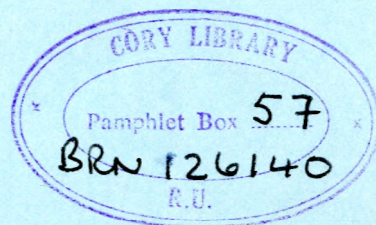


**Institute of Social and Economic Research**

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**Local Responses to Political Policies  
and Socio-Economic Change in the  
Keiskammahoek District, Ciskei:  
Anthropological Perspectives**

**Chris de Wet, Cecil Manona and Robin Palmer**

**Working Paper No. 55**

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## PREFACE

### The Structuring of the Report

The four substantive sections of this report, viz the case-studies of the rural villages of Rabula and of Burnshill, and of the town of Keiskammahoek, as well as of local government in the district as a whole, are presented as separate sections. Each section separately incorporates a discussion of the research procedures and terminology used, as well as the relevant maps, tables and endnotes. Appendices, such as the questionnaires used in field research, together with the bibliography, appear at the end of the report.

### Stylistic Notes

To avoid unnecessary repetition, the original Keiskammahoek Rural Survey is hereafter referred to as "the Rural Survey". Both the district and the town in our area of study are called Keiskammahoek. To avoid confusion, the district of Keiskammahoek is hereafter referred to as "the District", and the town of Keiskammahoek is likewise referred to as "the Town". Words in the Xhosa vernacular (other than proper names and place names) have been placed in italics.

We have used the terms 'homeland' and 'independent' or 'Independence' in relation to Ciskei in inverted commas, to draw attention to their politically and morally ambiguous nature, since the homeland political system in South Africa is not



acceptable to many if not most of the people who are officially identified with it.

### Acknowledgements

We wish to thank the following people and institutions for their assistance in this project:

- i) the Programme for Development Research (PRODDER) conducted programme of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) for its funding of this project. The opinions and interpretations expressed in this report are those of the authors, and do not necessarily reflect those of the HSRC.
- ii) the people of the District, and particularly to the inhabitants of Rabula, Burnshill and of Keiskammahoek Town for their hospitality and assistance, without which this project would have been impossible. In particular, our heartfelt thanks to our research assistants and companions in the field, Mr. E. Jezile, Mr. I.M. Lutya and Mr. J. Sali.
- iii) the Institute of Social and Economic Research at Rhodes University, under whose auspices this project was conducted. We are especially grateful to Professor W.J. (Bill) Davies for his on-going assistance and support.
- iv) Mrs A. Hayward and Mrs K. Voorvelt, who typed the bulk of this report, and Mr A.J. Cook, who proof-read and stylistically edited it.
- v) Mr. O. West, of the Geography Department at Rhodes University, who drew the maps.

## INTRODUCTION

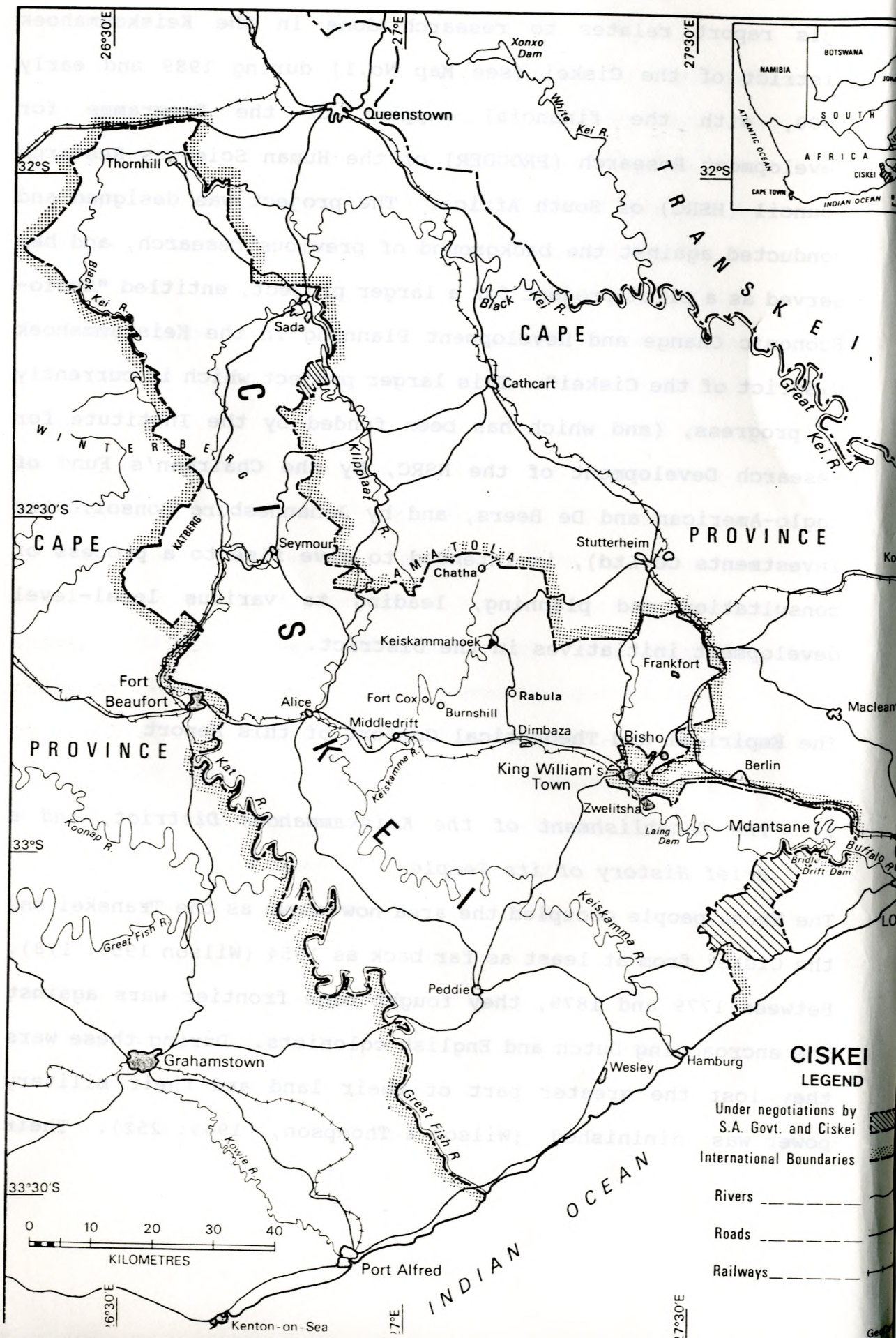
This report relates to research done in the Keiskammahoek district of the Ciskei (see Map No.1) during 1989 and early 1990, with the financial support of the Programme for Development Research (PRODDER) of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) of South Africa. The project was designed and conducted against the background of previous research, and has served as a pilot project for a larger project, entitled "Socio-Economic Change and Development Planning in the Keiskammahoek District of the Ciskei". This larger project which is currently in progress, (and which has been funded by the Institute for Research Development of the HSRC, by the Chairman's Fund of Anglo-American and De Beers, and by Johannesburg Consolidated Investments Co Ltd), is intended to give rise to a process of consultation and planning, leading to various local-level development initiatives in the District.

### **The Empirical and Theoretical Context of this Report**

#### i) *The Establishment of the Keiskammahoek District, and a Brief History of its People*

The Xhosa people occupied the area now known as the Transkei and the Ciskei from at least as far back as 1554 (Wilson 1959: 178). Between 1779 and 1879, they fought nine frontier wars against the encroaching Dutch and English colonists. During these wars they lost the greater part of their land and their military power was diminished (Wilson & Thompson, 1969: 252). Their

Keiskammahoek District in Relation to the Ciskei



**CISKEI  
LEGEND**

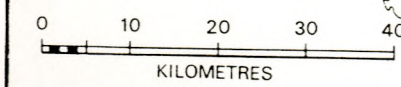
Under negotiations by S.A. Govt. and Ciskei

International Boundaries

Rivers

Roads

Railways



political decline was accelerated by the Cattle Killing of 1856/57, which caused the death of over 15 000 people in British Kaffraria (now known as the Ciskei) alone (Peires 1989: 319). The starvation which followed this 'national suicide' forced many Xhosa people to seek a haven on mission stations, or to find employment in the Cape Colony - *inter alia*, on white-owned farms, where they settled as farm labourers. Some of their descendants have remained there since that time, while others have been compelled to settle in what is now the Ciskei.

The early missionaries made slow progress among the Xhosa. During the first half of the 19th century in particular, the Xhosa asserted their identity and rejected Christianity and schooling which they saw as an attempt to change their way of life (Ashley, 1974: 200-202). Although these attitudes softened somewhat by the last third of the nineteenth century (Mayer, 1961: 34), the Xhosa ambivalence and defensiveness in relation to western culture persisted - a response apparently related to the loss of their land and independence.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, a set of events, including the *Mfecane* (or 'Shakan wars') gave rise to the development of another Xhosa-speaking group in the Eastern Cape/Ciskei/Transkei region. However, it has recently been argued that, contrary to the conventional historical wisdom, the *Mfengu* (or 'Fingo') grouping has its roots more in being treated as a single ethnic and administrative unit, than in its having

Keiskammahoek district, was inhabited by the Ngqika sub-section of the Xhosa people, with Chief Ngqika having his Great Place in what is today the village of Burnshill. During the Frontier War of 1850-1853, Ngqika's son Sandile and his followers were driven out of the area by the British colonial forces, assisted by Mfengu auxiliaries.

The settlement of Keiskammahoek was established by the British after the war of 1850-1853. In accordance with government policy of the time, the area was opened out to white settlers and to "loyal" Africans. As a result, a limited number of people of British and German descent were allocated land; similar grants were made to a large number of Mfengu, in acknowledgement of their military assistance to the British. Over time, a number of Xhosa people drifted back into the District - although by 1948-1950, they formed only about one quarter of the District's population (Wilson, Kaplan, Maki and Walton 1952, p.1). Although these broadly ethnic distinctions were relevant to the history of the District, they are no longer relevant to the period covered in this report (i.e. 1989-1991). By 1950, Xhosa and Mfengu inhabitants in the District were culturally "scarcely distinguishable" with the former cleavage between them having "virtually disappeared" (op. cit.).

#### ii) *The Keiskammahoek Rural Survey*

All contemporary studies of social change in rural Ciskei must inevitably operate against the benchmark of the Keiskammahoek

Rural Survey. Published in four volumes in 1952 it was a multi-disciplinary research project, involving in-depth field research by economists and anthropologists from 1948 to 1950 (Houghton and Walton 1952; Mills and Wilson 1952; Wilson, Kaplan, Maki and Walton 1952) as well as by geologists, geographers, soil scientists and plant scientists (Mountain (ed) 1952). A summary of the Rural Survey may be found in the form of Houghton's (1955) monograph "Life in the Ciskei".

iii) *Ethnographic and Theoretical Developments since the Keiskammahoe Rural Survey*

Since 1952, various scholars have conducted research in the District, including Cokwana (1986), Green and Hirsch (1983), Leibbrandt (1988; de Wet, Leibbrandt and Palmer 1989), Mayer (1972), Nightingale (1983), Oram (1984), Roux (1986) and the Surplus People's Project (1983, Volume II, Part 3.5). This research, particularly that of Leibbrandt, will be referred to where it is appropriate - but perhaps more directly relevant for the purposes of this report, has been the on-going research by members of this project in the area over a number of years. Manona has been working in the area since 1977 (see *inter alia* Manona 1980; 1981; 1990) while de Wet has been conducting research there since 1978 (see *inter alia* de Wet 1985; 1989; in press) and Palmer has been working in Town since 1986 (see de Wet, Leibbrandt and Palmer 1989; Palmer 1990). This pilot project and the larger project currently in progress have been designed in terms of previous research findings and the project

members' knowledge of the area.

The current project has been concerned to document some of the more important changes that have taken place in the Keiskammahoek district since the time of the Rural Survey. Inasmuch as research for the Rural Survey was conducted from 1948 to 1950, and research for this report was conducted in 1990, and includes some work on the situation after the military coup which ousted Lennox Sebe as President of Ciskei, we are here concerned with the changes that have been wrought during the apartheid period.

In an important sense, this project is concerned with two parallel processes of change - one ethnographic, and the other theoretical. Not only has the ethnographic situation - population figures, demographic processes, land use patterns, income levels, political structures and social patterns, etc - changed in the households and settlements in the Keiskammahoek District since 1950; the theoretical perspectives, in terms of which the ethnographic situation has been studied and written up, have also changed significantly.

It is a fair generalization to state that the Rural Survey (at least its socio-economic aspects, which are our concern in this report) was conceived, researched and written up in terms of the structural-functional theoretical perspective.

Structural-functionalism typically adopts a synchronic "time-slice" approach, looking at a particular area at a particular moment in time. Hence, although the Rural Survey is by no means blind to the history of the Keiskammahoek area since its establishment as an administrative district by the British colonial authorities in 1853 (Mills and Wilson 1952, p. 1) it is perhaps more concerned with documenting the "ethnographic present" of 1948-1950, than with locating that period in a wider diachronic historical process.

Structural functionalism has also often adopted a view of people as the rather passive recipients of externally initiated political and socio-economic changes. Factors such as Western education, migrant labour and Christianity are seen in the Rural Survey as leading to changing behaviour patterns. Thus, the incidence and patterns of witchcraft accusations in rural villages are seen as responses to changing social relationships and concomitant changing alignments of loyalties and tensions (Wilson, Kaplan, Maki and Walton 1952, p.170 ff). But change is viewed essentially as re-active as a response to externally initiated stimuli, rather than as pro-active, as arising in significant measure from individual opportunism and creativity.

Another characteristic of much of structural functionalism in anthropology has been an essentially rural focus. This has doubtless developed, at least in part, because a rural settlement is usually fairly small, which is easily delimitable



in a physical and demographic sense, as well as amenable to detailed, participant observation style research. Thus, although it is made clear that freehold villages such as Rabula have always been characterized by significant immigration as well as emigration (as distinct from oscillating labour migration), the Rural Survey focuses almost exclusively on six rural settlements. The Town - the administrative and commercial heart of the district receives no study or analysis in its own right. This is one of the serious deficiencies of the Rural Survey that Palmer's work, both before this report, as well as in it, seeks to remedy.

The Rural Survey provided a sensitive and flexible application of the theoretical framework of its day, and it stands as a benchmark study of conditions in the African rural areas. It is in no way disparaging to say that it has, however, been theoretically superceded in the same way that its ethnography is now forty years out of date. Contemporary theoretical approaches are much more sensitive to the processual nature of human society and settlement patterns, seeing change as an essential and on-going aspect of individual and community life, rather than as an *ex-post-facto* adaptation to externally initiated changes. This processual vision operates at both a macro and a micro level. At a macro level, a rural community is fundamentally located in its wider regional or national political-economic context; often it is constituted to a significant degree by the nature of that relationship. This

means that the rural/urban division, which the Rural Survey seemed to take as one of its points of departure (as reflected *inter alia* in its neglect of Town) is today seen as increasingly tenuous and problematic. At a micro level, contemporary theoretical approaches are much more inclined to see the individuals on the ground as pro-active i.e. as seeking to better themselves in terms of the incentives and constraints (such as those of the wider context referred to above) operating in their situation.

It is precisely the nature of the interaction between wider level and local micro level structures, opportunities and constraints, and the way in which that interaction gives rise to particular outcomes in particular situations, that is a topic of current theoretical interest and debate (see e.g. Comaroff 1981). It is in terms of such theoretical orientations that we are seeking to decipher the processes of change that have been developing in the Keiskammahoek area since the time of the Rural Survey in this report.

#### **A Brief Sketch of the Keiskammahoek District Today (1989-1991)**

The Keiskammahoek district is situated between the South African magisterial districts of Stutterheim and Cathcart and the Ciskei magisterial districts of Alice, Middledrift and Zwelitsha (see Map No 1). The town of Keiskammahoek is approximately thirty five km from the town of Stutterheim, and about forty km from

King William's Town and the nearby Ciskei capital of Bisho.

The area has always been heavily dependent upon sources of income outside the district, as, until the 1970's, there was very little employment opportunity inside the district. This dependency still remains, although it has been slightly modified by changes that have arisen as a direct result of the 'homeland' policy. In addition to the introduction of two irrigation schemes, a military barracks, a new hospital and two timber-related industries, the town has been transformed by its emergence as an important administrative centre. All of these developments have led to a number of new job opportunities, and to the transformation of the Town from a white trading town to a black-run civil service and commercial centre. But the bulk of people's income in the area is still derived from outside the district, in the form of wages and salaries earned within Ciskei, of old age pensions, and the remittances of migrant labour.

The district shows a diverse, and complicated land tenure pattern. This report examines the issue of land tenure in some detail, because of the importance of access to land in an area of high landlessness, such as the District. Type of land tenure is tied into not only the question of access to land, but also of the relative security with which it is held, as well as to the length of time a household has been established in the community - which in turn has implications for the development

of social networks, as well as for educational and income levels. In several settlements, land is owned on a quitrent or freehold basis, while in others land is held as Trust land, i.e. land ultimately owned by the Ciskei government, to which people are granted rights of occupancy, and use under specific conditions. The irrigation schemes are tenurally in a state of flux, with arrangements apparently being made to transfer the land from government ownership to freehold title. Properties within the Town are held under various tenorial conditions.

Although the sizes of arable land holdings vary considerably in freehold and quitrent areas, in other rural settlements they are as small as half a hectare. This has arisen directly as a result of a policy related to the 'homeland' initiative, known as 'Betterment Planning'. This involved people in rural villages having to move to newly created residential areas, until residential, arable and grazing land being separately demarcated and set aside. While officially intended to develop agriculture, betterment planning has actually had the opposite effect in the District. Much of the land cultivated before Betterment Planning was implemented, was regarded as unsuitable for cultivation by the planners, and withdrawn from cultivation. Many people now find themselves with considerably less arable land than before, such as the half hectare lots mentioned earlier, which are far too small to be economically viable as dryland holdings (de Wet 1989). Even in the freehold and quitrent areas, very few farmers are able to achieve subsistence

- let alone commercial - levels of production. It is, effectively, only those people on the two larger irrigation schemes (and then, by no means all of them) who are able to earn a living outright from agriculture.

While Betterment Planning is by far the greatest cause of resettlement within the District, Keiskammahoek has also been subjected to resettlement of a different kind. Starting in 1976, some four hundred African families were ordered by the South African government to move off the land that they held in the Tsitsikamma area near Humansdorp, and were moved to a new settlement named Elukhanyweni ('in the place of light') just outside the Town, where they had no access to arable land (Surplus People's Project 1983, Vol II, Part 3.5; Moorcroft 1991). Since its inception, a number of families have left Elukhanyweni and gone back to work in the Tsitsikamma/Humansdorp area, while other people (not originally from Tsitsikamma) have settled in Elukhanyweni. The case of the dispossession of these people from their land in Tsitsikamma, in terms of the government policy of 'homeland consolidation', is one of the most deeply felt and highly politicized instances of land loss by Africans. In July 1991, Archbishop Desmond Tutu led a delegation from the Elukhanyweni community to a meeting with President F.W. De Klerk "at which they appealed for the return of their land in the Tsitsikamma area" (Daily Dispatch, 16 July 1991, p. 9).

From its inception as a colonial settlement in the 1950's, with its history of economic and administrative dependence on its wider regional and national setting, and with its variety of land tenure systems with their different attractions and constraints, the District has always been characterized by a high incidence of emigration as well as immigration. In this vein, the population in the fifteen rural African settlements (or 'locations') in the district actually decreased fractionally, from 15 138 to 15 099 during the period between the 1936 and 1946 censuses - indicating considerable permanent emigration (Houghton and Walton 1952: 21). Events since the time of Rural Survey - such as the effects of influx control (making it harder for Africans to move to South African cities), the creation of 'homeland' towns such as Zwelitsha, Dimbaza and Mdantsane (in which influx control regulations did not apply in the same way), and the creation of 'homeland' related employment opportunities both inside and outside the District (and in particular in the Town itself) - have contributed in different ways to the patterns of movement in and out of the area (see Appendix No.3).

As will be shown, the population of the District is both diverse and stratified with regard to education, income and access to land. The ways in which the above patterns of movement relate to this diversity, is a central focus of this report.

## Issues Addressed in this Report

In one sense, all three community studies in this report are looking at the ways in which the 'homeland' policy has affected people's access to resources such as cash, land and housing and how this has impacted upon household structure, educational levels and patterns of social interaction and stratification. In the case of the two rural studies (Rabula and Burnshill), a key question is how these factors have in the past been related to access to arable land, and to what extent such access is still a key socio-economic determinant in the present 'homeland' economic situation, with its altered balance of economic opportunities. In the case of the Town, the issue becomes one of how these socio-economic factors relate to a different kind of land, viz the commercially constructed house, complete with electricity, water-borne sewerage, title deed and housing bond. In the section on the Town, Palmer considers these issues in relation to the recently constructed housing estate of Keiskammahoek Park.

Like land, access to the (albeit limited) powers of local government, is a resource, around which interests coalesce and relationships are structured, and the fourth substantive section addresses itself to the topic of local government in the District, rather than to a specific community. It analyses the development of the Tribal Authority system of local government in the District, its functions and dynamics, as well as its

inherent limitations. We were fortunate that Manona was in the field both before and after the *coup d'état* in March 1990. This section also considers the post-coup local government situation in the wake of the abolition of the headmanship, the collapse of the Tribal Authorities system, and the rise of the civic associations and resident's associations in the District.

The report as a whole seeks to understand the processes of socio-economic change that have developed over the years since the Rural Survey. These changes have in large measure taken shape in relation to outcomes of the apartheid policy such as Betterment Planning and subsequent agricultural projects, industrial decentralization, the Tribal Authorities system of local government, and 'homeland' self-government and 'independence'. In an indirect way, this report thus provides an account of the impact of the apartheid years on the day to day lives of people on the ground in the Keiskammahoek district of the administrative unit of Ciskei.



## THE RURAL VILLAGE OF RABULA

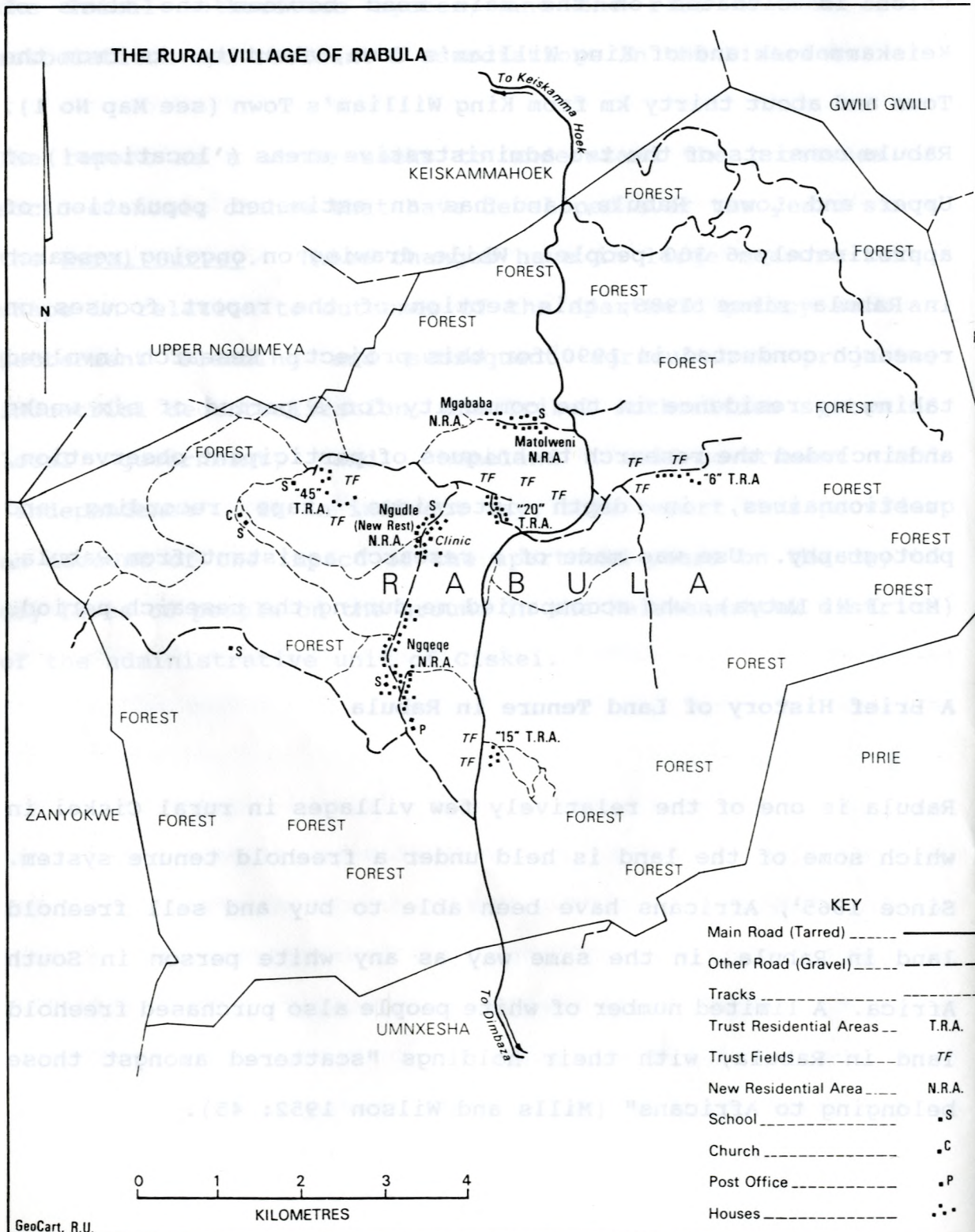
(by CHRIS DE WET)

This section of the report relates to the village of Rabula, which is situated on the main road between the towns of Keiskammahoek and of King William's Town, about ten km from the Town and about thirty km from King William's Town (see Map No 1). Rabula consists of the two administrative areas ('locations') of Upper and Lower Rabula, and has an estimated population of approximately 6 300 people. While drawing on ongoing research in Rabula since 1986, this section of the report focuses on research conducted in 1990 for this project. Research involved taking up residence in the community for a period of six weeks and included the research techniques of participant observation, questionnaires, in depth interviews, tape recording and photography. Use was made of a research assistant from Rabula, (Mr. I.M. Lutya), who accompanied me during the research period.

### A Brief History of Land Tenure in Rabula

Rabula is one of the relatively few villages in rural Ciskei in which some of the land is held under a freehold tenure system. Since 1865<sup>1</sup>, Africans have been able to buy and sell freehold land in Rabula, in the same way as any white person in South Africa. A limited number of white people also purchased freehold land in Rabula, with their holdings "scattered amongst those belonging to Africans" (Mills and Wilson 1952: 45).

The Rural Village of Rabula



In addition, "During the period 1866 to 1895, many of the original arrivals bought additional land for their sons, choosing mostly lots adjacent to their own that had been left vacant. These lots were bought on a quitrent system" (ibid.: 47). Judging from the records,<sup>1</sup> about a quarter of the land lots in Rabula seem to have been established on a quitrent basis. The purchasers of such land had to pay an annual quitrent fee and were only allowed to sell their land with the permission of the authorities. (This quitrent fee was later abolished by an Act of the South African Parliament, Act No 54 of 1934.) An area of land was set aside as grazing land, to which all land-owners had rights of access for their livestock. (The details of the legal situation<sup>2</sup> in regard to freehold and quitrent land are provided in Appendix No.2).

In addition to these freehold and quitrent land-owners, a number of landless people have over the years moved into Rabula, initially attaching themselves to land-owners as labour tenants performing certain services for their landlords, in return for the right to cultivate a portion of land. Many of these tenants later moved onto the commonage, in order to free themselves of their obligations to their landlords, and hired land from, or share-cropped land with, land-owners (ibid.: 45-46). Descendants of land-owners have also over the years moved onto the commonage, either because there was no land available for them, or because of a dispute situation.

Over the years, various changes have been effected to this

situation. In terms of the 'Native Trust and Land Act' (No 18 of 1936), later renamed as the 'Development Trust and Land Act', Rabula became a "released area", (ibid.: 146) with the result that white land owners had to leave Rabula. They mostly sold their land to the then South African Native Trust (S.A.N.T.). These farms were converted into Trust areas under the control of the S.A.N.T., and a number of the landless people living on the commonage were granted arable holdings with an average size of 3.5 acres (ibid.: 46; 100). In terms of General Circular No 44 of 1940, issued by the Department of Native Affairs, and later in terms of Proclamation No.12 of 1945 and No.92 of 1949, such people had to pay an annual rent to the authorities, who were empowered to evict people from such Trust land under particular conditions (ibid.: 99). Trust land could effectively not be sold, as it was regarded as the property of the S.A.N.T. Portions of the land acquired by the S.A.N.T. were set aside for grazing pasture for the livestock of people on such Trust land.

