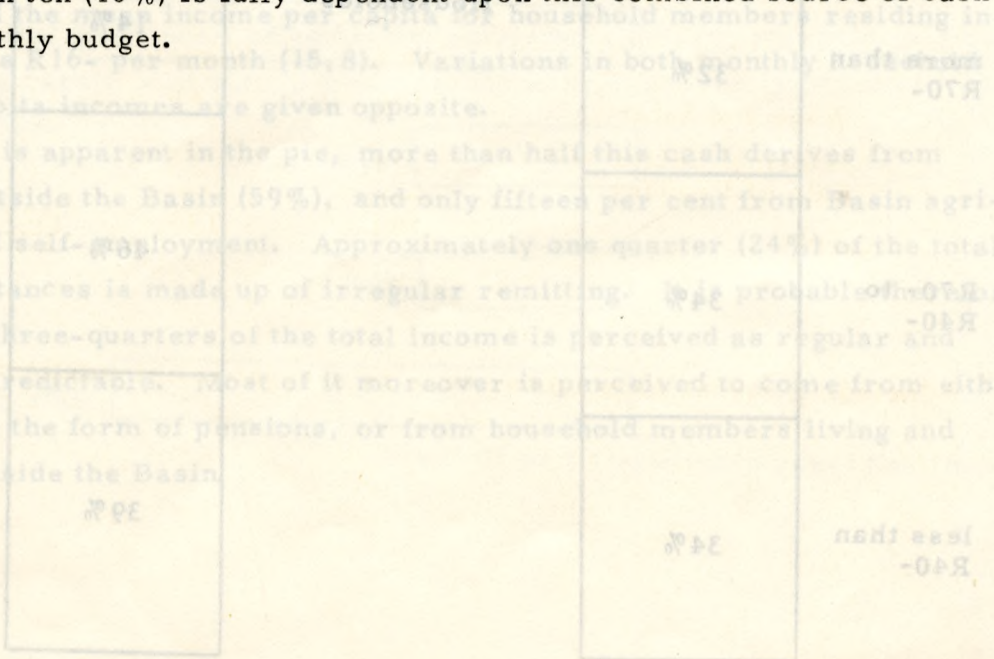
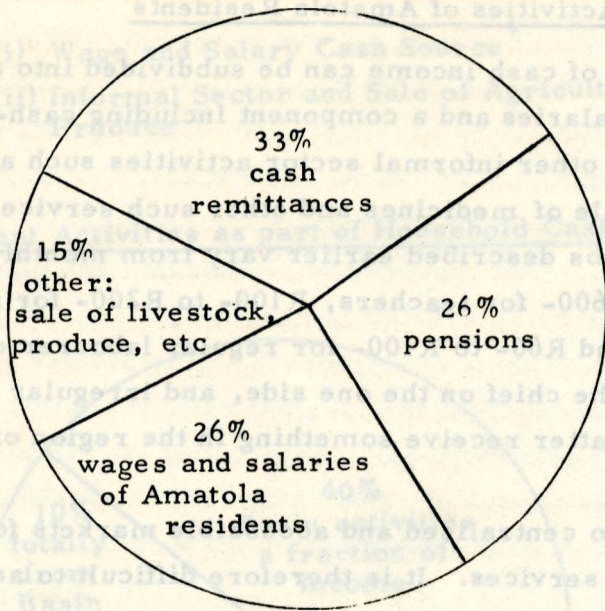


Figure IV, 5

MONTHLY CASH HOUSEHOLD INCOME:

TOTAL BASIN



Estimated total of all monthly cash household incomes in the Basin: R55 000-

Monthly

	<u>Household Income</u>	<u>% Households</u>	<u>Per Capita Income</u>	
more than R70-	32%		14%	more than R25
R70- to R40-	34%		46%	R25 to R10
less than R40-	34%		39%	less than R10-

Estimated Monthly Cash Income of Amatola Households: Quantification

It is always difficult to judge how careful and how wary respondents are in answering questions probing their household budgets. In addition, methods to compute mean monthly incomes which include irregular remittances, the sale of stock, crops, and services as well as regular cash sources are equally difficult to justify satisfactorily.

In this survey, two techniques were used to try to overcome these problems. In the first place, official pension statistics, wage and salary information for civil service jobs, and comparative information on remittances were collected. By using these as a check on the survey results regarding regular sources of household cash income, a fair degree of coincidence and therefore probable validity was found. In the second place, separate questions were asked about pensions, about cash income from activities in the Basin, and about remittances (Appendix H). In the case of remittances, respondents were asked to specify amounts of cash and goods received during the six month period prior to the date of the interview. All non-regular sources of cash income were then assumed to be received once every six months. The relevant monthly amount was computed on this basis and added to regular sources to obtain an estimate of monthly cash household income. Material goods and services received were not included in this computation.

The total monthly cash flow through Amatola households is in the region of R55 000-. This excludes shop-owners' and other institutional monthly turnovers. The mean cash household income is R74- per month (74,5), and the mean income per capita for household members residing in the Basin is R16- per month (15,8). Variations in both monthly household and per capita incomes are given opposite.

As is apparent in the pie, more than half this cash derives from sources outside the Basin (59%), and only fifteen per cent from Basin agriculture and self-employment. Approximately one quarter (24%) of the total cash remittances is made up of irregular remitting. It is probable therefore that about three-quarters of the total income is perceived as regular and therefore predictable. Most of it moreover is perceived to come from either the state in the form of pensions, or from household members living and earning outside the Basin.

Figure IV, 7

DIETARY PATTERNS

Food Consumed During Last Evening Meal

- Percentage of Households

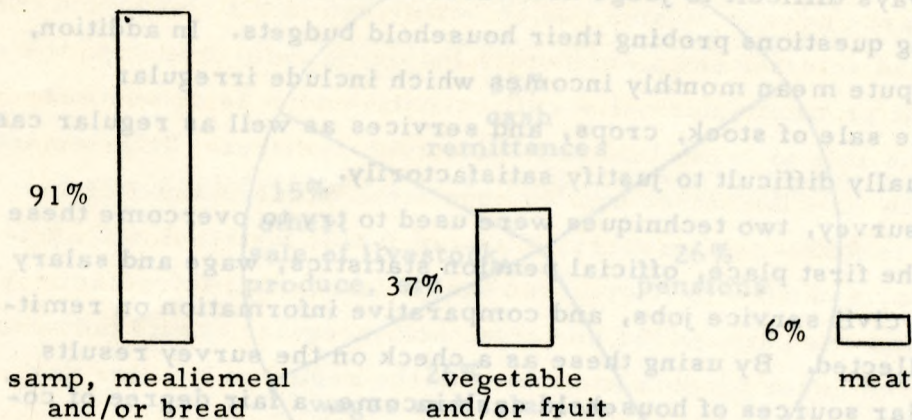
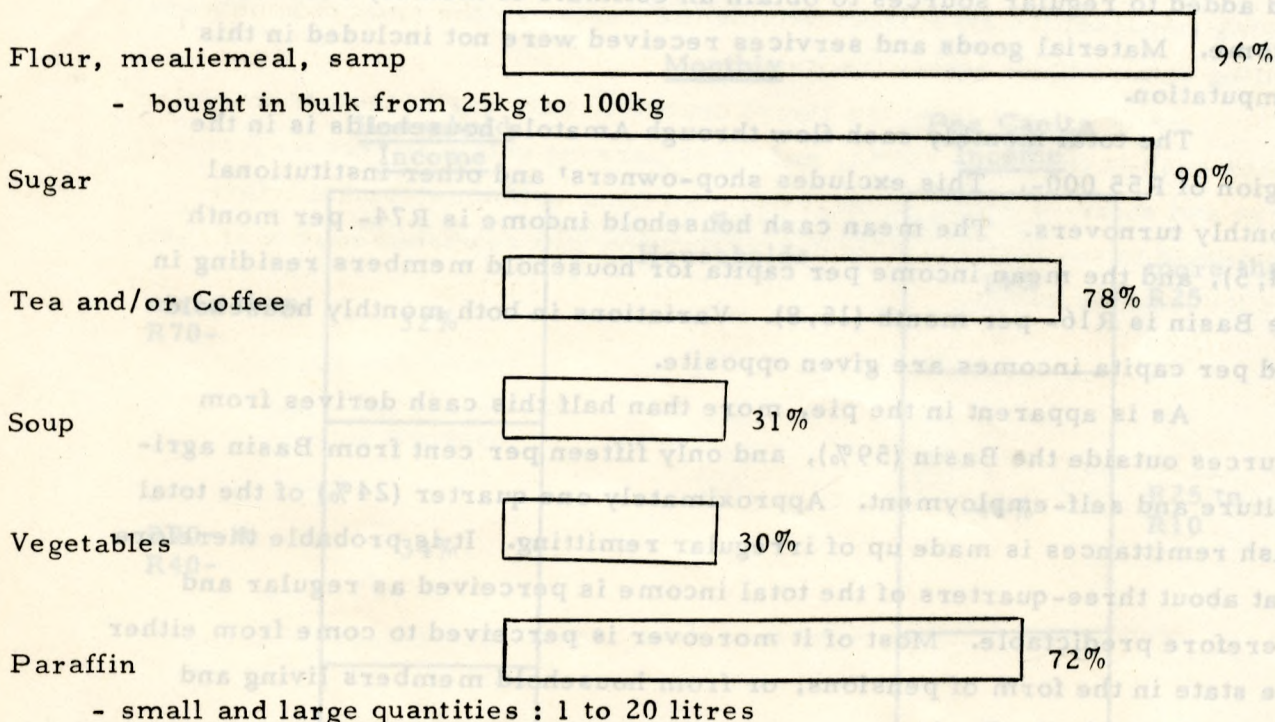


Figure IV, 8

SHOPPING BASKET : 'bought during the past 14 days'

Commodities bought for Household

- Percentage of Households



Consumption

The number of retail and trading points in the Amatola Basin are few: four licenced shops, two in Komkhulu ('Weiss' and 'Giyose'), and the others in Mqhayisa (known as either 'Maqetuka' or 'Matala') and in Mdeni ('Matiso'); the farmers' co-operative in Komkhulu; and at least one informal trading point in Matinise. Since there is no outlet at all in the Highlands, shoppers from that region sometimes do regular shopping in the Tyume valley close by. In general however, three out of four households (76%), with little variation between villages, use the two large Basin trading stores - 'Weiss' (41%) and 'Maqetuka' (35%) - for regular shopping. With only two per cent of households not having shopped during the fortnight prior to the date of interview, all households buy food and household goods at least fortnightly. Half these households (47%) have credit facilities at the stores they use.

In most cases, a member of the household frequents the store though there is a delivery service from 'Weiss', and informally from most owners and drivers of Basin vehicles.

The typical fortnightly shopping basket is shown opposite. Maize and flour which are bought in bulk, paraffin to supplement wood as a light and heat source, and sugar to sweeten beverages are the most common items. Bread which is eaten regularly, though available and sometimes bought at stores, is also often baked at home. Very little meat is bought or, for that matter, consumed regularly.

The typical diet then conforms to this shopping pattern: almost everyone has a cereal-based main meal daily, often supplemented with vegetables and fruit (most often beans, potatoes, cabbage, pumpkin or watermelon), but rarely with animal protein. Beverages generally consumed are tea and coffee.

V AGRICULTURE IN THE AMATOLA BASIN

i) A Brief Outline

Agriculture in the Amatola Basin involves cultivation of crops on dryland - tracts of land which are dependent on rainfall for watering - and stock farming. These activities are mainly of a subsistence nature, very little of the product being sold. It should be emphasized that the majority of households practising agriculture do not make a living out of it. As has been shown, the major means of subsistence is cash flowing in from outside the Basin, and agriculture is a subsidiary source of subsistence.

Land rights are held in terms of the quitrent form of land tenure, whereby a nominal rent is paid each year. Rights to an allotment are inheritable and are not generally alienable.

Cultivating activities are decided by the effective head of household who takes decisions as to when to plough, plant, hoe and harvest. Ploughing is usually done with cattle, although, where money and terrain allow, use is made of tractors. The main cultivated crop is maize. Maize is planted in early summer and vegetables may be planted twice a year. Labour for cultivation is usually supplied by the available adults and children of the household, supplemented with assistance from close relatives. Labour is not hired except in the case of work parties, an infrequent occurrence in the Basin. More often, two families will pool their labour resources and ploughing stock, and work both their fields together, or will enter a share-cropping arrangement.

Maize and vegetables are likewise cultivated in gardens, where the work is largely done by members of the homestead. Most houses have gardens.

Not all households own stock, and fewer households own cattle, the most highly valued animal. Cattle are used mainly as draught power for ploughing and for slaughter on important ceremonial and religious occasions.

Herding cattle is largely the responsibility of young boys, who take the cattle out to grazing camps and bring them back to the kraal or take them to the dipping tank. Cattle are generally kept in the grazing camps to be returned to kraals for dipping or when otherwise required.

Cattle should therefore be seen as a sporadic supply of milk and meat, being slaughtered mainly for ceremonial purposes. Essentially they

Figure V, 1

LAND RIGHTS AND OWNERSHIP OF STOCK

(by % of households)

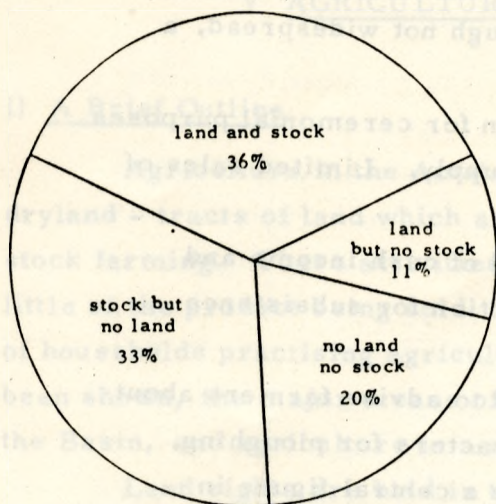


Figure V, 2

ACCESS TO ARABLE LAND

(by % of households)

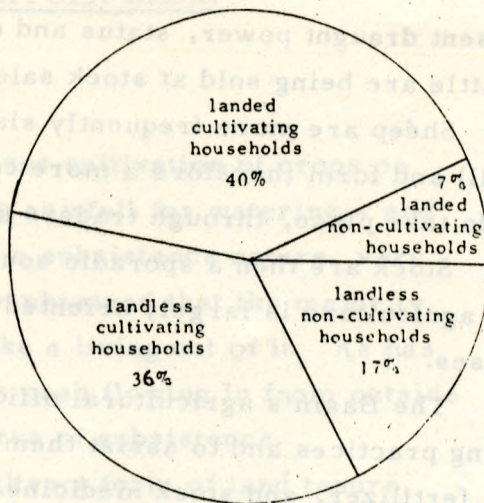


Figure V, 3

LAND RIGHTS, LAND CULTIVATION AND OWNERSHIP OF STOCK

	<u>% households with stock</u>	<u>% households with cattle</u>	<u>no of cattle per cattle owning household</u>
Households with land that cultivate	78	71	5.6
Households with land that do not cultivate	64	64	4.1
Households with no land that cultivate	65	56	3.9
Households with no land that do not cultivate	54	39	3.1

Figure V, 4

OWNERSHIP OF STOCK

<u>Type of Stock</u>	<u>Estimated number in Basin</u>	<u>% of households owning type of stock</u>	<u>Average number per owning household</u>
Cattle	2 184	60%	4.8
Horses	112	8%	1.8
Sheep	1 206	14%	11.3
Goats	1 507	26%	7.6
In addition pigs and poultry are distributed as follows in the Basin			
Pigs	1 272	63%	2.6
Poultry	4 574	84%	7.4

(See Appendix E for comparison with the findings of other surveys)

ii) Statistical and Sociological Overview

Access to arable land is necessary for cultivation. Nearly half of the occupied homesteads (47%) have rights to arable land. The average size of these arable allotments is $2\frac{1}{2}$ morgen (Appendix E).

Households that do not have land rights may obtain informal access to all or part of another household's field. The conditions under which these landless households gain access to fields vary, ranging from payment in cash for the use of the field, to payment of part of the crops obtained from the field, to being granted free access to the field.

Such landless homesteads make up just more than one-third (36%) of occupied households. Taken together with households with land rights that do cultivate, we may say that three-quarters (75%) of households in the Basin do cultivate fields.

Stock (under which are included horses, donkeys, cattle, sheep and goats) are owned by two-thirds of households (68%). Cattle are owned by sixty per cent of households, while substantially fewer households own sheep and goats. In addition, the majority of households own pigs and poultry.

Three-quarters (75%) of houses with land rights own stock while nearly two-thirds (63%) of landless households own stock. (The detailed distribution of households with land and/or stock is given in Figure V, 3, and these findings may be compared with those of other surveys in Appendix E). One-fifth (21%) of households have neither land nor stock. Landed households have more stock than landless households, and cultivating households have more stock than those that do not cultivate (see Figure V, 4).

The most important reasons households gave as to why they have not cultivated all available land, are shortage of labour (one-third of responses), shortage of means of ploughing, notably cattle (one-quarter of responses), shortage of money (one-fifth of responses) and drought (one-tenth of responses).

In objective terms, it is the combination of a variety of factors (access to labour, to draught power, to capital equipment, to effective agricultural extension services, to markets and to income) that determine a household's ability to cultivate.

The labour force is six-tenths (60%) male and four-tenths (40%) female, and by age it is seventy per cent adult. Access to labour is affected by the absence of many active adults working away as migrants. The availability of

these people at home for agricultural labour is often sporadic, as women are involved in time-consuming household tasks such as fetching water and firewood, and cooking, while teenage children are available only in the late afternoon and during weekends, when agriculture must compete with ceremonial, social and sporting activities. Additional labour may be obtained by soliciting help from neighbours and kinsmen, or by share-cropping out one's land, or by two households pooling their labour resources, or by hiring labour.

The main form of draught power used is cattle (nearly four-fifths of households plough solely with cattle). However labour is required, and households with access to cattle may not have the labour, or the money to hire the labour necessary to cultivate. Shortage of labour may be overcome by hiring tractors. However, the accessibility of tractors depends on their state of repair (at present two of the three tractors in the Basin are out of order), the accessibility of the agricultural officer (who has no form of transport), and upon having the necessary funds. Moreover, the fields of five villages (Mqhayisa, Machibini, Mdlankomo, Mkobeni and Dish) are partly or totally inaccessible to tractors, either because their fields are too steeply sloped or are too stoney for tractors.

Inaccessibility to capital equipment constrains the households' ability to cultivate. The Ciskei Government is able to supply seed, fertilizer, fencing equipment and other agricultural equipment at subsidized prices to Ciskeians. At present the existing agricultural co-operative provides only a limited service to its relatively few members, and its effectiveness outside Komkhulu is drastically diminished by problems of distance and communication. As a result people buy seed and equipment at unsubsidized prices, and those households that cannot afford these higher prices, are unable to plough.

Effective extension services are hampered by the fact that the single agricultural officer in the Basin has no form of transport. He is therefore unable to provide an effective link between the people of the Amatola Basin and the Department of Agriculture, or to visit households on a regular basis. He is thus also unable to fulfil his intended role of providing people with advice, encouragement and incentive, as well as more effective access to equipment and tractors.

The lack of either a sufficient or sufficiently regular income aggravates the problems caused by a shortage of labour, draught power, capital equipment and effective extension services. People are often unable

to hire labour or draught power, or to pay for whatever equipment and services may be available. This lack of income is again aggravated by the lack of any effective market link-up which might provide households with an outlet for their product, with an income from agriculture, and thus the incentive to improve their output.

The above factors combine in a negative and cumulative way so as to keep agricultural production and incentive at a low level.

Almost every cultivating household (98%) grows maize, while more than half of the cultivating households (56%) grow vegetables (beans, peas, potatoes, pumpkins and melons) as well as maize in their fields.

The major agricultural decisions include the decision as to when to plough, to plant, to hoe and to harvest. These decisions are overwhelmingly (93%) taken by the effective head of household. The effective head of household is the adult resident in the Basin who acts as head with regard to Basin-oriented activities. The absent male head of house does not in effect take part in the agricultural decision-making process. The majority of agricultural decisions are therefore taken by women (65%) with insignificant differences found in decision-making about the four types of activities: ploughing, planting, hoeing and harvesting.

Eighty-five per cent of households in the Basin have gardens ranging from 250 square metres to more than 1 000 square metres. Nine-tenths (90%) of households with gardens work their gardens. The crops most frequently grown in the gardens are maize, cabbage, potatoes, beans, spinach, onions and tomatoes. Again, as in the fields, maize is the most popular crop, being grown in 79 per cent of cultivated gardens.