During the late 1960s/early 1970s, Betterment Planning was implemented in Rabula in terms of Proclamations No 31 of 1939 and No 116 of 1949. (Rabula had been proclaimed a Betterment area in 1939, but Mills and Wilson (ibid.: 146) wrote that, at the time of the Rural Survey, "there is some doubt as to the legality of declaring Rabula a Betterment Area, and the Proclamations have not been put into operation".) When Betterment was finally implemented in the late 1960's/early 1970's, it was in effect applied only to the non-freehold and non-quitrent areas, i.e. to the Trust areas and the commonage. People on the Trust areas

moved to newly demarcated residential areas, usually within their old Trust unit. Several new residential areas were created on the then commonage, with the government telling people living on the commonage to move into these new areas. Oral evidence suggests that, although these people were allocated residential sites, which were registered (presumably in terms of Proclamation No R188 of 1969 - 'Bantu Areas Land Regulations'), they were not given certificates of occupation.

There are thus four different types of tenure currently operating in Rabula, viz freehold tenure; quitrent tenure; Trust tenure involving access to arable land as well as a residential site; and the registered residential sites in the new areas. In addition there are a number of 'squatters' (a word in use in the Rabula community) residing informally on land-owners' properties, as well as a number of people living informally on the commonage. A rough break-down of households by tenure-type would give the following approximate figures<sup>3</sup>:

Table 1

Rabula: Type of Land Tenure by Number of Households (1990)

Land-owners (freehold and quitrent)	± 500 households
Trust	59 households
New Residential Areas	236 households
<u>'Squatters' + Commonage</u>	<u>± 40 households</u>
Total	± <u>835</u> households

For the purposes of this report, both people under freehold and

quitrent tenure will be referred to as 'land-owners', as their land is held to be transmittable to their children, and under certain conditions may be sold outright. For everyday purposes, people in Rabula do not distinguish between freeholders and quitrenters, referring to them both as *Nothenga* - i.e. one who has bought land. People on Trust land will be referred to as 'land-holders', as they do not have the same rights over their land.

### **The Sale and Inheritance of Land**

This sub-section on the sale and inheritance of land deals only with freehold and quitrent land, (as the two types of tenure permitting the legal sale or transmission of land), focusing on the period from 1950 (i.e. the year in which field research for the Rural Survey was completed) to 1990.

*The situation on the ground with regard to freehold land<sup>4</sup>* has been as follows. While it is usually only the eldest son who has the legal right to the formal title of the land, on the ground he is under strong moral pressure to share the land with his brothers, and at times even with his sisters, and generally does so - although he is not legally compelled to do so. In many cases, the formal title to a piece of land is only brought up to date when there is a dispute that is formally settled in a magistrate's court, or other court of law. Where such formal transfer has not taken place, the title may well be in the name of a family member of an earlier generation. Administrative

officials have in the past tried, with varying degrees of success, to bring the records up to date. Relationships around land thus take place in the context of community norms, with the legal context usually being invoked only when appeal to these community norms has failed.

This *de facto* location of land matters in a social and moral, rather than in a formal legal context, also leads to considerable diversity on the ground, with regard to the transmission of land among men. While it is only the eldest son who formally inherits the title to a piece of land, that land is usually informally sub-divided between himself and his brothers. He usually allows this formal sub-division to continue, with his brothers transmitting their portions to their sons. However, conflicts arise, and this informal process of sub-division and transmission does not always take place, as the eldest son may claim his legal right to the land, and transmit it to *his* sons only.

People differ as to whether only the sons of a man's first marriage (ie. not polygynous marriages) should inherit the right to land, or whether the sons of subsequent marriages should also have this right. In some cases, sons from subsequent marriages have been accorded this right, while in others they have not. Where a man has not had a son, the land has on occasion passed to a brother or a nephew, but not always in terms of the criterion of primogeniture. It seems to be a fairly hard and fast rule that land may only be inherited within the agnatic line. In cases where a woman has brought a son from a previous

relationship with her on marriage, or when a man has had extra-marital children, those children have not been entitled to inherit land.

On the ground, women are by no means excluded from gaining access to land - although this is usually only for purposes of use. Only rarely, as in the case of a woman having no brothers, or in the case of her inheriting land through a will, can a woman be said to inherit land, in the sense that she is able to pass it on to her children, so that they will have primary, or even exclusive, rights of access to that land.

The position of married women is held by the community to be different from that of unmarried women. A married woman is, on the whole, held to have passed from the responsibility and care of her father to that of her husband, and on those grounds, married women - as long as they stay married - do not, in the eyes of the community, usually qualify for land in their family of origin. The position with widows, and even with divorced women, is considerably more flexible, and a number of such women have returned home, and have been given access to land. However, that has commonly been for residential purposes, rather than gaining access to arable land.

An unmarried woman who remains at home is still held to be in the care of her natal family, and on a number of occasions such women have been granted access to arable land. In some cases, they have been allowed to pass this right of use on to their children.



In a number of cases such unmarried daughters have however, not been granted access to land for any except residential purposes.

While an unmarried woman is thus commonly held to have more of a moral claim to land for both arable and residential purposes than her married sister, in practice this has not always been the case. Interpersonal tensions within a family would appear to play an important role in this regard.

*The situation on the ground in relation to quitrent land* has been that while it is usually the eldest son who has legal title to the land, as with freehold land, the eldest son has usually informally shared the land with his brothers, and on occasion with female agnatic relatives or their children.

In practice therefore, there does not seem to be a significant difference between the way in which both freehold and quitrent land are informally shared within a family grouping, and people do not in general refer to themselves or others as freeholders or quitrenters - rather using the term *Nothenga* in the more general sense of land-owner.

In cases where individuals have formally transmitted their land by means of a will, a wide range of options have been utilized, as when, for example, a man transmitted his land to his wife, and she sold it, or when land has been willed to a favoured son other than the eldest son. Such transmission by will often causes bad blood within a family, such as when either the eldest

son, or his brothers feel that they have been unfairly excluded, or when unmarried sisters are overlooked by their brother who now has the title deed. In one case recently recorded in the field, a man willed his field to his wife, who then willed it to one of their younger sons. The case revolved around whether the field was in fact under freehold tenure (in which case the father's willing it to his wife and she willing it to a younger son would have been legally valid) or whether the field was in fact under quitrent tenure (in which case the wills of both the father and his wife would have been invalid, and the land would have to be passed onto the eldest son, who would manage it on behalf of all his siblings).

When he was working in Rabula in 1948/1949, Mills found that the sale of land occurred only "very seldom", and that "The most recent sale of land by Africans traced in the village was 1943" (Mills and Wilson, 1952: 48). The turnover of land by sale definitely seems to have increased since the time of the Rural Survey. While in the majority of cases, both freehold and quitrent land is still transmitted in terms of male primogeniture (i.e. by neither sale nor will), we have been able to trace some forty three instances of the sale of land since 1950 from a sample of official files<sup>5</sup> and from our research in the village of Rabula. Some three quarters of these sales related to freehold land.

Rabula has always been a community characterised by a high degree of mobility, as reflected in both in- and out-migration, as well

as out-marriage. Since the time of the Rural Survey, however, a new set of economic incentives has entered into the picture, which has fundamentally altered income levels in Rabula, and which could reasonably be assumed to have had an effect on the sale of land as well.

For reasons which will be discussed below, the average household income in Rabula has increased significantly in real terms, and there has been a considerable increase in the opportunities and in the money in circulation within Rabula itself and the Border/Ciskei region as a whole. This translates into more money being available in real terms to buy land, than there was in 1948/49. The security of title to rural land certainly is a factor which has weighed heavily with many Africans in the uncertainties of the urban situation in apartheid South Africa. The greater availability of money for the purchase of land has however made the sale of land more attractive than in the past - particularly when it is borne in mind that, in many cases, the land-owner sells only a *portion* of his land - thereby maintaining his security, while at the same time making a significant capital gain.

This increased economic opportunity has also led to increased mobility and a number of people seem to have emigrated permanently from Rabula over the last twenty or thirty years. This has led to greater variation in the patterns of land transmission, as sons have moved away, and the criterion of male primogeniture has seemingly become more flexibly implemented,

leading to collateral male relatives and increasingly to women gaining access to land.

### **Demographic, Educational and Economic Changes**

In the Rural Survey, it was suggested that the division between freehold<sup>4</sup> land-owners and the landless members of the community, who were then living on the commonage, could be seen as forming "the basis of a class-division", with the freeholders being "very conscious of the difference" (Mills and Wilson 1952: 46). Much of the rest of this discussion of Rabula will consider to what extent it is still useful, in the light of events since 1950, to talk of such a class division between land-owners and landless people in contemporary Rabula.

One of the most important factors in considering such divisions, is that of relative access to resources. While the Rural Survey did not distinguish between freeholders and others in terms of annual household cash income (Houghton and Walton 1952: 106), it does state clearly that "Judging by the amount of stock owned and by the average annual expenditure,... the families on the Trust holdings are considerably poorer" (Mills and Wilson 1952: 126). People on the Trust also had smaller land holdings, with the average amount of land held by the head of each freehold homestead being 8.7 acres, as opposed to 3.5 acres on the Trust (ibid.: 128). This does not tell us about the position of the landless people on the commonage. Given that they have had the same background of being landless refugees as have those of their

number who settled on the Trust, it seems unlikely that they would have been better off - if indeed not worse-off - than people on the Trust.

The most important economic change that has taken place in Rabula since the Survey, has been the *significant rise in the real value of annual household income*. In 1987, a sample survey<sup>6</sup> gave the average annual household cash income in Rabula as R3987,84, a rise in real terms of 523%<sup>7</sup> since 1948/50. The average land-owning household's figure was R4770,24, with the figure for the rest of Rabula (i.e. Trust and landless new residential areas) being R2444,28, or 51% of the land-owning figure.

Research conducted for this report suggests that real incomes have remained fairly constant in Rabula during the period from 1987 to 1990. Twenty eight of the original thirty land-owning households, as well as six of the original sixteen other households surveyed in 1987, were re-surveyed in 1990. The relative value of real annual household cash incomes for 1987 and 1990 for the thirty four re-surveyed households may be reflected as follows:

Table 2

Rabula:Relative Value of Real Annual Household Cash Incomes (1987-1990)

	1987	1990	Real Increase
Land-owning households	R4866,36	R7249,92	3.76%
Other households	R2276,40	R3286,44	0.55%
Average household <sup>8</sup>	R3830,38	R5644,53	3%

While real incomes have increased only nominally from 1987 to early 1990, they have risen slightly more significantly for land-owning households, with the result that the average non-land-owning household's annual cash income in 1990 was only 45% of the land-owning figure, as opposed to 51% in 1987.

What has given rise to this dramatic rise in the real value of cash incomes since the time of the Rural Survey? Significant increases in the real value of state-financed pensions since 1950, and of wages in the mining and manufacturing sectors from the 1970's have substantially boosted incomes in the 'homeland' areas.<sup>9</sup> However, real incomes have not risen as sharply in other villages in the Keiskammahoeck area. In the village of Chatha, they have risen by 169% (De Wet 1991: 13) - only some 32% of the Rabula figure for 1987. What is significant for our purposes, is that since the time of the Rural Survey, a number of economic developments have taken place in the Border/Ciskei region, which have benefitted Rabula more than e.g. Chatha. East London expanded rapidly in the 1950's, as did King William's Town and various other Border towns from the 1960's onwards. The South African government's industrial decentralization policy has led to industrial development within the Ciskei, creating job opportunities at places like Dimbaza and Fort Jackson. The process of self-government has led to the development of the Ciskei state bureaucracy as a significant provider of both skilled and unskilled employment - in a number of cases at relatively high remuneration rates (de Wet and Leibbrandt, 1990: 17).

Over the years, Rabula's citizens appear to have been better educated than their counterparts in other villages. Rabula is favourably situated, being on the main road between the town of Keiskammahoek and the important local centre of King William's Town. Over the years its members have had easier access to a wider range of schools than have people in more remote villages such as Chatha. With the economic expansion and the development of the Ciskei discussed above, these better educated people have been well placed to take advantage of these opportunities. Their higher salaries have in turn enabled them to provide a better education for their children. Today, a significant number of Rabulans are employed in skilled positions such as clerks, teachers, nurses, and agricultural officers in the Ciskei civil service.

Both the wealthier land-owning group, and, to a lesser extent, the rest of Rabula have benefitted from these educational opportunities. A 1986 survey of 100 households in Rabula showed that the average adult over eighteen years had achieved 8.16 years of education (8.7 years for land-owners; 7.6 years for the rest) as opposed to a figure of 5.95 years in Chatha in 1981 (ibid.: 20).

Research done for this report taken from a sample of thirty four homesteads in 1990 gives an average of 8.35 years of education for land-owners and six years for the rest. In this smaller sample, we seem to have struck a group of non-land-owning households that had a lower level of education than their 1986

counterparts, and are perhaps less representative. If we take the average educational level of the 1986 and 1990 surveys, we get figures of 8.512 years for land-owners and 7.16 years for the rest.

It is particularly the attainment of higher levels of technical and vocational training that have provided households with access to skilled jobs and higher incomes. Here again the difference between land-owners and the rest of the village is apparent. Pooling the 1986 and the 1990 data, the number of people with completed technical or vocational training per average land-owning household is 0.56 as against 0.217 for the rest of Rabula, (in comparison with 0.105 for the village of Chatha). This educational superiority on the part of the land-owners appears to be consistent with a trend apparent at the time of the Rural Survey, when land-owners were both better educated as well as better-off.<sup>10</sup>

The greater success of the land-owners in this regard may be illustrated by comparing the relative sources of cash income of land-owning households as opposed to other households in Rabula in 1990.



Table 3

Rabula: Sources of Cash Income (1990)

<u>Source of Income</u>	<u>Land-owners</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Average</u>
Pensions (Old Age, Disability)	25%	50%	27.2%
Work Pensions	1.27%	0%	1.16%
Ciskei Government-Skilled <sup>11</sup>	33.6%	0%	30.65%
Ciskei Government-Unskilled	13.01%	29.2%	14.45%
Border/Ciskei-Skilled	0.89%	2.02%	0.98%
Border/Ciskei-Unskilled	1.48%	0%	1.34%
Migrant Labour-Skilled	1.38%	0%	1.26%
Migrant Labour-Unskilled	7.99%	14.7%	8.59%
Self-Employment (Border/Ciskei/ Migrant)	5.52%	2.43%	5.25%
Sales of Crops	4.22%	0.96%	3.93%
Sales of Livestock	5.29%	0.61%	4.87%
Informal Sector (Rabula)	0.29%	0%	0.27%

(The income data referring to 1987 was not analysed in terms of the above categories, and is unfortunately not directly comparable to the 1990 data.)

I argued earlier that the non-land-owners interviewed in the 1990 sample were perhaps not representative, being less educated on average than their counterparts in the larger 1986 survey. While a larger sample would undoubtedly show some skilled workers in their ranks, the above figures show some very clear trends which are confirmed by the 1986 survey mentioned earlier (ibid.: 20, 21).

Land-owners have been vastly more successful in gaining access to skilled jobs and in tapping the opportunities available in the Border/Ciskei region. Non-land-owners are significantly more dependant upon government pensions and unskilled labour - both in the Ciskei/Border area and in longer-distance migrant labour. With more land, livestock and money at their disposal, land-owners are also able to obtain a much higher income from farming activities.

While land-owners are clearly much better off in terms of income obtained, both groups generate only a limited amount of their income *by themselves*. Some 15% of land-owning households' income is generated from private enterprise and sale of crops and livestock, as opposed to only 4% for non-land-owners (with most of this amount coming from one household). While the 'homeland' policy has increased people's incomes in real terms through massive injections of money and infrastructure from the South African government, it has done little to increase people's economic independence. If the massive South African subsidization of industrial development is lessened (as seems possible - see Urban Foundation 1990) and if a substantial number of 'homeland' bureaucrats are rationalized with the redelimitation of political boundaries and of administrative units, Rabulans may suddenly find themselves back where they were in 1948/1950 - with lower household incomes than their now poorer counterparts in Chatha (Houghton and Walton 1952: 106).

*Household size and structure* have shown some changes between

1948/50 and 1990. While changes in household structure seem to be directly related to the impact of the dramatic economic changes discussed above, changes in household size seem to be explicable more directly in terms of conditions inside Rabula.

Land-owning households would appear to have always been larger than households on the Trust and on the commonage. In 1950 the (*de jure*) average 'freehold' household consisted of 9.14 members, while households on the Trust averaged 6.3 persons (Mills and Wilson 1952: 122). This may be compared with the more recent state of affairs.

Table 4

Rabula: De Jure Household Size (1986-1990)

	1986 Survey	1990 Survey	Average of 1986 + 1990
Land-owners	9.28	11.07	9.85
Other	6.87	8.16	7.04

The category of 'other' referred to in the 1986 and 1990 surveys is strictly speaking, not directly comparable to the category of 'Trust' used in 1950. While 'other' refers to households on Trust settlements as well as in the new residential areas and on the commonage, the category 'Trust', as used in the Rural Survey, refers only to people on Trust settlements in 1950. However, those households on the Trust settlements in 1950 had "only recently" moved there from the commonage (Mills and Wilson 1952: 123). There should thus not have been a significant difference in the sizes of Trust and commonage households in 1950. As far as the 1986/1990 figures are concerned, households on the Trust

are slightly larger (7.64 people) than those in the new residential areas - presumably in part because of the resource of arable land.

The reasons why land-owning households have always been larger than the rest seem to relate to the history of Rabula. The land-owning families are for the most part families of long standing in the village, which cohere around the resource of securely held land. Mills and Wilson (loc. cit.) tell us that in 1950 it was the case that "Young married men in freehold and quitrent villages wait much longer than those in the communal villages before they take over a field, and usually continue to live in their parents' homestead while they are landless". This would account for the relatively larger size of land-owning households. People on the commonage and the Trust on the other hand "seldom belong to a lineage group that is established in the village where they live; for the most part they form a collection of unrelated elementary families which have wandered in search of land" (ibid: 112). Many of the people in the new residential areas and on the commonage in Rabula today (i.e. 1990) are people who moved into Rabula in their own or their parents' generation, and have moved several times in their life. Their families and households are thus smaller than those of the longer established land-owning families, whose larger landholdings also allow for larger, compound households.

The fact that households on the Trust are a bit larger than those in the new residential areas seems to relate to the fact that,

like the land-owners, they now have access to arable land, and that in a number of cases, three-generational households have developed around this resource.

While the people living on the commonage were moved into concentrated nucleated settlements with the advent of Betterment planning in the late 1960's, there are still residential sites available in these areas. Even if these areas became filled up, there should not be a shortage of residential land, as a number of people have been setting up house on the commonage in recent years. Shortage of residential sites does not seem likely to be a factor making for an increase in household size in Rabula, as it has in e.g. Chatha, where there is a list of young married men waiting for sites, who are in the interim staying with their parents.

*Household structure* has changed significantly. The proportion of household members away from home has risen from 18% in 1948/50<sup>12</sup> to 32.1% in the 1986/1990 samples (32.36% in 1986; 31.48% in 1990). This rise would seem to be related to the economic developments discussed above, and to the superior ability of Rabula residents to secure access to a number of the jobs that consequently become available. Some 67% of those people away from home in the 1986/1990 samples were away as workers, with the remaining 33% being equally divided between children studying outside Rabula, and other family members, such as wives of male wage-earners.

These new regional economic opportunities have also made for a change in migration patterns. In 1948/1950 only some 28% (or less) of migrants from freehold households and some 40% from Trust households were working in the Border/Ciskei area (estimated from Mills and Wilson 1952: 120). By 1990 some 74% of migrants from land-owning households and some 64% of migrants from other households were working in this area. There has thus been a fundamental change from long-range migration to centres such as Cape Town, Johannesburg or Port Elizabeth to shorter-range migration in the Border/ Ciskei area. This has had the effect that migrants come home more frequently (some on a weekly basis). They bring home food and bring home more of their pay cheques than long-range migrants, who tend to spend more of their money in the cities and on the mines.

The fact that migrants are able to come home more frequently, has made it much easier for women to work away from home. This is reflected in the fact that thirty six out of the eighty seven migrants away at work in the 1990 survey, i.e. (41.4%) were women. Of these women, thirty (i.e. 83.3%) were working the Border/Ciskei area - many in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs.

The economic development of the Border/Ciskei region has thus changed household structure, as well as the location and composition of the migrant work force. By making more job opportunities available to women, it has changed their relative economic power in the household. It remains to be seen how this has changed their status and the nature of male/female

relationships.

### **Cultivation**

It is now well established, both in Southern Africa and elsewhere, that there is no clear correlation between the type of land tenure system in operation, and agricultural productivity (see Mills and Wilson 1952 and Moll 1988 for South Africa, and Land Tenure Center 1990, for evidence from the rest of Africa). It has been argued that other factors, such as access to labour, capital, credit, markets and services, together with agricultural practices employed, play a significant role in determining levels of productivity. Mills and Wilson's findings in this regard in the District (1950: 130) have been confirmed by subsequent research in the area, including the research conducted for this report. Thus in 1987, average yields on freehold and quitrent land were lower (3.26 bags/ hectare) than on Trust land (7.72 bags/hectare) (Leibbrandt, unpublished research notes) and than on what was formerly communal land in Chatha village in 1981 (4.4 bags/ hectare) (de Wet 1985: 250).<sup>13</sup>

I shall now look briefly at some of the households that for the 1988/1989 agricultural year have been most successful in terms of achieving a high maize yield, and of achieving an income from selling their crops, and those that have been least successful in this regard. I have not made an attempt to calculate a household's final agricultural profit or loss in terms of an overall cash figure, as it is problematic to attach cash figures

to overall costs incurred in obtaining help with labour or cattle (as various payments in kind are involved at various stages of the agricultural cycle) as well as to the ongoing eating of crops not reflected in harvest figures.

*Household A* is headed by a widow of forty nine years old. At home are herself, an unrelated woman who is 'not well', three male scholars of twenty, twelve and sixteen years of age, and two small children. She has a son and two daughters working in the Border/Ciskei area, who come home on a weekly or monthly basis. The 1990 monthly household income (before sale of crops is taken into account) was R374. In 1989 she reaped fifteen bags of maize from some 1.5 hectares of her field of 3.5 hectares, with an additional hectare being under vegetables. She ploughed and planted her field with her own oxen, as "the tractor came too late," and she therefore did not plant the whole field. Labour for ploughing, and the rest of the agricultural cycle was supplied by her own household, as well as by work-parties she called for hoeing the field. She used cattle manure instead of fertilizer as "I have lots of manure, and with fertilizer, crops become tasteless". Use was also made of seed purchased commercially, as well as insecticide. She sold potatoes and pumpkins locally to the value of R450,00 for the 1989/90 season.

*Household B* is headed by a male pensioner of seventy two years. At home with him are his sixty eight year old wife, two grandsons of ten and eleven years and a small child. He has five sons at work, four in the Border/Ciskei region, and one in Cape Town.



Several of these sons have their nuclear families with them, with those in the region coming home on a weekly or monthly basis. The (pre-crop sale) monthly household income was R645,10. Some three-quarters of the two hectare field had been cultivated during the 1988/89 year, with 0.4 hectares under maize, and the rest under vegetables. A maize yield of ten bags was claimed (which seems unrealistically high). The field was ploughed by tractor, and planted with the household's cattle. Labour for planting was provided by members of the household and relatives, and work-parties were recruited for hoeing and weeding. No use was made of commercial fertilizer, seed or insecticide, while seed was purchased locally. Manure was used for fertilizer, as "it is easier to arrange". Potatoes were sold locally to the value of R60 for the season.

*Household C* is headed by a male pensioner of eighty years. At home with him are his seventy two year old wife and three grandsons of fourteen, eleven and three years. No members of the household are away from home. The household's (pre-crop sale) income consisted of two old age pensions, yielding R235 per month. The whole of the field of two hectares was cultivated with a tractor and planted with the household's own cattle. Labour is provided by the old man, his grandsons, and his son, who lives in a separate household, and is given the use of a portion of the field. Manure is used instead of commercial fertilizer, and insecticide is also applied. The maize yield in 1988/89 was 7.5 bags from 0.8 hectare and maize and pumpkins to the value of R700 were sold.

*Household D* is headed by a fifty five year old man, who is employed in nearby Dimbaza. At home with him are ten other people, including his forty nine year old wife, a twenty three year old daughter-in-law, and three sons of twenty, seventeen and seventeen (twins) years respectively, with a son and a sister working in the Border/Ciskei region, who remit money regularly.

The monthly household income was R400,00. During the 1988/89 season, 2.5 hectares of the three hectare field was put under maize, with potatoes and melons being intercropped. A maize yield of some 8.5 bags was realized. The field was ploughed and planted with the household's own cattle, and labour was provided from within the household. Manure was used instead of commercial fertilizer, and no use was made of either purchased seed or insecticide. No produce was sold.

*Household E.* While this household does not have a particularly high maize yield, it is noteworthy in that it sold potatoes and pumpkins to the value of R1560 in the first half of 1990. The household is headed by a fifty eight year old man who was retrenched early in 1990. At home with him are ten other people, including three sons of thirty two, eighteen and fifteen years respectively, with a son and a daughter working in Cape Town.

The monthly household income before the sale of crops was R283,00. During the 1988/89 season, about a third of the field of twelve hectares seems to have been cultivated, being divided between maize and vegetables. Use was made of both a tractor and

the household's own oxen, and commercial fertilizer, seed and insecticide were applied, as well as manure. The income from the sale of vegetables was derived predominantly from the sale of 150 bags of potatoes, which fetched a total of R1500. Labour was provided from within the household.

Among these households, there does not appear to be any common pattern in terms of factors such as household size, use of cattle or tractors or use of commercial inputs. Access to labour does not appear to be a significant constraint, as ploughing and planting was done with the help of neighbours or relatives where necessary, and in two cases (A and B) work-parties were called for hoeing and weeding. While A brewed beer for the work-parties, B both brewed beer and paid cash to work-party participants.

Access to cash does not appear to be a major constraint on production to these households either. The pre-crop sale average monthly household income for the twenty eight freehold households sampled was R578,67. Only Household B was above that figure, with C and E being less than half that figure.

Household C was the smallest of these four households, having only an eighty year man, his seventy two year old wife and three grandsons at home - five people in all. C was also the poorest of these higher producing households and so was presumably unable to hire labour. Yet with the help of a son, it was possible to produce 7.5 bags of maize off one hectare and to sell R700 worth

of crops in a season. The issue would seem to relate, not so much to a shortage of labour within a household *per se*, as to the ability to utilize available labour to the full, and to recruit additional labour where necessary.

Below a certain level, of course, lack of cash and/or labour could well be an absolute constraint on cultivation, and it may be instructive to look at the freehold households with the lowest productivity.

Two households (F and G) registered a total failure for their maize crop in 1988/89.

*Household F* is headed by a thirty three year old unemployed man who appears to be unwell. At home with him are his wife and baby daughter. His two sisters and elder brother are away at work, returning for a week each year. The declared household income before sale of crops is R32,85 per month and although the appearance is one of poverty, it is clear that the income must be higher than this amount.

Only one hectare of the field was planted because "the tractors didn't arrive". (This property is almost inaccessible by road). They were helped by the neighbours for cattle and for labour for ploughing, and claim to have hired people to help hoe and weed. Use was made of commercial seed, as well as of local seed and manure in the field, which was hoed only once when the young maize shoots appeared. In spite of a claim of no yield, it was

also claimed that ten bags of potatoes were sold for R75,00. Although lack of money and labour do appear to have been possible constraints on productivity, the information provided does not seem reliable in this case.

*Household G*, which also declared no yield on the two hectares cultivated of its three hectare field, is a totally different story. This is the wealthiest household in the sample, with an average total monthly income of R4049,50. Headed by a seventy nine year old widow, it has two employed men, an unemployed man, and three male scholars of nineteen, seventeen and seventeen years of age. The field was cultivated with a tractor and the household's own cattle and labour, being weeded only once with only manure being applied to the field. Only maize and beans were planted. It would seem that this household clearly does not need to cultivate for subsistence purposes, but possibly does so for social or other reasons. Accordingly, little effort and investment has been made, resulting in a failed crop.

*Household H*, which produced 1.75 bags of maize from three hectares, for the lowest average yield (1.16 bags) per hectare, is headed by a couple in their eighties. At home with them are seven others, including an unemployed young man, a daughter of forty seven years, a male scholar of nineteen years, and several other grandchildren. The field was ploughed by tractor, and planted with the household's own labour and with borrowed cattle and a hired planter. Manure, commercial seed and insecticide were applied to the cultivation of maize, beans, potatoes and

melons. The maize was planted at various times in the season from September to December, due to a declared shortage of labour, and the field was hoed twice. No produce was sold to augment the monthly household income of R301,50.

*Household I* returned the lowest actual maize yield in 1989 - viz one bag of maize from 1.2 hectares. Headed by a widow, this household has two men working in the government forest in Rabula, an unemployed youth of eighteen and several teenage daughters at home, with a monthly household income of R157,50 to divide between eleven people at home. The field, which is inaccessible by road, was cultivated by the household's own cattle and labour, and weeded only once during the season. Manure and locally bought seed, as well as commercially purchased seed, were applied to the cultivation of maize, pumpkins, beans, cabbages and potatoes, with none of the produce being sold.

Except in the case of Household F, shortage of labour does not appear to have been a constraint on cultivation, and shortage of income could well have constrained the use of inputs in the case of F and of I - although F claimed to have bought commercial seed. Both F and I are effectively inaccessible to tractors, and so had to use cattle for ploughing and planting - which did not however constrain the productivity of household A. In the case of F and H, it could be argued that the fact that cattle had to be borrowed for planting, which took place at various times when both labour and cattle were available, could have meant that planting did not take place at the most advantageous time -

thereby negatively affecting yields.

What does however stand out is that five of the six households declaring the lowest maize yields, only weeded their fields once during the season. Research shows that insufficient weeding negatively affects maize growth, and yields (e.g. Nel and Smit 1977; Marais 1985).

F and I are the lowest and third lowest ranking households in terms of monthly household income. Leaving aside the relatively wealthy household G, the remaining three lowest producing households are in the lowest quartile of land-owning households as far as income is concerned - but then so is the successful household C. With the exception of F and I mentioned above, all the other lowest producing households earn the same as, or more than household C, if income is reckoned before the sale of crops is taken into account.

While in some cases labour may appear to be a significant constraint, and in other cases money be function in this way, we have seen that a small household with limited income, such as C, can get past these obstacles. Differences in productivity would seem to relate to the interplay of a number of variables, such as access to non-agricultural sources of income which lessen the dependence on agriculture, access to social networks to gain help with cattle and labour, accessibility by road for delivery of tractors and inputs, the thoroughness and skill with which farming tasks (particularly weeding) are performed. This latter

may well depend, not only on the physical capabilities of older cultivators, but on whether younger household members are prepared to give up part of their weekend to work on the land - as in some cases they clearly do.

In 1987 it was found that maize yields on government-owned Trust land were higher than on privately-owned land. Research for this report took only a very limited sample of people living on the Trust. The five people interviewed who had cultivated on Trust land gave widely differing maize returns, viz six bags from half a hectare, 3.5 bags from half a hectare, two bags from half a hectare, and two returns of no yield at all. The economic and demographic characteristics of these five households vary considerably, as do their cultivating arrangements - so the sample is too small to be representative and to merit any further analysis. Nevertheless, if one considers that the perhaps unrealistically high yield of six bags of maize from half a hectare is probably balanced out by the unrepresentative impact of two out of five cases yielding no return, then the Trust areas still yield a slightly higher return per hectare than the land-owning areas. This is represented below:



Table 5

Rabula: Maize Yields (in Bags per Hectare) (1987-1990)

	<u>Land-owners</u> (Freehold/Quitrent)	<u>Trust</u>
1987	3.26 (28 households)	7.72 (10 households)
1990	3.03 (25 households)	3.28 ( 5 households)
Average	3.15 bags/hectare	5.5 bags/hectare

The reason why yields on Trust land should be higher than on freehold and quitrent land would presumably be because Trust holdings are smaller (usually about one hectare in size).<sup>14</sup> They would therefore require less of a capital outlay, as well as less time and labour to cultivate, and would therefore be likely to be more intensively worked than freehold or quitrent land, where people cultivate larger holdings. Of the twenty eight land-owning households sampled, only one third used their entire holding. Land-owning households also have an annual cash income more than double that of the rest of Rabula, and significantly higher livestock holdings - and are accordingly less dependent upon cultivation, and the need to put resources, time and energy into cultivation.

### Livestock Holdings

While livestock holdings vary considerably over time, land-owners have clearly been better-off than other households in Rabula. This is shown below:

Table 6

Rabula: Percentage of Households Owning Livestock (1948-1990)

	Cattle	Sheep	Goats
1948 <sup>15</sup>	71%	39%	58%
(the <u>Rural Survey</u> did not distinguish between livestock-owning households in terms of land tenure types)			
1987 <sup>16</sup> Total Sample	70%	24%	67%
1987 Land-owners	80%	37%	80%
1987 Others	44%	0%	44%
1990 <sup>17</sup> Total Sample	70%	26%	85%
1990 Land-owners	82%	32%	86%
1990 Others	16%	0%	83%

The Rural Survey does not give direct figures for the livestock holdings of land-owners as opposed to the rest of Rabula for the 1948/1950 research period, but land-owners were clearly better-off in this regard (Mills and Wilson 1952, p.108). The same pattern is repeated for 1987 and 1990 holdings, which were as follows:

Table 7

Rabula: Average Livestock Holdings per Household (1987-1990)

	Cattle	Sheep	Goats
1987 Total Sample	4.5	6.5	8.7
1987 Land-owners	5.7	10.0	11.1
1987 Others	2.6	0.0	5.0
1990 Total Sample	6.5	8.55	9.97
1990 Land-owners	7.85	10.39	11.04
1990 Others	0.16	0	5

Land-owning households also derived a considerably higher income from the sale of livestock (including pigs and chickens). Some eighteen of twenty eight land-owners sampled sold livestock during the 1989/1990 year, while only one non land-owner made any money in this way. The average land-owning household's income from the sale of livestock was R31,98 per month, as opposed to a figure of R1,66 per month for non-land-owning households.

#### **Patterns of Interaction and Stratification: Land Tenure and Social Differentiation**

In terms of almost every measure of material welfare such as cash income, education, access to skilled jobs, women obtaining employment, land holdings, stock holdings and living space, the land-owners are clearly better off than the rest of Rabula - with the notable exception being productivity in regard to cultivation of crops.



We will now consider to what extent the difference in material welfare between the land-owners and the other members of the community can usefully be seen at the beginning of the 1990's as forming "the basis of a class distinction" that Mills and Wilson (1952: 46) felt it could at the end of the 1940's.

It should be remembered that even then there were cross-cutting ties across this division. "Land-owners and 'squatters' are on familiar terms and nowadays (i.e. 1948-50) intermarry (though in earlier generations they did not do so)" (loc. cit). The division was also softened by the fact that Rabula was divided into a number of territorially based administrative subdivisions, called village-sections or *iziphaluka* (sing. *isiphaluka*). Each village-section elected its own unsalaried sub-headman, under the village headman, who was salaried by, and answerable to, the authorities. Land-owners, people on the (then) recently created Trust areas, and landless people on the commonage were members of the same village-sections, which functioned as one of the bases for ceremonial organization in Rabula. People from the same village-section would sit together, and be served together at wedding feasts. As in the case of marriage, this thus served to an extent to cut across social divisions based on access to land.

The division between land-owners and landless people still seems to be of some significance today (1990), although people's statements and claims differ widely in this regard. Some land-owners accuse the landless group of theft of livestock and of

grazing their cattle on land-owners' land, while others talk as if there are no tensions, but only harmony and co-operation (although this latter position appears to be more of an attempt to present a positive picture rather than an accurate account of the situation). Tensions are also expressed by some landless people in the new residential areas, who speak of land-owners being uncooperative in regard to share-cropping arrangements, of being turned off the land by land-owning landlords, and of their wanting a headman of their own. A new village-section has formed in the last few years which is based upon one of the new residential areas, although incorporating a number of adjacent land-owners.

Contact between land-owners and the landless does seem to have diminished as a result of the landless having moved to new residential areas with Betterment. Former labour tenants no longer help their former landlords, and while some share-cropping does take place, it is definitely less than before. People say they have stopped share-cropping because the former landlord's land is now too far away, which raises problems of theft, or because of a deterioration in their relationship. Land-owners appear to make use of the labour of members of their own family, i.e. the agnatic cluster which owns the - now considerably subdivided - landholding, or to hire labourers from the new residential areas, paying them either with food or money.

While land-owners and their former tenants do still visit each other, particularly for important ceremonial occasions or in

times of trouble, such social contact also seems to have diminished. An issue which suggests that the distance between landlord and former labour tenant has grown, is the way people talk about the tenant's move to the new residential areas. While land-owners suggest that they helped their tenants with the move and even with building their new homes, most tenants of whom I asked this question, said that they had not been helped by their landlords, having found help elsewhere, or even having hired help. I have not yet been able to follow up such cases of disagreement between land-owners and their former tenants.

Since starting fieldwork in Rabula in 1986, I have not come across evidence of tension between people in Trust areas on the one hand, and the land-owners or the landless on the other, as I have between these last two groups. This apparent lack of tension may be related to the intermediary position of the Trust areas (not freehold, but not landless). In one village-section, consisting of both Trust and land-owning areas, the people have elected a man from the Trust area as their subheadman. At the time of the Rural Survey, it was found that the people "who have been given fields and who live on the Trust land class themselves separately and show a certain political unity, which has been expressed in requests for a separate headman" (Mills and Wilson 1952, p. 94). As the Rural Survey's research was done only a few years after the Trust had been established in Rabula, it is possible that Trust people were still unsure of their new rights, and were looking for the security of their own headman to represent their interests. The nature of relationships within

the Trust areas, as well as the nature of relationships between Trust areas and the rest of Rabula, are issues which require further research.

The social distance between land-owners on one hand and the landless people in the new residential areas and still living on the commonage on the other, is however modified, as it was in 1948-50, by the areas in which they interact. Then as now they belong to the same village sections, sit together at feasts, attend each other's ceremonies and intermarry. The fact that a number of members of land-owning families have moved to the new residential areas, whether for reasons of shortage of land, or of conflict within the household, also serves to soften the distinction between these two groups.

If anything, the degree of interaction seems to have increased in the years since 1948-50. I now attempt to show something of the nature of this interaction by looking at patterns of ceremonial attendance and intermarriage.

During January to March 1990, I attended a number of ceremonial feasts held at the households of land-owners, a 'squatter', people on the Trust and landless people in the new residential areas. These ceremonies were all held over weekends, and therefore attendance should not have been significantly affected by people having to be at work, as would have been the case during the week.

In the case of ceremonies held at the houses of land-owners, of people on the Trust and of people in the new residential areas, the largest category of people attending were from the tenure type of the house holding the ceremony. This does not however mean that that category was in a clear overall majority, or even constituted half of the people attending.

Thus in the case of *men*, at the respective ceremonies, members of land-owning families constituted 62.5% of the men present at land-owning household's ceremonies;

Trust men constituted 34.3% of the men present at Trust ceremonies;

New Area men constituted 43.2% of the men present at New Area ceremonies;

and in the case of *women*, members from land-owning families constituted 82.5% of the women present at land-owning household's ceremonies;

Trust women constituted 53.8% of the women present at Trust ceremonies;

New Area women constituted 88.63% of the women present at New Area ceremonies.

There are only relatively few 'squatters' and people dwelling on the commonage, and they always form only a small percentage of the men or women present. They are however by no means excluded from ceremonies held at landed households, and are not shunned by landed people. At a ceremony held at the home of a 'squatter'



in February 1990, attendance was as follows

of the 27 men present, 10 (37.0%) were of land-owning families

6 (22.2%) were from the Trust

4 (14.8%) were from the new areas

5 (18.5%) were 'squatters'

2 were from outside Rabula.

of the 19 women present, 10 (52.6%) were from land-owning families

1 (5.3%) was from the Trust

4 (21%) were from new areas

3 (15.8%) were 'squatters'

1 (5.3%) lived on the commonage.

At a ceremony held at a nearby land-owning house a week later

5 of the 36 men present (13.9%) were 'squatters', and

1 (2.8%) lived on the commonage. Of the 16 women present,

6 (37.5%) were 'squatters', and

1 (6.2%) lived on the commonage.

Tenure type is thus not a significant barrier to social interaction as far as ceremonial hospitality is concerned.

Neither does kinship seem to be an important factor in determining patterns of ceremonial attendance, with non-relatives always forming the great majority of people attending. (This would of course not apply to more kinship specific rituals, where attendance patterns would be markedly different).

One of the most important factors influencing patterns of

ceremonial attendance is distance. Rabula is spread over a large area, and has many fairly steep hills. A substantial number of people attending ceremonial feasts are middle-aged and older, and it is not surprising that they tend to go to ceremonies closer to home. If we take membership of the relevant land-owning, Trust or new area where the ceremony is being held, together with membership of the nearest area of another tenure type as our criterion (e.g. if the ceremony is on a Trust area, then membership of that Trust area, or the nearest land-owning or new residential area) than that accounted for 85% of all people attending such ceremonies in Rabula. The fact that Rabula is so spread out, tends to lend force to proximity as a factor of cohesion, cutting across tenurial divisions.

While it has been impossible for me to trace the educational qualifications of many of the people who attended the ceremonies to which I have referred above, educational levels would seem to be a factor in influencing attendance patterns. Some of the more highly qualified people such as teachers do attend some of these ceremonies - particularly ones where they have close ties with the host household. Such people do however appear to constitute only a very limited proportion of the assembled people, suggesting that education - rather than income *per se* - is developing significance as a social marker, with the educated tending to keep to themselves.

Marriage patterns likewise reflect growing interaction between land-owners and the rest of the community.

A number of genealogies<sup>18</sup> have been recorded and analysed in Rabula over the last few years. Together with other surveys conducted in 1990, three clear tendencies emerge, viz

- a) that *land-owners* do not seek to keep to themselves as an endogamous group. Of 130 marriages involving men or women from land-owning families,
  - i) 25 (19.2%) were with other land-owners in Rabula
  - ii) 40 (30.8%) were with non-land-owners in Rabula (i.e. with people from the Trust, new areas, and 'squatters' and people on the commonage)
  - iii) 66 (50%) were with people from outside Rabula.
- b) that *non-land-owners* are not socially trapped, in the sense that they can only find marriage-partners from within their own ranks. Of 118 marriages involving men or women from non land-owning households in Rabula
  - i) 24 (20.3%) were with fellow non land-owners in Rabula
  - ii) 40 (33.9%) were with people from land-owning families in Rabula (NB these are the same forty marriages as in a(ii) above)
  - iii) 54 (45.7%) were with people from outside Rabula.
- c) that more than half (119 out of 208, or 57.2%) of *marriages* analysed have been *contracted with people from outside Rabula.*

As we have seen earlier, the fact that Rabula is situated on the main road between the Town and King William's Town has meant that over the years it has had greater exposure to the wider South African society than more geographically isolated villages such

as Chatha, up against the Amatola mountains. This has led to better educational and employment opportunities for Rabulans, and to considerable movement of people in and out of the village, as reflected in the high index of marriage with outsiders. On average, land-owners are clearly wealthier than their landless counterparts. Both groups have however benefitted significantly from the non-landbased income-generating opportunities resulting from the economic and bureaucratic developments in the Border/Ciskei region since the time of the Rural Survey. These opportunities, together with the resultant mobility and with the high index of marriage with outsiders have counteracted the formation of stable, inward-turning groups whose income and status is determined predominantly in terms of access to arable land. While land-owners clearly do enjoy higher social status, and as a category are better placed than other Rabulans, land tenure per se does not seem to constitute the basis for social division to the same extent as it would have forty years ago in a community with a more limited range of economic opportunities, mobility and vehicles of status.

As with patterns of attendance at ceremonials and feasts, education rather than land tenure or income per se, does seem to be developing as an important factor in relation to selection of marriage partners. I was able to trace the educational qualifications of both partners in the case of forty two marriages (thirty five from land-owning families, seven from non-land-owning families).

In thirty five cases, (83%) there was no more than three years' difference between partner's educational levels. All eight cases in which one or both partners had a matric qualification fell into this category. Thirteen of these sixteen people (including seven of the eight women) held civil service jobs as teachers, clerks, or in the police or defence force. While people tend to marry partners of roughly equal educational qualifications, this is reflected particularly among the better educated white collar members of the community.

### Conclusion

Although land-ownership is still an important source of status and of security in Rabula, and although families may fight bitterly among themselves about the inheritance of particular tracts of land, land-ownership does not seem to play as prominent an overall role in the community as it did at the time of the Rural Survey. Whereas in 1949 it may possibly have been the primary factor influencing social and economic differentiation, landownership is increasingly becoming an ancilliary factor in this regard.

This may seem paradoxical in a community where something like one third of households (i.e. those in the new residential areas, as well as the 'squatters' on land-owner's farms and on the commonage) are without arable land. But the apparent paradox is soon resolved: access to arable land is no longer as economically important as it was in 1949, when, (in spite of the

fact that Rabula was suffering the effects of severe drought) agricultural crop production in kind constituted some 12.24% of overall household income. This figure had decreased to 4% by 1987 (Leibbrandt 1988: 7). Other sources of income - notably cash income - have become more readily available to Rabula's inhabitants.

Before the 1990 coup in the Ciskei (see the section of this report on Local Government), Rabula was under the official authority of two government-salaried headmen, and formed part of the Keiskammahoek Tribal Authority. Unlike the quasi-communal tenure situation described by Haines and Tapscott (1988) for Transkei, Rabula's arable land (except for Trust land) is privately owned. Headmen and chiefs therefore have no effective say over the allocation of such land. There has accordingly not been scope for the kind of corruption in regard to allocation of land found in parts of Transkei (ibid.: 196 ff). While evidence of tensions around the headmanship have been apparent at times during the fieldwork period, they have not centred on the issue of access to land.

The most far-reaching change in the lives of Rabulans since the time of the Rural Survey has undoubtedly been the creation of the Ciskei 'homeland' as an administrative structure, and the new jobs and money that it has brought into households through the industrial decentralisation policy and the development of a Ciskei civil service. It is particularly the access to civil service jobs with their relatively higher wage and benefits

packages, and (until the 1991 civil servants' wage disputes, strikes and dismissals) secure employment that has transformed households. Rabula has moved from being a community dependent predominantly upon migrant remittances to one which has to a considerable extent entered the newly established Ciskei 'salariate'. In this sense, Rabula is becoming significantly different from many other 'homeland' areas where "migrant's wages (and increasingly pensions) are the major determining factor distinguishing rural households from one another in terms of their wealth levels" (Spiegel, 1990: 129).

This has been reflected in a number of cases in patterns of conspicuous consumption, entailing the purchase of bedroom suites, lounge suites, television sets, status type clothing, and motor cars, as well as in the investment in the education of their children. A number of people have started running small informal shops from their homes, and at least one family has started operating a 'kombi-taxi'. It is the wealthy and the well-educated who are increasingly coming to enjoy high regard rather than those with the more traditional credentials of land-ownership and kinship status. This reflects patterns in rural areas in South Africa and in industrialising countries across the world. (see Spiegel - 1990: 134, 135 - for similar findings in Matatiele District, Transkei)

While our data shows that as a category, land-owners are wealthier and better-educated, these privileges are increasingly becoming accessible to other members of the community. If one

were to speculate as to the lines along which future patterns of status and stratification will develop, this would probably be in terms of the division between households with higher education levels, deriving their income predominantly from membership of the 'salariate', and households predominantly dependent upon migrant labour. As yet, however, such distinctions between types of household are not too clear-cut, as the Ciskei civil service has only been established relatively recently, and many households have a stake in both sources of income. The way in which such a possible 'salariate'/migrant social distinction might develop will be nuanced by considerations such as how far apart people stay in Rabula, the length of time they have been resident in Rabula, and the extent and nature of their relationship within the community.

A major, and unpredictable, variable relating to future patterns of differentiation, is the political future of the Ciskei. If it is re-incorporated into South Africa (as seems increasingly likely), political and economic rationalization may well threaten the jobs and incomes of many Rabulans, with potentially far-reaching social consequences for the village.

#### Endnotes:

1. This date is taken from records in the Ciskei Deeds Office, which in 1986 was located in Zwelitsha.
2. I wish to thank Professor A J Kerr, of the Faculty of Law at Rhodes University, for his attempts to make the letter



of the law intelligible to an anthropologist with no legal training.

3. These figures were obtained by a combination of
  - a) surveys of Upper Rabula and parts of lower Rabula (here I made use of a survey conducted by Mr Flint Sperber of the Economics Department at Rhodes University in 1990, as well as surveys of my own conducted from 1986 to 1990)
  - b) aerial photographs
  - c) extrapolations from official lists of land-holders drawn up in 1962 (file 71/135 in the Ciskei Deeds Office)
  - d) personal estimates.
4. Mills and Wilson (1952) do not appear to distinguish between freehold and quitrent land in their analysis of Rabula, referring to "freehold" land and to "freeholders". The original land-owning families that were investigated in 1948/49 comprised a majority of freeholders, but technically also included people holding land under quitrent tenure. As will become clear in the subsequent discussion, for most practical purposes there does not seem to be a significant difference between *de facto* land transmission patterns, and people do not in general refer to themselves as freeholders or quitrenters, rather using the term *nothenga*, in the general sense of 'land-owner'. The following discussion (p. 22 - 27) distinguishes between

freeholders and quitrenters in terms of the original land grants, of which records are held in the Ciskei Deeds Office.

5. These files were located in the Deeds Office in Zwelitsha, and in the Magistrate's offices in the Town. I use the words "we" and "our" here as in 1986 Mr. M.E. Mills, who undertook the original research in Rabula for the Rural Survey, spent six weeks with me in the field, and both our findings are used here.

6. The 1987 sample, done by Murray Leibbrandt of the Department of Economics at Rhodes University, covered thirty land-owning, as well as sixteen non-land-owning households in the Trust and the new residential areas. The 1990 sample, done by myself and by a research assistant, covered twenty eight of the same thirty land-owning households, but only six of the sixteen other households. Of these last six, four held land on the Trust, and a fifth had access to Trust land for cultivation in a share-cropping arrangement.

7. The South African Reserve Bank's Consumer Price Index series was used for the real income conversions. The indices used for assessing real income in 1987 as opposed to 1948/50 can be found in South African Statistics 1988 (Pretoria, Central Statistical Service 1989) 8.21. The Indices used for assessing real income in 1990 as opposed

to 1987, can be found in Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Reserve Bank, Sept. 1990, No.177, S.106.

8. Leibbrandt's figure of R3987,84 for the average general household income for 1987 was achieved by weighting individual households equally, as the original Rural Survey seems to have done (Houghton and Walton 1952: ch.4). The thirty land-owning houses with their higher average income thus pushed the overall average figure up. Leibbrandt did this to make his figures directly comparable to the original Rural Survey. Here I have taken the same households as he did in 1987, but weighted land-owners and the other households, in a sixty to forty ratio for both Leibbrandt's 1987, as well as my 1990 samples, as this more closely approximates an estimate of the current distribution of land-owning and other households in Rabula.
9. Similar arguments are advanced by Simkins (1984) for the 'homeland' areas in general.
10. Calculated from compilations of the original questionnaire sheets used in the Rural Survey, housed in the Cory Library, Rhodes University.
11. I have here used 'skilled' to refer to a job where educational qualifications are directly employed in the job concerned. Thus a person with e.g. Standard 8 who was working as a manual labourer would not be classified as

performing skilled labour, whereas a person with e.g. Standard 8 and a training as a mechanic, who was working as a mechanic, would be classified as performing skilled labour. People with Standard 10 were invariably in jobs of a clerical or administrative nature, and were thus using their education in their jobs. I have thus classified them as performing skilled labour.

12. Calculated from the original questionnaire sheets used in the Rural Survey, housed in the Cory Library, Rhodes University.

13. Yields have been converted to ninety kg bags per hectare for purposes of this report, as most informants used hectares, rather than acres in talking about their land. Yields as well as the size of the area cultivated are taken as those claimed by the informants.

14. Mills and Wilson (1952: 100) state that at the time of the Rural Survey, the average size of Trust fields was 3.5 acres, or 1.4 hectares. The average Trust field is currently one hectare. While oral accounts state that some people lost some of their Trust land during the implementation of Betterment Planning in the late 1960's/early 1970's, it seems to have been a minority occurrence. I am accordingly unable to give an adequate account of the discrepancy between the 1948/1950 figure and the 1990 figure.

15. The 1948 figures are calculated from Houghton and Walton (1952): 174, and are derived from a sample of thirty eight households.
16. The 1987 figures are taken from Leibbrandt (1988), and are derived from a sample of thirty land-owning and sixteen other households.
17. The 1990 figures are derived from a sample of twenty eight land-owning and six other households (NB these are from the same forty six households sampled in 1987).
18. These genealogies were drawn up in 1986 by Mr. M.E. Mills and myself. As indicated in endnote 5. above, Mr. Mills spent six weeks in the field with me in 1986.

## THE RURAL VILLAGE OF BURNSHILL

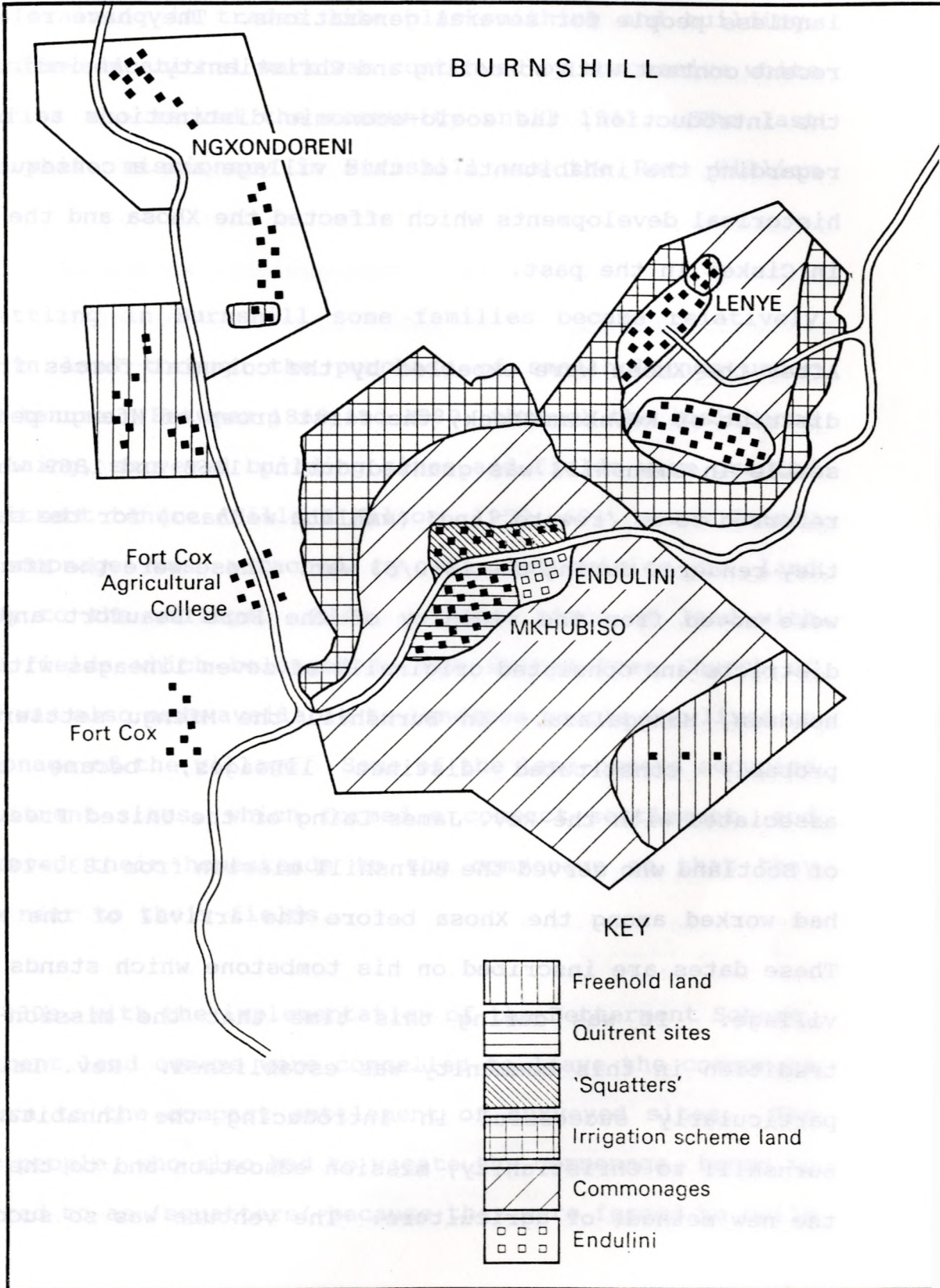
(by CECIL MANONA)

### Introduction

This section of the report deals with the rural village of Burnshill, which is situated in the southern part of the district, next to the Fort Cox Agricultural College. (See Map No.3) In 1977 I did seven months' research in Burnshill (Manona 1980, 1981). The research on which this report is based commenced in October 1989 and lasted for a period of two months. During that time I lived in the village and I was in regular contact with the residents. In July 1990 it became necessary to do a further investigation of local government in the area because the coup which took place in the Ciskei in March 1990 had brought about several political changes in the Ciskei as a whole. The first task in the current study was the identification and enumeration of the homesteads in the village. The village has 380 households. A sample of ninety five households was produced by taking one out of every four households.

The people in the village vary a great deal with regard to economic standing and educational achievement. Firstly, there are old-established residents many of whom own land. Some of them have been owning land for several generations and are the descendants of the first group of Mfengu settlers in the village. They are people who have been in close contact with the missionaries and with schooling for well over a century.

The Rural Village of Burnshill



Secondly, there is a large number of people who migrated into the village fairly recently. Most of them are Xhosa who have lived and worked on the farms (mostly white-owned farms) as landless people for several generations. They have relatively recent contact with schooling and Christianity. As indicated in the introduction, the socio-economic distinctions to be made regarding the inhabitants of this village are a consequence of historical developments which affected the Xhosa and the Mfengu in Ciskei in the past.