Labour for the gardens is obtained largely from the household itself and only 16 per cent of households cultivating their gardens obtain additional labour from outside the household. The labour force working in the gardens is mainly (56%) female and involves a higher percentage (43%) of children (under 20 years of age). Children working in the gardens are equally divided as to sex.

iii) Perceptions of Agriculture in the Amatola Basin

People were asked who were the best two farmers in their village and why they were the best (Appendix H, Question 8 d and e). Many respondents gave more than one reason. The most frequent reasons given as to why these farmers were successful were:

- 1) reasons to do with labour (in 39% of responses given) - that they had sufficient labour or that they worked well
- 2) reasons to do with stock (in 25% of responses given) - that they had sufficient cattle for ploughing or that they looked after their stock well
- 3) reasons to do with capital (in 16% of responses given) - that they had good implements, or sufficient money
- 4) reasons to do with expertise (in 14% of responses given) - that they were capable farmers, or that they had obtained good seed or fertilizer
- 5) reasons to do with land (in 6% of responses given) - that they had access to land.

What is seen as necessary is access to basic resources such as labour, stock, implements and fencing rather than individual expertise. Given the resources the implication is that most people in the Basin believe that they too could be successful farmers.

The agricultural officer for the Amatola Basin has only been in the Basin since June 1980. He does not have a vehicle at his disposal and has to visit villages on horseback or by foot. He is therefore probably able to visit a village only once a month for a reasonable amount of time. As such he is overextended in the scope of his duties in the Basin. It comes as no surprise then that, when people were asked who their agricultural officer was, only 34 per cent of respondents replied correctly. Asked whether the agricultural officer helped them four-fifths (78%) of respondents replied that he did not help them. The agricultural officer was best known and perceived to be most helpful by residents of the villages in the central valley.

Of those instances in which people said that they had been helped by the agricultural officer, seven-tenths (71%) related to help with their crops (in half these cases he had helped people to obtain tractors for ploughing) and three-tenths (29%) related to help with their stock. The stock inspector is not perceived as a source of advice and assistance, but as an administrative officer controlling stock activities.

People were asked how the agricultural officer could help them. Three-quarters (74%) of suggestions related to help with crops, one-quarter (26%) to help with stock.

Of suggestions relating to help with crops, four-fifths were to the effect that he should help people to obtain seed, tractors, fences, irrigation and communal gardens, while the remaining suggestions about crops related to advice. Suggestions about stock were largely (84%) about advice on how to look after stock. Residents in the Highlands expressed a need for a dipping tank as they are far from the present one in the Basin.

Two-thirds (63%) of the suggestions related to help through obtaining necessary supplies, rather than to help in the form of advice and expertise.

People perceive crop-farming to be much more important than stock-farming, as is reflected in their comments about agricultural assistance received and required. They see their problems, particularly those relating to cultivation, as concerned with access to basic necessities such as tractors, seed, fences, water - rather than with the need for advice. This emphasis is also reflected in people's perceptions as to why the best farmers are successful, and in people's reasons as to why they had only cultivated as much land as they had, and not more.

The basic resources needed to farm well are land, labour, access to ploughing cattle and the necessary finances. Good farmers are perceived to have access to these resources, and people see themselves as limited in their ability to cultivate because they lack these resources.

People do not reasonably expect the agricultural officer to provide these basic resources, but they do see him as having access to the additional necessities, such as tractors, seed, fences, irrigation and stock medicines. The agricultural officer is seen as a potential supply of material necessities, rather than of expertise.

VI VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

Allegiance to the Christian faith and adherence to one of the denominations present is the most common basis on which voluntary associations are formed in the Basin. This basis is probably close to being universal, at least in word if not in deed. There are in addition two youth church clubs which are active, the Young Women's Christian Association and the Young Men's Christian Group, as well as a Methodist Women's Bible Group.

There is a wide range of other voluntary associations in the Basin: burial societies, savings clubs and women's clubs. The Ciskei National Independence Party, the agricultural co-operative, and a few sports clubs probably complete the list of such associations. Women play a much more active role in such organisations than do men: excluding church membership, three-quarters of members, in fact, are women. Approximately one household in five (21%) has a member who belongs to one of the women's groups, and to a church club (19%). Savings clubs, the C.N.I.P., the agricultural co-operative, and the sports clubs (netball and rugby) attract a small membership (less than 5%). The striking and dominant organisation to which members - and often a number of members - of fully two thirds of all households belong (66%) is Masingwabane, a burial society. Before turning to a discussion of the activities of these associations, it is noteworthy that most of these associations fulfil a definite religious function and have close links with the churches in the Basin. Many Basin respondents, predominantly the women who were interviewed, argued that women's groups savings clubs and burial societies seek to develop the spiritual, intellectual, social and physical well-being of women. This they attempt to do through the promotion of a sense of unity, fellowship and service in their villages and the community at large. Women who feel that they have succeeded in these endeavours are proud of their achievements and have shown willingness to share their experiences and knowledge with women from other villages.

There are two types of burial societies: those which are organised within extended family networks for members of those families, and a Basin-wide society known as Masingwabane ('Self-Help'). Family burial societies, two of which have been identified in the villages of Matinise and Ndlovura, collect money from members who usually represent their households. The contributions can either be regular and deposited in a bank (such as R5- every three months) or made immediately after the death of a family member (R10-

each). The money is then used to buy a coffin, and to purchase other funeral necessities. These family societies can be comprised of up to fourteen members.

The Masingwabane burial society is formally recognised by the Amatola Tribal authority which appoints the society's chief secretary (who also acts as treasurer). Each village has a society secretary who informs the chief secretary of any death which has occurred in her village. The Tribal authority has requested that all Amatola resident women should join the society.

All members contribute a membership admission fee and village secretaries keep an up-to-date list of village members. After the death of an Amatola resident, all members are expected to contribute to their secretaries who in turn take their list of contributors and the money to the chief secretary. The individual contributions are in the region of twenty cents for adults and children over the age of one year, and half that amount for babies. Members who fail to contribute on three occasions lose membership. The chief secretary who keeps the lists of contributors in her possession, hands the collection over to the bereaved family and announces publicly the amount collected.

Since funeral preparations can take up to two weeks, members often prepare food and undertake other homestead tasks in the bereaved household. They also conduct church services before and during the funeral.

Savings clubs fulfil the function of allowing members to save cash - to defer the use of cash available - as well as to create and maintain close social bonds with co-members. Members contribute cash and sometimes in kind (such as blankets), on a regular basis. A monthly party is organised at which members celebrate by singing and dancing. One member is the recipient of the cash collection and the blanket. The amounts contributed vary (R2- to R5- per month), and these monthly cash exchanges may be from the group as a whole to an individual, or from one individual to another. In two cases, such savings clubs were initiated among members of households which included casual drought-relief labourers. Members are overwhelmingly if not exclusively women. Three such groups in the Amatola Basin are called Mgalelo, Masizakhe and Nomzamo.

Women's associations are probably wide-spread partly as a result of the absence of most adult men and many husbands for long periods. Young and middle-aged decision-makers and heads of households who are pre-

dominantly women in the Basin, need to meet with, and help, one another in a whole number of ways. The Mother and Women's Union, Manyano ('Unite') plays an interdenominational religious role. Women are supposed to refrain from smoking, drinking and using abusive language. Weekly services are organised for members who have also formed their own burial society. Members undertake visits to the sick and to bereaved families, and often bring them household gifts. Manyano has an organising committee consisting of a chairlady, a secretary and over twenty other committee members.

There are at least two other women's associations of note: the Amatola Basin's Women's Association, and the Zenzele Association. The former is linked to the Tribal Authority and most members are councillors' and headmen's wives. This association arranges many Basin social activities, prepares food for Tribal Authority ceremonial occasions, and welcomes and entertains the wives of visiting chiefs.

Zenzele is an organisation registered at the Ciskei National level, and has branches in a much larger region. Conferences and meetings are held regularly. At club level, women meet often to discuss culinary, financial and educational matters. In the Amatola Basin the Ciskei Department of Agriculture and Forestry offers the Zenzele organisation short courses in cultivation at the Debenek Training Centre, and the Agricultural Officer has laid out nine Zenzele gardens in nine Amatola villages (none in the Highlands). Fencing material for these gardens is provided free of charge by the Department.

Women respondents in the Basin said that they were more than willing to co-operate among themselves in such agricultural and homestead activities. Some however indicated that Zenzele was associated with a 'higher class and better educated' group of women, an impression which they felt had exclusive connotations.

VII HEALTH AND WELFARE

i) Health

There is a health clinic situated at Komkhulu. The present building was constructed in the mid-seventies, while clinic services were offered from the mid-fifties. The clinic is serviced by two qualified nursing sisters. One of the sisters has been employed in the Basin since 1967 and the other since 1977. In addition a doctor and a psychiatric nurse from St Matthew's hospital, Keiskammahoek visit the clinic once a month. The sisters send quarterly and yearly record sheets to, and attend monthly meetings at, this hospital which is responsible for ambulance services and all clinic matters.

Between 1979 and 1980 the services provided at the clinic were ante-natal care, child care, domiciliary visits and aid for minor ailments (Appendix F). The majority of pregnant women undergo ante-natal check-ups and a number then go to their husbands in town for the birth of their child. Women with suspected complications are referred to a hospital, whereas those remaining usually have normal deliveries at the clinic itself. Some women, however, have delivered en route to the clinic. Contraceptives are readily available at the clinic for all girls and women who ask. The clinic sisters believe that there are frequent misunderstandings about the use of the pill and that contraceptive devices are, therefore, often ineffective.

Records are kept on all patients visiting the clinic and the child care programme for babies (0-2 years) appears to be rigorous. During family care lectures offered regularly, the nurses stress that bottle-fed babies are more likely to suffer from malnutrition than those who are breast fed. In times of drought the nurses stated that their records indicate an increase in cases of kwashiorkor (Appendix F). Infant mortality rates were not available although the nurses maintain they are very low.

A number of illnesses appear to be a problem to the people in the Basin and the nursing staff: tuberculosis is common and the nurses express concern at its prevalence. Before 1980 the nurses did not have the medication to treat TB patients and they were treated elsewhere. Records indicate that in four villages alone they were treating twenty-five cases during 1980. The nursing sisters believe moreover that there are more sufferers who are either not receiving treatment or are seeking help elsewhere. Oesophageal

cancer is also an illness well known to, and feared by, Amatola residents. In the last five years records show on average that one person per year has died of this illness. The nursing sisters believe that most people are aware of the symptoms but refuse to seek help as they are frightened of what they feel are the inevitable consequences. The nurses further stated that most sufferers were male and middle aged.

There are 38 cases of epilepsy currently on record and both young and old sufferers are treated at the clinic with phenobarbitone. The incidence of mental illness appears to be on the increase though diagnosis seems to be fairly loosely applied.

The ambulance from St Matthew's Hospital is reportedly unreliable. It is not unusual to wait nine hours for it to arrive and in bad weather it does not attempt the journey. In emergencies, local transport is used when available, and patients have to pay the taxi fare. During 1977 transport and a driver were provided by St Matthew's once a week so that a day-clinic could serve the Highlands. This service was discontinued through lack of transport.

Domiciliary visits have also ceased in the last few years due to pressure of work at the clinic. The sisters themselves have no vehicle at their disposal and walk to villages in cases of urgency.

The clinic has running water and two flush toilets. It also has a dispensing room, two offices, an examination room and two rooms prepared for patients. The nursing sisters have expressed concern over the lack of certain facilities, such as oxygen cylinders in working order.

ii) Welfare

State welfare services to the Amatola Basin are located in Middledrift where two state social workers are based. One is responsible for the Basin as well as other areas. Since there is only one vehicle available for social workers in the Middledrift and Alice regions, the Amatola Basin is not visited by this social worker. To obtain welfare assistance, therefore, Amatola residents have to travel to Middledrift. All welfare cases then have been self-referred, or referred to the social worker by a neighbour. A second issue of concern is the apparent recent staff turnover in the welfare state section with the result that records are often mislaid and cases sometimes not followed up. It is evident that there

is a need for a co-ordinated service particularly since a number of cases which should be referred to welfare institutions are not being identified.

Since January 1981, two ARDRI-sponsored social workers have been active in the Basin. They have undertaken, inter alia, to contact persons who are entitled to, but do not at present receive, state welfare subsidies. Though quantification is not possible at this early stage, a case study researched by this team will be presented:

The household in question, living in Mqhayisa, consists of an elderly grandmother who is a pensioner, and six grandchildren whose ages range from three to seventeen years. The children's parents both died within one month of each other in the recent past. It seems that there are no kin in the vicinity who are able to offer help in any regular way. The only cash income is the old age pension which amounts of R66- paid out every second month. The two youngest children were reported to have received clinic treatment last year for malnutrition. Such a case is evidently one in which the household qualifies for a state maintenance grant, which the household does not at present receive.

There are approximately fifty persons in the Basin who qualify for, and receive, disability grants. It would seem that there are substantially more who could apply and qualify. It is probable that ignorance regarding the availability of, as well as the application procedure for, such grants is a main reason. The disabled and handicapped in fact are more likely to stay, or return to, the Basin since migration to South African cities is essentially migration in search of cash-earning employment, and this particular group of Amatola residents would find it difficult indeed to compete in that labour market.

VIII ATTITUDES TO LIFE IN THE AMATOLA BASIN

The survey sought information on how the residents view their life in the Basin vis-à-vis that of people in other rural areas (Appendix H, Question 16 a and b). Nearly six-tenths (57%) believe they lead a better life in the Basin and four-tenths (39%) feel worse off living in the area than elsewhere. Although the replies did not vary much in terms of age and sex, contrasts emerged at the village level. All the people interviewed at Komkhulu, Esiphingweni, Matinise and Mdlankomo said they are better off than people living in other districts. People living in the least accessible villages like Dish, Mkobeni and Ndlovura saw themselves as worse off than people in other areas.

About half of the people who feel life in other rural areas is better than in the Basin expressed great dissatisfaction with their standard of living in their villages, mentioning problems like poor roads, absence of a bus service and shops, shortage of water, arable land, jobs and suitable schooling facilities. In the other cases the question was apparently misunderstood and, instead, respondents mentioned only their personal difficulties without any reference to conditions obtaining in other rural areas:

"I do not get money. Nobody cares for me. I want to build but I have no money."

"I am sick. I cannot do anything for myself."

To gain information about how the residents feel about the present state of the financial situation of their households, the survey asked the question: "Compared to 3 years ago, are you financially better off, worse off or the same?" Slightly more than half of the people interviewed (55%) said they are now financially better off than they were three years ago. About a third (33%) felt they are worse off now while one out of ten (12%) said their financial position had not changed during the period in question.

Of those who felt better off now than before half (50%) mentioned either the support of working members of their families or the fact that they themselves now had an income which they did not have before:

"There are more members of this family working now than there were three years ago."

"My children are supporting me now much more than they did three years ago."

"Now I get a small wage from londoloza (casual work provided by the Ciskei government locally)."

One-tenth of respondents said they are in a better financial position now than before because they either get an old age pension which they did not receive previously or because their pensions have been increased. A further ten per cent of respondent said they had managed to settle outstanding debts. Other people said they had been more successful in agriculture recently, on account of good rains, for instance.

Among the respondents who said they were worse off financially, nearly half (44%) blamed the high cost of living for their condition. They said that food is expensive, that children require more money for their education than they did before and under these circumstances it is difficult to save money. The same number of respondents (also 44%) referred to the low incomes of their families:

"My husband earns less money now than he did before."

"Most of the time my son does not send me money. I depend on my pension for a living as a result."

"Three years ago I was working at Langkloof. Now I depend only on what my children send me."

The following related question was also asked: "In 3 years time do you think you will be financially better off, worse off or the same as at present?" More than half of the respondents (55%) thought they would be better off in 3 years time, one-fifth (18%) said they would be worse off, and one-fifth (21%) felt their condition would be the same as at present. A few said they were not in a position to predict what would happen to them. Of those who said they think they would be better off, one-third (33%) hoped the members of their families would give them adequate support, just over one-fifth (22%) said their position would be better if they continue working locally, and one-fifth (19%) thought agricultural production would improve their condition. A few hoped to get old age pensions or that these pensions would be increased, while other respondents hoped the government would give them more support. Those who felt they would be worse off or in the same condition in three years time mentioned aspects like the rising cost of living, difficulties in finding suitable employment, old age or ill-health.

The question "Do you wish you could live elsewhere outside Matole?" enabled the survey to assess the extent to which the residents of various



villages identify themselves with the Basin. In the opinion of the great majority (93%) of respondents, leaving the Basin and settling elsewhere is not a worthwhile proposition. Although some of the people seem to have close attachments solely with their own villages, only a few respondents (3%) expressed a wish to leave the Basin while a further three per cent indicated that sometimes they wished they could live elsewhere outside the district. (It must be emphasized, that this analysis excludes the large proportion of people who have chosen to emigrate from Amatola entirely and is concerned with the people met in the Basin in the course of the survey.)

This positive response can largely be attributed to the fact that people have grown up with the demands of rural living, the importance attached to kinship links, the knowledge some people have of living conditions in other rural areas and the awareness some of the people have of difficulties concerning making a living in the towns.

One-quarter (25%) of the people who have no intention of settling elsewhere based their arguments specifically on the economic resources they can utilize in the Basin. These responses referred to the fertility of land in the area, the availability of wood, water, grass, arable land and good rains:

"I would not go elsewhere because I think Matole is more fertile than other places."

"I am comfortable here. Water and wood are available nearby. When rains are plentiful we get much produce from the fields."

Similarly, several other people interviewed mentioned the location of their property or households in the Basin as the primary reason why they prefer Amatola as a place of residence:

"I cannot go and live elsewhere because that will mean I will have to build a homestead. I have already established my home here."

"My homestead is here. I cannot leave."

Some people have returned from the towns specifically to establish themselves in the Basin. For instance, at Ngwangwane one respondent was a 46 year old female household head who was separated from her husband. She had been away from the Basin for the greater part of her adult life. Three years ago she returned from Langkloof where she had been working and her intention was to establish a home for her children. Two of the children were living with her during the time of the interview and another one was working

in Port Elizabeth. Within the three years she had been at home she had managed to acquire a building site where she has two houses which include three living rooms. She also owns three head of cattle.

In a few other cases in which living in Amatola is also viewed positively respondents said they prefer the Basin because it affords them access to amenities like shops, schools, churches, a clinic and (in one instance) jobs. It is worth noting, however, that such comments were made solely by people who live either in the main village of Komkhulu where these facilities are available or in villages close by, namely Mkhuthukeni, Chamama and Matinise.

Reasons relating to the importance of maintaining kinship links with the people in the Basin accounted for seventeen per cent of positive responses. Some of these respondents felt they could not consider leaving because it was where they were born. Others have close attachments with the Basin either on account of their relatives who live there or kinsmen who were buried in this community:

"I will never leave this place. This is where my parents were buried. I came here (from Middleburg, Cape) so that I should be buried here as well. I will only leave if the whites force us out of this place."

"I would not leave my parents behind."

"I am fine here. I would like to be buried next to my husband's grave."

Many of the older people in this community remain oriented to it on account of their advanced age. One-fifth (22%) of respondents were people who would not consider life elsewhere primarily because they felt they were too old to make a fresh start elsewhere.

Other factors which seem to favour peoples' identification with the Basin are associated with the lifestyle of this rural area as well as its relatively peaceful atmosphere. The impression gained in the field was that there is a great deal of co-operation among people in this community and violence does not seem to be common. Thus in the case of just under a third (28%) of respondents the reasons mentioned for closer links with this district referred to the peoples' familiarity with the pattern of living in this rural area:

"I am used to staying here. Even under these bad conditions I would not go and settle elsewhere."

"I am comfortable and live well with the people here. I know them and they know me."

Reasons given by respondents as to why they would like to leave the Basin include the necessity to walk large distances to amenities in the Basin, the lack of roads in some villages and the wish to find employment and better health care. These residents lived in the more isolated villages.

Residents were asked what they felt could be done in the Basin to improve the standard of living of residents (Appendix H, Question 18 c).

Suggestions concerning improvements to the available facilities for water in the area elicited the largest proportion (39%) of responses. For many of the people the Amatola River which is the main source for their supply is far. This source of water is supplemented by streams and fountains in places like Ndlovura and Dish. People living in the Highlands, however, are far from the Amatola River and apparently experience great difficulties obtaining clean water. The people concerned feel the construction of more dams in their areas is an urgent matter.

The second aspect in the list of priorities mentioned by the people interviewed relates to problems experienced with regard to transport. One-third (31%) of the people said their lot would improve if a bus service were introduced in the Basin.

The third problem (closely linked to the above) which seems of great concern to the people relates to the poor condition of the roads which lead to their villages. Three-tenths (30%) of respondents pleaded for improvement of roads in the Basin. The worst roads are those which lead to Ndlovura and Esiphingweni. The entire village of Ndlovura is accessible only on foot and residents who live there either carry their goods to their homes or transport them with sledges from the lower section of the village. Furniture and other goods bought in the towns and remitted to this village are transported in this manner. People living at Esiphingweni experience more or less the same difficulties; although the village is situated only two kilometres from Komkhulu, there is no road which leads directly from this centre to Esiphingweni. A substantial bridge across the Amatola River which separates this village from Komkhulu would be necessary before a road could be constructed in this area. At present a vehicle from Komkhulu has to travel about 12 kilometres on a very bad road to reach Esiphingweni.

Just less than one-fifth (18%) of the comments suggested the fencing of fields in the Basin. The destruction of fields by stray cattle seems to occur most often at Mkhuthukeni, Ndlovura, Mdeni, Matinise and Chamama. For instance, researchers were told that the valley below Ndlovura (where

many of the fields of this village are located) was not cultivated during the previous summer season because the local fence was in bad condition and cattle destroyed the crops grown there. Some of the people favoured the fencing of the fields so that they could cultivate their fields throughout the year. References to other agricultural improvements in the Basin were made by sixteen per cent of respondents. These included suggestions about the improvement of ploughing methods in the fields and garden, the raising of poultry and pigs, the introduction of better breeds of stock and the organization of the communal (Zenzele) gardens. Some of the people feel they would be able to save money solely if they were able to grow more food. Mqhayisa and Ndlovura are said to have some of the most eroded fields in the area. About one-sixth (17%) of respondents said they would be pleased if more jobs could be created in the Basin. Casual employment offered to some of the adults is appreciated since it offers the opportunity of earning wages without having to leave home.

In a few cases (16%) the residents felt the clinic was too far from the villages in which they live. The whole of the Basin is served by one clinic in Komkhulu. Respondents who complained about the long distances which they have to walk to attend the clinic all live in the villages farthest from Komkhulu: at Dish, Mkhobeni, Mdlankomo and Ndlovura. Some of the people living in the Highlands feel it is more convenient for them to make use of the clinic in the Tyume Valley. Similar difficulties are experienced with regard to shopping. Of the people who said the shops and cafes are far from their villages most live at Dish, Mkhobeni, Mdlankomo and Ndlovura.

Difficulties concerning tractors account for fourteen per cent of cases. In this respect respondents noted that when they need tractors they do not always get them in time which limits the amount of land they are able to plough.

The great distances some of the people travel to dip their cattle was mentioned by some people (7%). This seems to affect the school attendance of boys as well: one researcher arrived at the primary school at Mdlankomo about noon on a particular day and the principal at this school said little teaching was possible that day because almost all the older boys were absent, having taken their cattle for dipping.

There were a few other comments which were encountered less frequently, but which bear mention. They related to requests for financial assistance, toilets and a post office in the Basin.

IX CONCLUSION

The resident population of the Amatola Basin displays three inter-related and prominent features:

- the geographical position and physical structure of the Basin have curtailed infrastructural development and the in-migration of settler households;
- the small size and dispersed locations of the thirteen dense settlements spread throughout the Basin have inhibited specialisation and differentiation;
- the evident economic dependence of households on external sources of cash income has caused a striking demographic imbalance and a consequent set of conservative attitudes among most Amatola adults.

Regular lines of communication with, and accurate information from, Ciskei state officials located outside the Basin have been shown to be inadequate: public transport, road maintenance, as well as health and welfare services are cases in point. Within the Basin, the improvement of transport and travel between villages was seen as a pressing need by the people. (Transport and travel are intimately linked with access to clean water, and to wood as a source of light and heat, two necessities highlighting the lack of infrastructure in the Basin. Adult Amatola residents have experienced life and the facilities and services available in South African cities. This has partially formed their expectations. Those who live permanently in the Basin are engaged in the repetitive tasks of bringing up children, running a homestead, and cultivating a garden and field to supplement cash flowing in from outside their village. By and large, the younger, more ambitious and more active are away, remitting to Amatola residents.

In the area of agriculture, present extension services are over-extended and largely confined to the main Basin valley. Access to state tractors, as well as to the cattle dip, is constrained by distances within the Basin. Crop and stock farming are interrelated and though the former is generally perceived as more important than the latter, it is evident that more successful farmers are those who have access to land, cattle (or a tractor) to plough, and labour. The first two factors are positively correlated, in the Basin, with a reasonably large and regular source of cash-income. Conversely, households which lack some or all of these factors, and particularly those that lack a reasonable and regular source of cash-income, struggle to produce supplementary food for themselves from the land.

The Amatola Basin comprises three village clusters, the North and South Valleys, and the Highlands, meeting in Komkhulu, the central village. All the villages are small and include less than 150 adults (21-60). The extent of isolation of the Highlands, and the village of Ndlovura in the South Valley raises the question of whether residents of these villages see themselves as full members of the Amatola Basin; Highlanders find it more difficult than other Amatola residents to obtain agricultural assistance and the use of a tractor; to get to a shop or the clinic; and to send their children to high-school (Appendix D). Many Highlanders use the services and facilities available in the Tyume valley close by, rather than those of the Basin. Residents of Ndlovura, on the other hand, finding themselves in a similar disadvantaged position, do not have the option of choosing an alternative source of facilities and services. Highlanders, therefore, express less of a sense of belonging to a wider Basin community than do other Basin residents and perceive Komkhulu as a source of claims rather than of assistance.

Close to two-thirds of the resident Amatola population are under twenty years of age. Over sixty per cent of adult Amatola household members (21 - 60) are effectively absent. The extent of this migrancy and dependence on cash remittances can be illustrated simply by the fact that one homestead in ten in the Basin stands empty (with an enormous housing backlog in South African cities), and that one half of Amatola households obtain no source of cash income from Basin activities. Resident adults are older and less educated than those away. Residents are also more child-oriented and more often women, many being wives of absent migrants. It is probable that there are more physically and mentally disabled at home than away. An adult in the Basin then views her world as one in which the needs of her children must be catered for, as one in which she relies upon family and state to provide a cash income, and one in which cultivation supplements this income. It is probably for these reasons that this adult requests agricultural resources rather than agricultural expertise from the extension officer: dependence upon outside resources is established practice and remains the primary concern.

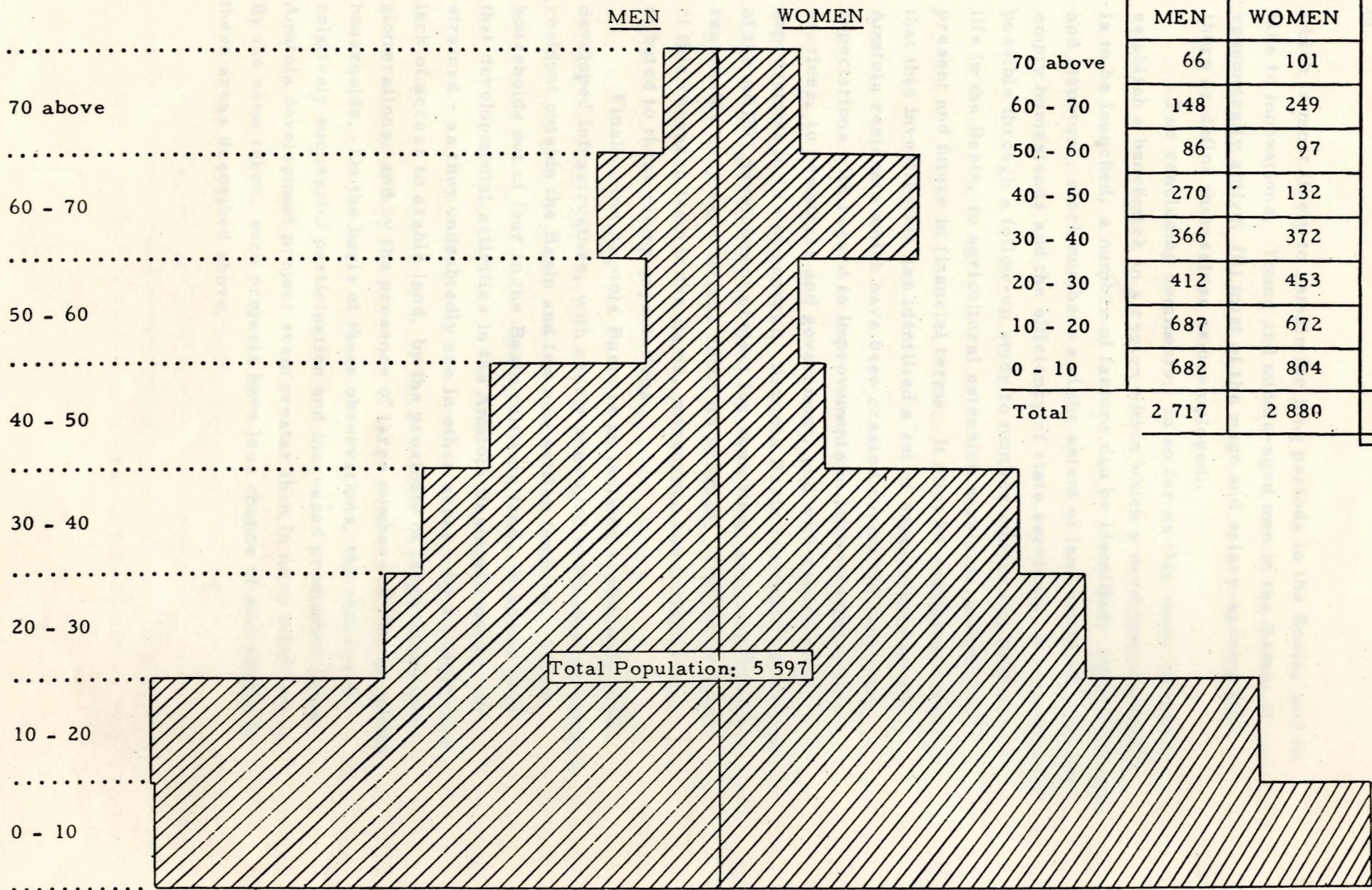
The young and middle-aged women of the Basin form a potentially resourceful and enterprising group. Many are effective household heads, taking the major agricultural decisions, caring for their children, and forming and running numerous community-directed voluntary associations. Though the tribal authority is exclusively male, it is this group of women

which is most likely to remain for long periods in the Basin, and to take to innovations. Young and middle-aged men in the Basin, if economically active, fill most of the wage and salary-earning jobs there or define themselves as unemployed.

Two concluding comments: in so far as this study intends to establish a benchmark in a region within which a development project is to be launched, a number of factors can be identified: population size and structure, stock numbers and the extent of land under cultivation, empty homesteads and the efficiency of state services. It may also be possible through a follow-up study to monitor changes in attitude to life in the Basin, to agricultural extension services, and to the present and future in financial terms. It must be emphasized however that this investigation has identified a set of expectations among Amatola residents which have been created during the last year, expectations with regard to improvements in infrastructure and services, to resources and government, and with regard to an improvement in life in general. Amatola Basin residents have known of the ARDRI development project for some time, and have formed reasonably deep expectations about its promise. The involvement of this research team in the Basin, moreover, has further contributed to these rising expectations.

Finally, the Amatola Basin is an isolated region with little developed infrastructure, with nearly one-third of its total population resident outside the Basin and few new settler families. Three households out of four in the Basin cultivate land. It seems then that developmental activities in the Amatola Basin will not be constrained - as they undoubtedly are in other areas - by a widespread lack of access to arable land, by the proximity of large urban conglomeration, and by the presence of large numbers of recent settler households. On the basis of these observations, the chances of relatively successful participation and increased production in an Amatola development project seem greater than in many other areas. By the same token, such projects have less chance of succeeding in these areas described above.

APPENDIX A
ALL HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS: LIVING INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE BASIN



	MEN	WOMEN	
70 above	66	101	
60 - 70	148	249	
50 - 60	86	97	
40 - 50	270	132	
30 - 40	366	372	
20 - 30	412	453	
10 - 20	687	672	
0 - 10	682	804	
Total	2 717	2 880	5 597

(1)

Note: Age categories include the upper limit and exclude the lower: eg. 11-20, etc.

APPENDIX BHEADS OF HOUSEHOLD

	<u>Male Present</u>	<u>Male Absent Wife Acting</u>	<u>Female Present</u>
Percent	42%	21%	36%
Number in Basin	316	173	275

Effective Heads of Household

316 males (42%); 448 females (58%)

Ages of Effective Heads of Household

	Under 40 yrs	40 - 50	50 - 60	60 - 70	Older than 70
Male	46	41	31	127	71
Female	143	51	31	158	66
Total	189	92	62	325	137
% Total Households	25%	12%	8%	37%	18%

HOUSEHOLD CLASSIFICATION

Three generational extended (grandparents, parents, children)	47%
- parents absent	18%
Two generational extended (parents, children)	51%
One generation (single person or couple with no family ties)	2%

100%

APPENDIX CEducational Statistics

These trends and statistics were calculated from available school records.

a. Trends for the Amatola Basin as a Whole.

Standard	Total Pupils		Total Passes		Total Failures		% Pass	
	1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980
Sub A	373	379	347	362	24	17	92,1	95,5
Sub B	230	228	217	205	13	23	94,3	89,9
Std 1	241	218	228	186	13	32	94,6	85,3
Std 2	225	188	199	164	27	24	88,4	87,3
Std 3	184	192	136	148	48	44	73,1	77,1
Std 4	216	179	184	151	32	28	85,2	84,5
Std 5	136	179	112	130	24	49	83,4	72,6
Std 6	96	97	72	71	24	26	75,0	73,2
Std 7	78	72	65	45	13	27	83,3	57,7
Std 8	135	78	63	15	72	63	46,7	19,2
Total	1914	1810	1624	1477	290	333	84,9	81,6

Total Pupils		Total Staff		Pupil/Staff Ratio		Pupil/Classroom Ratio	
1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980
1914	1810	51	54	1:37,5	1:33,5	1:54,7	1:50,3

b. Trends for Each School in the BasinDish Bantu Community School (Mkobeni Village)

There are 4 classrooms. Sub A and Sub B are joined as are Std 1 and Std 2, and Std 4 and Std 5. Std 3 is housed in a private building.

Pupil Enrolment:

Standard	Enrolment		Pass		Fail		% Pass	
	1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980
Sub A	40	45	39	45	1	0	97,5	100
Sub B	21	21	21	20	0	1	100	95,2
Std 1	19	21	19	19	0	2	100	90,4
Std 2	21	18	19	17	2	1	90,4	94,4
Std 3	21	16	14	10	7	6	66,7	62,5
Std 4	20	17	17	11	3	6	85,0	64,7
Std 5	20	19	14	16	6	3	70,0	84,2

(iv)

Total Pupils 1979 1980	No Staff 1979 1980	Staff/Pupil Ratio 1979 1980	Pupil/Classroom 1979 1980	% Pass 1979 1980
162 157	5 5	$\frac{1}{32,4}$ $\frac{1}{31,4}$	40,5 39,25	88,3 87,8

Mdlankomo Bantu Community School (Mdlankomo Village)

Standard	Enrolment		Pass		Fail		% Pass	
	1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980
Sub A	48	37	40	32	8	5	83,3	86,5
Sub B	28	27	25	24	3	3	89,3	88,9
Std 1	36	24	33	19	3	5	91,7	79,7
Std 2	30	25	27	20	3	5	90,0	80,0
Std 3	-	26	-	24	-	2	-	92,3
Std 4	22	20	19	16	3	4	86,4	80,0
Std 5	18	10	15	7	3	3	83,3	70,0

Total Pupils 1979 1980	No Staff 1979 1980	Staff/Pupil Ratio 1979 1980	Pupil/Classroom 1979 1980	% Pass 1979 1980
182 169	5 5	$\frac{1}{36,4}$ $\frac{1}{33,8}$	$\frac{1}{36,4}$ $\frac{1}{42,3}$	87,4 84,0

There are 5 classrooms, one of which is unfit for use.

Ndlovura Bantu Community School (Ndlovura Village)

Standard	Enrolment		Pass		Fail		% Pass	
	1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980
Sub A	46	44	44	44	2	0	95,7	100,0
Sub B	26	22	26	20	0	2	100,0	90,9
Std 1	25	29	25	27	0	2	100,0	93,1
Std 2	26	19	20	19	6	0	76,9	100,0

Total Pupils 1979 1980	No Staff 1979 1980	Staff/Pupil Ratio 1979 1980	Pupil/Classroom 1979 1980	% Pass 1979 1980
123 114	3 3	$\frac{1}{41,0}$ $\frac{1}{38,0}$	$\frac{1}{61,5}$ $\frac{1}{57,0}$	93,5 96,5

The school has 2 classrooms, plus the use of a church building.

Roloshiramba Lower Primary School (Dish Village)

This school was only opened in 1979, and it now has 3 standards, Sub A, Sub B and Std 1.

Year	Enrolment	Sub A	Sub B	Std 1	Pass	Fail
1979	40	40	-	-	38	2
1980	80	55	25	-	76	4
1981	116	?	?	?	-	-

There are no classrooms, 2 houses are used. There are 3 teachers at present.

Zixinene Bantu Community School (Matinise Village)

Standard	Enrolment		Pass		Fail		% Pass	
	1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980
Sub A	40	50	40	50	0	0	100	100
Sub B	55	40	55	40	0	0	100	100
Std 1	43	60	39	55	4	5	90,7	91,7
Std 2	55	52	47	47	8	5	85,4	90,4
Std 3	68	70	45	59	23	11	66,2	84,3
Std 4	68	70	50	62	18	8	73,5	88,6
Std 5	40	67	32	44	8	23	80,0	65,7

Total Pupils		No Staff		Staff/Pupil Ratio		Staff/Classroom		% Pass	
1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980
369	409	9	10	$\frac{1}{41,0}$	$\frac{1}{40,9}$	$\frac{1}{52,7}$	$\frac{1}{58,4}$	83,5	87,3

There are 7 classrooms, and the church building is used as well as the main school.

Ngwangwane Lower Primary School (Ngwangwane Village)

Standard	Enrolment		Pass		Fail		% Pass	
	1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980
Sub A	57	57	46	45	11	12	80,7	78,9
Sub B	37	42	27	29	10	13	72,9	69,1
Std 1	43	37	37	33	6	4	86,1	89,2
Std 2	39	43	33	38	4	5	84,6	88,4
Std 3	41	52	27	33	14	19	65,9	63,5
Std 4	48	34	45	29	3	5	93,8	85,3

Total Pupils		No Staff		Staff/Pupil Ratio		Pupil Classroom		% Pass	
1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980
265	265	5	6	$\frac{1}{53}$	$\frac{1}{44,1}$	$\frac{1}{132,5}$	$\frac{1}{132,5}$	81,1	78,1

There are only 2 proper classrooms. However, 2 rondavels are used, there is one classroom in the church and one in a private house.

Amatola Basin Bantu Community School (Komkhulu Village)

Standard	Enrolment		Pass		Fail		% Pass	
	1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980
Sub A	45	33	45	33	0	0	100,0	100,0
Sub B	33	21	33	21	0	0	100,0	100,0
Std 1	53	17	53	9	0	8	100,0	52,9
Std 2	39	15	19	11	0	4	100,0	73,3
Std 3	38	15	35	12	3	3	92,1	80,0
Std 4	34	16	32	14	2	2	94,1	87,5
Std 5	58	83	51	63	7	20	87,9	75,9

Total Pupils		No Staff		Staff/Pupil Ratio		Pupil/Classroom		% Pass	
1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980
300	200	6	6	$\frac{1}{50,0}$	$\frac{1}{33,3}$	$\frac{1}{75}$	$\frac{1}{50}$	96,0	81,5

There are 2 proper classrooms, 2 Rondavels, and the church is used as a classroom.

Mhlambiso High School (Komkhulu Village)

Standard	Enrolment		Pass		Fail		% Pass	
	1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980
Std 6	96	97	72	71	24	26	75,0	73,2
Std 7	78	72	65	45	13	27	83,3	57,7
Std 8	135	78	63	15	72	63	46,7	19,2

(vii)

Total Pupils		No Staff		Staff/Pupil Ratio		Pupil/Classroom		% Pass	
1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980
309	247	11	12	$\frac{1}{28,0}$	$\frac{1}{20,6}$	$\frac{1}{30,9}$	$\frac{1}{24,7}$	64,7	53,0

There are 10 classrooms. The school principal commented on the lack of a library, a laboratory or any type of sports facilities. He also said that there was a high drop out rate, because of school boycotts and pregnancy. This is consistent with the very low pass rate for Std 8 (19,2%).