After the Xhosa were expelled by the colonial forces from the district of Keiskammahoek, the first group of Mfengu people to settle in Burnshill was granted during 1868 and 1869 what was referred to as 'reward land' (*umhlaba webhaso*) for the services they rendered during the 1850/53 war. These were the Mfengu who were moved from the vicinity of the Fort Beaufort and Alice districts and consisted originally of seven lineages with their headman, Mangqalaza. In Burnshill the Mfengu settlers, who probably constituted distinct lineages, became closely associated with the Rev. James Laing of the United Free Church of Scotland who served the Burnshill mission from 1830-1872, and had worked among the Xhosa before the arrival of the Mfengu. These dates are inscribed on his tombstone which stands in the village. It was during this time that the mission-school tradition in this community was established. Rev. Laing was particularly successful in introducing the inhabitants of Burnshill to Christianity, mission education and to the use of the new methods of agriculture. The venture was so successful



in Burnshill, that, towards the end of the past century, the inhabitants of the village were producing a large variety of crops for the markets and had orchards and an irrigation scheme. Some had training in trades like blacksmithing and building. This mission-educational work was continued by successive white missionaries who served the community until 1931. The last resident white missionary in Burnshill was the Rev. William Stewart.

After settling in Burnshill some families became relatively wealthy in land through the purchase of smallholdings under freehold tenure. Between 1868 and 1989, through the insistence of Rev. Laing, surveyed building sites and fields were granted under quitrent tenure (Mills & Wilson, 1952: 69), and a fairly large commonage was attached by the authorities to land belonging to the village. Also, a large piece of land with surveyed fields which belonged to the United Free Church of Scotland was also made available to landless people who lived on the commonage of the village. Some of the land-owners occupied their quitrent sites, which formed a compact settlement, and others moved their homesteads to the commonage so that they could be near to their fields.

In the 1930s, with the implementation of the Betterment Scheme, the quitrent land owners were compelled to leave the commonage and return to the compact settlement of surveyed sites. The landless people, who also had to vacate the commonage, began to be referred to as 'squatters' because they were forced to build

their houses on land which belonged to the land-owning group since they did not own land. The land adjoins the block of quitrent sites in the old village section, Mkhubiso.

### **Immigration**

The large-scale immigration of landless people from the farms is another development which has affected the social structure of Burnshill. To a large extent, the immigration was made possible by the introduction of the South African Trust tenure in 1936 in terms of the Native Trust and Land Act (No.18 of 1936) which was implemented in Burnshill in 1945. During that year the South African Native Trust bought land from white farmers in the district and made it available for occupation by people who had no residential or arable land. Two new sections, which were formerly white-owned farms, were incorporated into Burnshill and were occupied by people from the farms. The sections are Lenye and Ngxondoreni. This, then, was the situation by 1977. Another residential area (Endulini - see Map No.3) was established in the village in 1985. Many people in the village needed residential sites and they managed to persuade the chief to allocate new sites on land adjoining the village. However, some landowners were opposed to the move since the new area was part of the village commonage. These new sites have no official legal status and are referred to simply as 'new sites'.

It has already been noted that from 1945 many landless families began to immigrate into Burnshill. The 1977 study showed that

172 (54%) of the homesteads in the village belonged to the old residents of the village, i.e. families who were living in Burnshill before the establishment of the S.A. Trust tenure in 1945. The remaining 145 (46%) homesteads belonged to the immigrants who had been moving into the village since 1945. The following table shows the districts or geographical areas from which the immigrants came in order to live in Burnshill.

Table 8

Burnshill: Immigrants: Previous places of domicile

District of geographical area	White-owned farms	Black-occupied farms	Black occupied areas	Unknown	Total
Keiskammahoek	64	33	7	-	104
Cathcart	7	-	-	-	7
Middledrift	-	4	3	-	7
Alice	4	-	2	-	6
Transkei	-	-	3	-	3
Stutterheim	1	-	-	-	1
Port Elizabeth	1	-	-	-	1
King William's Town	1	-	-	-	1
Unknown	-	-	-	15	15
Total	78	37	15	15	145

It can be seen that the majority of the immigrants lived previously on farms, white-owned farms in particular. Up to the 1950s the proportion of people who lived and worked on these

white-owned farms was substantial almost everywhere. For instance, between 1958 and 1959 people living on white-owned farms in the East London and King William's Town districts were between twenty and thirty thousand (Mayer 1961: 20-21). Among other things, mechanization, which enabled farmers to reduce their labour, precipitated the mass immigration of landless people into rural areas like Burnshill. The table above shows that the previous place of domicile of most immigrants was the District itself. A few immigrated from neighbouring districts such as Cathcart, Middledrift and Alice. The majority of them had not owned land for several generations and many had been changing their residences frequently. As a result, their lineages became fragmented and some of their kinsmen have either migrated to town or are residing in other rural areas in the Ciskei and Transkei. Among the immigrant families the agnatic groupings are seldom localized. Unlike the old residents whose agnatic groupings sometimes go up to five generations in depth, many of the immigrants have no other members of their agnatic groups living in the village. For a people whose social relations were dominated by kinship ties and obligations, these are new circumstances which tend to make the present-day family more isolated. A case documented in 1977 illustrates the frequency with which many people now living in Burnshill have changed their place of residence:

Richard is an eighty four year old Xhosa man of Mavaleni clan. Before the turn of the century he resided with his parents on a white-owned farm in the Fort Beaufort district and left when they were expelled from the farm. His family then settled as tenants on a black-owned farm at Zanyokwe location in the Keiskammahoeck district and later migrated to the

Ngangelizwe location in the Middledrift district. When his father died, Richard and his mother returned to Zanyokwe location and when the S.A. Trust tenure was introduced in Burnshill in 1945 they settled at the Lenye section of Burnshill.

## Land Tenure

In Ciskei the villages which are more or less socially and economically homogeneous are mainly those which have a uniform system of land tenure. Burnshill, in contrast, is a stratified community with three different types of land tenure - freehold, quitrent and what was originally South African Trust land. Freehold differs from quitrent tenure mainly with regard to the extent of each holding. There are, for instance, freehold lots which are 17.8 hectares (i.e. 44 acres) in extent while quitrent entitles the owner only to the use of a residential site at Mkhubiso as well as a field 1.7 to 2.6 hectares in extent. In the table below the homesteads which were surveyed in 1977 and 1989 are grouped according to the type of tenure of each homestead.

Table 9

Burnshill: Land Tenure by Number of Households (1989)

Type of tenure	Number of households	
	1977	1989
Freehold	25	25
Quitrent	95	95
S.A. Trust (71 landed; 64 landless)	135	135
Landless 'squatters'	41	56
Landless tenants	21	31
New site owners	-	38
Totals	317	380

It is only a portion of the people with Trust tenure who have full land rights including residential, arable and stock rights, with those who were allotted land earliest having obtained these rights.

In 1977, seventy one (52.5%) of the 135 owners of Trust land did not have fields and were not entitled to own stock. In 1939 the Administration gave the landless people who had been living on the commonage (the so-called squatters) permission to erect their houses on land which forms part of the commonage. Another category of landless people includes the tenants who have established their homesteads on land which belongs to the owners of freehold land. Most of the tenants are people who previously lived on the farms in the area. In the early 1950s the tenants

were regarded as servants and their economic position was similar to that of labour tenants on white-owned farms, the difference being that the services they rendered were not so clearly defined nor as onerous as those of tenants of white-owned farms. The conditions on which the tenants use the land they occupy are not uniform. In 1977 some were performing services like herding and ploughing for the freehold landowners on a permanent basis while others lived independently of their landlords. They were only expected to perform services like tilling the freeholders' lands, in return for which they received part of the produce. In all the cases encountered the tenants did not pay rental for the land they used.

The life of the tenants is one of great insecurity. They can, for instance, be moved from their homesteads by their landlords at will. At the end of 1978 about seven families which had been residing on one of the freehold farms in Burnshill had vacated their homesteads. They left them because the land-owner had introduced a stock fee of thirty five cents per beast per month for the use of his land. Some of the tenants moved to the Trust land in the village and others went to a nearby village.

A further point to note is that, in this village, land is not owned by men only but by women as well. In 1977 it was found that sixty nine (37.5%) of the 317 households were headed by women, mostly widows. Unmarried and separated women constitute other categories of women who own land. Most of the landowning women are widows who have acquired the land of their deceased

husbands. The regulations which apply to quitrent tenure clarified the legal position of widows regarding land rights. These regulations entitle a widow to continue using the land of her deceased husband for as long as she lives. It is only after her death that the land can be transferred to the heir. Similarly, under freehold and Trust tenure the same procedure is followed.

### **The Irrigation Scheme**

In the late 1970s the Ciskei government built the huge Sandile Dam which is about ten kilometres north of Burnshill. Thereafter plans were made for the introduction of the Zanyokwe Irrigation Scheme which is now implemented on a large section of land belonging to the people of Burnshill. This scheme, which was started in Burnshill in 1984, was developed in terms of the privatization policy of the Ciskei. Before the introduction of this scheme, meetings were held with the residents at which government officers told the people that arable land in the village would fall under the proposed scheme which would lease the land to the owners. There were a few fields which would not be affected since they would not be suitable for irrigation. This meant that people owning land under freehold, quitrent and Trust tenure were to surrender their arable land to the proposed scheme. Even though the landowners were not given an opportunity of expressing their views on this scheme, the work proceeded. Part of the land was levelled, pipes were positioned and intensive subsoiling was done in order to revitalize the



land. In September 1984 the first ten hectares were cultivated under irrigation and in subsequent years more irrigation land was developed. By 1989 twenty two local men had been trained as farmers under this scheme and were farming under the supervision of the management of this scheme. All the inputs they need - machinery for ploughing and hoeing, seed, fertilizers, harvesters and marketing facilities - are provided by the Scheme. The crops that are produced include a wide variety of vegetables as well as mealies and pop corn.

The introduction of this scheme resulted in an increase in the number of jobs available locally, even though in 1989 ordinary workers were paid under it only R3,50 a day. At the beginning, the Scheme was controlled to a large extent by an expatriate management consisting mainly of people from Israel (*AmaSirayeli*). This expatriate management left soon after the Ciskei coup in March 1990 and the operation is now largely under black officers. Apart from the fact that the people lost their land on account of the introduction of this scheme, it is clear that the whole scheme does not involve the local community in any meaningful way. The farmers themselves merely receive monthly salaries (R200 each in 1989) and have hardly any say in the running of the scheme.

## **The Household**

### *Household structure and kinship relations*

The household (*umzi*) is the basic unit of social organization in

the village. Traditionally the *umzi* included a large group of relatives who acknowledged the authority of a senior male head living together with his extended family. At present the term refers to a much smaller group of people who share the same building site and normally eat together. In the early 1950s the average size of households in Burnshill was 7.69 persons (Mills and Wilson et al 1952: 122). As is shown in the table below, the population of the 1977 sample included 339 individuals and the average number of persons living in a household was 6.4. The sample of the 1989 study included 563 people and an average of 5.9 people per household. This means that households have decreased fairly significantly in size over the past four decades. One major reason for this is the fact that at present the younger people set up their own homesteads much earlier than in the past. Also, emigration to the urban centres does seem to influence family size.

Table 10

Burnshill: Age and sex structure (1989)

(a) 1977

Age group (in years)	Males	Females	Totals	%
Children (0-16)	99	103	202	59.6
Adults (17-59)	24	70	94	27.7
Adults (60 and over)	17	26	43	12.7
Totals	140	199	339	100.0

(b) 1989

Age group (in years)	Males	Females	Totals	%
Children (0-16)	139	124	263	46.7
Adults (17-59)	101	117	218	38.8
Adults (60 and over)	28	54	82	14.5
Totals	268	295	563	100.0

Children outnumber adults considerably - constituting 59.6% in 1977 and 46.7% in 1989 of the total number of people in the sample households. The drop in the proportion of children may be some indication of the increasing rate of emigration to the urban areas. Regarding the 1977 study it could be said that, while up to the age of sixteen the numbers of males and females were more or less equal, an imbalance of the sexes occurred at the productive age group of seventeen to fifty nine years within which females outnumbered males almost three times. This disparity resulted from the greater migration of males in comparison with that of females within this age group. However, by 1989 this distinction was no longer very significant and this may mean that, at present, more women are involved in migration to the urban centres than was the case in the past.

As shown below, household size also varies considerably.

Table 11

Burnshill: Number of people per household (1989)

	Number of people				
	1 - 2	3 - 5	6 - 8	9 - 12	13 - 16
No. of households	8	39	32	15	1

There are only two households with one member and one including as many as sixteen people.

The Rural Survey indicates that in 1948-1950, some 21.6 per cent of landholders or heads of household were widows (Mills and Wilson 1952: 122-123). The general trend towards the increase in the proportion of female-headed households noted in the Rural Survey is also evident in the 1977 and 1989 studies. In 1977, thirty three of the fifty three households surveyed (62.3%) and in 1989, fifty three of the ninety five households (55.7%) surveyed were headed by females. (A more detailed break down of household composition may be found in Appendix No.4.)

Traditionally the Xhosa-speaking people lived in homesteads with extended families defined by patrilineal descent and virilocal residence. In spite of many innovations and adaptations which portray the altered state of the rural household today, patrilineality is still an important principle influencing the structure of the household: wives usually join their husbands'

homes when they marry and there is still an emphasis on relationships through males which is in accord with traditional patriliney; relatives or dependants of a married man may be part of the household and make it similar to the traditional extended family in the same way as grandchildren of the conjugal pair may be present. The most common type of household is one which is, or was, based on the nuclear family. However, the members of a household are rarely restricted to the husband, wife and children and it is also unusual for people to live either alone or only with their spouses. The tendency is for the domestic unit to be extended either by the inclusion of a parent or parents of the household head or his spouse, so that it has at least three generations, or by the inclusion of adult siblings in addition to the nuclear unit. Also, the inclusion of grandchildren in these households is a common feature. The reason for the prevalence of these co-residential arrangements is that the household must assume responsibility for the welfare of the wider kinship group and this measure of interdependence gives support to those who are in need.

The older literature on the Cape Nguni shows that one of the basic features of social structure was the patrilineage, which played an important role in social life. Within the patrilineage or agnatic cluster, i.e. those members of an agnatic descent group who lived together, there was the sharing of capital resources and members of this group had access to corporately held land. In addition, the ideology and practice of kinship conferred rights of residence and mutual assistance

on members of this group. Recently Hammond-Tooke (1984) has shown that, despite the recognition of lineage genealogies of four to six generations in depth, the people whose names appear on them do not function as a group for any social or ritual occasion. Instead the agnatic principle in everyday affairs is confined to a small group of people who are in contact with each other. To explain some of the basic changes that have occurred in the kinship system in places like Burnshill, we need to note that the 'traditional' kinship system described above emphasized descent rather than filiation. Nowadays the older kinship system has been undermined by the weakening of the material base of the agnatic cluster. One reason for this is the increasing shortage of land.

The Xhosa term for kinship is *ukuzalana* which suggests common descent, loyalty and affection among kin. As in the past, *ukuzalana* is today undeniable and morally imperative, at least ideally. But even though people still view kin as people of common descent, in Burnshill the kinship principle operates situationally. The kin-based networks created by the people do not involve all one's kin but only those kin with whom dyadic relationships can be established and maintained. This means that now there is less emphasis than previously on the agnatic principle. Those kin to whom one can turn in time of need, and on whom one can rely, are readily included in one's network of co-operation. It must also be pointed out that, although there is now less emphasis on the agnatic principle, ceremonial occasions are times when the ideal of kinship solidarity is

symbolized. Available members of what remains of the agnatic cluster try to meet on such occasions, which include mostly weddings and other family rituals.

The weakening of the material base of the agnatic cluster has been accompanied by the development of an economic system in which one's income is generated on an individual basis outside of the patriarchal family. This has led to the emergence of individual moral ties which bind together parents and their children and keep siblings in close co-operation. This bonding is manifested in co-residence, and is reflected in household composition (see Appendix No 4).

This illustrates a shift from the agnatic emphasis which is relevant when the agnatic group owns property corporately. It also represents a shift from descent (which is jural) to filiation (which is moral) in the morality and obligations of kinship. This weakening of the heritable resources is taking place during a process of rural impoverishment. The same shift is perceptible in the marital relationship. In the absence of significant heritable resources, women are inclined to opt for free unions instead of marriage. This tends to enhance the non-jural ties of filiation and affection and this is one reason which accounts for the increase in the female-headed households recently.

### **Economic situation of the households**

One of the features stressed in the original Keiskammahoek study (Houghton & Walton 1952: 96) was the great diversity in the size of household income. A survey of five villages (including Burnshill) showed that the highest and lowest annual cash incomes were £355 18s 0d and nil respectively. It was noted that those who had little or virtually no cash income depended on the generosity of their neighbours. The forty seven households sampled in Burnshill in 1949 had an average annual cash income of £31 11s 5d (op. cit.: 100). The average annual cash income figure for 1990 was R3685,44 - a rise in real terms of 202%.<sup>1</sup> As argued in the section of this report on Rabula, various factors such as the effective introduction of state old age pensions (worth R129,00 per month in October 1989), the creation of skilled and unskilled jobs in the expanding Ciskei civil service, and industrial decentralization, account for this rise in real income.

In 1989, household cash income was derived from the following sources:



Table 12

Burnshill: Sources of Household Income (1989)

Pensions and Disability Grants	34.4%
Work Pensions	2.6%
Cash Wages - Skilled	11.4%
(Ciskei Government) - Unskilled	25%
Remittances	24%
Self-Employment	1.3%
Sale of Crops	0.2%
Sale of Livestock	0.04%
Informal Sector	1.1%

The bulk of cash income derives from cash wages (all of which are from Ciskei government jobs), old age and disability grants, and remittances. Some 11.4% of total income is derived from skilled workers, such as teachers or clerks (although it should be borne in mind that this 11.4% is derived from only three households). It is clear that without old age pensions and disability grants, incomes and living standards in many households would be significantly lower. The table below shows that only sixteen (16.8%) of the households depend entirely on locally earned wages. Commonly, these wages are combined with pensions and remittances.

Table 13

Burnshill: Types of Income by Household (1989)

<u>Source of income</u>	<u>Number of Households</u>
Pensions and remittances .....	20
Wages .....	16
Wages, pensions and remittances .....	14
Wages and pensions .....	13
Pensions .....	12
Wages and remittances .....	11
Remittances .....	<u>9</u>
	Total <u>95</u>

As many as twelve (12.6%) households have no other sources of cash income except pensions and/or disability grants. The nine households which are solely dependent on remittances are mostly those which are supported by people working in the towns. The table below shows that it would be wrong to assume that there is a fairly uniform standard of living for all in this rural area. Instead, household cash incomes vary a great deal.

Table 14

Burnshill: Monthly Household Cash Income (1989)

<u>Income</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
R70-R100 .....	6
R101-R200 .....	33
R201-R300 .....	22
R301-R400 .....	15
R401-R500 .....	8
R501-R600 .....	6
R601-R700 .....	-
R701-R800 .....	1
R801-R900 .....	1
Over R900 .....	<u>3</u>
Total	<u>95</u>

Given the diversity of types of land tenure in Burnshill, it is worth considering the nature of the relationship between land tenure and household income.

Table 15

Burnshill: Correspondence Between Land Tenure and  
Monthly Household Cash Income (1989)

Type of Land Tenure	No of Cases in Sample	Average Monthly Household Income
(Total Sample = 95)		
New Sites	9	R439,00
Quitrent	24	R382,50
Freehold	7	R279,42
Trust	44	R268,81
Landless Tenants	4	R243,50
Squatters	<u>7</u>	<u>R184,00</u>
Average	95	R307,12

Household income does not appear to be directly influenced by type of land tenure, with incomes varying widely across tenure types, and with people on the new residential sites (who have no arable land) having the highest income by tenure type. Differences in household income would rather seem to relate to a combination of factors, such as the level of education of household members, the number of local wage earners, and the size of migrant remittances (a factor which depends not only upon the salary earned, but also, critically, upon the amount remitted home).

Burnshill is somewhat different from Rabula, in that although

many members of land-owning households in both communities are highly educated, many more educated people from Burnshill either leave permanently or maintain much more tenuous social (and economic) ties with their home community than is the case in Rabula - which results in much less money coming into Burnshill from its educated members, than is the case in Rabula. This may in part be related to the fact that the quitrent allotments in Burnshill are substantially smaller than either the freehold or quitrent allotments in Rabula. Cultivation is thus a more worthwhile undertaking in Rabula than in Burnshill, where sale of crops provided only 0.2% of household income in 1989.

The higher-skilled, better-earning jobs are found among the quitrent families, as well as those on the new sites (all of which are from quitrent families). However, as Table 12 indicates, such jobs are considerably scarcer in Burnshill than in Rabula.

### Housing

The quality of the houses varies a great deal: a humble homestead may possess one or two mud rondavels and those with better means build with cement blocks or burnt bricks. In some homes there is much overcrowding and this is borne out by the fact that in the village the room occupancy rate is 3.7 persons per room.

Table 16

Burnshill: Room Occupancy Rates (1989)

No. of living rooms	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
No. of cases	9	21	25	10	7	9	5	4	3	2

The above table shows that fifty four (56,8%) of the homes have not more than three rooms, some having one or two. This situation illustrates the economic differentiation of the residents of this community.

As education is now considered as the most important investment, many families have to meet high educational expenses especially in the homes where children remain at school for many years. The difficulty of making ends meet is further complicated by consumer orientation and the rising expectations in the quality and style of living. The traditional thatched rondavels are increasingly giving way to the more expensive iron-roofed houses and people make great sacrifices to acquire factory-made furniture. Likewise, the decline in the production of staple items like maize, milk, pumpkins and melons stimulates increasing use of packaged food which must be bought.

### **Cultivation**

The state of agriculture in the village is characterized by land shortage such that even in the early 1950s it was reported that

in the district "the increasing pressure of population has given rise to a situation in which it is impossible to supply every family with land to cultivate" (Houghton & Walton 1952: 154). Even then the people were not cultivating the land in order to sell their crops but for their subsistence. When people needed money they had to go out to earn it in the towns. The already serious shortage of land had led to such a reduction in the sizes of individual arable holdings that it was difficult for the people to farm efficiently. Of the fields, 82% were less than five acres. Moreover, labour shortage meant that some of the available arable land remained uncultivated because there were no people to do the ploughing. However, this discussion will illustrate that the state of agriculture was better in the early 1950s than it is today and that the change that has taken place in these past four decades is a progressive decline in agricultural productivity. For instance, in the 1948-49 summer crop season, as many as thirty eight out of a sample of forty two households managed to plant maize in Burnshill. These households planted 60.9 acres and reaped 778 lbs of maize and the yield per acre was 13 lbs. In addition, these households planted and reaped sorghum, peas and beans (ibid.: 162).

By 1977 the situation had deteriorated and only 58% of the households in the village had access to arable land. With the introduction of the S.A. Trust tenure arable holdings allocated to the people became smaller over time. The fields belonging to people who obtained land soon after the introduction of this type of tenure were 2.4 hectares in extent and later some

households received only 0.6 hectares for cultivation. In 1977 there was no more arable land available for new families. In that year there were twenty five freehold, ninety five quitrent and seventy one Trust landowners or occupiers with rights to arable land. The remaining 189 (49.7%) households had no arable land to cultivate (See Table 9).

Although the scarcity of land is an important factor which militates against successful farming in this community, there are other difficulties which prevent people from using available land productively. In 1977 it was observed that most of the land belonged to men who worked in town and who were at home for short periods. This prolonged absence of able-bodied men causes a shortage of labour such that cultivation and the rearing of stock is largely dependent on women and children. Many men return home permanently only when they are too sick or old to undertake farming effectively. Largely on account of this scarcity of effective labour, by 1977 many families were cultivating only small portions of their fields and large amounts of arable land lay fallow for several years. Others had given up cultivation and the rearing of stock altogether. Lack of capital and the general underdevelopment of the area were other limiting factors. The table below shows that in the past four decades the proportion of people who sow maize (a staple food) has been declining.



Table 17

Burnshill: Maize production (1948-1989)

	1948-49 season	1949-50 season	1976-77 season	1988-89 season
No. of families in sample	42	42	40	95
No. of families who sowed	38	41	25	5
% of families who sowed	90,5	97,6	62,5	5,2

It can be seen that in the 1988-89 season only 5,2% of the sampled households sowed maize. People generally see wage earning as a better proposition than cultivating land which produces very little at present.

By 1977 sharecropping and the renting of fields from other people was no longer common and most of the people who did not own land did not plough. Sharecropping, which entails the division of the produce obtained, was not considered a worthwhile proposition on account of the low yields. Estimates of maize produced by twenty five families which sowed during the 1976-77 summer season are given below:

Table 18

Burnshill:Maize Production (1976-77 season - for all types of tenure)

No. of bags (about 90 kg)	No. of cases
Nil .....	6
half to 1 bag .....	5
2 to 4 bags .....	9
5 to 10 bags .....	3
11 to 20 bags .....	1
21 to 30 bags .....	<u>1</u>
Total	<u>25</u>

During the 1949/50 summer season the forty two families which sowed maize in Burnshill obtained an average yield of 8.58 bags per family (Houghton 1952, 162). A comparable figure for the 1976-77 season was less than three bags per family. The produce used to last for only a short time because an average family (of about 5.8 persons) would consume at least twenty bags of maize per annum (ibid.: 159). The introduction of an irrigation scheme in the village is another development which has an adverse effect on cultivation. In two of the three sections of the village most fields have been incorporated into this scheme.

**Livestock**

Stock ownership is also affected by land shortage. Just before

1948 there were huge stock losses in the district because the veld had to support a stock population that was beyond its carrying capacity. At that time it was estimated that the carrying capacity of the land in the area was 3.5 to 4 morgen for one cattle unit. Yet the stock density there was actually about 2.2 morgen of grazing per cattle unit. Therefore, overstocking in that year was about 60% above the ideal level. The table below shows that the number of people without cattle has increased significantly in the past four decades.

Table 19

Burnshill: Stock ownership by household (1948-1989)

No. of cattle	1948	1977	1989
Nil .....	10	33	71
1 or 2 .....	5	3	7
3 to 5 .....	11	3	13
6 to 10 .....	13	11	2
11 to 20 .....	3	3	2
Totals	42	53	95

This shows that the proportion of people without cattle increased from 23.8% in 1948 to 62.2% in 1977 and to 74.7% in 1989. Once again this indicates that people are becoming more reliant on wages than on the use of land. After the introduction of the Betterment Scheme in 1945 the residents were

forced to cull their stock periodically because they were not allowed to own more than six, and in some cases, three head of cattle. By 1977 stock culling was no longer being enforced and there were cases in which people used the stock rights of other people. But even then many people did not own any stock.

### **Educational Levels**

Rev. Laing established a small mission school in Burnshill in 1831. The following year the few children who were attending his school were withdrawn by Ngqika's Great Place (Govan 1875: 11, 34-35). For many years Rev. Laing laboured in Burnshill "without any encouraging measure of success" (ibid.: 61) and it was not until after the 1850/53 war that he could report progress. After the arrival of the Mfengu in Burnshill his school became well established and had an enrolment of 114 pupils by 1859 (ibid.: 307, 211). From that time educational work expanded even though shortage of funding for black education was a serious handicap. In 1949 about two thirds of the parents in the Keiskammahoek district sent their children to school (Wilson et al 1952: 144). At that time the typical school was an aided mission school with buildings and furniture provided either by the mission or acquired with the aid of local people and with teachers' salaries paid by the Cape Education Department. The village schools were elementary or primary schools offering no more than an eight-year course up to Standard 6. The table below shows the number of pupils of each year of age in the eight classes from Sub A to Standard 6 in the

schools which were surveyed.

Table 20

Keiskammahoek District: Schooling in 1949

Age years	Standard								Total	per cent
	Sub A	Sub B	1	2	3	4	5	6		
6 & under	219	9	2						230	8,2
7 - 8	277	100	13						390	13,9
8 - 9	200	98	35	8	1				342	12,2
9 - 10	104	85	103	16	24				332	11,8
10 - 11	72	76	82	64	32				326	11,6
11 - 12	26	19	91	95	62	26	5		324	11,6
12 - 13	13	19	67	62	48	37	12		258	9,2
13 - 14	7	10	18	31	31	43	11	6	167	5,9
14 - 15	4	11	17	27	40	19	49	28	195	6,9
15 - 16		3	5	11	22	40	19	17	117	4,2
16 - 17	3	1	1	8	7	11	27	27	85	3,0
17 - 18		1		2	3	1	2	12	21	0,7
18 - 19		1			2	1	3	6	13	0,5
19 & over					1			8	9	0,3
Totals	925	433	434	324	273	178	128	114	2,809	100,0
Per cent	33	15	15	12	10	6	5	4	100	

(source: Wilson, Kaplan, Maki and Walton, 1952, p 150)

It can be seen that nearly half the pupils were in the first two years of schooling, namely Sub A and Sub B. Of the total eight classes the lowest four contained three quarters of all the pupils. Only 15% of the pupils could be said to have achieved adequate literacy, having passed Standard 3.

By 1977 virtually all the children were attending school for at least a few years. The expansion of the educational system through a new funding formula from the 1950s made this development possible. Under the so-called Bantu Education system the authorities took over the control of black schools, many of which were run by the various churches up to the early 1950s. Largely through the co-operation of the residents, who contribute 50% of the expenses towards the erection of new school buildings, a secondary school was established in Burnshill in 1950 and upgraded to a high school in 1979. This made it possible for school enrolment to rise significantly. The high school had 117 pupils in 1952 and 521 in March 1980. In one of the primary schools there were seventy eight pupils enrolled in 1955, 140 in 1975 and 221 in 1980. The number of teachers and classrooms has increased likewise. In 1955 one of the primary schools had two teachers and no officially approved classrooms (small rondavels were used as school buildings). In 1980 it had five teachers and three officially approved classrooms. The high school had two classrooms when it was established in 1950 and these had increased to eleven by 1980. There were three teachers at the school in 1952 and fourteen in 1980. There is a primary school in each of the other two

village sections. Therefore there are three primary schools in the village and they admit pupils up to the Standard 5 level. The schooling situation in 1989 is illustrated in the table below. Pupils are expected to start schooling at the age of six or attain that age when they are in Sub A. The diagonal lines represent the ideal pattern of children who are at school at the age of six and who pass their classes every year.