Machibini Bantu Community School (Machibini Village)

Standard	Enrolment		Pass		Fail		% Pass	
	1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980
Sub A	57	58	57	58	0	0	100,0	100,0
Sub B	30	30	30	30	0	0	100,0	100,0
Std 1	22	30	22	24	0	6	100,0	80,0
Std 2	15	16	14	15	1	1	93,3	93,7
Std 3	16	13	15	10	1	3	93,7	76,9
Std 4	24	22	21	19	3	3	87,5	86,4

Total Pupils		No Staff		Staff/Pupil Ratio		Pupil/Classroom		% Pass	
1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980
164	169	4	4	$\frac{1}{41,0}$	$\frac{1}{42,3}$	$\frac{1}{82}$	$\frac{1}{84,5}$	97,0	92,3

There are 2 classrooms, one church building and one private house.

Each school is served by a committee of about 5 to 7 parents who represent the community. This committee assists the principal in a variety of matters affecting the school, e. g. raising and controlling funds for school buildings, maintaining discipline and arranging accommodation for the teachers. Women play an active part in these committees and sometimes they are in the majority.

APPENDIX DComparative Village Statistics

While the present survey has attempted to give a socio-economic outline of the Amatola Basin as a whole, this appendix presents an outline of the comparative state of affairs in each village. The average number of respondents in each village is therefore small (about 11). The generalizations below should be treated with caution, and are essentially intended to convey comparative trends.

For each of the factors below the villages are listed in descending order of frequency.

Table of Contents

- A Monthly household income
- B Monthly per capita income
- C Total household size
- D Household members present
- E Percentage of household away
- F Number of economically active adults at home
- G Percentage of households with land rights
- H Percentage of households with stock
- I Percentage of households with cattle
- J Percentage of households ploughing with cattle
- K Percentage of households receiving help from agricultural officer
- L Desirability of obtaining a bus service
- M Desirability of improving roads
- N Desirability of obtaining tractors for ploughing
- O Desirability of improving fencing
- P Desirability of improving water supplies in the Basin
- Q Desirability of improving shopping facilities

A Monthly Household Income

(Mean = R73)

	<u>Rand</u>
Komkhulu	270
Mdeni	87
Mkutukeni	83
Matinise	78
Dish	70
Mdlankomo	69
Ndlovura	68
Mqhayisa	57
Ngwangwane	54
Chamama	45
Mkobeni	45
Machibini	40
Esiphingweni	27

B Monthly Per Capita Income

(Mean = R16)

	<u>Rand</u>
Komkhulu	43
Mdeni	24
Mkutukeni	21
Mdlankomo	17
Ndlovura	15
Mqhayisa	15
Matinise	15
Dish	13
Ngwangwane	13
Chamama	12
Machibini	9
Esiphingweni	8
Mkobeni	6

C Total Household Size

(Mean = 7.4)

	<u>Persons</u>
Mkobeni	10.4
Komkhulu	9.2
Machibini	8.3
Matinise	8.0
Mkutukeni	7.3
Ngwangwane	7.2
Dish	7.1
Ndlovura	6.9
Mdlankomo	6.8
Mdeni	6.0
Chamama	5.9
Esiphingweni	5.8
Mqhayisa	5.6

D Household Members Present

(Mean = 5.0)

	<u>Persons</u>
Mkobeni	6.1
Komkhulu	5.9
Machibini	5.6
Dish	5.4
Matinise	5.4
Ndlovura	5.2
Mdlankomo	4.8
Ngwangwane	4.7
Chamama	4.5
Mkutukeni	4.5
Mqhayisa	4.4
Esiphingweni	4.1
Mdeni	4.1

E Percentage of Household Away

(Mean = 29%)

	<u>%</u>
Mkobeni	40
Mkutukeni	37
Komkhulu	35
Machibini	32
Ngwangwane	32
Matinise	29
Mdlankomo	27
Ndlovura	27
Mdeni	25
Esiphingweni	25
Dish	21
Mqhayisa	20
Chamama	19

F Number of Economically Active Adults(20-60 yrs) at Home (Mean = 1.6)

	<u>Adults</u>
Matinise	2.0
Dish	1.9
Mdeni	1.8
Esiphingweni	1.8
Mkobeni	1.7
Mdlankomo	1.7
Komkhulu	1.6
Mqhayisa	1.6
Ndlovura	1.5
Chamama	1.5
Mkutukeni	1.5
Machibini	1.4
Ngwangwane	1.4

G Percentage of Households with LandRights (Mean = 46%)

	<u>%</u>
Komkhulu	71
Esiphingweni	60
Ndlovura	48
Mkobeni	48
Machibini	46
Mdlankomo	43
Ngwangwane	41
Mqhayisa	40
Mkutukeni	38
Dish	37
Chamama	37
Mdeni	34
Matinise	30

H Percentage of Households with Stock

(Mean = 68%)

	<u>%</u>
Komkhulu	89
Mdlankomo	83
Mkobeni	81
Mkutukeni	80
Mdeni	78
Ngwangwane	70
Ndlovura	67
Mqhayisa	67
Esiphingweni	63
Machibini	50
Matinise	50
Chamama	50
Dish	44

I Percentage of Homesteads with Cattle

(Mean = 60%)

	<u>%</u>
Komkhulu	89
Mkutukeni	80
Mkobeni	68
Mdeni	67
Mqhayisa	67
Ngwangwane	60
Ndlovura	58
Mdlankomo	58
Matinise	50
Esiphingweni	50
Dish	44
Machibini	42
Chamama	38

J Percentage of Homesteads Ploughingwith Tractor (Mean = 18%)

	<u>%</u>
Ngwangwane	50
Komkhulu	44
Mkobeni	40
Esiphingweni	25
Chamama	13
Mdeni	11
Ndlovura	8
Mkobeni	6
Matinise	0
Mqhayisa	0
Machibini	0
Mdlankomo	0
Dish	0

K Percentage of Homesteads ReceivingHelp from Agricultural Officer

(Mean = 22%)

	<u>%</u>
Komkhulu	67
Matinise	58
Ngwangwane	40
Machibini	25
Esiphingweni	25
Mdeni	22
Ndlovura	17
Chamama	13
Mkobeni	13
Dish	11
Mqhayisa	11
Mkutukeni	7
Mdlankomo	0

L Desirability of a Bus Service

(Mean = 31%)

	<u>% of homesteads</u>
Mdlankomo	92
Komkhulu	77
Mdeni	44
Mkobeni	44
Ngwangwane	40
Matinise	25
Ndlovura	17
Esiphingweni	13
Chamama	13
Mqhayisa	11
Mkutukeni	7
Machibini	0
Dish	0

M Desirability of Improving Roads

(Mean 38%)

	<u>% of homesteads</u>
Esiphingweni	87
Dish	77
Matinise	67
Machibini	58
Ndlovura	58
Komkhulu	44
Ngwangwane	40
Chamama	38
Mkobeni	31
Mqhayisa	17
Mkutukeni	13
Mdlankomo	0
Mdeni	0

N Desirability of Obtaining Tractors forPloughing (Mean = 15%)

	<u>% of homesteads</u>
Mdeni	67
Mdlankomo	42
Mkutukeni	20
Matinise	17
Mkobeni	13
Esiphingweni	13
Chamama	13
Komkhulu	11
Dish	11
Mqhayisa	0
Machibini	0
Ndlovura	0
Ngwangwane	0

O Desirability of Improving Fencing

(Mean = 19%)

	<u>% of homesteads</u>
Mkutukeni	53
Chamama	50
Mdeni	44
Ndlovura	33
Komkhulu	33
Matinise	25
Ngwangwane	20
Mdlankomo	8
Mkobeni	6
Mqhayisa	5
Machibini	0
Dish	0
Esiphingweni	0

P Desirability of Improving Water Suppliesin the Basin (Mean = 44%)

	<u>% of homesteads</u>
Esiphingweni	100
Dish	77
Machibini	75
Komkhulu	55
Matinise	42
Ngwangwane	40
Ndlovura	33
Mkutukeni	27
Chamama	25
Mqhayisa	22
Mkobeni	7
Mdlankomo	0
Mdeni	0

Q Desirability of Improving Shopping

Facilities (Mean = 16%)

	<u>% of homesteads</u>
Dish	55
Mkobeni	44
Ndlovura	42
Mdlankomo	17
Komkhulu	11
Mqhayisa	11
Ngwangwane	10
Machibini	8
Matinise	8
Mkutukeni	0
Mdeni	0
Esiphingweni	0
Chamama	0

APPENDIX EAgricultural Statistics : Comparison with other Amatola Surveys

In 1959, plans were drawn up for the implementation of agricultural betterment in the Amatola Basin (reference: Reclamation and Resettlement Report for Amatola Basin (Ebenezer Mhlambiso) Location, Middledrift District, File no. (60) N2/11/3/11). The proposals put forward in the Reclamation and Resettlement Report were partly implemented. An estimated 400 huts were moved and residential, arable and grazing areas demarcated and fenced-off. It appears that no arable lands were withdrawn from cultivation and that arable allotments remained largely the same as before.

According to the Reclamation and Resettlement Report there were 647 households in the Amatola Basin. Of these, 398 households (62%) had landrights and 249 (38%) had no land rights.

The present survey found that there are 767 occupied homesteads and 72 unoccupied homesteads, giving a total of 839 households in the Basin. Of the 767 occupied households 356 (47%) had land rights and 407 (53%) did not. The number of landless households could well have increased during the last twenty years, but why are there less households with land rights in 1981? The most probable reason is that a large number of the empty households not covered in the present survey do in fact have land rights and that when these are added to the number of occupied homesteads with land rights, the total number of homesteads with land rights will be in the vicinity of 398.

The possibility that some arable land was re-allocated is suggested by the fact that today some households have arable holdings of more than four morgan. The Reclamation and Resettlement Report mentions that the average arable allotment is $2\frac{1}{2}$ morgan and this is borne out by magisterial records.

The Rehabilitation Report gives the following distribution of households with regard to land and stock.

Households (or in the report's terms, "farmers")

with both land and stock	279	(43%)
with land and no stock	119	(18%)
with stock but no land	135	(21%)
with neither stock nor land	<u>114</u>	<u>(18%)</u>
	<u>647</u>	<u>100%</u>

It is not clear how a "farmer" can be a farmer without either land or stock.

The present survey found the following distribution (for occupied homesteads)

homesteads with both land and stock	272	(36%)
homesteads with land but no stock	87	(11%)
homesteads with stock but no land	250	(33%)
homesteads with neither stock nor land	158	(20%)
	<u>767</u>	<u>= 100%</u>

Again the greater percentage of households with only stock or with neither stock nor land may be explained by natural increase, while the decline in actual numbers of households with land rights is probably explained in terms of the exclusion of empty households and in terms of the fact that land may pass out of a household if it has no sons so that a single household may obtain access to more than one field.

The Reclamation Report gives the actual numbers of stock in 1959

as

Cattle	2 058
Sheep	2 916
Goats	2 725
Horses	169
Donkeys	140

A survey done in 1980 (by Trollope) gives the following totals

Cattle	1 795
Sheep	1 060
Goats	2 192

The present survey finds the following totals

Cattle	2 184 (including calves)
Sheep	1 206
Goats	1 507
Horses	112

In terms of both Trollope and the present survey, there has been a significant drop in the number of sheep and goats in the Basin since 1959. The most serious discrepancy between Trollope and the present survey is the number of goats estimated to be in the Basin.

(Trollope, W. S. W. Survey on the Carrying Capacity of the Amatola Basin ARDRI, University of Fort Hare, 1981.)

APPENDIX FHealth Statistics

The following data were obtained from the clinic records for 1979 and 1980.

1. <u>Domiciliary Work:</u> (At homes of people)	1979	1980
Midwifery: Deliveries	1	0
B. B. A. s	1	0
Post-natal nursing	18	0
General nursing: Number of patients	4	5
Total number of visits	5	6
Health visits: No. of homes visited	42	23
2. <u>Clinic Work:</u>		
Maternity Depot: Deliveries	58	61
Cases sent to hospital	9	11
Post-natal nursing	24	46
Ante-Natal: Number of new cases	89	78
Total attendances	747	526
Blood specimens taken	12	21
Child Health: Number of new cases	164	173
Total attendances	2 925	3 218
Minor ailments: Number of new cases	788	523
No. of cases to hospital	51	63
Total attendances	3 548	3 218
Tuberculosis: No. of cases on register	0	129
No. of new cases	0	9(?)
Total attendance	0	132
Total treatments	-	67
Bilharzia:	-	-
Family Planning: No. of new cases	451	240
Total attendance	1 183	613
No. of tablets	729	261
No. of injections	454	351
No. of intra-uterine devices	-	-

	1979	1980
Kwashiorkor: No. of new cases	52	68
Total attendances	325	424
Total patients examined by doctor:	300	56
Immunisations: Polio 1st	161	215
Polio 2nd	164	171
Polio 3rd	155	182
B. G. G.	117	125
D. W. T. 1st	155	205
2nd	164	165
3rd	156	159
D. T. 1st	-	-
2nd	-	-
3rd	-	-
Diphtheria Boost	32	108
Measles	70	92
Smallpox vaccinations	55	-
Health education:	585	340
	212	100
Milk supplies - supplied by employer	1 150 pkts	1 464
Fees collected: Maternity deliveries	308.00	265.00
Minor ailments	1 158.20	1 038.00
Milk - subsidised	204.50	299.00
Total	1 670.70	1 602.00

Distribution of Malnutrition Cases - Kwashiorkor

	Total no. of households	Malnutrition cases in 1980
Dish	48	1
Mkobeni	83	0
Mdlankomo	71	1
Komkhulu	51	4
Ngwangwane	59	0
Mkutukeni	80	7
Mdeni	49	4
Chamama	42	31
Matinise	72	
Mqhayisa	97	

	Total no. of households	Malnutrition cases in 1980
Esiphingweni	45	4
Ndlovura	67	3
Machibini	75	4
		Total 68

The nine cases not appearing on this table were dealt with at the clinic but involve people who live in the Keiskammahoek area. The few cases recorded from Highland villages probably support the argument that people living there frequently attend a clinic in Chief Mabandla's area. The three villages Chamama, Matinise and Mqhayisa are often referred to as Zixinene and the clinic had so grouped their records.

APPENDIX G

Community Development : the ARDRI input

In April 1980 a social worker was appointed to the ARDRI Project. She held meetings in every village to acquaint herself with the leaders and members of the Amatola community.

In addition the Project Management Committee was formed with the aims of monitoring all ARDRI project activity taking place, of taking decisions concerning development programmes and of keeping the people in the Basin informed as to what developments were taking place. Two delegates - one man and one woman - from each village were selected and representatives from among the teachers and clinic staff were co-opted.

The majority of people have expressed a willingness to participate in ARDRI project activity, although some had reservations as to what the nature of the project was.

A co-operative organization intended to help people obtain food and agricultural necessities more cheaply has been established. Currently there are 42 members who have each paid a signing-on fee of R25, and there is an executive committee to administer the affairs of the co-op. The top three villages of Dish, Mkobeni and Mdlankomo have requested that an additional co-op be established in their area as it is too far to walk to Komkhulu. As a result, members of these three villages prefer to visit Mabandla's area or Alice for shopping.

The ARDRI project has established a series of group activities intended to motivate people and to promote various aspects of family and agricultural life. These group projects, which are still in the formative stages, relate to: 1) home economics; 2) home handicraft industries; 3) sewing; 4) family health; 5) pig farming; 6) chicken farming; 7) crop farming; 8) vegetable farming.

Discussions have taken place concerning the implementation of a school feeding scheme in the Basin. It has been suggested that vegetables should be grown in a communal garden. These vegetables could then be used to feed children at school.

At present the only sports and social facilities available to residents in the Amatola Basin are the tribal authority hall and school classrooms for meetings, a few sports fields at the schools, and several shebeens.

APPENDIX HResearch Design

After discussions with members of the Agricultural and Rural Development Research Institute of the University of Fort Hare, a research team was constituted. This team consisted of six members: two social workers who were active in community work in the Amatola Basin, a post graduate student in Economics who was seconded to ARDRI for a short period, two professional anthropologists, and the research director. Three of the team members were fluent Xhosa-speakers.

The team visited the Basin on a number of occasions. Members met the Chief and a number of the other Basin residents. The first task the team set itself was to collect and collate all primary and secondary information on the Amatola Basin community which was immediately available. The Ciskei Department of Agriculture and Forestry, the Middledrift magistracy, the Universities of Fort Hare and Port Elizabeth, as well as Rhodes University were visited. Inside the Basin itself, school, clinic and tribal authority records were scrutinised. Valuable secondary sources included the Reclamation and Resettlement Report for Amatola Basin (1960) written by officials of the then Department of Bantu Affairs; the Quail Commission Report, and survey results from ARDRI researchers.¹ On the basis of this collection, the team compiled an Internal Report² on the Amatola Basin community in which this information was systemised so as to enable the research team to obtain an incomplete profile of the people living in the Basin. A rough map of the Basin and the location of villages within it was drawn and included in this internal report.

The second task the team undertook was to obtain information about each of the villages in the Basin. A willing village resident was found in

-
1. i) Reclamation and Settlement Report for Amatola Basin (Ebenezer Mhlambiso) Location. Middledrift District. File no. (60) N2/11/3/11, 1960.
ii) Report of the Ciskei Commission - Quail Report - Silverton: Conference Associates, 1980.
iii) Mr G. Steyn and Mr W. S. W. Trollope.
 2. Amatola Basin (VII): Internal Report by J. Trollip, unpublished, 15.4.81. Copies available at ARDRI, University of Fort Hare and I. S. E. R., Rhodes University.

each village, and he together with a team member positioned and numbered on a chart each homestead in the village. The village resident was simultaneously asked a few questions about each household; the names and sex of the household head, and whether the household owned arable land, and whether it had cultivated land during the previous season. On the basis of this information, reasonably detailed maps were drawn. These maps which were subsequently tested with other research data, are reproduced in Appendix I. This task was completed during April 1981.

It was at this stage that a draft questionnaire was constructed and tested on a number of Basin residents. It was also presented to a panel of experts for discussion and criticism. After a number of changes, it was finalised in the form included in this Appendix.

A sample of 150 households was drawn on a random basis. The village maps were used as a basis, and the sample was drawn so as to be representative of village size, sex of the household head, and of the extent of landlessness and of field cultivation in the Basin. It was on this basis that generalisations for the Basin as a whole were obtained. The sample included close to one-fifth of the total number of occupied households in the Basin. It must be emphasized that all information and generalisations exclude empty homesteads about which no information was gathered. Respondents were household heads.

Interviewers were recruited from the Basin itself, though not necessarily from the village in which interviewing was to be undertaken. Two members of the research team were present during the entire period of interviewing and little chance of interviewer error in locating respondents was possible. The completed questionnaires were processed by means of a computer programme. This phase was completed during June 1981.

The two community workers who were members of the research team undertook a series of informal depth interviews with numerous respondents in all villages during this period, and wrote reports on these encounters. The clinic sisters were the major informants for the identification of health trends in the Basin.

The final phase of the research project: two in-depth studies of two villages in the Basin to be undertaken primarily by the two anthropologists, is not included in this interim report.

(b) Who are the members who are away from home now? i.e. those who regard this as their home and return to it from time to time.

	First name	Sex M/F	Age	Education ²	Occupation	Marital Status	Relation to head
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							

Where are they living now?

- | | |
|---------|---------|
| 1. | 4. |
| 2. | 5. |
| 3. | 6. |

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
36	40	44	49																

2. As in 1. above

(c) What is the total no. of people who belong here, including those at home and those who are away.:

50-53

6 (a) Do you own a field or fields? Yes: No:

54

(b) Do you cultivate a field or fields? Yes: No:

55

If these do not belong to you, to whom do they belong?

.....

56

(c) If you use a field or fields, what is the extent of each field?

.....

57-58

(d) How much of this has been cultivated during the past 12 months:

.....

59

(e) Why that much and not more?

.....

.....

60-61

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53

1-2

(c) Which crops did you plant in your garden during the past 12 months?

.....
.....
.....

3-5

(d) Does your household include trees? (Specify type, number and purpose served by the trees):

.....
.....
.....

6-8

(e) List the people involved in the working of the garden of this household.

If they are not of this household, indicate relationship.

Name

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

9-10

8 (a) Do you own stock? (i.e. cattle, sheep, goats, horses):

Yes:..... No:.....

11

(b) If yes, specify number and type of each kind. (Distinguish lambs,

tollies, heifers, etc.): horses:.....

cattle:

sheep:

goats:

12-15

(c) If you own pigs and poultry, specify the number:

pigs:

poultry:

16-19

(d) Name the two people in this village who farm the best:

1.

2.

20-21

(e) Why are they successful farmers? 1.

.....

..... 2.

.....