Table 21

Burnshill: Schooling in 1989

Years	Sub A	Sub B	Std 1	Std 2	Std 3	Std 4	Std 5	Std 6	Std 7	Std 8	Std 9	Std 10
5	4											
6	12	2										
7	6	6	2									
8	1	9	10	2								
9	2	2	5	2	3							
10	3	1	7	6	3							
11	1	1	4	3	5	5						
12			3	2	2		4	1				
13			1	2	3	3	5	4				
14					1	2	4	3	4			
15				1	6		1	6	3	5	1	
16					1	3	3	2	4	1		
17					1		2	1	4	2	2	
18					1				7	6		
19										2	4	2
20									2		3	1
21								1	1			
22					3							
23										1		1
24										1		1
25											1	
26												
27												1
Total	29	21	32	18	29	13	19	18	25	18	11	6

The analysis above shows that there are only fifty five (23%) of the pupils who progress in the ideal pattern noted above. Fifteen are a year below age for their classes, a situation

which may affect their general performance at school. A more serious problem is the fact that 169 (70%) pupils are old for their classes. Three are still in Standard three at the age of twenty two. However, the overall situation is much better than it was in the early 1950s. At that time there was a preponderance of girls at village schools and the period of attendance of girls was longer than that of boys. This was because economic duties of boys offered less opportunity for school attendance. Today virtually all the children do attend school for at least a few years. The above table also shows that many children drop out of school as they become older and in 1989 there were only six of the children in our sample who were in Standard 10.

At the main section of Burnshill there is a pre-school which was started by the members of the community in 1987. Although it is supposed to have two teachers, it has one because another one resigned the previous year. There are thirty seven children who are enrolled at the school. The school has no building, hence a community hall is being used in the meantime. Fees are R2,00 per child per month. Sometimes the children are provided with food which is donated by a welfare organisation. The teacher has passed Standard 6.

In Burnshill schooling has been in operation from the first half of the previous century. However, before the early 1950s schooling was handicapped particularly by the poor funding of schools. Government intervention in the 1950s led to the



gradual expansion of the schooling system. Although some of the older people (especially among the immigrants) did not attend school at all, people generally have some understanding of the possibilities of education and virtually all children are sent to school even though some drop out after some time. Many of those who succeed at school leave their homes and try to make a better living especially in the urban areas.

### **Local Entrepreneurial Activity**

At present there are two shops in the village. One of them previously belonged to a well-established white trader who left the business in 1969. Thereafter the business was hired at various times by other black traders who closed down apparently for not making enough profit. At present the shop is hired by a female trader. Both shops in the village carry a limited range of goods and are more expensive than those in Keiskammahoek, Alice and King William's Town. These shops have to compete with home-based unlicensed shops. But the residents generally do most of their purchases outside the village. The low level of entrepreneurship in this sphere is indicative of problems relating to the acquisition of loans, licenses and capital. The nearest bottle stores are in Middeldrift and Keiskammahoek. However, there are many unlicensed homes which sell liquor (shebeens) in the three sections of the village. There are several women who are hawkers, some selling cooked food and fruit to children at the schools and others who go to the large urban centres (e.g. Cape Town) to buy soft goods which

they sell locally. However, the general underdevelopment of the area handicaps these entrepreneurial activities.

To conclude this part of the report, it can be said that there is much change that has occurred in this village during the past four decades. Whereas land shortage was a big problem even during the time of the original survey, at present the situation is worse. Consequently, there are not many people who benefit from the use of land and people see wage earning as virtually the sole means of making a living. Likewise, Krige (1984: 8) makes similar comments about the economic alternatives developed by the Lovedu in the face of economic and political changes encountered by the people between the 1930s and the 1960s. To this effect she says that "people today say it is better to pick tomatoes on a farm or to work in a factory for regular pay than to slave in the hot sun only to find there is nothing to reap in the end".

The material relating to this village also highlights the issue of social differentiation - one of the facts which were established by the Rural Survey. It has been shown above that at present there are significant differentials between individuals and households in terms of income, educational level, land and stock holding, housing, etc. This change is a reflection of the socio-economic developments which have affected this community in the past few decades. These developments refer in particular to the increase in the number of jobs in the area since the time of the introduction of the

decentralization policy, the shortage of land resulting from natural increase in the population and immigration into the village and the expansion of the educational system as from the 1950s.

#### Endnotes

1. The South African Reserve Bank's Consumer Price Index series was used for the real cash income conversions. The indices used for assessing real income in 1949 relative to 1987 can be found in South African Statistics 1988, 8.21 (Pretoria, Central Statistical Service 1989). The indices used for assessing real income in 1987 relative to the months of October/November/December 1989, are taken from the Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Reserve Bank, No.178, Dec. 1990, p.S-107.

**LOCAL GOVERNMENT**

(by CECIL MANONA)

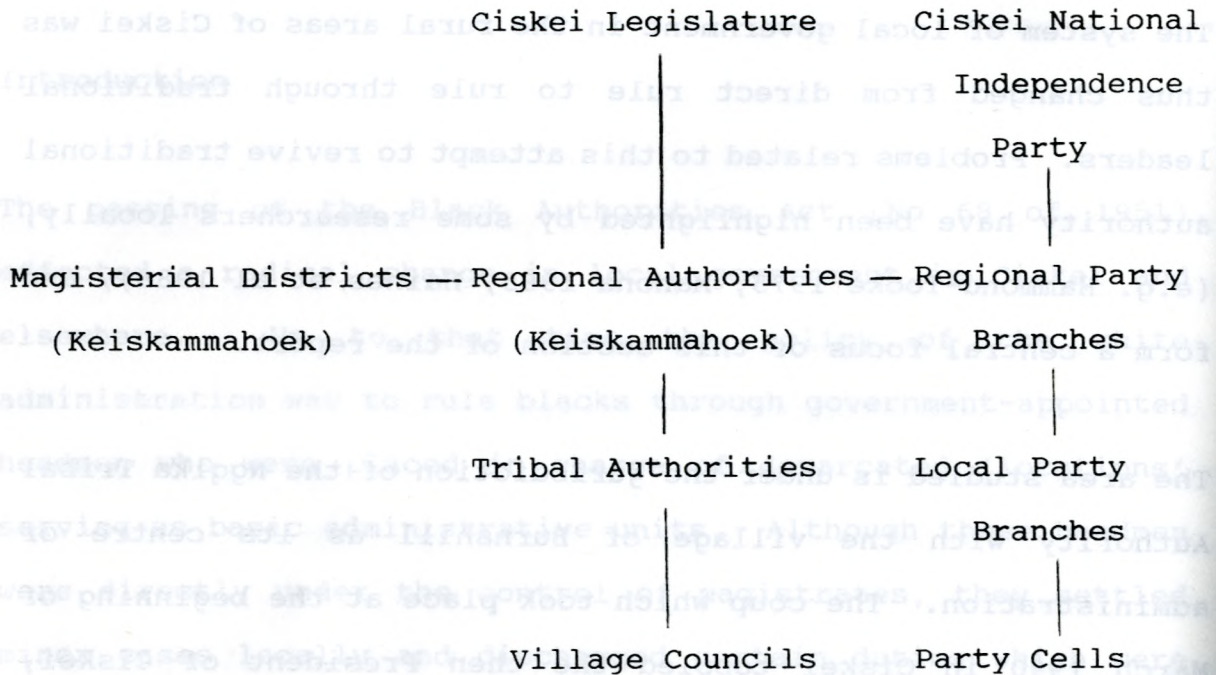
**Introduction**

The passing of the Black Authorities Act (No 68 of 1951) effected a radical change in local government in Ciskei and elsewhere. Up to that time the policy of the white administration was to rule blacks through government-appointed headmen who were placed in charge of demarcated 'locations' serving as basic administrative units. Although these headmen were directly under the control of magistrates, they settled minor cases locally and discharged certain duties which were delegated to them. Other local government responsibilities were undertaken by District Councils (also under the control of magistrates) which in turn were affiliated to the Ciskei General Council which was constituted in 1934. While the District Councils were empowered to advise magistrates on a wide variety of matters affecting the people they represented, they achieved relatively little - mainly because they had limited financial resources. In contrast with what was to happen after 1951, the District Councils had no traditional roots and tended to attract the better educated people in the various districts. The Black Authorities Act abolished the Council system, shifting the administrative focus from the headmen and providing for the establishment of Tribal Authorities which were associated with the chiefdoms which once existed in the area. The Tribal Authorities were headed by chiefs who were to be assisted by

councillors under a system which sought to revive traditional leadership. This implied chiefly rule and rule through elders. The system of local government in the rural areas of Ciskei was thus changed from direct rule to rule through traditional leaders. Problems related to this attempt to revive traditional authority have been highlighted by some researchers locally, (e.g. Hammond-Tooke 1975, Manona 1985, Haines et al 1988), and form a central focus of this section of the report.

The area studied is under the jurisdiction of the Ngqika Tribal Authority with the village of Burnshill as its centre of administration. The coup which took place at the beginning of March 1990 in Ciskei toppled the then President of Ciskei, Lennox Sebe. Three weeks after this coup the Tribal Authority system collapsed in Ciskei as a whole when the leader of the new military government (Brigadier Gqozo) announced that all headmen must resign their positions. Even though chiefs were not affected by this ruling, a new situation had developed, in that the Tribal Authority principle which was envisaged in the Black Authorities Act had been seriously undermined. The Tribal Authorities could not function without the headmen. The virtual freeing of Ciskei from an oppressive government immediately led to intense political activity and the establishment of new local level political structures. Before turning to the details of the Tribal Authority in the study area, it is necessary to consider the structure of the Ciskei government as it was before the coup. This is shown diagrammatically below.

Figure 1: Administrative Structure of Ciskei before the Coup



Before the coup the Ciskei National Assembly was a unicameral legislature headed by a State President with executive powers. In 1985 this legislature included fifty seven members consisting of twenty nine elected members and twenty eight chiefs. At that time the forty two Tribal Authorities that had been created constituted local administrative units of this government. The Tribal Authorities constituted part of Regional Authorities which were in turn linked to the Ciskei Legislature. The magistrate's office in Keiskammahoek was the link between the Tribal Authority and the Ciskei Government in Bisho. In the Ciskei National Assembly the community studied had two representatives, their elected member who represented the Keiskammahoek constituency and the chief who was an *ex-officio* Member of Parliament. The ruling party was the Ciskei National

Independence Party (C.N.I.P.).

### **How the Tribal Authority Operated**

The area studied came under the jurisdiction of a Community Authority in 1966. A Tribal Authority could not be established there at that time since the area had no chief. A chief was installed in 1979 and he became the head of the Ngqika Tribal Authority with its centre in the village of Burnshill. The Authority consisted of the chief, two salaried headmen and nineteen councillors who received no remuneration for their services. The councillors were the main links between the Authority and the residents in the six villages under this Authority. All the councillors were men and participants at the meetings were overwhelmingly men. Women usually attended these meetings only when they were involved in the court cases handled by this body. However, there were special occasions, such as when directives from Bisho needed to be announced, when women had to attend these meetings. The Tribal Authority was closely associated with the person of the chief - on arrival at meetings people were expected to give the chief's salute and do so even if he was absent from the meeting.

The Tribal Authority court met when required. Although any adult man living in any of the six villages under this chief was free to attend and to participate in this court, in practice it was the members of the Tribal Authority who constituted this judicial body. Petty quarrels, minor assaults, local stock

theft and damage claims arising from girls' seduction were typical cases which were brought before this court. Sentences were mainly monetary fines and, in some instances, payable in the form of stock. But the extent to which this council could enforce its decisions was extremely restricted. Sub-headmen also settled minor disputes in their villages and referred other matters to the Tribal Authority. Anyone not satisfied with a decision of a sub-headman could appeal to the Tribal Authority court. In like manner, defendants before the Tribal Authority court could appeal to the Keiskammahoek Magistrate's Court.

*i) The Duties of the Tribal Authority*

The comprehensive duties of the Tribal Authority included:

1. The maintenance of roads, dams and bridges.
2. The organization and promotion of agricultural activities, e.g. the control of grazing and arable land, the establishment of agricultural co-operatives as well as the purchasing of stud stock for use by the villagers.
3. The promotion of education by means of erecting and maintaining school buildings, granting bursaries and loans to scholars.
4. The improvement of the economic and social life of the people through measures like the organization of relief employment, the screening of applications for old age



pensions, other social benefits and business premises.

5. The preservation of law and order, including powers for settling minor disputes.
6. Allocation of land and residential sites.

A full-time clerk in the employ of the Ciskei Government handled the routine affairs of the council. The council also employed two rangers whose salaries were paid by the Ciskei Department of Agriculture.

*ii) Membership of the Tribal Authority*

The first question to be considered regarding the performance of this Tribal Authority concerns its personnel. The principles underlying the Tribal Authority system sought not only to reconstruct old customs and usages but also to revive traditional leadership. Therefore, it is not surprising that this council tended to be a homogeneous body of men who were advanced in age, nearly all being pensioners. Moreover, the majority of the members of this council had only a few years of schooling. This characterized the Tribal Authority as a conservative body which could not reflect the educational and occupational diversity of the people in the six villages under this council. As a result, the younger and better educated members of this community had virtually no influence over the affairs of the council. Although an entirely 'élite' council would be equally unrepresentative, the fact that most

councillors lacked the educational background that was necessary for their jobs meant that they could not be efficient in them. Older and less educated people do not easily adapt to change and are not in a position to articulate the varied interests of a society undergoing rapid change. Yet we should realise that a political structure can remain compatible with its socio-cultural environment by adapting to it or by adapting the environment to itself. This Tribal Authority was not in a position to make those adjustments. In addition, its form of leadership was oligarchical in that roughly the same councillors served on the Tribal Authority year after year. This was largely because no specific period was prescribed for the members' tenure of office and councillors could serve on that body for as long as they liked.

Similarly, the exclusion of women from membership of the Tribal Authority was no longer consistent with the present situation in which women play a more active role in many organizations than do men. Women serve on virtually all the committees that are associated with various organizations locally. In addition, they were much more active than men in party political activities, e.g. in the organization of rallies. Yet, although the social status of women had changed and continues to change, this could hardly have much effect on the Tribal Authority since it was based on the traditional notion of male authority. The discussion below will emphasise this lack of representativeness or relevance of the Tribal Authority. For the moment let us consider the Tribal Authority's relation with the Ciskei

political structure.

*iii) Financial and Executive Limitations on the Tribal Authority*

Although the Tribal Authority had a wide range of duties, the fact that it had limited budgetary powers and meagre financial resources had adverse effects on its performance. Initially, the finances of the Tribal Authorities were handled by Regional Authorities, but in 1969 this function was transferred to the then Department of the Chief Minister and Finance (Groenewald 1980:89). The tendency towards the centralization of government functions is evident here. The bulk of its funds were voted by the central government while the revenue it generated locally (mainly in the form of court and pound fees) constituted only a small proportion of its annual income. During each year the council, together with the magistrate, made recommendations for its estimates of income and expenditure for the following year and submitted them for consideration by the central authorities who alone made final decisions on such matters. The Tribal Authority itself exercised no influence over this budget and its ineffectiveness locally stemmed largely from the fact that its annual grants were small. Therefore, it could not be the focal point of rural administration that could be responsible for the promotion of the general well-being and economic development of the six villages under this Authority. In particular, it is worth noting that although the council had the responsibility of erecting and maintaining school buildings, the budget made no provision for such an undertaking. Consequently, the council's functions in promoting education locally were extremely limited

and this important task was almost entirely in the hands of school committees which operated largely independently of the Tribal Authority.

What has been noted above has already suggested that the Tribal Authority had limited executive powers and on many issues it could not act independently of the central government. Instead, it had to focus its attention mainly on the ways and means of carrying out instructions received from higher authorities. For example, parliamentary matters did not feature in the council's debates; before the parliamentary sessions there were no resolutions made specifically for parliament and no report-back meetings were held. Similarly, a study of the council's records and observations made at those meetings attended during fieldwork show that many of the issues discussed by the council were concerned mainly with matters emanating outside the community and almost invariably such matters necessitated the raising of funds. The most hated levies were those which were connected with the many rallies held at Ciskei National Shrine (Ntabakandoda) and those which were for the now discredited Development Fund. The people did not know what was being done with this Fund even though the money was supposed to be used for the benefit of the indigent people in the Ciskei. By 1990 varying amounts of money were deducted from old age pensioners and disability grant recipients without any explanation.

#### *iv) The Issue of Legitimacy*

A consideration of the relationship of the Tribal Authority with

the people it served raises other problems of trust and legitimacy. One of these is the fact that councillors were nominated by the Tribal Authority itself without prior consultation with the villages the men represented. In this sense, the councillors represented the Tribal Authority, not necessarily the people. No official guidelines were available so that this situation could be rectified. Also, the councillors were not directly answerable to the residents of their villages for the decisions they made in the Tribal Authority. At the village level their positions were relatively secure in that it was not their duty to hold meetings concerning the matters discussed by the Tribal Authority; this was done by the sub-headmen to whom people turned for help with many of their problems. Moreover, the fact that the residents knew that the councillors, themselves had no power of their own meant that it would be useless for the people to exert any pressure on the councillors who also had to respond to a situation which they could not control. Sub-headmen were the main communication links between the Tribal Authority and the various villages and they also handled the bulk of the work of the Tribal Authority. Because they had many responsibilities, they were forced to sacrifice a great deal of their time performing their duties. In spite of this, they received no salaries and there was no indication that they commonly received gifts from the people for the services they rendered. Consequently, there were few, if any, people who accepted sub-headmanship with complete willingness.

It is also necessary to consider the manner in which the Tribal Authority made decisions, at least with regard to those matters for which it had a mandate. Hammond-Tooke (1975) has already shown that an important feature of traditional government was the soliciting of public support for major issues at public meetings. In addition, the chief's dependence on the support of his *amaphakathi* (his inner circle advisers) guaranteed people's rights and ensured that no substantial body of opinion in the community could be ignored. Although the Tribal Authority was supposed to take on the appearance and character of the traditional political structure, there were many ways in which it failed to measure up to this ideal. Primarily, the change from a more consensual to a less consultative form of decision-making was indicated by the fact that the chief in the study area (and elsewhere in the Ciskei) had *amaphakathi* (i.e. councillors) only in a restricted sense: he managed the affairs of the community with the assistance of the Tribal Authority members who were neither his close advisers nor the acknowledged representatives of the people. The elimination of *amaphakathi* was a manifestation of the new political situation in which chiefs generally were no longer directly responsible to their people but were civil servants with specific obligations to the government. In the same sense, the Tribal Authority was an arm of the government and its decisions were made with that as its primary objective. Much of its authority came from above, where once it was based in substantial measure on legitimacy bestowed from below. Consequently, it was identified with the interests of the external political structure. At the same time these

interests did not always relate to the needs of the people. It was upon this dilemma that the legitimacy and significance of the Tribal Authority turned. Moreover, there was an overlap between the activities of the ruling party and those of the Tribal Authority and the affairs of the ruling party were often discussed in the Tribal Authority.

Another great weakness of the Tribal Authority was its lack of effective contact with the villages it served. Reflecting the constraints of the wider political structure which was based largely on authoritarianism and repression, the Tribal Authority failed to encourage participation at grass-roots level and the various villages consequently lost much of their autonomy. Virtually all decisions on important local matters were made by the Tribal Authority and most meetings in the villages were convened merely for the purpose of notifying the residents about routine administrative matters or for the passing of instructions from the Tribal Authority. In this situation the councillors tended to be out of touch with the residents' needs and aspirations and had to make decisions about communities of which they knew less and less. The result of all this was a growing distance between the interests of this body and the residents - a development which was most clearly indicated by the fact that few people attended the meetings of the Tribal Authority. Many people did not attend these meetings because they saw no point in doing so; there could not be much enthusiasm for a political structure which consistently failed to benefit the people it served. Although the Tribal Authority

was meant to be an administrative structure, it was more of a political mouthpiece.

The extent to which the Tribal Authority became bureaucratized and formalized was evident in the limited scope for free expression of opinion in the Tribal Authority. With the weakening of the older forms of community debate and consensus, the council could no longer be regarded as a forum for the airing of grievances. For instance, many councillors did not play an active part in council debates and the initiative for raising or pursuing particular issues was almost invariably taken by the more influential members. Also, the councillors seldom opposed each other in these discussions and possible dissension was concealed largely by the formality the councillors had to observe.

Corruption was another crippling factor. By February 1990 the Authority had no money and its secretary had not been paid for two months. A sum of R22 000,00, which was collected over several years for the purchase of a Kombi for the Tribal Authority had disappeared. By this time people strongly believed that the funds which were collected fairly regularly for the ruling party and for government-associated undertakings were being embezzled. The growing opposition to the Ciskei government, which is noted below, was partly a response to this deteriorating situation.



*The Ciskei Coup and other Political Developments Affecting Local Government*

Since its 'independence' in 1981 Ciskei has never enjoyed any period of peace and stability. Apart from the bus boycott which continued for many years in Mdantsane and which claimed many lives, in the 1980s opposition to Ciskei rule was notable in several communities which were resisting incorporation into Ciskei. In these communities people formed Residents' Associations to oppose the South African government's intention of associating them with Ciskei. Other Residents' Associations were formed in places where the Ciskei government intended to re-locate residents, e.g. in Balasi. Such associations were also formed in some urban areas under Ciskei, e.g. the Mdantsane Residents' Association (MDARA) and the Dimbaza Residents' Association (DIRA).

In the rural areas the most overt instance of opposition to the government began in January 1990 when thousands of residents in the Chalumna area (involving twenty two villages) announced their intention to demonstrate their rejection of the 'independence' of Ciskei and their desire to return to a unitary South Africa. They were to demonstrate this either by burning their C.N.I.P. membership cards or by returning these cards to their local headmen. As this campaign got underway, similar developments were occurring elsewhere. By the beginning of March the Black Sash estimated that up to two thirds of the rural population of Ciskei had either been burning these cards

or were returning them to the headmen (Daily Dispatch March 1, 1990). One of the most serious outbreaks of violence in rural Ciskei occurred early in March at Khambashe outside King William's Town where youths burnt down a home of a chief and one which belonged to a headman. Announcements made in South Africa on the 2nd of February which, among other things, related to the unbanning of the African National Congress (A.N.C.) created a climate which made this anti-Ciskei activism more possible. The area under the jurisdiction of the Ngqika Tribal Authority was also affected by these developments.

At the end of January 1990 the principal of the High School in Burnshill was detained by the Ciskei security police, apparently for organizing a fund with his staff and students for the purposes of assisting Ciskei refugees who had been dislodged from their homes in East Peelson and who were being housed temporarily in church accommodation in King William's Town. These were the people who were being persecuted by the Ciskei government for their refusal to be ruled by Ciskei. The detention of this principal elicited strong criticism from the Ciskei Teachers' Union (CISTU). He was released from detention a few weeks later.

Local discontent with the Tribal Authority became more apparent in February when this council found itself being confronted by delegations which queried its actions. One of these consisted of a group of men who wanted an explanation for the R22 000 which had been collected for the purchase of a Kombi for the

Tribal Authority. Although the chairman tried to show that the money was used for other purposes, the delegation found the explanation unsatisfactory. Shortly after this, a delegation from another village came to the Tribal Authority to tell the chief that their village had rejected the headman whom the chief had imposed on the villagers. The leader of this group, an old man of about sixty, stunned the Tribal Authority members when he began to address the meeting. Without saluting the chief, he applauded the A.N.C. with "Viva Comrade Oliver Tambo, etc". The chief had indeed imposed the headman on this village. In the elections for a headman which were held in this village three years ago there were three candidates. The chief ignored the results of this election and he appointed the candidate who got by far the smallest number of votes. This headman became extremely unpopular in the village and people have openly complained about his close association with the Ciskei security police and the arrest of young people of this village. These were some of the grievances which were beginning to surface as the political situation changed rapidly just before the coup.

The Ciskei government was toppled on the eve of March 3, 1990. Whereas this bloodless coup resulted in anarchy and colossal destruction of property, especially in Mdantsane, the fall of this much hated government was celebrated more peacefully in the rural areas. Virtually everywhere people cheerfully sang a newly composed song - *iwile, iwile inyheke kaSebe*: the big lip of Sebe has fallen. The leader of the new military government, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, who clearly identified himself with the

this youth organization affiliated to the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO). By 1989 members of KEYCO had increased and it became possible for the youth in the various villages to meet from time to time even though their activities were secret. Meetings were also held by young people at their schools. By the end of February 1990 KEYCO had a substantial following in the various schools and villages. The youth decided to boycott classes for a day and be part of a march by Keiskammahoek residents who were to protest against Ciskei 'independence'. This large gathering of marchers in February 1990 was dispersed by Ciskei security forces using teargas and sjamboks.

After the coup, youth political activity intensified because this was an environment which allowed freedom of organization and expression. In the months that followed the coup, in virtually every village, the youth became tightly organized and vigorously pursued their goal of mass political education among themselves. This is acted out through a 'cultural programme' involving meetings for political education, the singing of freedom songs and the performance of dramas. From time to time the youth from various villages meet at one place over a weekend and undertake the activities described above. Now parents have become accustomed to a situation in which their children are frequently away from their homes attending meetings or practising for their performances. Whereas the youth felt free to engage in political activity, many adults became frustrated when they saw the youth taking a leading role in political affairs. For instance, in all the villages it was the youth who

called meetings and persuaded adults to form Residents' Associations. Adults suddenly found themselves in an awkward situation in which they had to be led by their children. This is partly the reason why all these village associations have come into existence only after much debate, sometimes as long as four months after the coup. In every village there is a Residents' Association and a youth body. (The youth are people who are approximately thirty years and below.)

The resignation of the headmen resulted in confusion and uncertainty in these villages. Even though the chief was to continue in his position, higher authorities did not indicate how chiefs could exercise their functions in the changed situation. In four of the six villages there are no recognised individuals handling routine matters like applications for pensions. In the other two villages such duties are performed by people who have been nominated by the Residents' Associations. But there is hardly anything these associations have been able to achieve so far. There are no constitutions and no guidelines have been provided regarding the manner in which they must operate. Instead, there are villages where these political changes have resulted in conflict and the pursuit of sectional interests by some individuals and groups. In two villages the old friction between the landowners and the landless people has surfaced once again. There the landowners maintain that the landless people reside on land which was grazing land for the landowners in the past and, for that reason, the landless people must leave and settle elsewhere.

These perceptions irritate the young people who are trying various ways and means of uniting the people. As far as the youth is concerned the people's failure to share what they have is at variance with the letter and spirit of the Freedom Charter. The youth strongly believes that the Residents' Associations should be developed into important local forums for the involvement of the people in a democratic process. It is those circumstances which would see the emergence of responsible local leadership. Yet this is not quite what the ordinary adult in the villages has in mind. For him or her the local situation can only be improved by the intervention of the government. This measure of powerlessness contrasts with the more innovative ideas of the youth who believe that the people have enough power to change their situation, only if they can be given the right direction.

In some of the villages the elected committees are not representative of the people they serve. Some committees include an almost full complement of old pensioners. In one case the committee consists entirely of landowners even though that grouping comprises about a third of the village population. Also, there are many villages where the young people feel that they are not consulted by the adults. Commonly, these ill-feelings come into the open when the youth and the adults hold discussions at meetings. In addition, these Residents' Associations are a novelty, in that they allow women to participate in the village discussions. Unlike in the case of the Tribal Authority, women are playing an active role in these

associations and all the committees include women. Some men feel threatened by this arrangement. Already there are complaints to the effect that women dominate village discussions and that men do not find enough chance to express *their* views. This is in sharp contrast with the non-sexist approach of the youth organizations.

### Conclusion

In conclusion, it could be said that the collapse of Tribal Authorities in a territory like Ciskei was inevitable, taking into account the inefficiency of this local government institution. This inefficiency resulted largely from its lack of legitimacy and competence. At the same time, the government which took over after the coup assumed that civic organizations in the rural areas would develop on their own into acceptable local government structures. But it is now clear that this could not happen, particularly since the government has not given any guidance in this regard, seeing that these new bodies still do not have any definite rules nor powers. It is also clear that youth organizations are playing an important political role in Keiskammahoek and elsewhere. They have a strong influence on the Residents' Associations which are supposed to be the basic units of local government in this new era. Even though there are many difficulties that are being encountered at present, the ideal of a people's democracy is likely to be attained, at least in the longer term.

**THE TOWN OF KEISKAMMAHOEK**

(by ROBIN PALMER)

**Introduction**

This section of the report is concerned with the town of Keiskammahoek, which also featured in the first report of the pilot study (see De Wet, Leibbrandt & Palmer 1989). The inaugural report on the town was based on a fieldwork stint of four weeks duration which took place in October-November 1986. The present study is based on two follow-up stints of similar duration some three years later, in July-August 1989 and January-February 1990.

Return fieldwork in even the most static of communities tends to deepen insights and correct distortions from the initial fieldwork as well as provide an up-date on developments in the intervening period. Keiskammahoek is probably one of the most rapidly changing communities of its size in Greater South Africa, so one finds that after three years much has changed on every front. It was impossible as a lone fieldworker without the vernacular to investigate everything on the subsequent visits, and so I decided to pay special attention to the new housing estate which now occupies a large site in the centre of town.

**Recapitulation**

The Keiskammahoek Rural Survey is a great achievement in South African empirical research, but it took its brief so literally



# The Town of Keiskammahoek



that it neglected the administrative and commercial hub of Keiskammahoek District - the Town of Keiskammahoek. At that time the only residents of the town proper were a few hundred whites and a small group of 'coloureds' living in a separate area known as Vaaldraai. The Africans associated with the town lived beyond the municipal area, in the nearby location of Tshoxa and in the more distant rural locations of the District. (Map No.4)

The jural-legal and socio-economic circumstances of the town were in most ways indistinguishable from those of any small municipality in South Africa. Perhaps that is why the contributors to the Rural Survey excluded the town from their study: it was too exotic, too 'white' to be treated in the same framework as the black settlements of the district (Houghton & Walton 1952). But regardless of the racial designation of the inhabitants, the town has been from its inception as a garrison settlement in the 1850s an important node in the administrative and economic integration of Ciskei, as well as the principal settlement of the District. By the late 1940s, when the rural survey was undertaken, the town had long housed the magistrate's court, sole hotel and principal trading stores and services of the District; by the 1970s, in the anticipation of independence, its timber-related industrial base was expanded and an irrigation scheme was established on former white-owned farm land; in the 1980s a new Israeli-built hospital replaced the old mission hospital at nearby St Matthews which had formerly served the District while the magistrate's court received a large new building and an expanded role in the administration of the

District. In the forty years since the Rural Survey it has become harder and harder to ignore the presence of the town in the District.

Following the 'independence' of Ciskei in 1981, the town underwent the most radical aspect of its transformation; the almost complete replacement of its formerly white and 'coloured' population by black newcomers to the Town and, in many cases, the District as well. The transition, presaged by the Land Act of 1913 and the Natives Trust and Land Act of 1936, began with the expropriation of the white-owned farms around the Town in 1965. After Ciskei became self-governing in 1972, even in the Town itself underwent consolidation - a gradual process which is not quite complete nearly twenty years later. By the end of 1986, only a handful of whites on contract remained in the housing compound outside of the Town proper supplied for staff at the irrigation scheme and the industrial site, and only one or two white families and an elderly single woman continued to reside in the Town.

The whites who formerly lived in the Town proper have resettled themselves in the nearby white South African cities of King William's Town and East London, for the most part, and the 'coloureds' have mainly gone to Breidbach, near King William's Town. The transition from a *de jure* white town to a *de facto* black town was all but complete by the time the initial fieldwork was concluded in 1986.

According to two surveys undertaken in the 1980s (see De Wet, Leibbrandt & Palmer 1989: pp107-123), the blacks who took the places of the whites in the Town came from beyond the District almost as frequently as from within it - from other districts of Ciskei; from Transkei; from the cities and towns of the Eastern Cape; and from more distant centres, such as Cape Town and Bloemfontein (judging from birthplaces cited). Initially, as with most immigrant populations, the newcomers were revealed as youthful, with a slight predominance of males. Between 1983, when Sister Ulana of the S S Gida Hospital surveyed the population of the Town proper, and 1986, when I made my own survey, the sex ratio became more balanced, slightly favouring females, and the proportion of children doubled as the newcomers settled down. The most common living arrangement was the nuclear family household; only singles went in for shared accommodation.

In educational terms, the newcomers were reasonably well qualified. Two thirds of those covered by the second survey had gone beyond primary school; 14% had matric; and 5% had some form of further education. Accordingly, there were as many newcomers in professional, semi-professional and senior administrative roles as there were labourers (about 30%). If the housewives are not included with the unemployed, there was a constant unemployment rate of 15% between the two surveys, which is extremely low for a homeland town. Per capita income in 1986-7 was R125 a month, but then only 30% of the population was economically active; mean earnings were R398 a month, which was about R130 more than the calculated Household Subsistence Level

for a black family of five in the comparable community of Peddie in September 1986 (Potgieter 1986: 52).

Buried in these generalizations (or omitted through sampling) are the individuals who constitute the leadership of the Town's new black population and who are in some cases members of this Mfengu-dominated district's old 'school' élite - the Chief, who has recently built a house in the Town; a member of parliament, who is said to have waited fifteen years to obtain President Sebe's permission to make the Town his place of permanent residence; the Head of the Small Business Development Corporation; the magistrate; the doctor; and a handful of leading businessmen, some of whose experiences were highlighted in the first report (see De Wet, Leibbrandt & Palmer 1989).

The general impression which emerged from the two surveys, three years apart, was that the new black community in the Town had a decidedly middle-class orientation. This could be surmised from the objective indicators summarized above, but it was also detectable in an opinion shared by almost all of the newcomers surveyed in 1986: they were not happy with the housing then available to them in the Town. This sentiment has had profound implications for the development of the Town over the last five years and largely accounts for the advent of the housing estate which is the principal subject of this section of the report.

## Housing the newcomers

In common with many platteland towns in the Eastern Cape, the majority of the housing stock in the Town dates back to before the Second World War, with not a few examples from before the First World War; but unlike small towns across the border with South Africa, the Town did not enjoy a minor building boom of dwelling houses in the affluent period of the late 1950s and 1960s. The Damoclesian sword of homeland consolidation hung over the heads of the whites of the Town, which not only discouraged them from investing in housing in the Town, but also dissuaded them from modernizing or even repairing their houses following the proclamation of self-government for Ciskei.

The middle class black newcomers compared the housing they inherited from the former whites in the Town with that enjoyed by their peers in Zwelitsha or Bisho and found it seriously wanting. The spaciousness and low density of their accommodation in the rambling old houses, the low rents which averaged R29 and could be as low as R15 a month, the electric lights, plugs and geysers - none of these features compensated the new black 'salaried' for the fact that the houses were out-of-date and run-down, an affront to these recent recruits to a class determined not by what a member produces but by what he consumes; a rapidly growing class in Ciskei which largely accounts for the fact that King William's Town's commercial centre is so dominated by furniture chain-stores.

The universal materialism of the 'salariate' certainly has its counterpart in the Town. But there may be more to it than that; two particularistic values appear to be relevant here. In the first place, black Ciskeians have always preferred to live in new houses if they can possibly afford them. When houses were simpler and less durable, and people built their own with the aid of relatives and work-parties, only the most abject were forced to live in a house that had been built by and for someone else. This particularistic value or preference is evidenced by black rejection of the white bourgeois compulsion to 'gentrify' or 'chelsify' old run-down houses and neighbourhoods. An exhaustive architectural audit of the Town undertaken in the early 1980s, which went on to propose the conversion of the town into a cultural centre, took a strongly conservationist stance, in line with white middle class values (Frescura & Radford 1984). Its recommendations have been roundly ignored by the new black residents and their Council. Instead, the old houses of the former whites continue to decay (with one or two exceptions) and the development energies of the community are quite literally focused on breaking new ground and constructing new houses and flats to the limit of what can be afforded, and beyond. To the newcomers' 'traditional' desire for new houses is added a repugnance for the hand-me-down houses of the former whites, no matter how charmingly they might be renovated.

The need for housing appropriate to the earning power, housing subsidies, values and aspirations of the newcomers became apparent with the first arrivals of the black newcomers to the

Town, but it took a while for anything to be done about it. Two local businessmen were the first to satisfy the demand for appropriate housing. Operating independently, first one built a structure that can only be described as a single-storey block of flats, and then the other constructed a more modest equivalent with communal ablutions. Either way, these complexes offered the advantages of being new and entirely suitable for singles or for childless couples on modest budgets, and they fulfilled a need for privacy and autonomy in a manageable personal space which was what the young teachers, nurses and clerks of the early stage of the Town's repopulation required.

However, there were situational limitations on the extent to which small developers could meet the local demand for new housing, whether for rent or purchase, and individuals could satisfy their personal requirements for modern houses. The Town is in the Amatola mountains, about forty km from King William's Town/Bisho, and the road has only recently been tarred. There is no local supplier of bricks or sand and no local hardware store; building contractors have to transport all their materials considerable distances and thus face additional costs which are not recoverable from the Ciskei Building Society, with its set rates and its monopoly as the sole Building Society in Ciskei.

In spite of this major drawback, the Town is a popular site with prospective home-owners. As a former white municipality, the Town is subject to the form of land registration known as Deed of Transfer. This form is not subject to the many disabilities



associated with the Deed of Grant which obtains in areas subject to the alternative urban land registration system, which affects Mdantsane and Zwelitsha. This latter legislation, in the restrictive and paternalistic spirit of the Acts of 1913 and 1936, was given form under Proclamation R293 of 1962.

The proclamation states, *inter alia*, that only blacks may own land in the affected urban areas; that the applicant must be a family head and a "fit and proper person"; that the Deed may be forfeited under certain prescribed circumstances; that married women may not acquire property; that a person may not own more than one property; and that the Deed is issued and transferred administratively, that is, beyond the control of the parties involved. By Deed of Transfer, in contrast, both men and women may own as many properties as they like, in secure title, and control the acquisition and disposal of their properties; developers - not necessarily black or Ciskeian - can acquire land, prepare sites and then market the *erven* themselves; the sale and development of such *erven* is not necessarily confined to Government; the 'spec' builder can mortgage his project at the construction stage and sell it only on completion; and industrial companies can acquire *erven* in their own names for staff accommodation and raise mortgage loans for this purpose. In short, the Deed of Transfer is a form of legislation which whites devised for themselves, whereas the Deed of Grant was something the architects of apartheid invented for the control of blacks.

The black newcomers to the Town (as well as Alice, and Peddie, where the Deed of Transfer also obtains) and those who would develop the Town for them are the beneficiaries of a superior system which has not, as yet, replaced the Deed of Grant in the otherwise more sophisticated settlements of Mdantsane and Zwelitsha. Nevertheless, in spite of the patent advantages, from the land registration point of view, of developing the Town, individuals and smaller developers have experienced difficulty in persuading out-of-town builders to construct houses for quotations which the Ciskei Building society finds acceptable because of the relative remoteness of the Town and its lack of relevant resources.

The solution to these supply-side problems lies in the provision of housing on a mass basis, permitting considerable economies of scale. But the small municipalities in Ciskei, such as the Town, do not have the expertise or staffing to plan such undertakings. Recognizing these problems, the Ciskei Department of Planning set up its Urban Development Project in 1986 to examine the *status quo* in the smaller urban areas, to come up with development plans and then to implement them. Among the first fruits of this project was the Keiskammahoek Park housing development on vacant land in the centre of the Town.

#### **Keiskammahoek Park**

Keiskammahoek Park was launched in November 1987 with the release of 152 erven on a well-appointed, sloping site close to all main

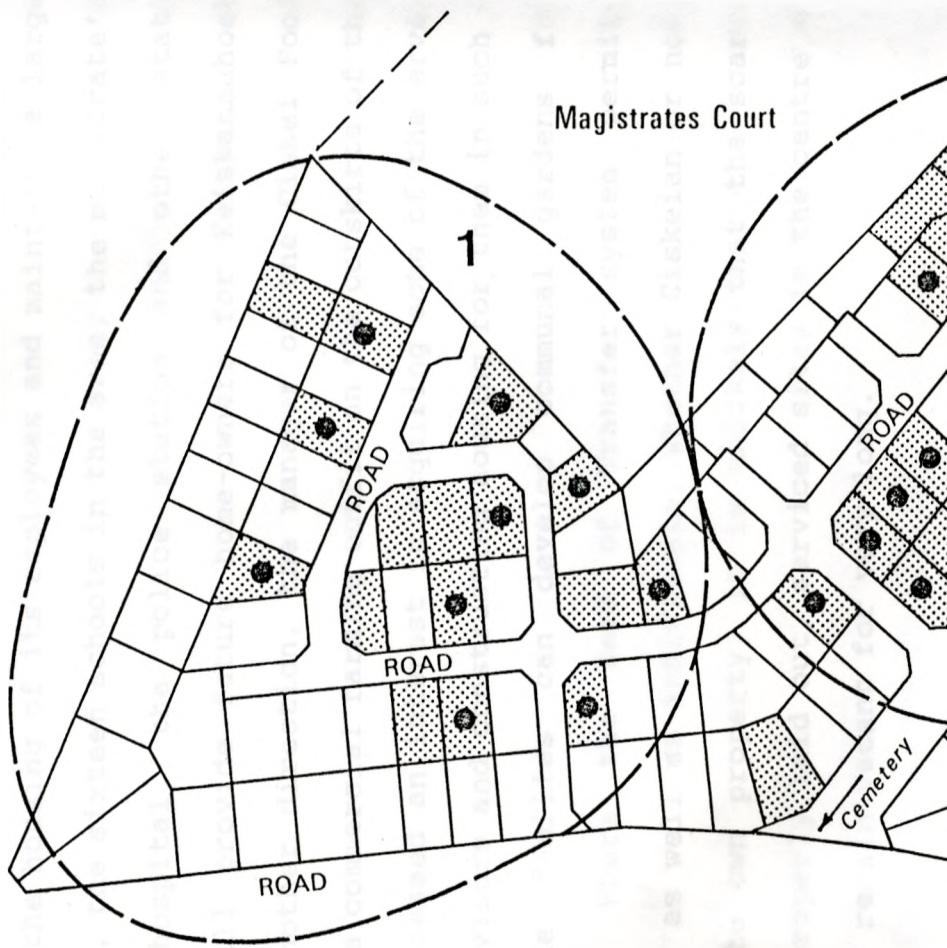
services (see Map 5). The plots were not particularly large, averaging 450 square metres, and they were very expensive - at R22 a square metre these plots were priced similarly to plots in the white suburbs of East London. The houses, in five different types, were priced between R35 000 and R70 000, including the price of the site. (Plans of the house-types are attached in Appendix No.5).

In the period early 1988 to early 1989, fifty three houses were transferred to their new owners and a further thirty were awaiting registration, when the developer, a Ciskei offshoot of the Transvaal giant, McCarthy, in the hands of the Managing Director's son, went into liquidation. Fortunately for the Town, all 152 erven had already been surveyed and serviced before McCarthy Jr's undoing. Since serviced plots are scarce in the Town, the balance will eventually be sold, but purchasers of the erven still confront the problems which McCarthy sought to overcome; those of high building costs for individual houses in outlying municipalities like the Town and the reluctance of builders to work there on the terms the Ciskei Building Society offers. Perhaps that is why so few developers and individuals who attended the auction of the remaining land in November 1989 were prepared to bid beyond the reserve price.


In spite of these set-backs, it is unlikely that the ninety nine erven will remain undeveloped in the long run. So long as the Ciskei government (or the South African government if Ciskei is to become incorporated in the Republic in the future) continues


Map No.5

Keiskammahoek Park Housing Estate



## KEISKAMMAHOEK PARK

Houses constructed Feb. 1990 

Households surveyed Feb. 1990 

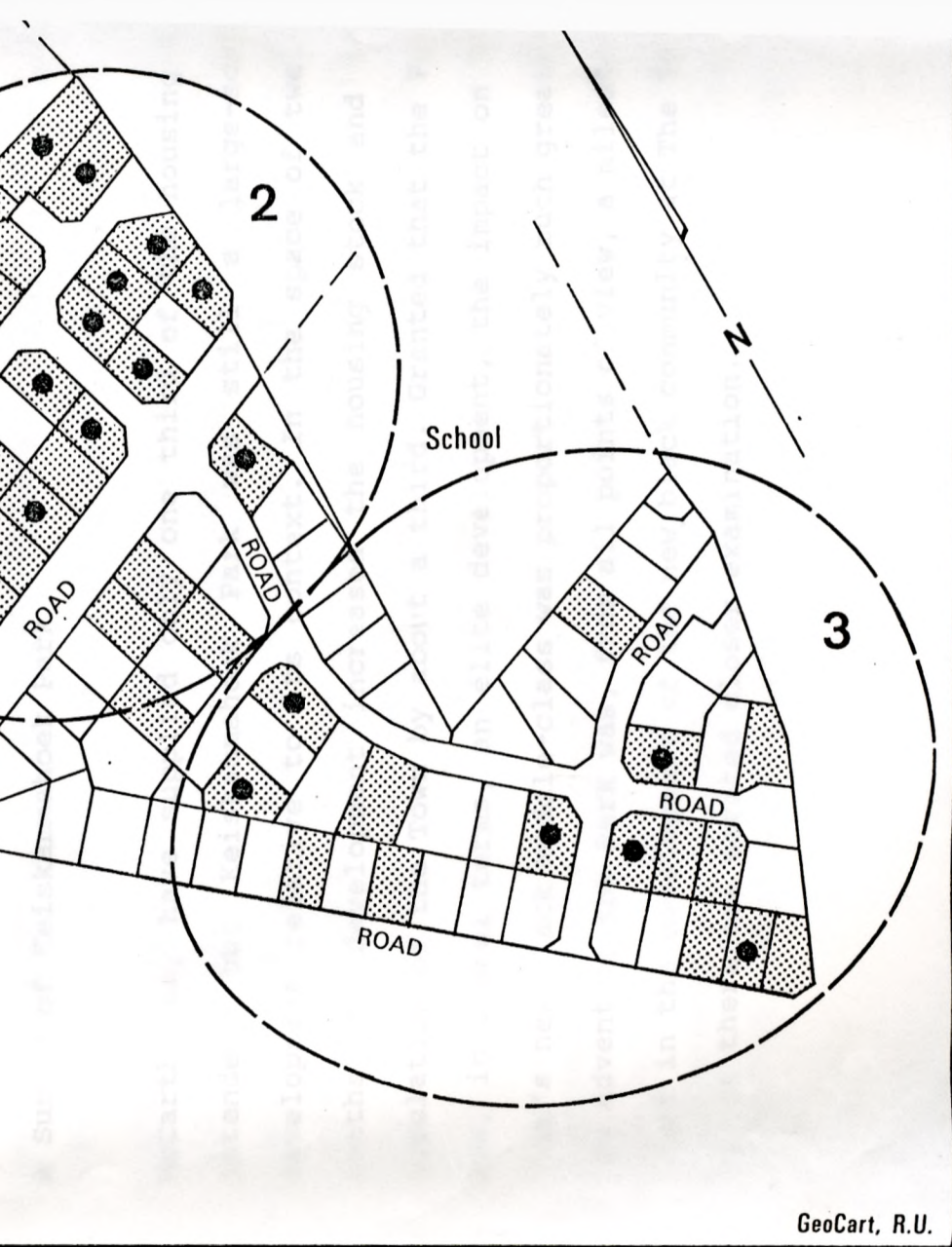
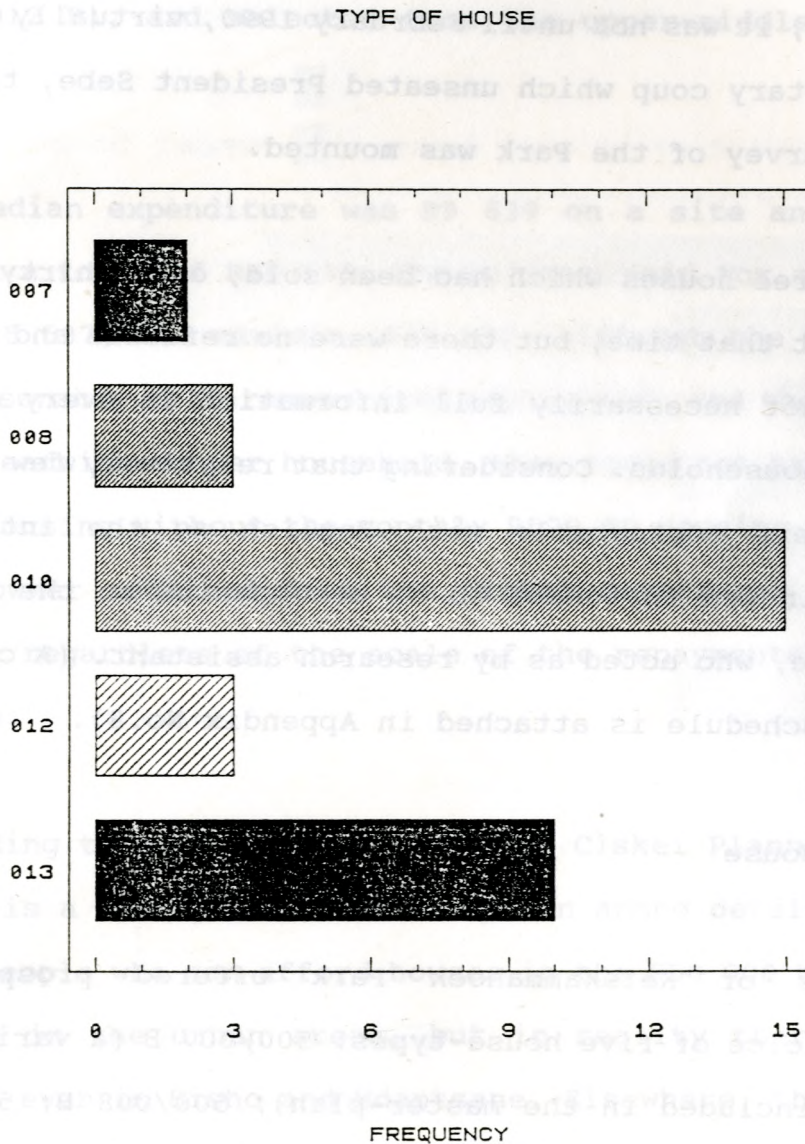


Figure 3: Keiskammahoek Park Survey



to subsidize the housing of its employees and maintains a large civil service, the sixteen schools in the area, the magistrate's court, the hospital, the police station and other state structures will provide future home-owners for Keiskammahoek Park. From another direction, the manager of the Ciskei Food Corporation, a commercial farming outfit on the outskirts of the Town, has expressed an interest in acquiring some of the erven for his supervisors and constructing housing for them in such a way that the families can develop communal gardens for themselves. Where the Deed of Transfer system permits corporations, as well as individuals, whether Ciskeian or not, the freedom to own property, it is unlikely that the scarce resource of properly laid out, serviced sites in the centre of the Town will remain vacant for very long.

#### **A Survey of Keiskammahoek Park**

McCarthy may have supplied only one third of the housing he intended, but Keiskammahoek Park was still a large-scale development relative to its context. In the space of twelve months the development increased the housing stock and the population of the Town by about a third. Granted that the Park was, in Ciskei terms, an élite development, the impact on The Town's new black middle-class was proportionately much greater. The advent of the Park was, from all points of view, a milestone event in the development of the new black community at The Town and it therefore merited closer examination.

A survey of the Park was planned during the July/August 1989 fieldwork stint, but it could not be implemented in the time remaining. Thus, it was not until February 1990, virtually on the eve of the military coup which unseated President Sebe, that a door-to-door survey of the Park was mounted.

Of the fifty three houses which had been sold, only thirty three were occupied at that time, but there were no refusals and I have information - not necessarily full information in every case - on each of the households. Considering that relatively few of the householders were comfortable with English as the interview medium, I was indeed fortunate to be accompanied on the visits by Mr E B Jezile, who acted as my research assistant. (A copy of the interview schedule is attached in Appendix No.8).

### **The Choice of House**

The developers of Keiskammahoek Park offered prospective homeowners a choice of five house-types: 500/007 B (a variant of 500/008 B not included in the master-plan); 500/008 B; 500/010 B; 500/012 B; and 500/013 B (see Appendix No.5). The five house-types vary chiefly in terms of floor space and whether or not an additional bathroom-en-suite or a garage is included. All five house-types include three bedrooms and one reception room, kitchen and bathroom.

The thirty three householders in the survey showed a marked preference for 500/010 B, followed by 500/013 B (Fig 3). They

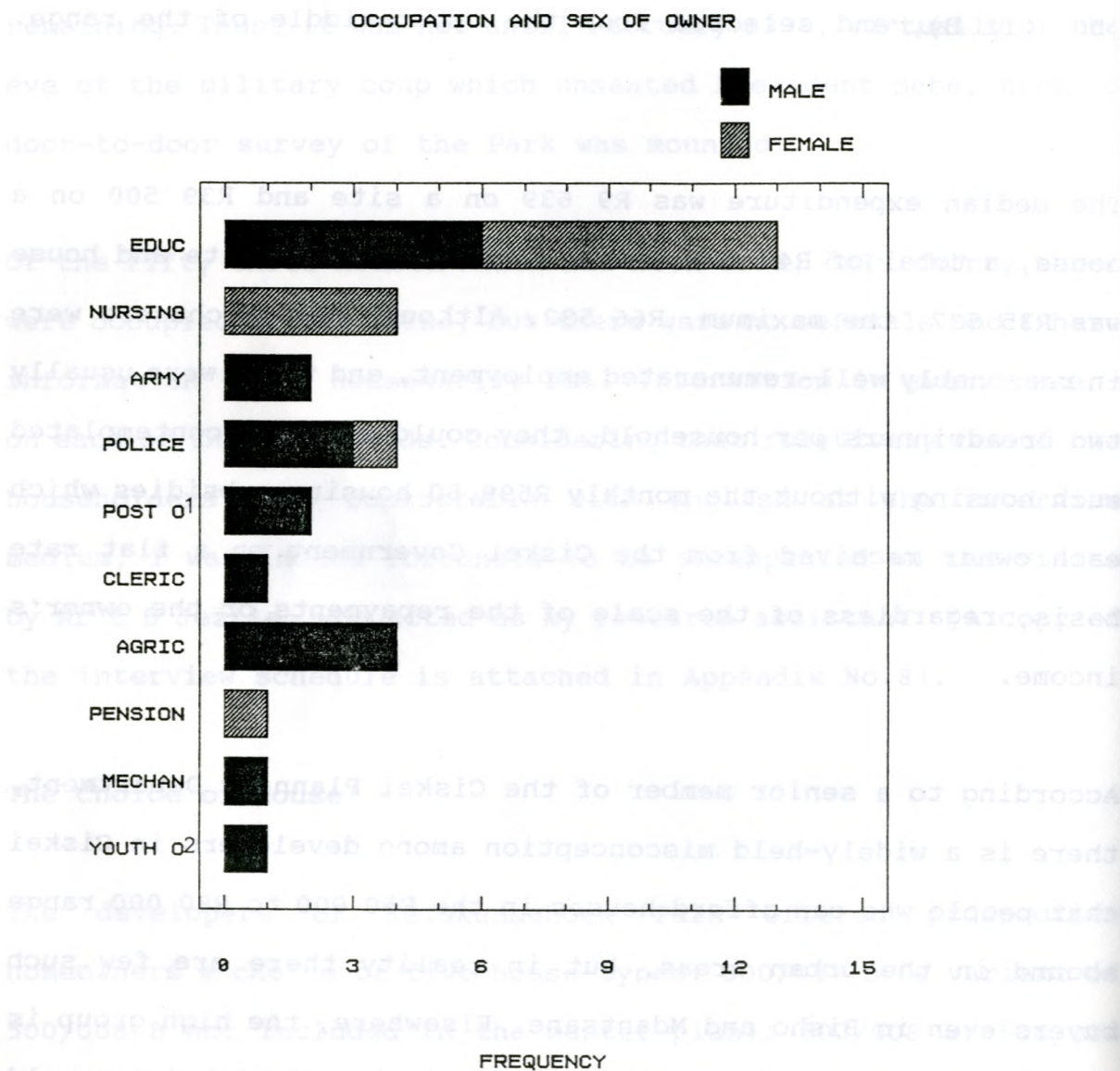


tended to avoid, on the one hand, the two cheapest types (500/007 B and 500/008 B) and, on the other, the most expensive type (500/012 B), and selected from the upper-middle of the range.

The median expenditure was R9 639 on a site and R39 500 on a house, a total of R49 139. The minimum paid for a site and house was R35 537, the maximum, R66 582. Although the purchasers were in reasonably well-remunerated employment, and there were usually two breadwinners per household, they could not have contemplated such housing without the monthly R599,50 housing subsidies which each owner received from the Ciskei Government on a flat rate basis, regardless of the scale of the repayments or the owner's income.

According to a senior member of the Ciskei Planning Department, there is a widely-held misconception among developers in Ciskei that people who can afford houses in the R50 000 to R80 000 range abound in the urban areas, but in reality there are few such buyers even in Bisho and Mdantsane. Elsewhere, the high group is in the R25 000 to R50 000 range. The majority of Ciskeians would find a R10 000 house unattainable. The Town appears to be in a different league from other minor urban centres in Ciskei since the range in Keiskammahoe Park alone is R35 000 to R67 000, and elsewhere in Town there are new houses worth R100 000 -R150 000 and more. Some of the residents of Keiskammahoe Park may be struggling to maintain their place in Ciskei's housing stratosphere, but they have passed all the initial hurdles and,

Figure 4: Keiskammahoeek Park Survey



1. Post Office Clerk

2. Youth organiser

should they falter, there are plenty who would take their places.