22-25

9 (a) Who is the Agricultural Extension Officer responsible for your village?

name:

26

(b) Does he help you? Yes: No:

27

(c) If yes, in what way has he helped you?

.....

.....

.....

28-29

(d) If no, how can he help you?

.....

.....

.....

30-31

10 (a) How many people in the household receive pensions?

	First name	Type of pension	Amount	How often
1				
2				
3				

32

33

34

(b) How many people living here now in the household have income?

(e.g. wages and salaries, casual work, small-scale activities such as hawking, selling skills and services.)

35-36

	First name	Type of income	Total per month
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			

40

41

42

43

44

(c) Are there any of the household members away remitting money and/or material goods home? Yes: No:

45

(d) We would be gratified if you would specify the persons who remitted money and/or goods during the past 6 months.

	First name	When	Regularly or not regularly?
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			

46

47

48

49

50

51

11 (a) Where did you buy food and/or household commodities during the past 14 days?

Area: Shop: 52

Area: Shop: 53

Area: Shop: 54

(b) Specify what bought and from where:

.....

.....

.....

.....

55-57

58-61

(c) What goods did you buy for cash and/or account?

.....
.....
.....

62-63

12 What did the household eat last night?

.....
.....
.....

64-65

13 (a) Which members of the household have been to Komkhulu during the last two weeks?

66-67

	First name	How often	For what purpose
1			
2			
3			
4			

68
 69
 70
 71

(b) Which members have been to town during the last month?

72-73

	First name	Which town	How often	Why
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				

74
 75
 76
 77
 78

14 To which church do you belong?

.....

79-80

15 To which other organizations or clubs do you and the members of your family belong?

	First name	Organization or club
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		

5

6

7

8

9

10

16 (a) Do you think you are (1) better off or (2) worse off than people living in other districts? Better: Worse:

11

(b) Why do you say that?
.....
.....
.....

12-13

17 We would like to know how you feel about the financial situation of your household.

(a) Compared to 3 years ago, are you financially

1 better off

2 worse off

3 the same?

14

(b) Why do you think this?
.....
.....

15-16

(c) In 3 years time, do you think you will be financially

1 better off

2 worse off

3 the same as at present

17

(d) Why do you think this?

.....

..... 18-20

18 (a) Do you wish you could live somewhere outside Matole? 21-22

Yes/No/Sometimes
..... 23

(b) Why do you say that?

.....

..... 24-25

(c) What could be done to improve your living here?

.....

.....

..... 26-28

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	29-32
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	37-40
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	45-48
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	53-56

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	33-36
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	41-44
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	49-52
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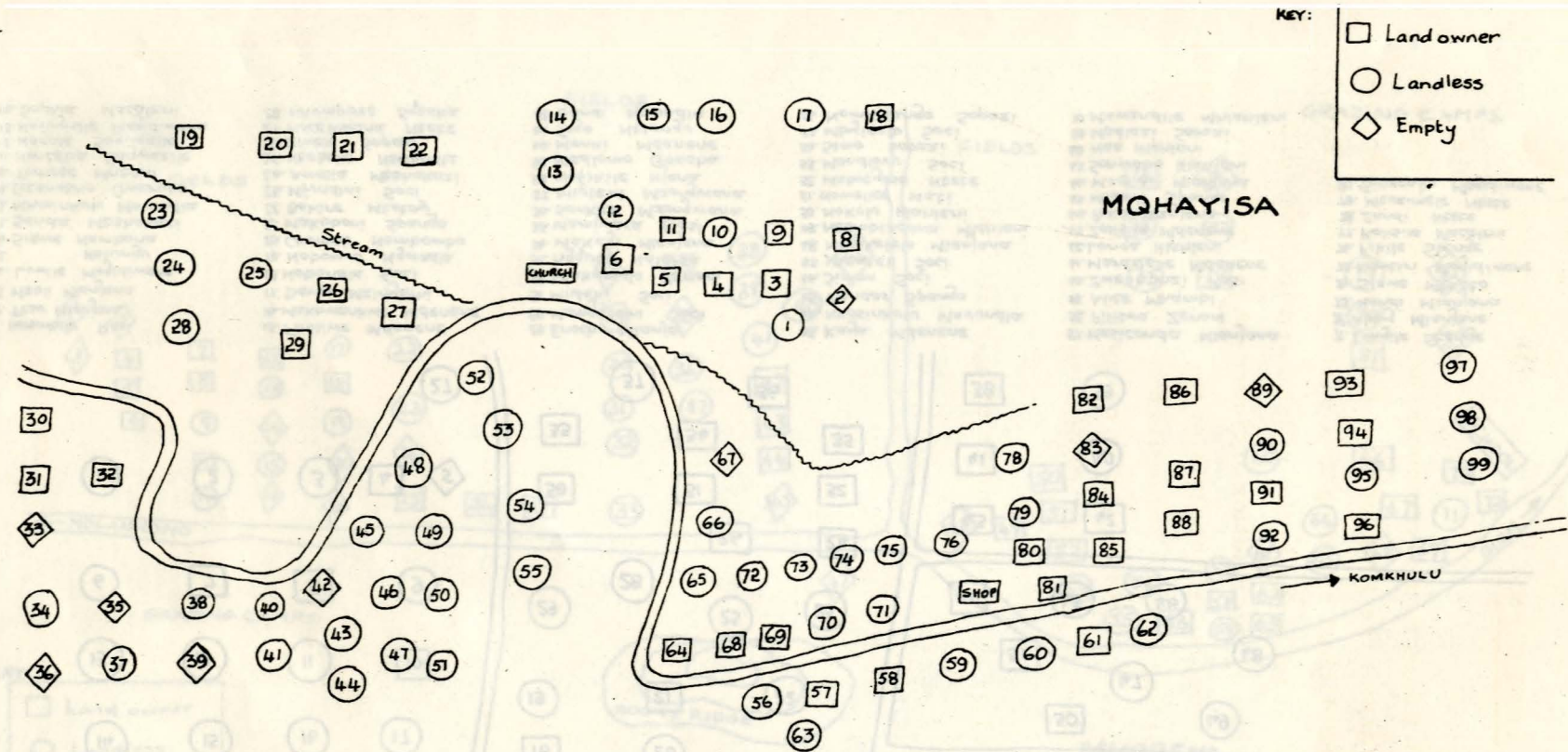
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APPENDIX I

As part of the research project, a rudimentary map of each village has been drawn. These maps depict the geographical position of each homestead, the names of the household-head residing at a particular homestead, and a few additional topographical features in the village and its immediate vicinity. The other major source of information included on the maps is (i) whether the homestead was occupied at the time of the survey (March 1981); and (ii) whether the household living in each homestead is landed or landless. The same key is used on all maps. A homestead is defined as including all buildings on a household's residential plot, and often comprises more than one residential unit.

The maps are presented by absolute number of homesteads, in descending order:

- (1) Mqhayisa
- (2) Mkutukeni
- (3) Mkobeni
- (4) Machibini
- (5) Matinise
- (6) Mdlankomo
- (7) Ndlovura
- (8) Ngwangwane
- (9) Komkhulu
- (10) Mdeni
- (11) Dish
- (12) Esiphingweni
- (13) Chamama



KEY:

- 1 Sihalo Peter
- 2 Galaza Salusalu
- 3 Nosecond Salusalu
- 4 Mnumzana Mzinyathi
- 5 Sisa Matiso
- 6 Manzothwa Matiso
- 7 CHURCH - Presbyterian
- 8 Badi Peter
- 9 Makhaya Masikana
- 10 Mtobeli Mzinyathi
- 11 Dule Mthunzini
- 12 Ngubelanga Salusalu
- 13 Bobotjana Peter
- 14 Mdmdlana Mzinyathi
- 15 Nomawonga Nzunga
- 16 Ziyekile Makendlana
- 17 Nomaneji Phanda

- 18 Themba Salusalu
- 19 Simon Nzunga
- 20 Mtutuzeli Nzunga
- 21 Mshumayeli Peter
- 22 Maradebe Scarbooi
- 23 Mamtombu Salusalu
- 24 Gilbert Mtunzini
- 25 Nteke Makupula
- 26 Tolwana Gwaza
- 27 Nowezile Matomela
- 28 Mampondo Matiso
- 29 Mamqocwa Gwana
- 30 Makongomzi Sinyongo
- 31 Nowetku Ngcawuzele
- 32 Thembile Tobo
- 33 Xhego Tobo
- 34 Zola Holoji

- 35 Sivaret Ngcawuzele
- 36 Gqwetha Sinyongo
- 37 Tsotsolo Sinyongo
- 38 Witbooi Makupula
- 39 Mcwayibana Makupula
- 40 Miriam Masikana
- 41 Mandeyi Salusalu
- 42 Mandiyala Masikana
- 43 Buyeliwa Sinyongo
- 44 Zola Matwala
- 45 Corlton Masikana
- 46 Sidima Matwala
- 47 Xolile Peter
- 48 Thozamile Matiso
- 49 Nosemsi Matiso
- 50 Ntombomhlaba Ngomana
- 51 Jayina Silwana

- 52 Macephe Makupula
- 53 Thuba Mathwala
- 54 Sandla Mdenene
- 55 Matutu Matiso
- 56 Nazipho Peter
- 57 Baldin Mpofu
- 58 Novumile Peter
- 59 Nombuyiselo Peter
- 60 Daniel Mtunzini
- 61 Fotishiswa Mzongwana
- 62 Nkenice Matinise
- 63 Mbuyiseli Peter
- 64 Silence Sipika
- 65 Siphiso Fonte
- 66 Silence Mqhayisa
- 67 Lunga Salusalu
- 68 Nokaya Matwala

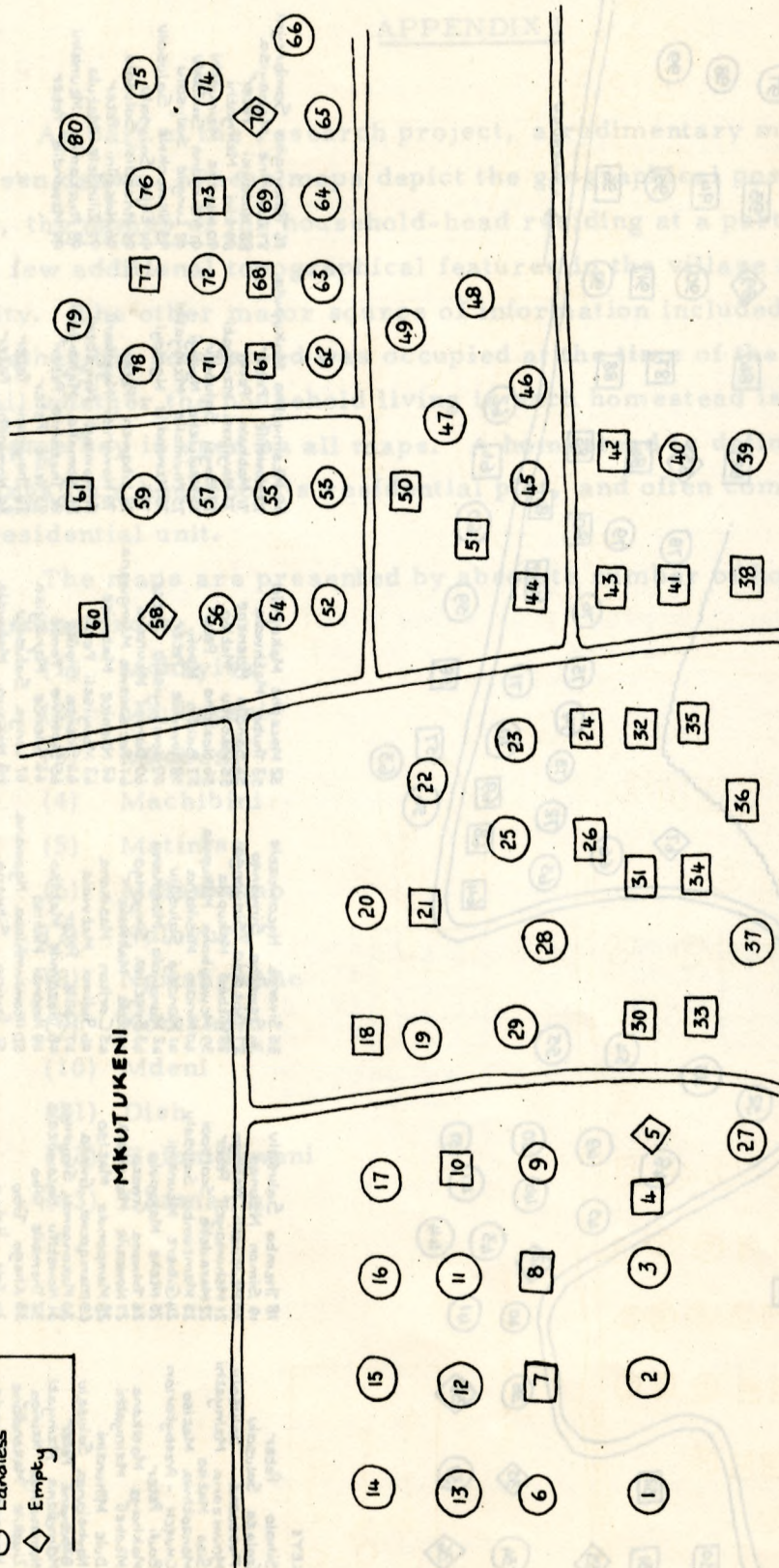
- 69 Mtsinyelina Makupula
- 70 Nowelife Peter
- 71 Mabhala Peter
- 72 Mayipasi Mzinyathi
- 73 Boysi Salusalu
- 74 Nkululeko Ngoloyi
- 75 Phumzile Mzinyathi
- 76 Mzwandile Ngoloyi
- 77
- 78 Libamen Peter
- 79 Nowinisi Nggabeni
- 80 Nowayti Nggabeni
- 81 Nomaka Mqhayisa
- 82 Thozamile Peter
- 83 Velile Peter
- 84 Thaymani Peter
- 86 Nominithi Peter

- 87 Tshangisa Sambreyini
- 88 Caroline Mqhayisa
- 89 Nosayzi Peter
- 90 Livi Mzinyathi
- 91 Nqake Mzinyathi
- 92 Mzinjana Salusalu
- 93 Lungile Salusalu
- 94 Nkwenkwe Salusalu
- 95 Elija Salusalu
- 96 Mncedisi Salusalu
- 97 Notsajini Peter
- 98 Zilindele Matula
- 99 Phakamile Mtunzini
- 99 Mzwandile Peter

KEY:

- Land owner
- Landless
- ◇ Empty

MKUTUKENI



- 1. Nohembile Rasi
- 2. Teso Mlanjana
- 3. Mzoli Mlanjana
- 4. Lowile Magidiwane
- 5. Sisewe Nombona
- 6. Sisewe Nombona
- 7. Senda Meshakazi
- 8. Nkosiinkulu Mavundla
- 9. Gtshatho Gwarube
- 10. Tomase Mincani
- 11. Nonceba Sogwazile
- 12. Ngala Sogwazile
- 13. Nonyisile Magidiwane
- 14. Sophia Macaleni
- 15. Fihliwe Mdenene
- 16. Makhwenkwe Mdenene
- 17. David Mzingathi
- 18. Nabantla Soci
- 19. Nobomvu Ngwadla
- 20. Chemist Nombombo
- 21. Makubani Spango
- 22. Bakire Miboyi
- 23. Mfundini Soci
- 24. Amelia Meshakazi
- 25. Ncube Nswandla
- 26. Ziwelo Sopazi
- 27. Macekwana Nete
- 28. Nkumpuzo Sgasha
- 29. Enoch Mlanja
- 30. Mampasini Soci
- 31. Muleki Soci
- 32. Makumalo Zenani
- 33. Ngqube Ndlansa
- 34. Makayi Mlanjana
- 35. Manjwara Rasi
- 36. Sonkosi Mzongwana
- 37. Muleki Mzongwana
- 38. Mafiki Njana
- 39. Madlomo Geseha
- 40. Monki Mdenene
- 41. Toyo Nlungu
- 42. Sandi Ngwadla
- 43. Kaye Mdenene
- 44. Nkosiinkulu Mavundla
- 45. Pindaar Spango
- 46. Simon Soci
- 47. Mandeli Soci
- 48. Nkosiinkulu Mlanjana
- 49. Nkombizadwa Mhaheni
- 50. Nkulu Mhaheni
- 51. Nwetece Mabi
- 52. Mabotjose Nete
- 53. Mandlovu Soci
- 54. Simo Sopazi
- 55. Mbjiselo Soci
- 56. Nomkhango Sopazi
- 57. Masicanda Mlanjana
- 58. Piliwa Zenani
- 59. Aile Mhambi
- 60. Zwelibanzi Rasi
- 61. Maradebe Mdenene
- 62. Lunga Mhaheni
- 63. Zaijile Mdenene
- 64. Poko Mlanjana
- 65. Mlamli Spango
- 66. Mxolisi Mlanjana
- 67. Sonwabo Mhaheni
- 68. Naz Mhaheni
- 69. Madlezi Sopazi
- 70. Mzawandile Mhaheni
- 71. Lengile Stenge
- 72. Abee Mlanjana
- 73. Nandi Mlanjana
- 74. Sizwe Mkhuto
- 75. Nontiri Magidiwane
- 76. Fikile Stenge
- 77. Kolisile Macaleni
- 78. Zandi Nete
- 79. Pitsoimelle Nete
- 80. Sinkonko Magidiwane