### **The People of the Park: Socio-economic Characteristics**

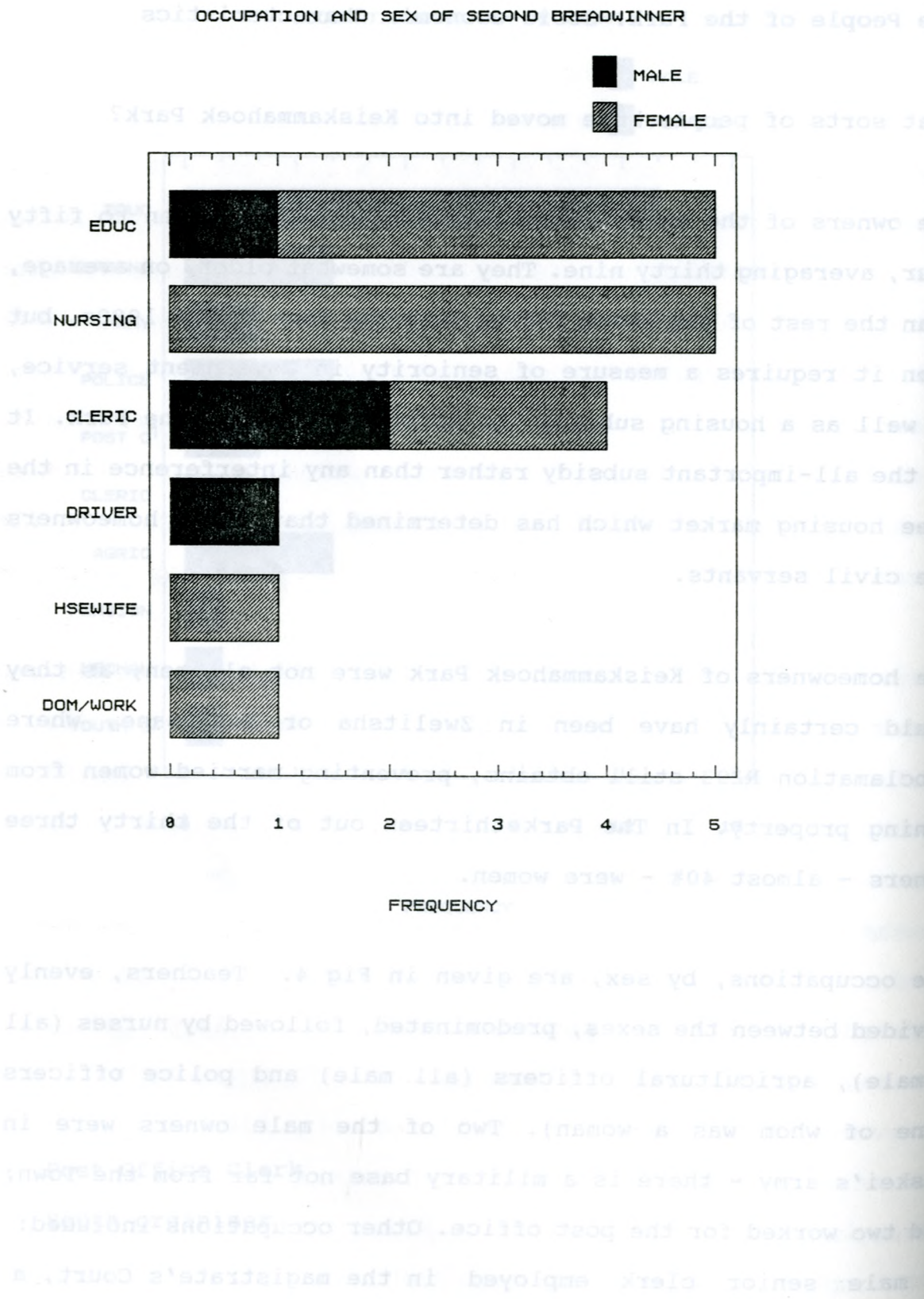
What sorts of people have moved into Keiskammahoek Park?

The owners of the houses vary in age from twenty seven to fifty four, averaging thirty nine. They are somewhat older, on average, than the rest of the black influx into the Town in the 1980s, but then it requires a measure of seniority in Government service, as well as a housing subsidy, to afford a house in the Park. It is the all-important subsidy rather than any interference in the free housing market which has determined that these homeowners are civil servants.

The homeowners of Keiskammahoek Park were not all men, as they would certainly have been in Zwelitsha or Mdantsane, where Proclamation R293 still obtains, preventing married women from owning property. In The Park thirteen out of the thirty three owners - almost 40% - were women.

The occupations, by sex, are given in Fig 4. Teachers, evenly divided between the sexes, predominated, followed by nurses (all female), agricultural officers (all male) and police officers (one of whom was a woman). Two of the male owners were in Ciskei's army - there is a military base not far from the Town; and two worked for the post office. Other occupations included: a male senior clerk employed in the magistrate's Court, a

Figure 5: Keiskammahoek Park Survey



mechanic and a youth organizer. One owner was a widow on pension who was able to buy her house outright with the compensation for her husband's fatal accident.

Since ownership of these houses would be impossible in many cases without a second breadwinner in the household, the occupations of the spouses are also highly relevant (Fig 5). Teachers and nurses predominated, followed by clerks, a driver and a domestic worker. (Only one of the housewives interpreted her vocation as an occupation, the remainder preferring to regard it as a form of unemployment.) Four of the seventeen second breadwinners were men, occupying the unaccustomed support role not so much out of preference as because, unlike their wives, they were not eligible for housing subsidies. (In cases where both partners might be eligible for a subsidy, only one may receive the subsidy; in practice, this is usually the husband, who is also the registered owner, though in principle it could be either partner.)

Table 22

Keiskammahoek Park Survey:Incomes, Bond Repayments, Housing Subsidy and PAYE (1990)

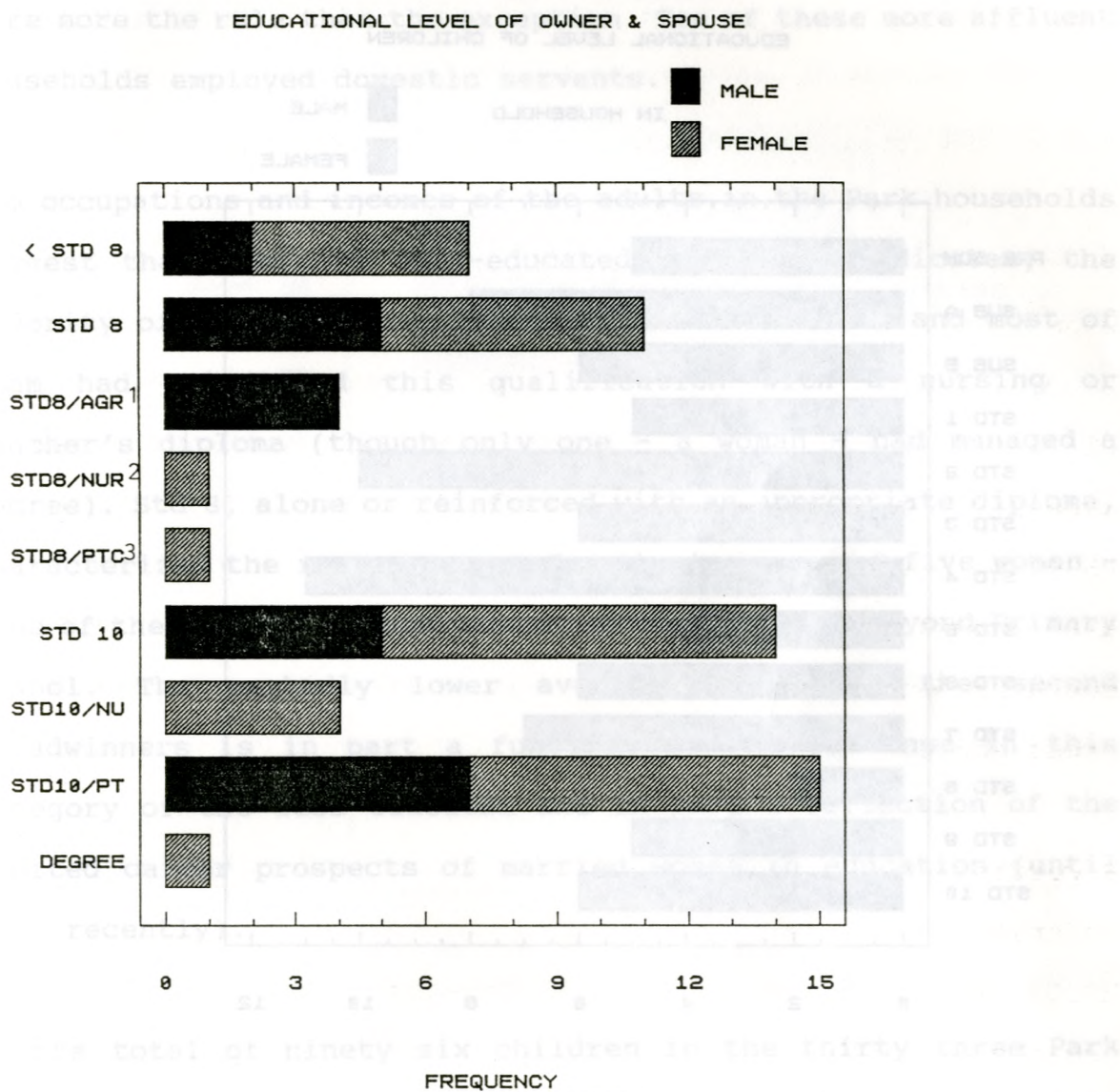
Variable	Gross	Nett	Bond	Subsidy	PAYE
Sample	21	28	26	25	10
Average	2 267	872	937	589	175
Median	2 195	826	946	600	144
Minimum	1 306	272	333	500	47
Maximum	4 406	2 229	1 273	600	475

The question of breadwinners' incomes is slightly complicated by the fact that the amount of detail which was provided varied from household to household. Thus, of the thirty three principal breadwinners, only twenty one knew their gross incomes but twenty eight knew their nett incomes; only ten could provide details of their PAYE deductions but twenty six had records of their payments to the Ciskei Building Society. The averages, having been obtained from different (though overlapping) samples of the sample, as it were, cannot be combined with any precision (Table 21). In approximate terms, the average gross income was in excess of R2 000 a month reinforced by a housing subsidy of R599.50. Payments to the Ciskei Building Society of more than R900 constituted the major deduction, leaving about R1 200 a month for other expenditure. The highest earner received R4 406 gross and the lowest earner, R1 306.

Regarding the second breadwinners (nine of whom provided information of their earnings), their average gross income was R989 and their nett, R644. Thus, household income in the households which had second breadwinners was around R1 800 after paying for the house.

Although some of the Park houses were sparsely and modestly furnished and equipped, suggesting that some of the families were struggling to meet their repayments and feed and clothe themselves adequately, the majority of the householders could afford all the trappings of middle-class suburban life. Their houses were fully-furnished; their kitchens well-equipped.

Figure 6: Keiskammahoek Park Survey

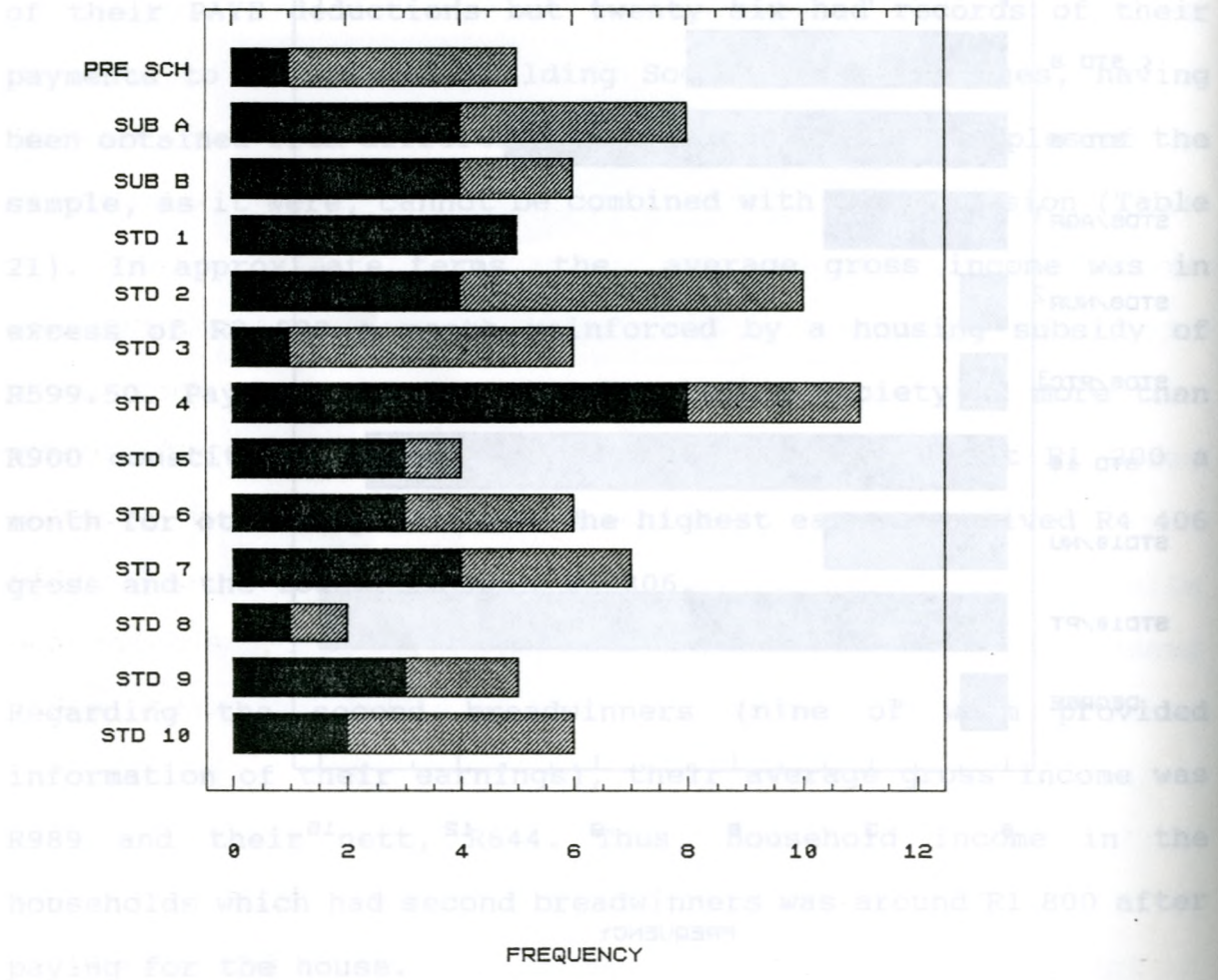


1. Diploma in Agriculture
2. Diploma in Nursing
3. Diploma in Education

Figure 7: Keiskammahoe Park Survey

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF CHILDREN  
IN HOUSEHOLD

MALE  
FEMALE



Although some of the Park houses were sparsely and modestly furnished and equipped, suggesting that some of the families were struggling to meet their repayments and food and clothing needs, the majority of the households could afford all the trappings of middle-class life. Most of the houses were fully-furnished, their living areas well-equipped.



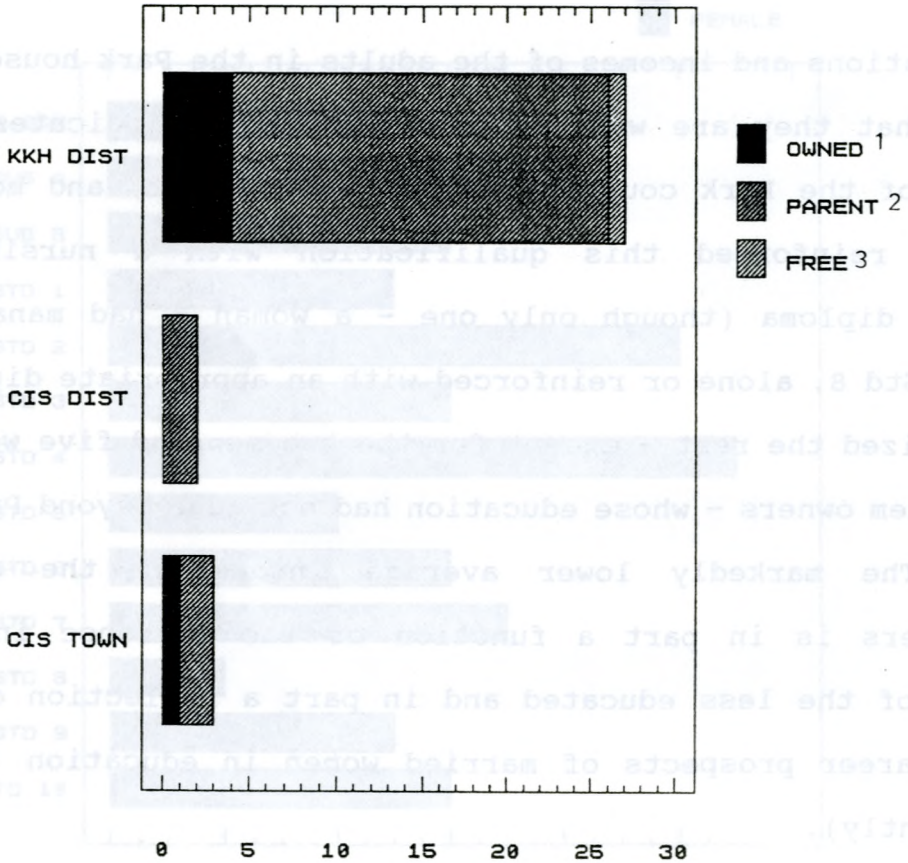
Status symbols, such as elaborate wall units supporting television sets and quantities of ceramic and brass ornaments, were more the rule than the exception. Ten of these more affluent households employed domestic servants.

The occupations and incomes of the adults in the Park households suggest that they are well-educated. As Fig 6 indicates, the majority of the Park couples had Std 10 at least, and most of them had reinforced this qualification with a nursing or teacher's diploma (though only one - a woman - had managed a degree). Std 8, alone or reinforced with an appropriate diploma, characterized the rest - except for the two men and five women - none of them owners - whose education had not gone beyond Primary School. The markedly lower average income of the second breadwinners is in part a function of the presence in this category of the less educated and in part a reflection of the limited career prospects of married women in education (until very recently).

Of the total of ninety six children in the thirty three Park households, eighty one were at school, ranging from Preschool to Std 10. The bulges in Stds 2 and 4 revealed in Fig 7 are probably coincidental, a reflection of the stage of the developmental cycle most residents had reached. The bar-chart is also a reasonable reflection of the ages of the children of Keiskammahoek Park, since most of them are in the standards suitable for their ages.

Figure 8: Keiskammahoek Park Survey

ORIGIN OF OWNER



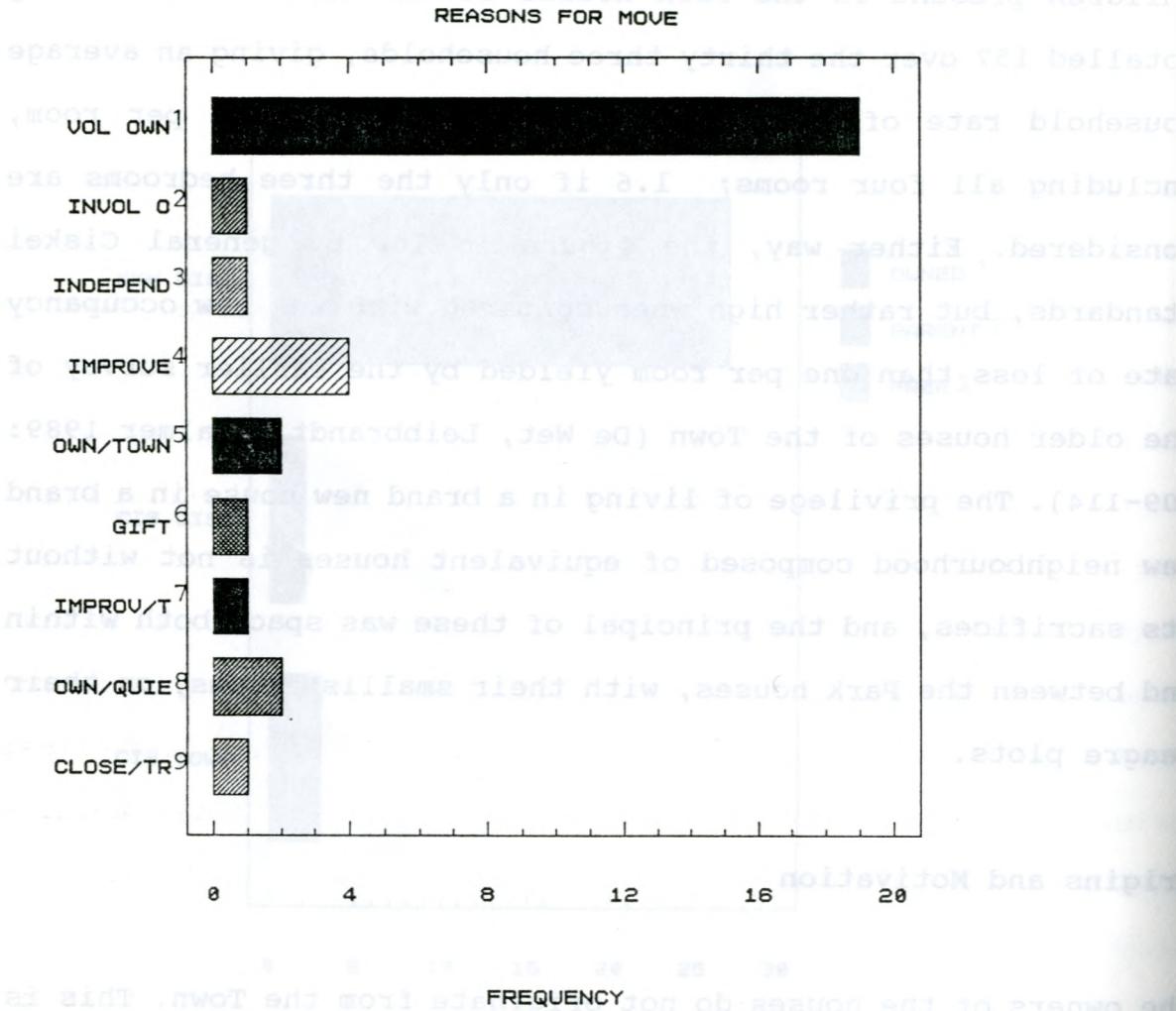
1. Owned previous house
2. Lived previously with parents
3. Independent to parents (rented)

The adults (some of whom were neither spouses of the owner nor second breadwinners but relatives boarding or visiting) and children present in the Park houses at the time of the survey totalled 157 over the thirty three households, giving an average household rate of 4.8. The occupancy rate was 1.2 per room, including all four rooms; 1.6 if only the three bedrooms are considered. Either way, the figure is low by general Ciskei standards, but rather high when compared with the low occupancy rate of less than one per room yielded by the earlier survey of the older houses of the Town (De Wet, Leibbrandt & Palmer 1989: 109-114). The privilege of living in a brand new house in a brand new neighbourhood composed of equivalent houses is not without its sacrifices, and the principal of these was space both within and between the Park houses, with their smallish rooms, on their meagre plots.

### Origins and Motivation

The owners of the houses do not originate from the Town. This is unsurprising since it was until 'independence' a white town, yet it was also quite possible that newcomers to the Town living in rented accommodation might have been among the first wave of Park buyers. The Park householders do, for the most part, originate in the District. This applies to twenty seven out of the thirty owners who answered the question (Fig 8). Only one of them came from a Ciskei country district other than Keiskammahoek and two came from one of the territory's other towns. That so few Park residents come from beyond the District is surprising in the

Figure 9: Keiskammahoe Park Survey



1. Voluntary, wanted to own house in Park.
2. Involuntary, could not find anything else suitable.
3. Sought independence (of family).
4. Sought to improve self.
5. Wanted to own a house in Town.
6. Was given house.
7. Combination of 4 and 5.
8. Wanted own house and a quiet life.
9. Wanted to be close to transport.

light of the finding in the 1986 survey that 30% of the newcomers originated from beyond the District (De Wet, Leibbrandt & Palmer 1989:35).

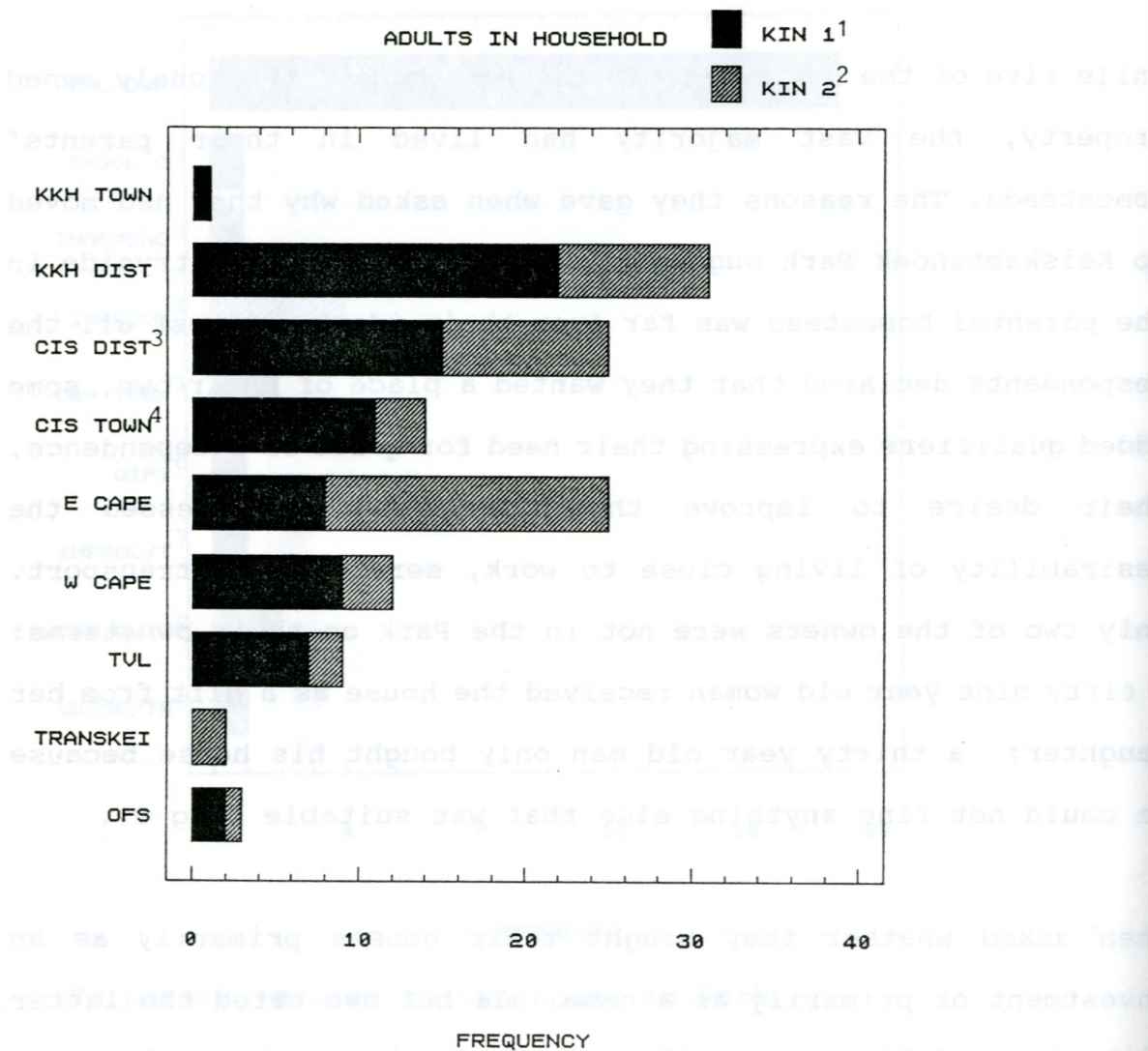
While five of the new owners in the Park houses previously owned property, the vast majority had lived in their parents' homesteads. The reasons they gave when asked why they had moved to Keiskammahoek Park suggest that living in the countryside in the parental homestead was far from their ideal. Almost all the respondents declared that they wanted a place of their own, some added qualifiers expressing their need for quiet or independence, their desire to improve themselves. Others stressed the desirability of living close to work, services and transport. Only two of the owners were not in the Park on their own terms: a fifty nine year old woman received the house as a gift from her daughter; a thirty year old man only bought his house because he could not find anything else that was suitable (Fig 9).

When asked whether they bought their houses primarily as an investment or primarily as a home, all but two cited the latter without hesitation. One of the exceptions intends to sell his house in order to fund his retirement to Burnshill (a village in the District which is also discussed in this report); the other originally planned to make his home in the Park, but has since grown disillusioned with the estate and intends to sell.

Their predilection for viewing their houses as homes rather than investments might give the impression that these newcomers are

Figure 10: Keiskammahoek Park Survey

LOCATION OF PARENTS AND SIBLINGS OF



1. Owner's kin
2. Spouse's kin
3. Ciskei District other than the District
4. Ciskei Town other than the Town

settlers rather than sojourners. There are other indications that this may indeed be the case (*vide infra*), but these are very recent settlers, and for all their stated independence, they retained close links with their kin and their communities of origin.