GRAZING CAMPS

FIELDS

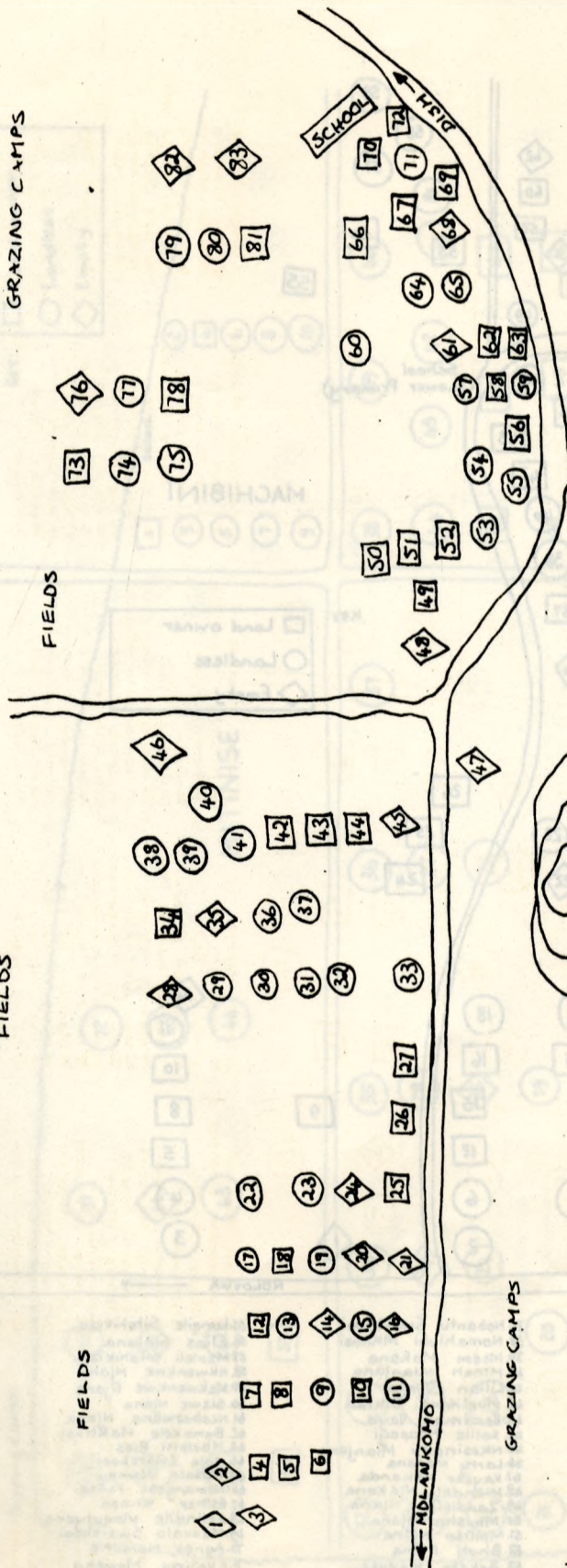
FIELDS

FIELDS

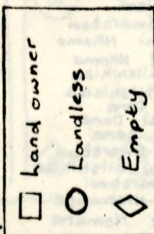
GRAZING CAMPS

MKOBENI

ROCKY RIDGE

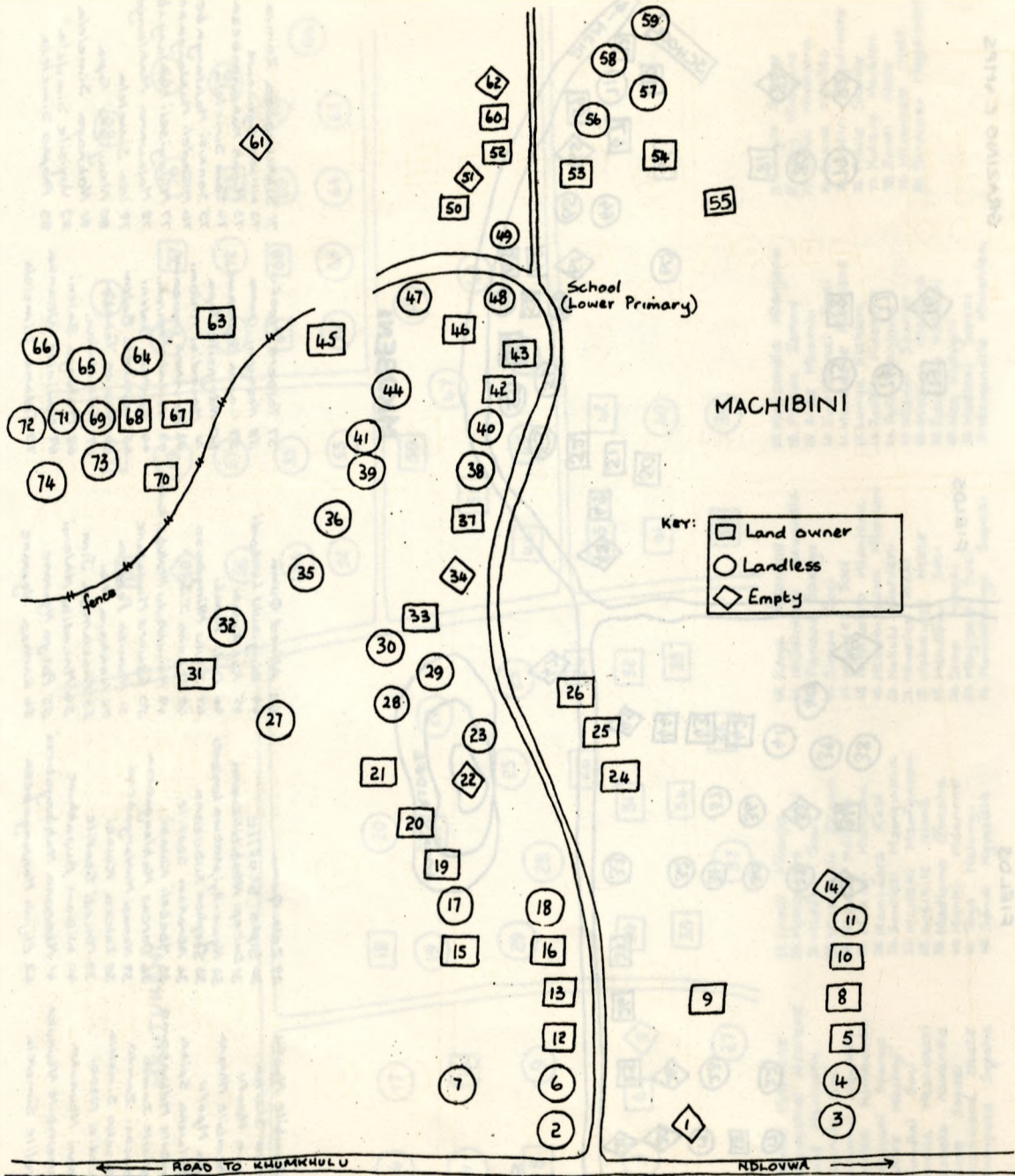


KEY:



KEY:

- | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 Nkebeza Luntonéi | 43 Alfred Quma | 71 Sikhumbaza Zamva |
| 2 Monde Mpambane | 44 Dingizulu Luntonéi | 72 Wilson Gguzawe |
| 3 Mngazi Nwuruka | 45 Kuli Kwati | 73 Minah Mahlangabeza |
| 4 Nokwacha Simelela | 46 Didi Kwati | 74 Tom Simelela |
| 5 Mkolisi Mpofo | 47 Silulu Mngwaniso | 75 Sonkisi Mahlangabeza |
| 6 Nomaka Sipika | 48 Tekana Jim | 76 Mlandeli Mahlangabeza |
| 7 Mbuyiselo Simelela | 49 Mzimthulu Mshibilikwana | 77 Mlungiseli Mahlangabeza |
| 8 Maboy Mpofo | 50 Edward Madalane | 78 Malawana Mahlangabeza |
| 9 Florence Mngovu | 51 Nomisa Pepeta | 79 Ida Simelela |
| 10 Ndadase Simelela | 52 Nokhaya Vei | 80 Alxayiphi Tapa |
| 11 Alfred Mpofo | 53 Phakamisa Jim | 81 Mokhaya Simelela |
| 12 Xolani Mpambane | 54 Mncedisi Malomi | 82 Vuyisile Simelela |
| 13 Nontombi Mpambane | 55 Peto Ngwane | 83 Phopho Simelela |
| 14 Ndleleni Zamva | 56 Khonza Ngwane | |
| | 29 Zola Quma | |
| | 30 Sipho Stofile | |
| | 31 Dubezi Mshibilikwana | |
| | 32 Ngwe-Ayiphatwa Luntonéi | |
| | 33 Stephen Kubuzana | |
| | 34 Abraham Stofile | |
| | 35 Mbeleti Kwati | |
| | 36 Dorcas Mahlangabeza | |
| | 37 Nonasi Mahlangabeza | |
| | 38 Zolca Kwati | |
| | 39 Mncedi Stofile | |
| | 40 William Busakwe | |
| | 41 Nkosana Mahlangabeza | |
| | 42 Elijah Mahlangabeza | |
| | 57 Tolbert Mpofo | |
| | 58 Nosayini Quma | |
| | 59 Cawa Gguzawe | |
| | 60 Ndoyisile Tapa | |
| | 61 Mncedisi Mhlomi | |
| | 62 Ab-amen Gguzawe | |
| | 63 Nomaka Mhlomi | |
| | 64 Bantam Baleni | |
| | 65 Novakele Baleni | |
| | 66 Nbsize Tshaka | |
| | 67 Vida Mafani | |
| | 68 Malunga Baleni | |
| | 69 Mwinirile Ntanba | |
| | 70 Jidana Simelela | |

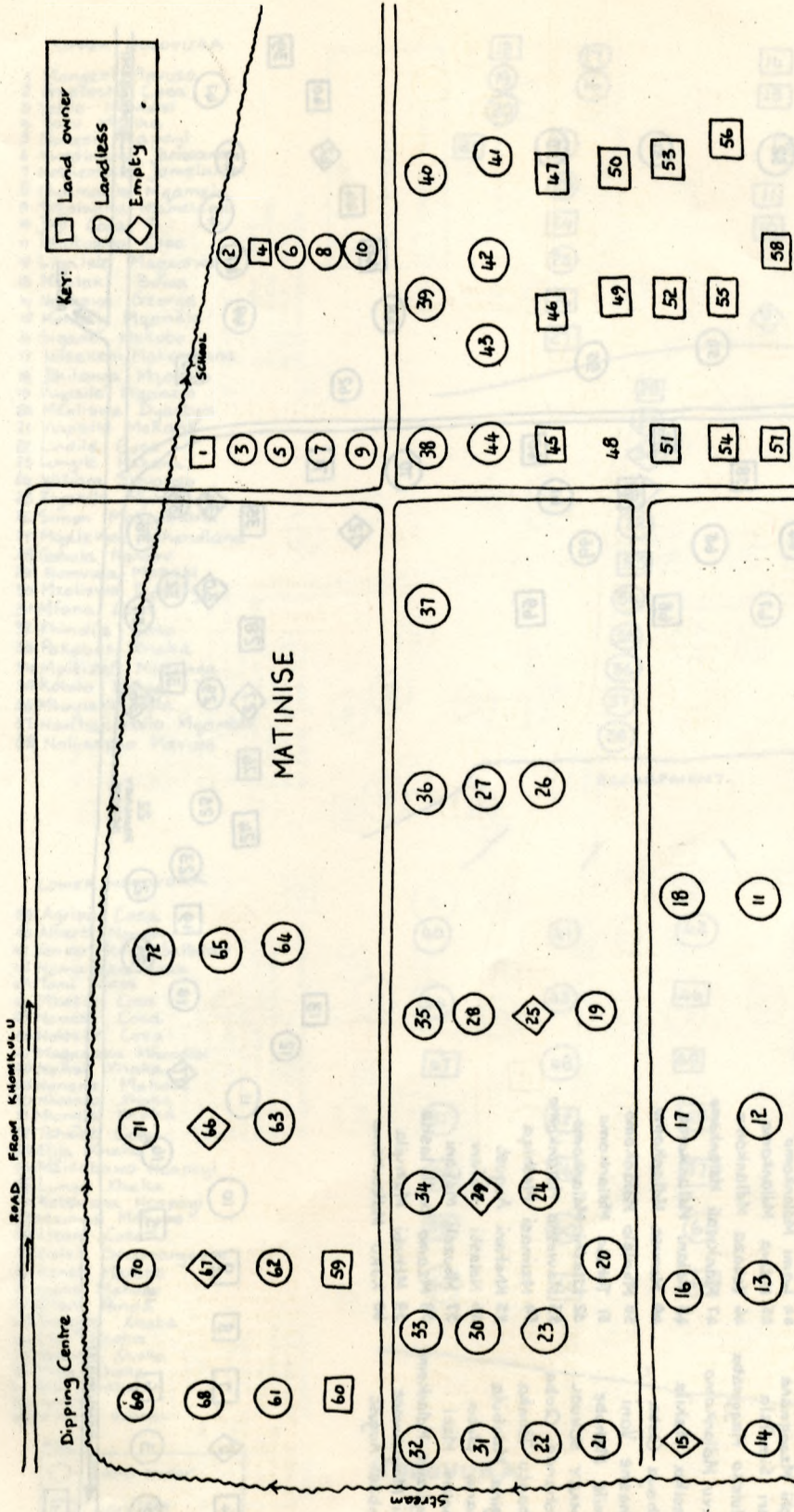


- 1. Mbaneki Mphati
- 2. Nohoti Toyis
- 3. Nomayis Ngejsha
- 4. Nomaongo Sitshikiza
- 5. Roda Mbinjara
- 6. Sandi Dana
- 7. Nomqobo Makana
- 8. Kenneth Mbinjani
- 9. Nontsapho Sitshikiza
- 10. Mhlawenkosi Sitshikiza
- 11. Grace Sitshikiza
- 12. Robert Toleni
- 13. Griffiths Makanda
- 14. Vanana Swartbooi
- 15. Mbozeli Dana
- 16. Nokuzolwa Siguqu
- 17. Mvuleli Mbinjara
- 18. Nofezile Siguqu

- 19. Simon Silwana
- 20. Velile Matika
- 21. Silumko Toleni
- 22. Velasi Toleni
- 23. Mkuseli Swartbooi
- 24. Nkosimbini Nkomo
- 25. Mngameli Nkomo
- 26. Nohile Sitshikiza
- 27. Mngenzi Sitshikiza
- 28. Nofiniso Dana
- 29. Nombakazi Dana
- 30. Bonakele Dana
- 31. Maghegu Swartbooi
- 32. Maimkhulu Sitshikiza
- 33. Henry Swartbooi
- 34. Vuyiswa Ntshwane
- 35. Nninawe Nomahle
- 36. Gideon Ncapayi
- 37. Drummond Sedulasho

- 37. Nobantu Swartbooi
- 38. Nomahlubi MKhosi
- 39. Meem Makana
- 40. Mlnah Mlanjana
- 41. Lilian Qunta
- 42. Mveliswa Dikiza
- 43. Headman Yayis
- 44. Xolile Ncapayi
- 45. Nkosinathi Mlanjana
- 46. Larry Makana
- 47. Kayser Mbhanda
- 48. Mlandeli Njaka
- 49. Zandisile Njana
- 50. Mbusho Njana
- 51. Mphiliso Njana
- 52. Bnuti Njana
- 53. Babata Mavuso
- 54. Norbordia Sitshikiza
- 55. Melvin Mahlangabeza

- 55. Lungile Sitshikiza
- 56. Elias Sinjana
- 57. Mzoleli Sitshikiza
- 58. Nkwenkwe Njana
- 59. Makwenkwe Njana
- 60. Sizwe Njana
- 61. Ncobotwana Njana
- 62. Bonakele Marhasi
- 63. Mbeleki Bles
- 64. Zola Swartbooi
- 65. Masala Nomayi
- 66. Nomangesi Forte
- 67. Esther Khapa
- 68. Zelindile Maqutyana
- 69. Mzoxolo Swartbooi
- 70. Agnes Nomane
- 71. Evalina Mawebu
- 72. Sikelelo Nkanda
- 73. Velile Dana



KEY:
 □ Land owner
 ○ Landless
 ◇ Empty

ROAD FROM KHOSIKULU

Dipping Centre

MATINISE

Stream

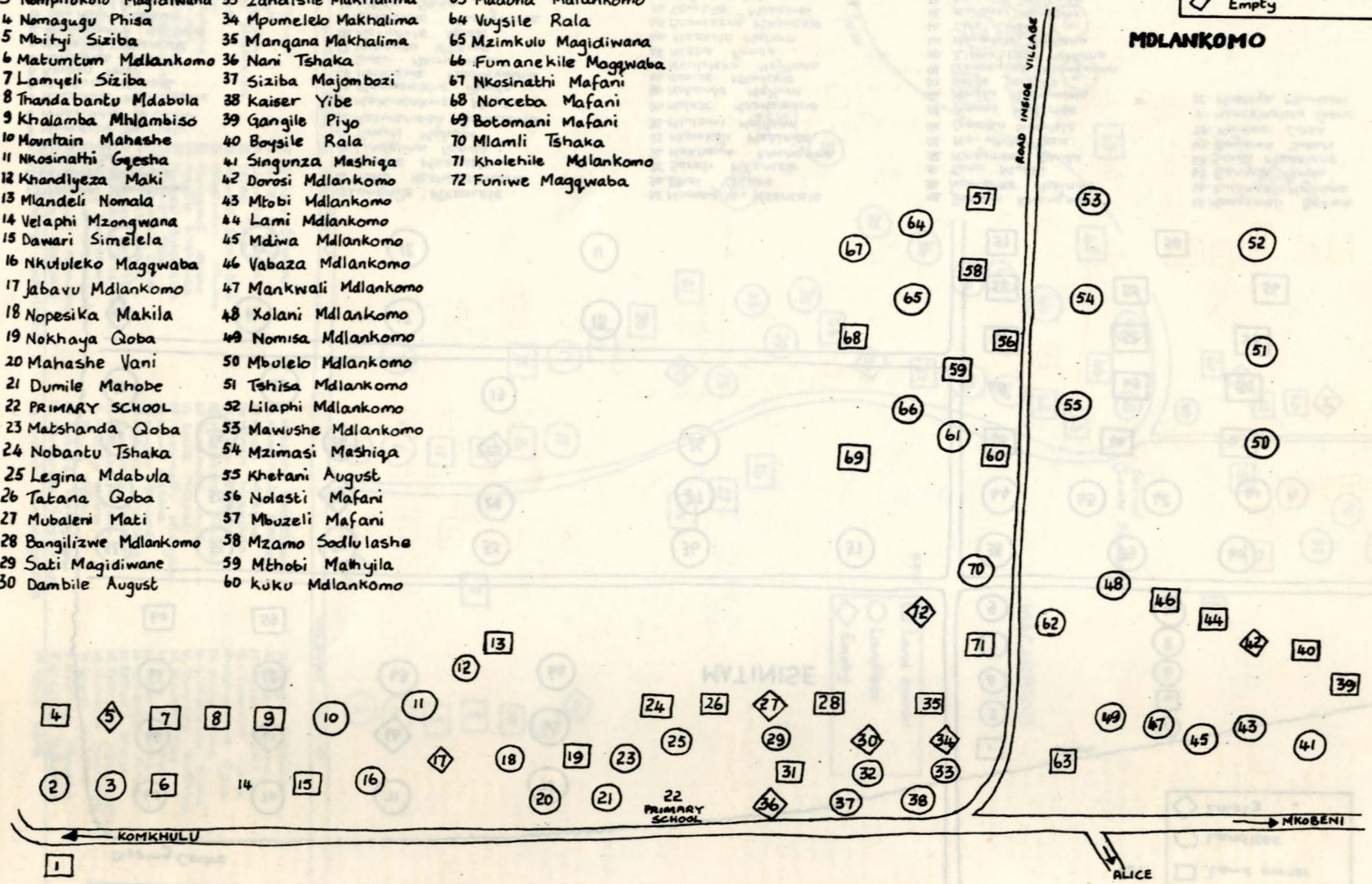
- 1 Mfamaana Mzongwana
- 2 Lahlwe Mxamela
- 3 Simon Salusalu
- 4 Msutu Mbulu
- 5 Mmadaba Salusalu
- 6 Mhaxhaxi Salusalu
- 7 Nozami Mzongwana
- 8 Mhantutu Njilana
- 9 Keuben Peter
- 10 Mantsanga Peter
- 11 Nwawile Mkencele
- 12 Mzwabantu Njilana
- 13 No-Asam Bekwa
- 14 Phiphot Mzongwana
- 15 Nobimba Njilana
- 16 Mianka Mkencele
- 17 Lungisile Mkencele
- 18 Waku Mshibitkwana
- 19 Vumile Mkencele
- 20 Lindelina Panda
- 21 Timoti Mghum
- 22 Nokuwandisa Gabazana
- 23 Makinenkwe Mkufo
- 24 Magwanishe Panda
- 25 Mhithawa Mzongwana
- 26 Gudu Mzongwana
- 27 Nobantu Hiekwa
- 28 No-white Geza
- 29 Gungazile Mzongwana
- 30 Lilitin Spika
- 31 Kolisile Mkencele
- 32 Mladodi Mfutmo
- 33 Nomajile Mkencele
- 34 Ethel Gyasa
- 35 Sarah Mkencele
- 36 Nokhaya Khongana
- 37 Mamkali Matinise
- 38 Mlulami Njilana
- 39 Nolast Mzongwana
- 40 Nobantu Mghum
- 41 Nosize Mkencele
- 42 Nkululeko Njilana
- 43 Nceba Panda
- 44 Mzozolo Mghum
- 45 Stomberg Mkencele
- 46 Tayitile Makambi
- 47 Xolani Mfutho
- 48 No-ayini Mkencele
- 49 Jackson Khongana
- 50 Nomanze Matinise
- 51 Tono Mgeki
- 52 Mngumeti Panda
- 53 No-white Peza
- 54 Garden Simila
- 55 Nongo Matinise
- 56 Mhabe Mzongwana
- 57 Velile Janjiles
- 58 Gwayizuzi Mzongwana
- 59 Ziphathelle Nohitana
- 60 No-white Njilana
- 61 Toto Cosa
- 62 Nontazi Njilana
- 63 Lungile Njilana
- 64 Kolekile Nzandana
- 65 Mongameli Bekwa
- 66 Kulikazi Njilana
- 67 Bangela Panda
- 68 Smito Madalane
- 69 Buyiswa Sokati
- 70 Nankosi Cosa
- 71 Nontsikalelo Genu
- 72 Mashiya Mzunzini

KEY:

- | | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 Nowhahwa Makhila | 31 Funiwe Mdlankomo | 61 Sisa Mdlankomo |
| 2 Noze Makhila | 32 Neuzan Goba | 62 Mantolo Matyhila |
| 3 Nompokolo Magidiwana | 33 Zandisile Makhilima | 63 Maduna Mdlankomo |
| 4 Nomagugu Phisa | 34 Mpumelelo Makhilima | 64 Vuysile Rala |
| 5 Mbityi Siziba | 35 Mangana Makhilima | 65 Mzimkulu Magidiwana |
| 6 Matumtum Mdlankomo | 36 Nani Tshaka | 66 Fumanekile Maggwaba |
| 7 Lamyeli Siziba | 37 Siziba Majombozi | 67 Nkosinathi Mafani |
| 8 Thandabantu Mdabula | 38 Kaiser Yibe | 68 Nonceba Mafani |
| 9 Khalamba Mhlambiso | 39 Gangile Piyo | 69 Botomani Mafani |
| 10 Mountain Maheshe | 40 Boysile Rala | 70 Mlamli Tshaka |
| 11 Nkosinathi Ggesha | 41 Singunza Mashiga | 71 Kholehile Mdlankomo |
| 12 Khandlyeza Maki | 42 Dorosi Mdlankomo | 72 Funiwe Maggwaba |
| 13 Mlandeli Nomala | 43 Mtobi Mdlankomo | |
| 14 Velaphi Mzongwana | 44 Lami Mdlankomo | |
| 15 Dawari Simelela | 45 Mdiwa Mdlankomo | |
| 16 Nkutuleko Maggwaba | 46 Vabaza Mdlankomo | |
| 17 Jabavu Mdlankomo | 47 Mankwali Mdlankomo | |
| 18 Nopesika Makila | 48 Xolani Mdlankomo | |
| 19 Nokhaya Goba | 49 Nomisa Mdlankomo | |
| 20 Mahashe Vani | 50 Mbolelo Mdlankomo | |
| 21 Dumile Mahobe | 51 Tshisa Mdlankomo | |
| 22 PRIMARY SCHOOL | 52 Lilaphi Mdlankomo | |
| 23 Mabshanda Goba | 53 Mawushe Mdlankomo | |
| 24 Nobantu Tshaka | 54 Mzimasi Mashiga | |
| 25 Legina Mdabula | 55 Khetani August | |
| 26 Tatana Goba | 56 Nolesti Mafani | |
| 27 Mubaleni Mati | 57 Mbuzeli Mafani | |
| 28 Bangilizwe Mdlankomo | 58 Mzamo Sadlulasha | |
| 29 Sati Magidiwane | 59 Mthobi Matyhila | |
| 30 Dambile August | 60 kuku Mdlankomo | |

- KEY:
- Land owner
 - Landless
 - ◇ Empty

MDLANKOMO



(PROXIMITY)

UPPER NDLOVURA

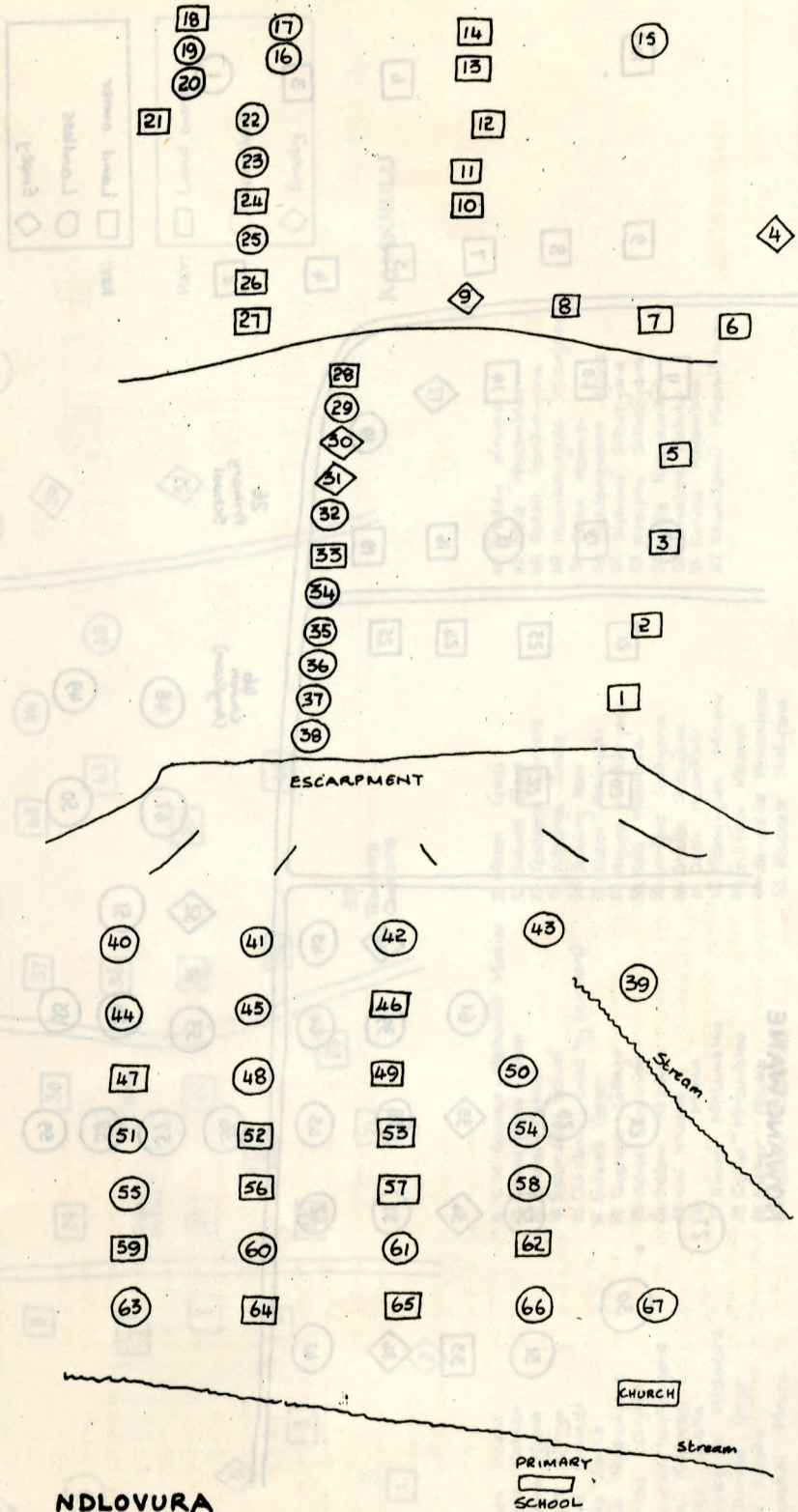
- 1 Mongezi Mavuso
- 2 Gxetesho Cosa
- 3 Velle Mfundisi
- 4 Baru Matika
- 5 Nonasi Ncapayi
- 6 Kwedinana Jamelana
- 7 Nothembele Jamelana
- 8 Nyamezile Mqamelo
- 9 Totolwana Njamelana
- 10 Jaji Cosa
- 11 Mtutuzbu Cosa
- 12 Libalele Magxotwa
- 13 Mboleki Buwa
- 14 Nokhaya George
- 15 Monday Mqamelo
- 16 Sigade Mekubo
- 17 Nosekeni Makendiana
- 18 Jikilanga Mqamelo
- 19 Vuyisile Mqamelo
- 20 Mzoliswa Dyantyi
- 21 Vuyisile Makana
- 22 Lindile Cosa
- 23 Lungile Makana
- 24 William Singongo
- 25 Ziyekile Mphati
- 26 Simon Makendiana
- 27 Mqalekiso Makendiana
- 28 Gabula Nongov
- 29 Nomvula Mphati
- 30 Mzoliswa Dyantyi
- 31 Mfana Cosa
- 32 Phindile Cosa
- 33 Pokobas Xhaka
- 34 Mpitizeli Nazungu
- 35 Kototo Nongov
- 36 Mbuyiselo Mjila
- 37 Nombandezelo Mqamelo
- 38 Nolusapho Mavuso

LOWER NDLOVURA

- 39 Agripa Cosa
- 40 Albert Nongovu
- 41 Vander Merwe Sallisalu
- 42 Nomayeza Cosa
- 43 Tomi Cosa
- 44 Mbeteli Cosa
- 45 Nomast Cosa
- 46 Nofezile Cosa
- 47 Magaqana Mfundisi
- 48 Nomzi Xhaka
- 49 Nonene Mahobe
- 50 Nkosana Xhaka
- 51 Mlungisi Xhaka
- 52 Tshece Cosa
- 53 Elija Xhaka
- 54 Mzikabawo Ncapayi
- 55 Lunga Xhaka
- 56 Kotswana Ncapayi
- 57 Mzimasi Mahobe
- 58 Lizani Cosa
- 59 Violet Socamangashe
- 60 Hanet Mahobe
- 61 Siphoh Mahobe
- 62 Zilani Panda
- 63 Sivuyile Xhaka
- 64 Lizi Xhaka
- 65 Nowinile Xhaka
- 66 Mfusi Xhaka
- 67 Bili Xhaka
- 68 CHURCH
- 69 PRIMARY SCHOOL

KEY:

- Land owner
- Landless
- ◇ Empty



NDLOVURA

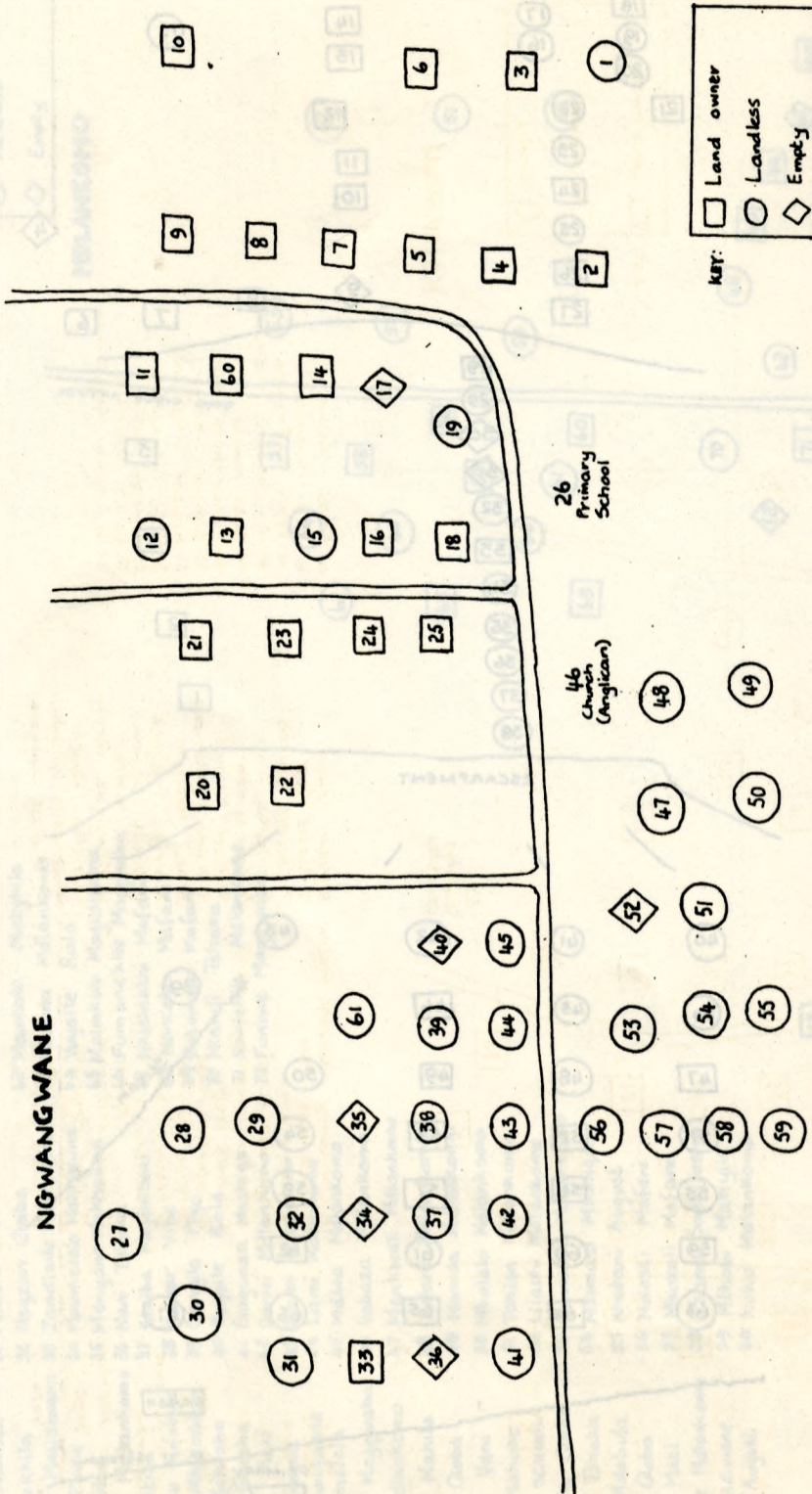
PRIMARY SCHOOL

CHURCH

Stream

Stream

NGWANGWANE

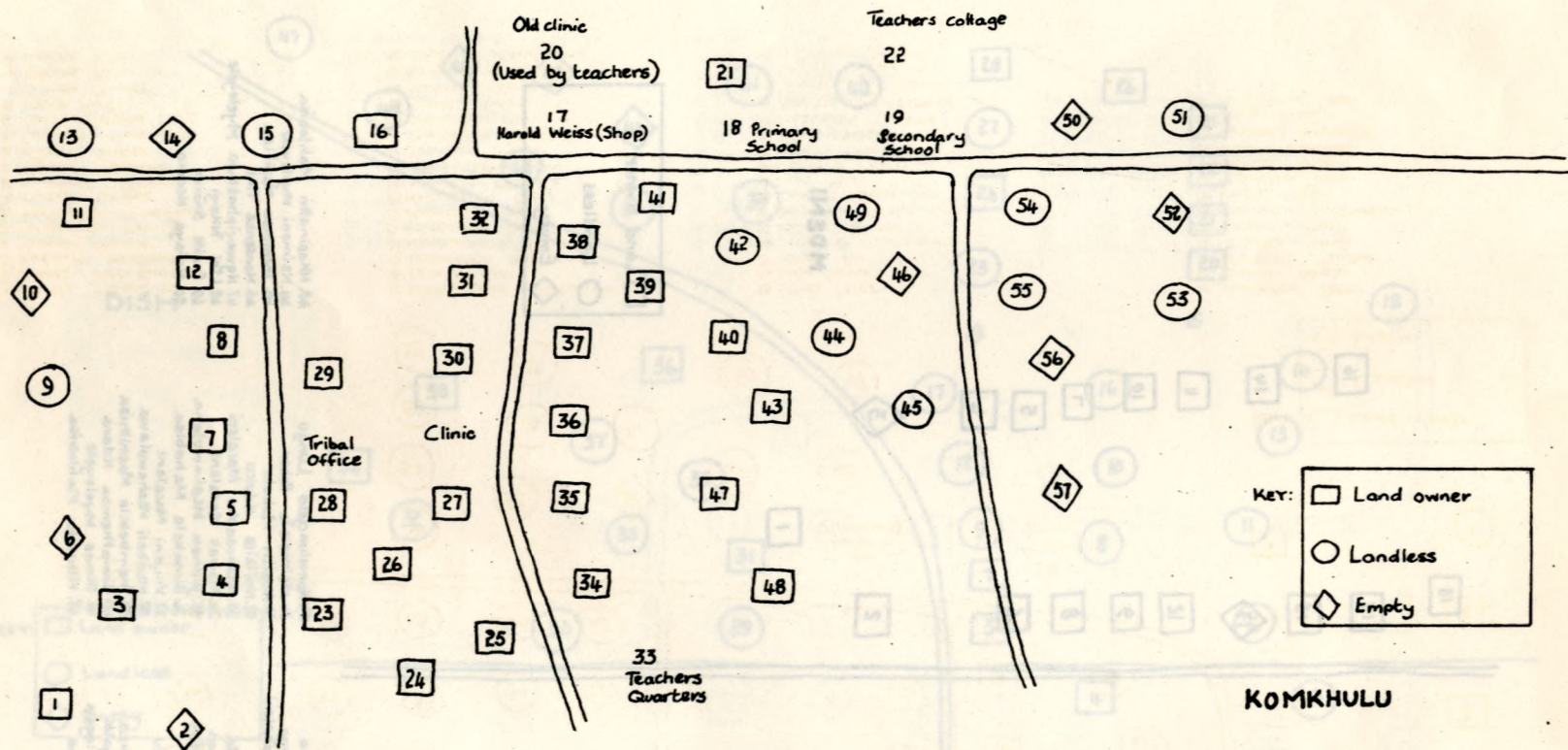


- 49. Sawenteni Peter
- 50. Diamina Noyehi
- 51. Mphahlele Gyose
- 52. Mibaleki Tongo
- 53. Nicholas Peter
- 54. Miaminga Mlagidiwana
- 55. Engile Tongo
- 56. Mamcina Maki
- 57. Mjekeni Tongo
- 58. Gideon Mwaralla
- 59. Gyanemko Ngwadda
- 60. ESTON Peter
- 61. Mambongo Peter

- 33. Ethel Peter
- 34. Lina Saka
- 35. Wilkat Kiri
- 36. Vivienne Mzangwana
- 37. Estina Gyose
- 38. Benjamin Mzangwana
- 39. Luvuyo Mzangwana
- 40. Evas Peter
- 41. Khosile Mlagidiwana
- 42. Ndlessi Mphahle
- 43. Amos Saka Njana
- 44. Mzateleli
- 45. Nosipho Nqubelanga
- 46. Church - Anglican
- 47. Mikihi Peter
- 48. Skopens Peter

- 17. Mkhunjwana Mphacwa
- 18. Fakile Kiri
- 19. Nkwatha Nombeku
- 20. Naphumzile Gyose
- 21. Nolutsho Dasi
- 22. Mwanjin Dasi
- 23. Mncakelali Peter
- 24. Nominile Mbofha
- 25. NicosinEsha Kiri
- 26. Primary School
- 27. Phakamile Nishwali
- 28. Soka Hodoshe
- 29. Noleki Tongo
- 30. Mndali Mzangwana
- 31. Nthembile Mbofha
- 32. Batrice Maphajana

- 1. Letitia Mzangwana
- 2. Gilbert Mzangwana
- 3. Nodauli Mzangwana
- 4. Nowam Butile
- 5. Nengancu Mbongi
- 6. Agriette Mphahle
- 7. Mazwi Gyose
- 8. Noyemile Sinaum
- 9. Milton Mphahle
- 10. Edward Gyose
- 11. Edward Mphahle
- 12. Soldati Njana
- 13. Irene Kiri
- 14. Simon Gyose
- 15. Weiss Kiri
- 16. Kaiser Kiri



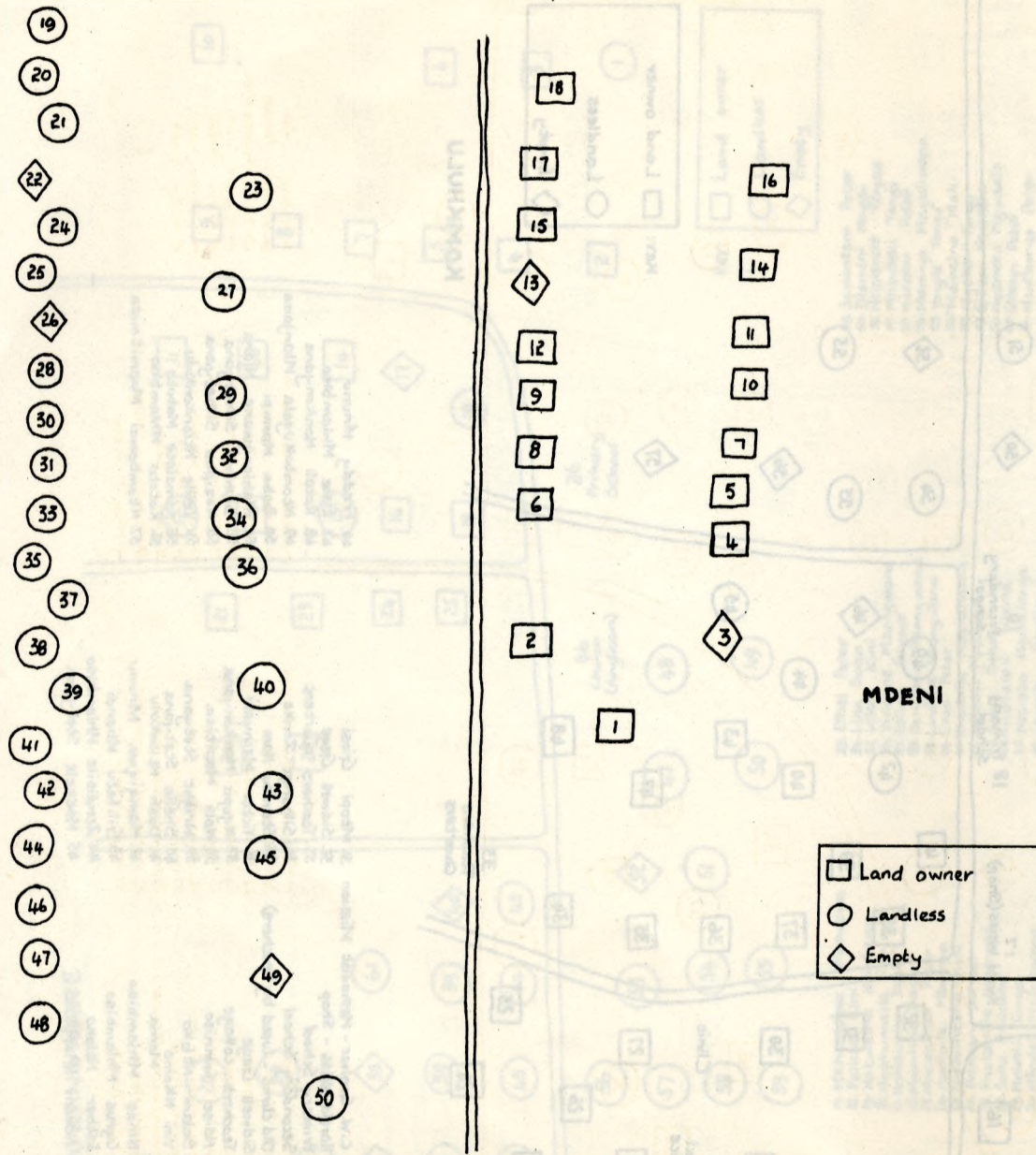
1. Reuben Mbelu
2. Vuyisile Mabuto
3. Madlomo Njana
4. Xoliswa Ginyu
5. Edward Gobado
6. Sicelo Zonke
7. Nolifisi Nonkonyane
8. Griffiths Gijose
9. Nomayeza Nonkonyane
10. Mava Madwayi
11. Janette Sasha
12. Magheleghete Mlandana
13. MacDonald Gege
14. Jack Xhiphu
15. Mngdosini Mrara

16. C.W. Goniwe - Methodist Mission
17. Harold Weiss - Shop
18. Primary School
19. Secondary School
20. Old clinic - (used by teachers)
21. Sidwell Gege
22. Teachers Collage
23. Ndise Somniso
24. Salam Ntloko
25. Vini Nkomo
26. Mama
27. Ninas Mhlambiso
28. Cyrus Mhlambiso
29. Esther Ntloko
30. Nonani Mapitiza

31. Mtopi Giosi
32. Sidwell Gege
33. Teachers quarters
34. Sithonga Zonke
35. Stanley Nam
36. Victor Mzinyabi
37. Ngupa Nonkonyana
38. Nellie Mapitiza
39. Wright Stetyana
40. Sheila Stetyana
41. Dash Ntlonkulu
42. Mamgqwa Mnuvu
43. Gilitatu Mbandi
44. Zendisile Mhlambiso
45. Msekele Stetyana

46. Freddy Mnuvu
47. Elsie Mhlambiso
48. Rotoli Nonkonyana
49. Ntombokugala Mlanjana
50. Baba Mpompi
51. Mahlongwane Njana
52. Siphiso Sithetyana
53. Nozipho Sithetyana
54. Velile Ntlonkulu
55. Namalose Mabuto
56. Kototo Mhlambiso
57. Ntombomzi Mapitiza

(XXXX)

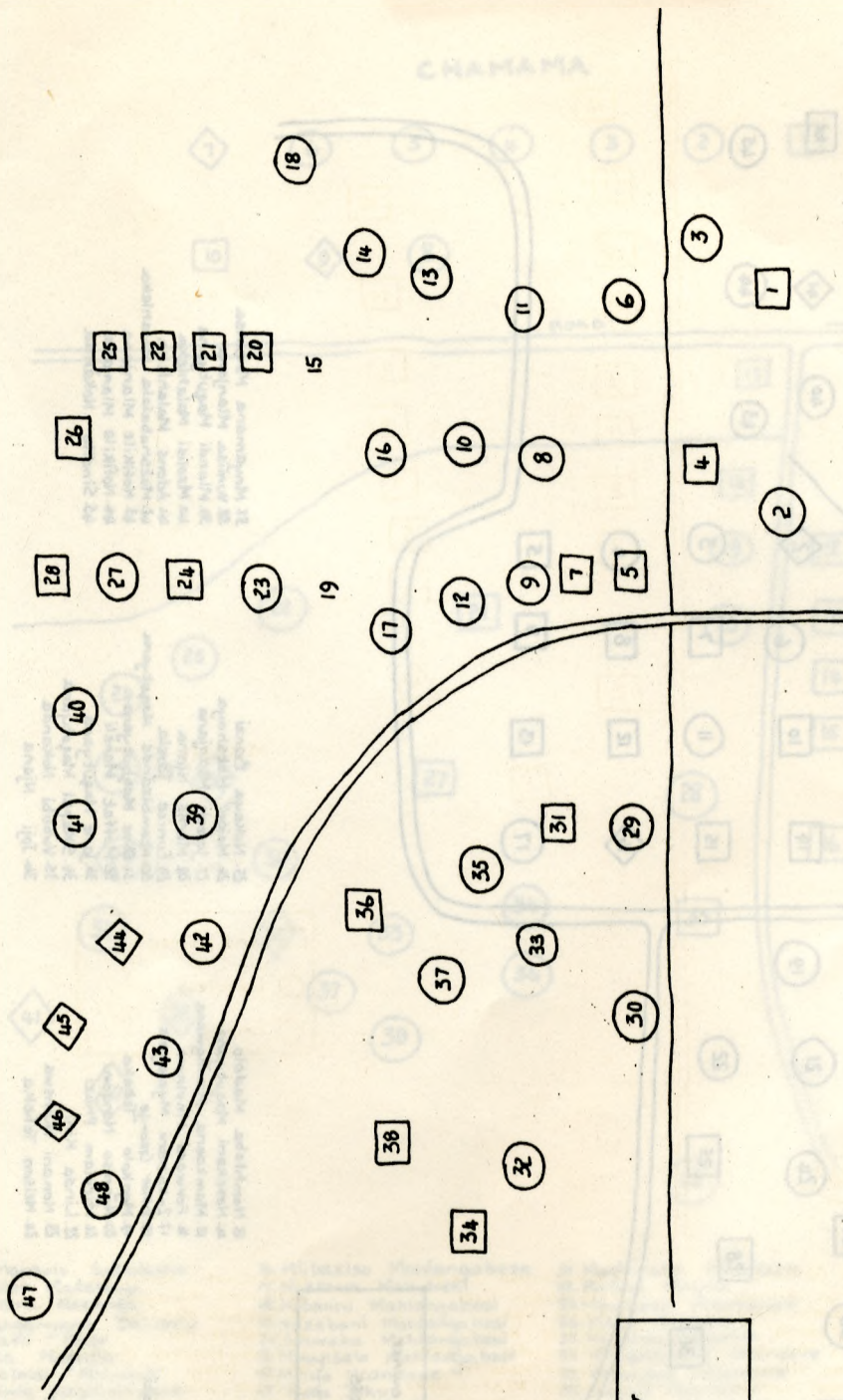


- 1. Livingstone Mahlobisa
- 2. Maboyisi Lungu
- 3. Mimiše Peter
- 4. Masala Mhlambiso
- 5. Muleki Mtshawulana
- 6. Mongezi Mtshawulana
- 7. Lillian Mtshawulana
- 8. Mzimkulu Maphithiza
- 9. Brydon Maphithiza
- 10. Phincile Mzinathi
- 11. Ndimeni Makhumsha
- 12. Mbizo Maphithiza
- 13. Xola Lupuwana
- 14. Mdoba Rayingand

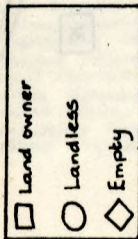
- 15. Legina Chitoko
- 16. Tamsanga Ntlonga
- 17. Jongintshaba Macaleni
- 18. Mwezi Magoda
- 19. Ndomisa Magoda
- 20. Nontsabo Ntlonga
- 21. Noma Khosi Labase
- 22. Shap
- 23. Veliswa Salusalu
- 24. Licat Mahiso
- 25. Lucnic Maphithiza
- 26. Vuyisile Mgalagala
- 27. Zwelizolile Mgalagala
- 28. Shila Mahlobisa

- 29. Nomalungelo Lungu
- 30. Msimeleto Peter
- 31. Austin Mabula
- 32. Nofikile Nduku
- 33. Ndabosapho Macaleni
- 34. Mowat Macaleni
- 35. Judnek Mtshawulana
- 36. Bonakele Mahlobisa
- 37. Vuyani Macaleni
- 38. Mbobeli Mtshawulana
- 39. Thembekile Maphithiza
- 40. Nomathemba Ndara
- 41. Dimos Myeleyele
- 42. Mbulelo Mahlobisa

- 43. NKosinathi Mahlobisa
- 44. Nzimeni Myeleyele
- 45. Thembisa Maphithiza
- 46. Nonsense Tiki
- 47. Ngwayiphathwa Myeleyele
- 48. Lizi Nkayi
- 49. Fuzile Shoco
- 50. Nofaya Ncama



DISH



key:

- 41. Babogi Lwazi
- 42. Mncedis Panda
- 43. Duma Nomnganga
- 44. Mtobela Genu
- 45. Mtsozi Panda
- 46. Siphiso Lwazi
- 47. Ntshon Panda

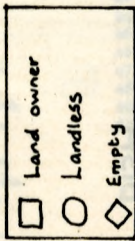
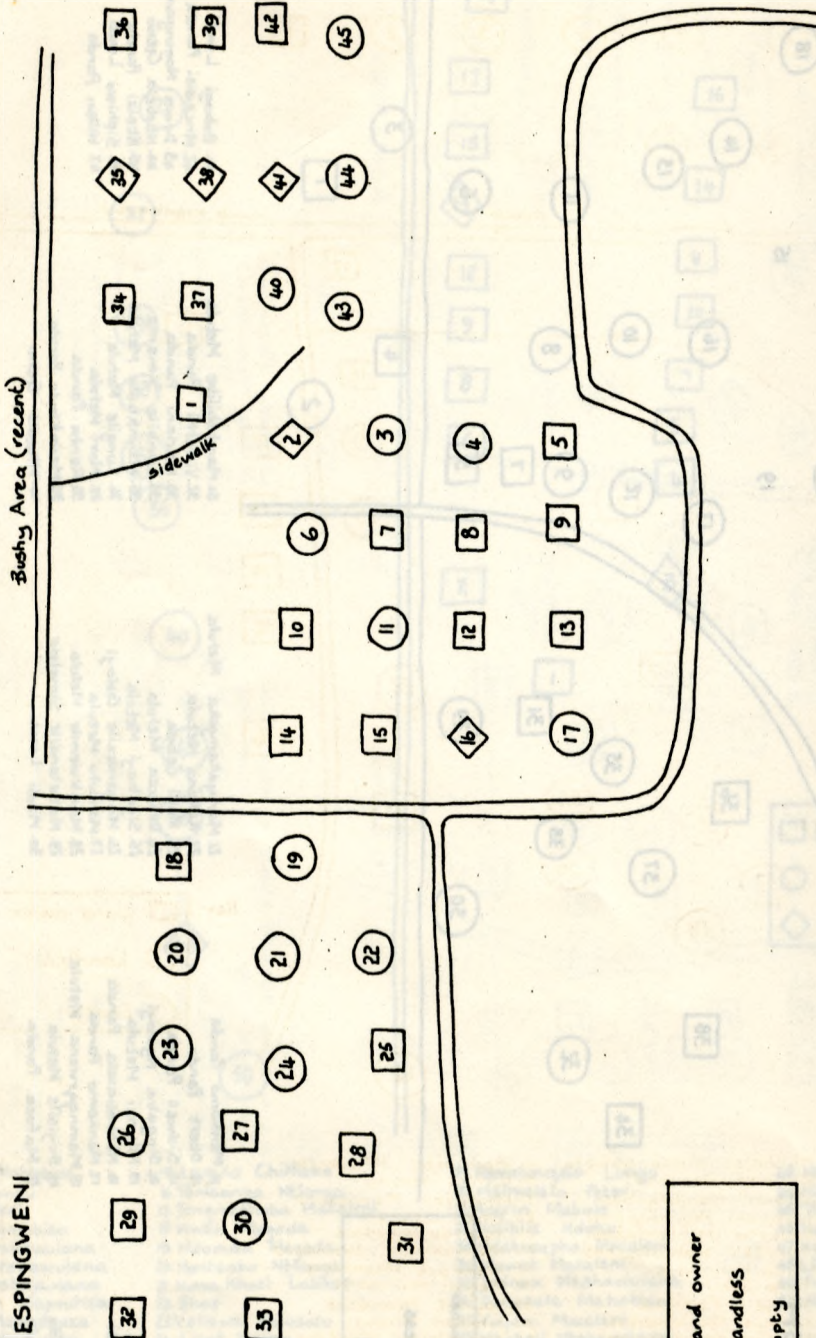
- 31. Mamtshilibe Metula
- 32. Vinathi Panda
- 33. Mianani Panda
- 34. Lunbile Simema
- 35. Mizimkhulu Metula
- 36. Lungile Metula
- 37. Mori Metula
- 38. Ranta Panda
- 39. Mizimkhulu Panda
- 40. Mkothe Genu

- 21. Manyakanyaka Metula
- 22. Kekana Metula
- 23. Meki Cebisa
- 24. Bebeza Metula
- 25. Sigobayi Metula
- 26. Mngomezile Gqoloyi
- 27. Mantu Metula
- 28. Mamkwemle Metula
- 29. Mabelandile Simelele
- 30. Mizoli Lwazi

- 11. Menkomo Panda
- 12. Obert Panda
- 13. Sidwell Panda
- 14. Singaba Ngoloyi
- 15. Mtunzi Metula
- 16. Mshabalala Panda
- 17. Menkomo Panda
- 18. Mammngqweni Metula
- 19. Buyisile Metula
- 20. Mafuza Panda

- 1. Sippone Metula
- 2. Nopani Similele
- 3. Efetiya Metula
- 4. Mladred Ngoloyi
- 5. Mawadabe Metula
- 6. Mazerigale Dlwazi
- 7. Solomon Panda
- 8. Kholile Panda
- 9. Nompitimpiti Panda
- 10. Madlambulo Panda

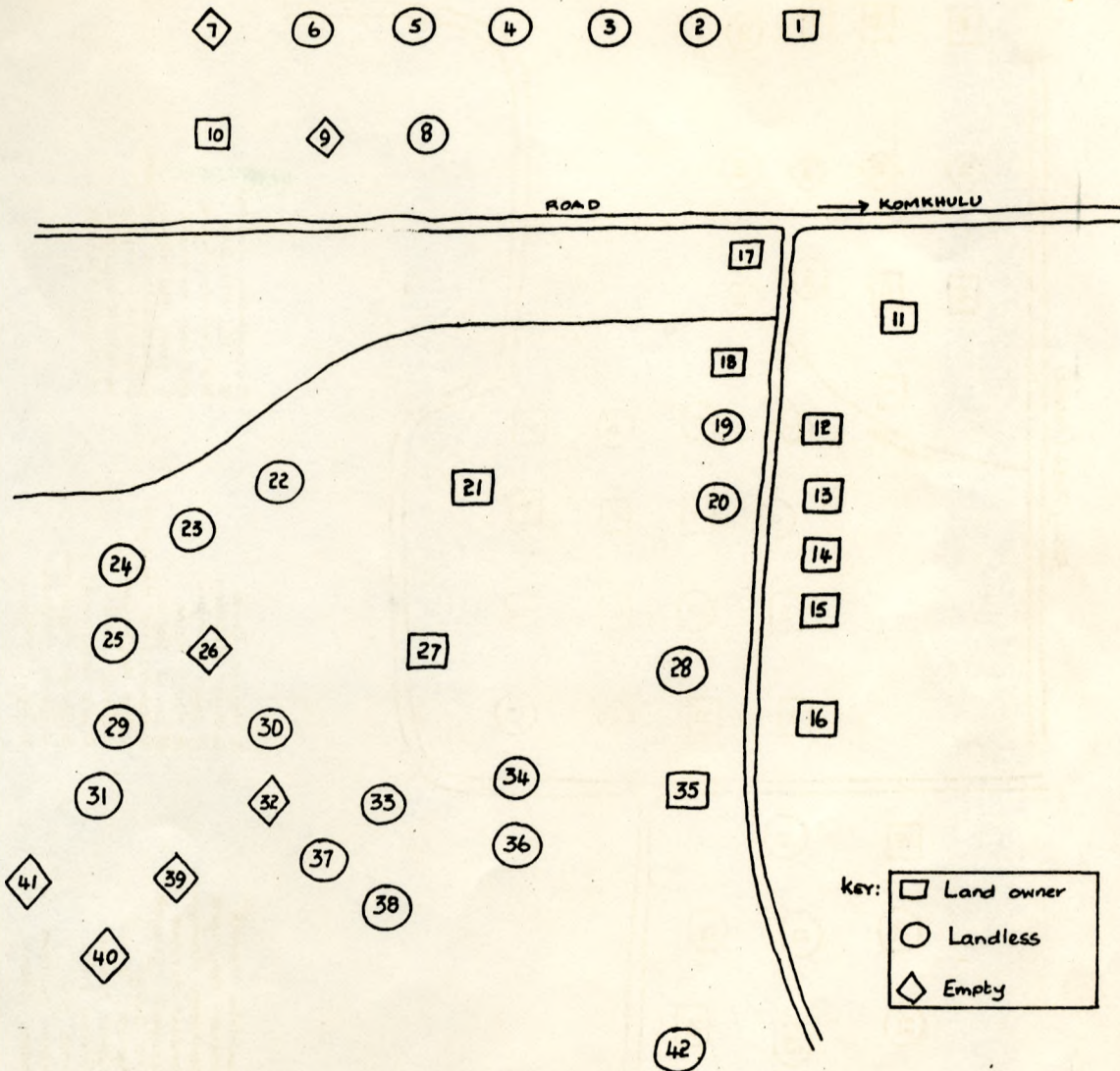
ESPINGWENI



KEY:

- 1- Nambeko Magutyana
- 2- Namsesana Myletyele
- 3- Sophie Rizana
- 4- Winnard Manelli
- 5- Ellen Peter
- 6- Maxwi - Anzima Mipati
- 7- Gome Mabshaya
- 8- Nkosana Mkinwa
- 9- Nambeko Magutyana
- 10- Mizimesi Magutyana
- 11- Nondlela Soubhile
- 12- Arthur Madolo
- 13- Nemthabe Madolo
- 14- Nosekani Magutyana
- 15- Mamkoena Mzamgwana
- 16- Forward Maximwa
- 17- ZakuBani Myletyele
- 18- Elliot George
- 19- Mgokolo Tebeka
- 20- Nyariso Nongovu
- 21- Mirriam Phazi
- 22- Linda Kini
- 23- Nomani Nyinswa
- 24- Nelson Tebeka
- 25- Nokaya Banzi
- 26- Majoni Mabshaya
- 27- Joseph Mlanjana
- 28- Marks Njana
- 29- Eunice Tabela
- 30- Nambizanae Magutyana
- 31- Olive Magutyana
- 32- Moffat Manelli
- 33- Jane Magutyana
- 34- Skapei Magutyana
- 35- Vubobi Nokanda
- 36- Joji Njana
- 37- Mnyamama Mrcinisa
- 38- Yumisa Mlanjana
- 39- Mlandi Magutyana
- 40- Misolisi Malahleka
- 41- Adams Malahleka
- 42- Mabshabatale Malahleka
- 43- Nofikile Mlanjana
- 44- Nofikile Mlanjana
- 45- Sindile Nokanda

CHAMAMA



- 1. Nzimankulu Sodlulashe
- 2. Doctor Matshaya
- 3. Lulama Nozonga
- 4. Hlanganyana Salusalu
- 5. Maseki Peter
- 6. Lota Magodla
- 7. Matinisi Mninawe
- 8. Mlamle Ntshibikwane
- 9. Sindiswa Sajin
- 10. Mancube Sodlulashe
- 11. Mjikelo Ngobo
- 12. Khwelekile Sodlulashe
- 13. Minah Sodlulashe
- 14. Mani Ncandane
- 15. Thamsanga NKwenkwe

- 16. Mlibaziso Mahlangabeza
- 17. Nyeliswa Mshubeki
- 18. Nobantu Mahlangabesi
- 19. Ndzabani Mahlangabesi
- 20. Sonwabo Mahlangabesi
- 21. Mbuyiselo Mahlangabesi
- 22. Mtiyo Ncandane
- 23. Tsobo Juku
- 24. Mkoeli Mapitiza
- 25. Maboyis Mahlangabesi
- 26. Boniswa Mahlangabesi
- 27. Siphu Mapitiza
- 28. Nofunbile Juku
- 29. Mnyamexeli Mkenkcele
- 30. Charlton Ncandane

- 31. Maghinebe Mkenkcele
- 32. Rahini Mnunu
- 33. Mtutuzeli Mzongwane
- 34. Dinah Grabodo
- 35. Ngududu Gobodwa
- 36. NKwenkwane Ncandane
- 37. Ntsompat Mkenkcele
- 38. Magodi Ncandane
- 39. Vuyisile Ncandane
- 40. Johnson Mnunu
- 41. Khayaletu Mapitiza
- 42. Kenkcele Ngabeni