### **Ties beyond the town and the Park**

When the adults in the households were asked where their primary kin - parents and siblings - lived, they nominated the District most frequently, followed by other rural districts of Ciskei and the Eastern Cape region (Fig 10). The proportion of primary kin reported for distant centres such as the Transvaal, Orange Free State and Western Cape was quite modest considering the size of the Xhosa diaspora living permanently or temporarily beyond Ciskei, Transkei and the Eastern Cape. But the greatest scarcity of all, in terms of relatives, was in the Town itself. Quite understandably, therefore, the people of the Park were frequently away from home at weekends.

How often did they visit beyond the Town? Did they go for the day or sleep over? Ten individuals or couples went visiting every weekend, four of them staying over; eight went every fortnight, but seven stayed over; eleven restricted themselves to once a month, all but one staying over. Of the thirty one respondents, only two could go for more than a month without visiting family and friends beyond the town (Fig 11). But there are signs that the frequency of such visits is declining (Fig 12). Granted that

Figure 11: Keiskammahoek Park Survey

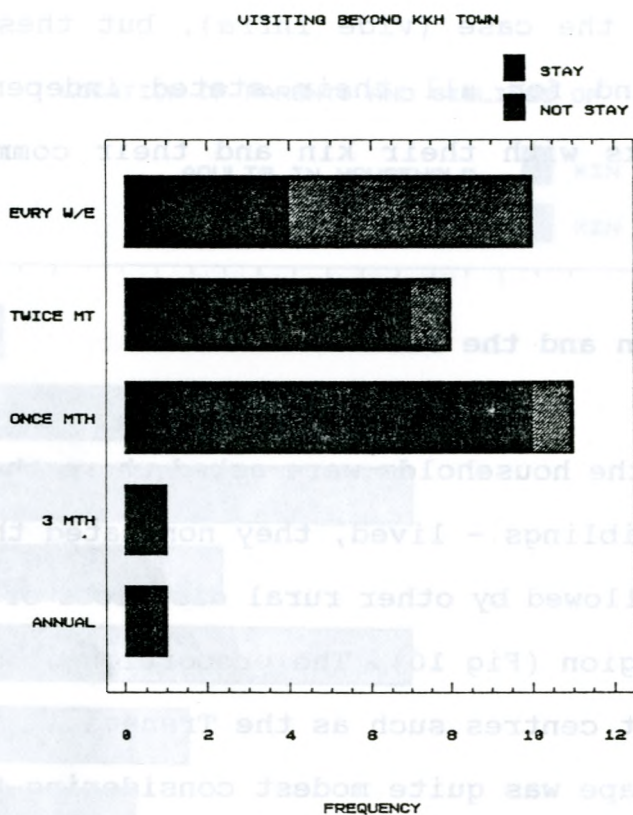


Figure 12: Keiskammahoek Park Survey

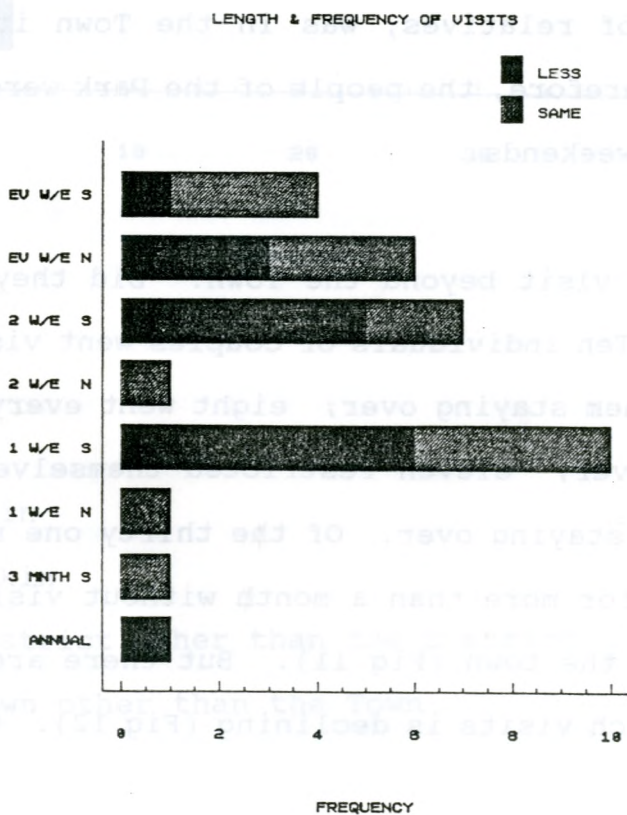
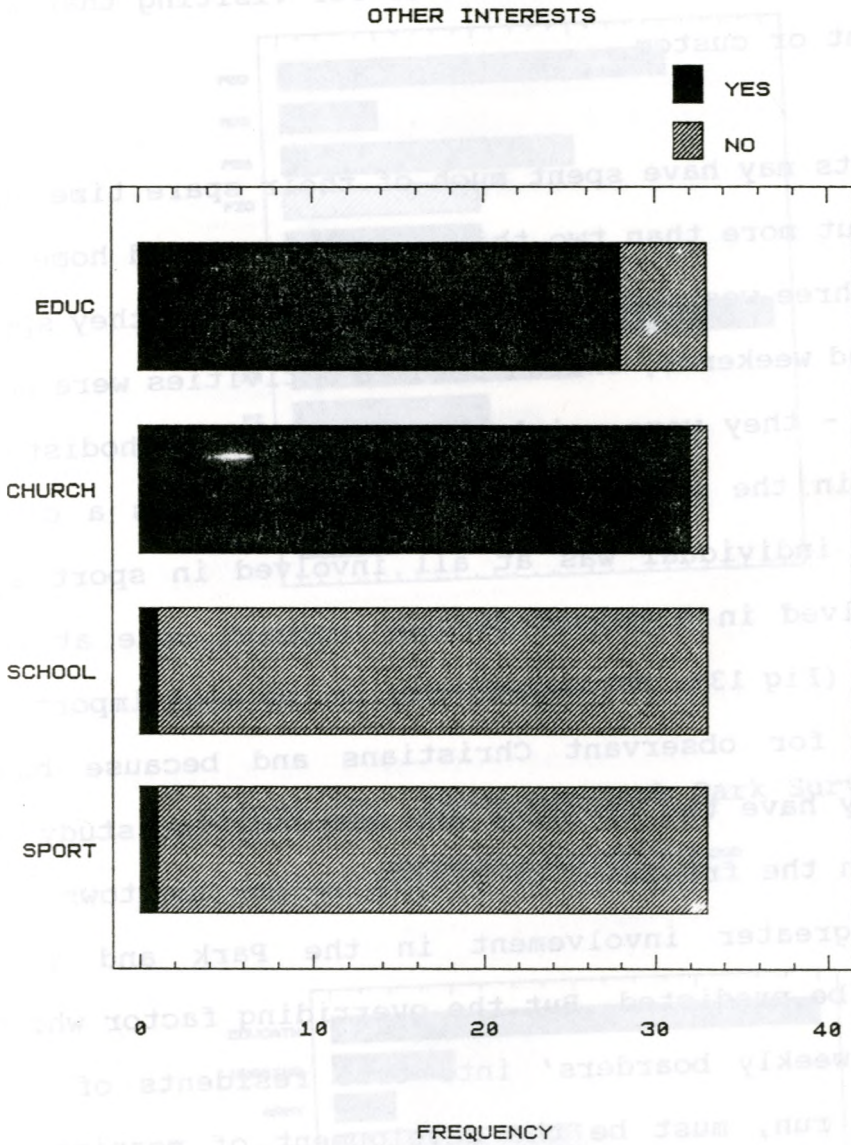




Figure 13: Keiskammahoe Park Survey



more than a quarter of the adults in the households owned property outside Town, and many more stood to inherit property in their home places, there were motives for visiting that went beyond sentiment or custom.

The Park residents may have spent much of their spare time away from the Town, but more than two thirds of them stayed home for at least two to three weekends a month. When asked how they spent their evenings and weekends, church-related activities were most frequently cited - they were mainly Anglicans and Methodists - with education, in the sense of self-improvement, as a close second. Only one individual was at all involved in sport and another was involved in a parent-teacher support role at his children's school (Fig 13). Because Sunday is the most important day of the week for observant Christians and because busy professionals only have the evenings and weekends for study, a further decline in the frequency of visits beyond the town and a concomitantly greater involvement in the Park and Town communities might be predicted. But the overriding factor which will turn these 'weekly boarders' into true residents of the Town, in the long run, must be the development of meaningful social relationships within the Town and, more specifically, Keiskammahoeek Park. While studying would tend to inhibit this process, involvement in a congregation would tend to assist it. However, church-related activities do not exhaust the possibilities for the increased social integration of the newcomers into the town.

Figure 14: Keiskammahoek Park Survey

ROLE OF RELATIONS BY BLOOD

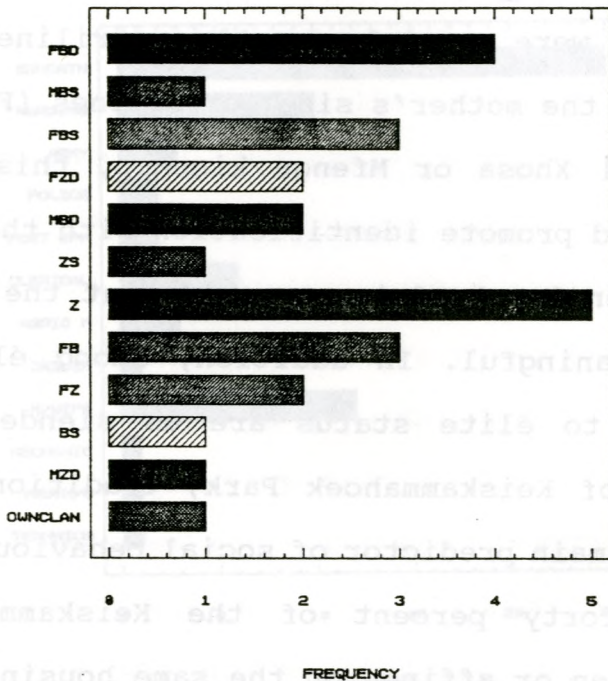
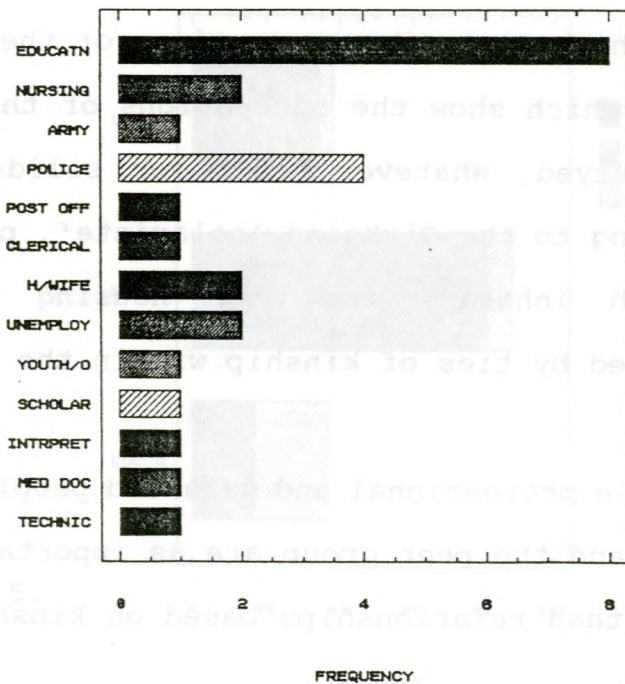


Figure 15: Keiskammahoek Park Survey

OCCUPATION OF RELATIONS BY BLOOD



## Ties within the town and the Park

The few kinsmen the adult householders could claim in the Town, including the Park, were more frequently patrilineal kin, or agnates, than kin on the mother's side, or affines (Fig 14). In terms of traditional Xhosa or Mfengu kinship, this factor of local agnation should promote identification with the town. But the number of kinsmen involved is so small that the finding is not particularly meaningful. In addition, among élites, even those whose claims to élite status are as slender as these salaried Ciskeians of Keiskammahoek Park, traditional kinship norms are seldom the main predictor of social behaviour. Yet, the fact that nearly forty percent of the Keiskammahoek Park residents have kinsmen or affines on the same housing estate is highly suggestive of the continuing relevance of kinship in the lives of the people in the Park, particularly as the fact of co-residence in the Park houses automatically entails certain class affinities among the relatives concerned. This is borne out by comparing Fig 15, which lists the occupations of the relatives, with Figs 2 and 3, which show the occupations of the adults in the households surveyed. Whatever basis for solidarity there might be in belonging to the Ciskeian 'salaried', particularly that section which inhabits the same housing estate, is considerably enhanced by ties of kinship within the same group.

Among upwardly mobile professional and salaried people anywhere, ties of friendship and the peer group are as important, and can be more important, than relationships based on kinship. Where

Figure 16: Keiskammahoek Park Survey

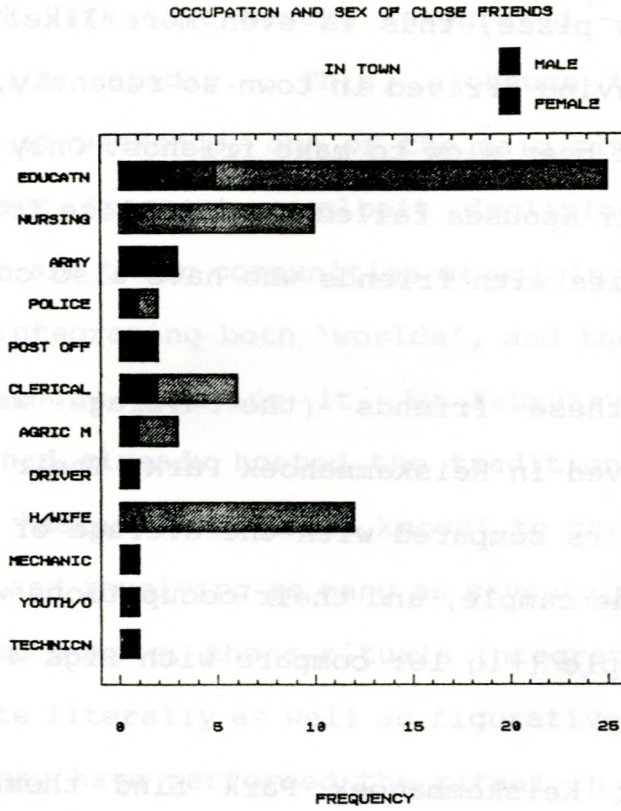
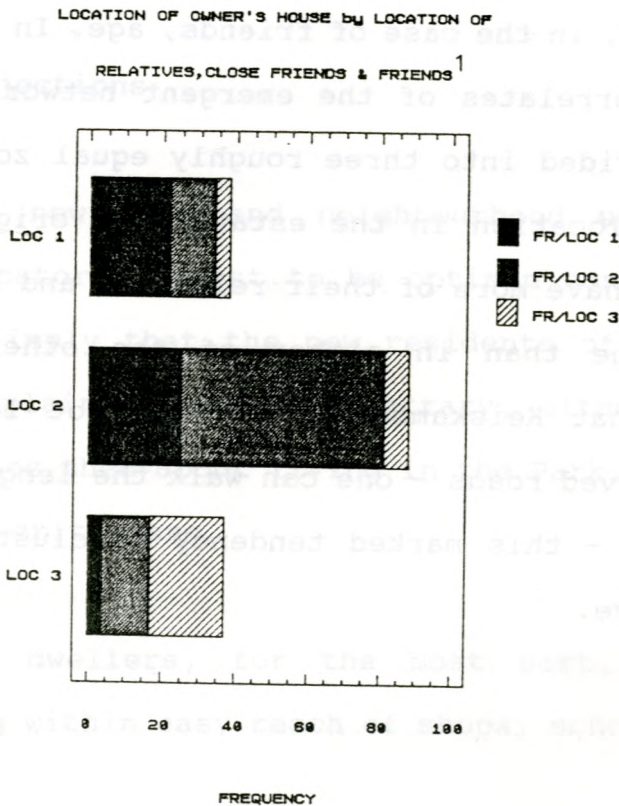


Figure 17: Keiskammahoek Park Survey



1. cf. Map 5.

the subjects find themselves physically removed from the majority of kin and in a new place, this is even more likely to be the case. In spite of having arrived in town so recently, the people of the Park have not been slow to make friends. Only four of the householders or their spouses failed to make close friends in the Town, or maintain ties with friends who have also come to town.

The majority of these friends (the average was two per respondent) also lived in Keiskammahoek Park. Their average age was thirty eight years compared with the average of thirty nine for the adults in the sample, and their occupations were similar to those of the sample (Fig 16; compare with Figs 4 and 5).

Thus, residents of Keiskammahoek Park find themselves with neighbours who are also, frequently, kin, affines or friends. They all have close affinities to each other in terms of occupation and, in the case of friends, age. In order to test for territorial correlates of the emergent networks, the Park was arbitrarily divided into three roughly equal zones (Map 5). For each zone or location in the estate, the original respondents were found to have more of their relatives and friends living in their own zone than in either of the other two (Fig 22). Considering that Keiskammahoek Park is not large and is well served with paved roads - one can walk the length of the Park in a few minutes - this marked tendency to clustering is all the more suggestive.

In the space of no more than a year or two, the new residents of Keiskammahok Park have become integrated - at least with each other - quite rapidly. This, although they are frequently unavailable at weekends, one of the main times for sociability, through their frequent - albeit declining - need to visit outlying kin and their communities of origin. There is, however, a means of integrating both 'worlds', and the people of the Park are increasingly applying it. By February 1990 four of the households had already hosted the traditional ritual, *Ukwazisa Umzi*, which 'makes a new house known' to the ancestors. Lasting all weekend and involving as many as seventy people staying over, besides local guests, these rituals integrated the town and the country quite literally as well as figuratively. While only four households may have performed the ritual in the first two years of the Park's existence, all but three respondents planned to perform *Ukwazisa Umzi* in the future.

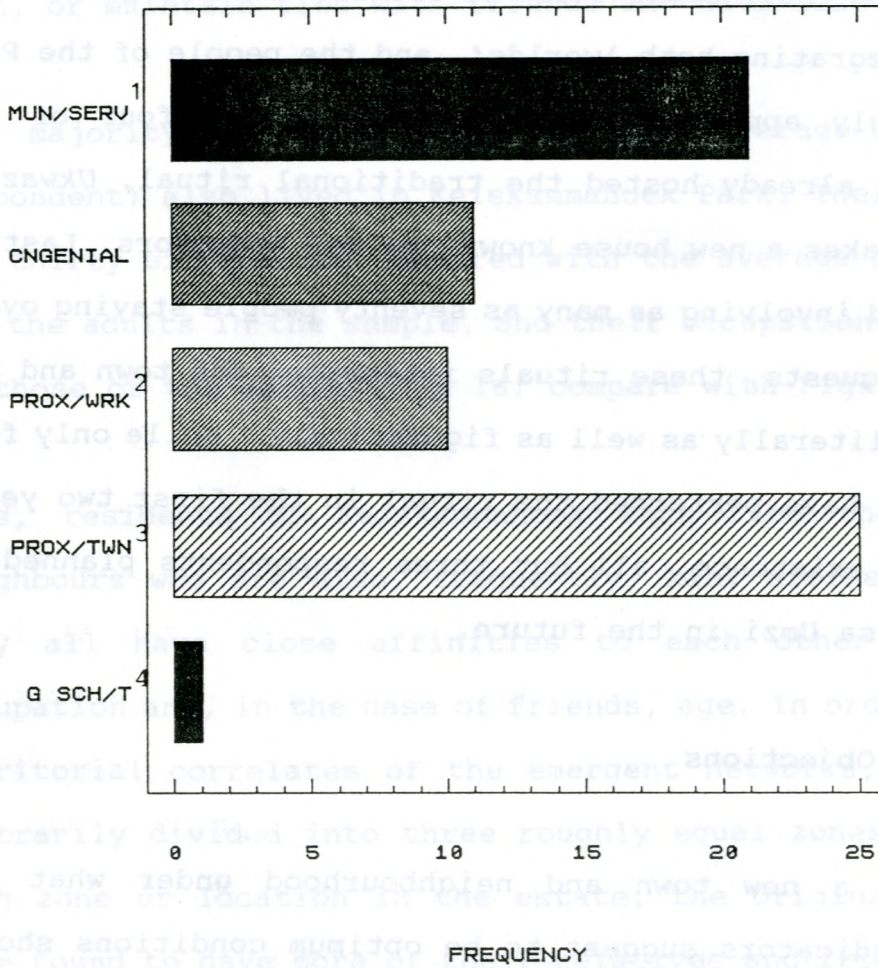
### Attitudes and Objections

Settling into a new town and neighbourhood under what the sociometric indicators suggest to be optimum conditions should not be taken to imply that the new residents of Keiskammahok Park have no complaints. On the contrary, although there was much that satisfies them about living in the Park, they also had many deeply felt criticisms.

As former rural dwellers, for the most part, they greatly appreciated being within easy reach of shops, schools, the post

Figure 18: Keiskammahoek Park Survey

## THINGS LIKED MOST ABOUT LIVING IN KKH



1. Municipal services
2. Proximity to work
3. Proximity to town
4. Good schools and transport



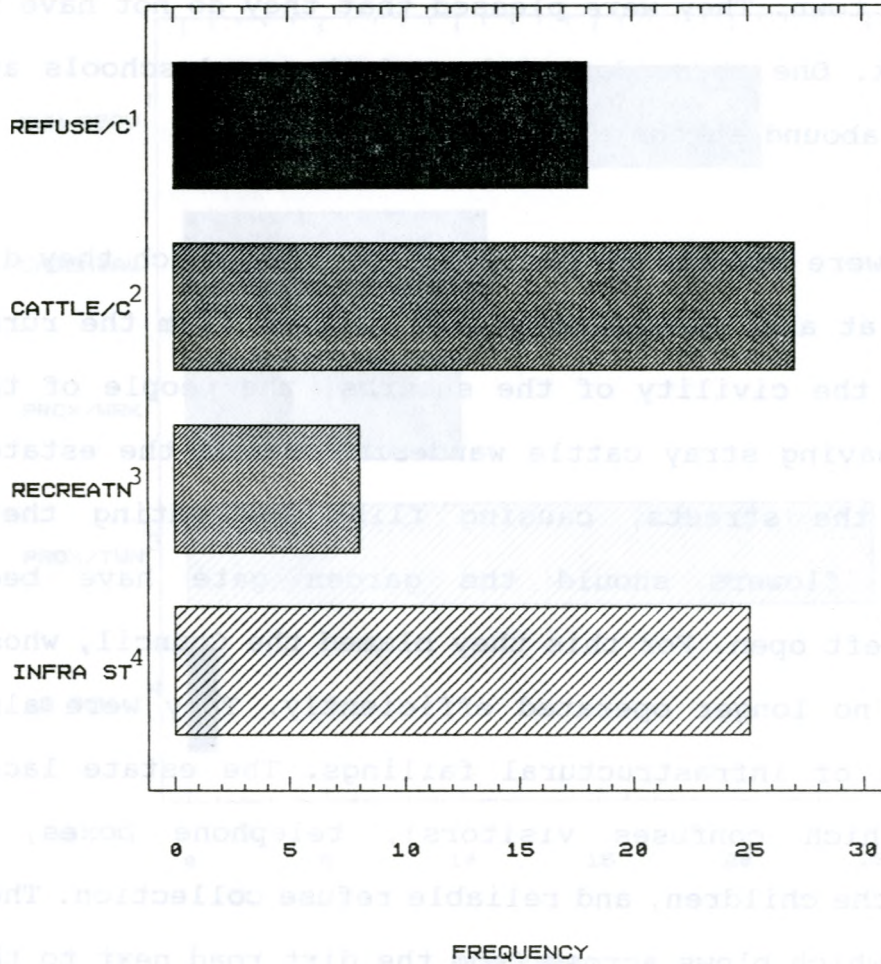
office, the magistrate's court, the hospital, church, etc. They enjoyed having municipal services, such as street lights, tarred roads, refuse collection, etc. They liked the site, with its mountain scenery, and good soil for gardening. They welcomed their quiet, congenial neighbours and the social life which is possible in the town. They were pleased that they do not have to commute to work. One respondent welcomed the good schools and teachers which abound in the area (Fig 18).

However, there were aspects of living in the town which they did not appreciate at all. Having only just escaped from the rural areas to enjoy the civility of the suburbs, the people of the Park detested having stray cattle wandering around the estate, defecating in the streets, causing flies and eating their vegetables and flowers should the garden gate have been inadvertently left open. For this they blamed the Council, whose Municipal Pound no longer operated efficiently. They were also highly critical of infrastructural failings. The estate lacks streetnames (which confuses visitors), telephone boxes, a playground for the children, and reliable refuse collection. They hated the dust which blows across from the dirt road next to the estate every time a car goes by, the rubble left behind by the Developer, and the rampant weeds in the vacant lots and the verges alongside them (Fig 19).

Turning to the houses (see also Appendix No.5), owners or their spouses were most appreciative of the 'mod cons', such as hot and cold running water in kitchen and bathroom(s), inside toilet(s),

Figure 19: Keiskammahoek Park Survey

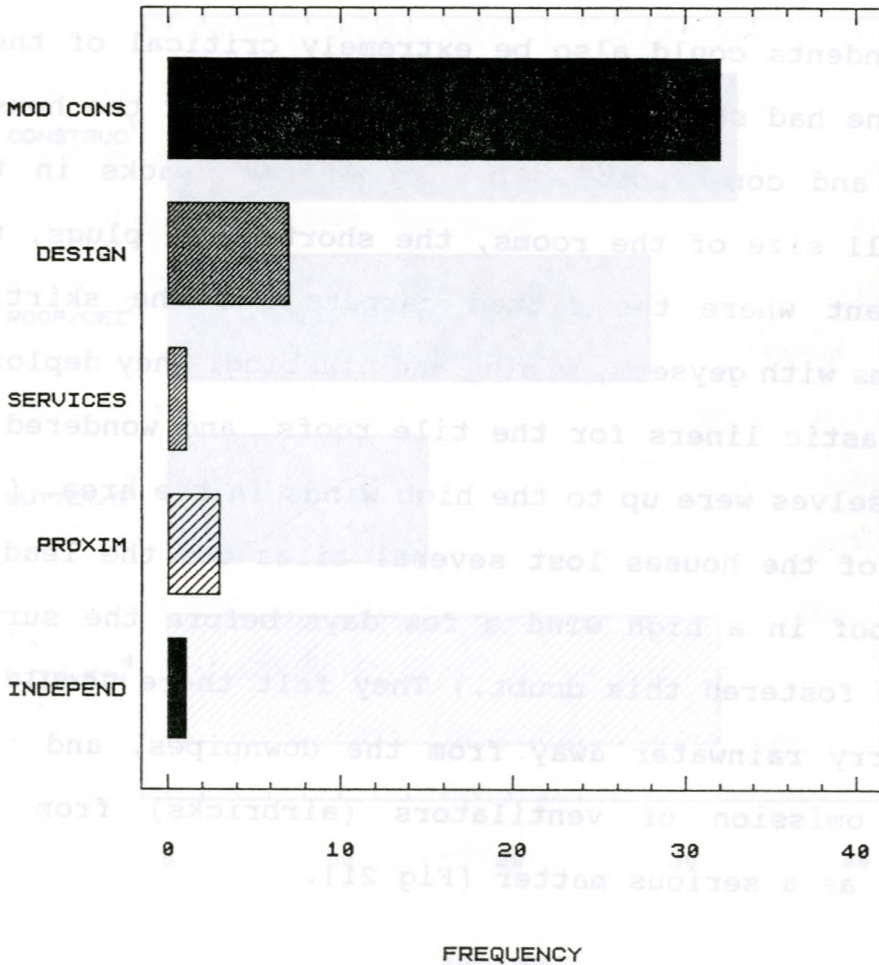
## THINGS DISLIKED MOST ABOUT LIVING IN KKH



1. Problems of refuse collection
2. Problems with wandering cattle
3. Lack of recreation facilities
4. Problems with infrastructure generally

Figure 20: Keiskammahoek Park Survey

THINGS LIKED MOST ABOUT NEW HOUSES



and electricity. Some of them were positive about the design of the houses. Others mentioned, again, how good it was to be independent and enjoy privacy, to be close to everything, including work, schooling, transport and other services (Fig 20).

The same respondents could also be extremely critical of their houses. Everyone had a list of things that were designed and constructed poorly. The small size of the rooms, the short walls, the lack of cupboard space, the lack of skirting boards, problems with geyser, the lack of plastic liners for the tile roofs, the lack of plastic liners for the tiles themselves were up to the high water mark. The fact that one of the houses lost several tiles edge of its roof in a high wind a few days before the survey began may have fostered this complaint. They felt that gullies to carry rainwater away from the downpipes and the omission of ventilators (airbricks) from specification as a serious matter (Fig 21).

One homeowner had the determination (and the means) to address the standard complaints about the houses. At the time of the survey a nursing sister at the hospital was having her house remodelled in a way that addressed all the standard complaints of the Park people. On the basis of her standard 500/010 list of faults (many listed on p. 9) standard gullies were installed. She was willing to extend the roof over the rather shallow patio to create a useful extra room, and she was extending the adjacent front area to create a new entrance.

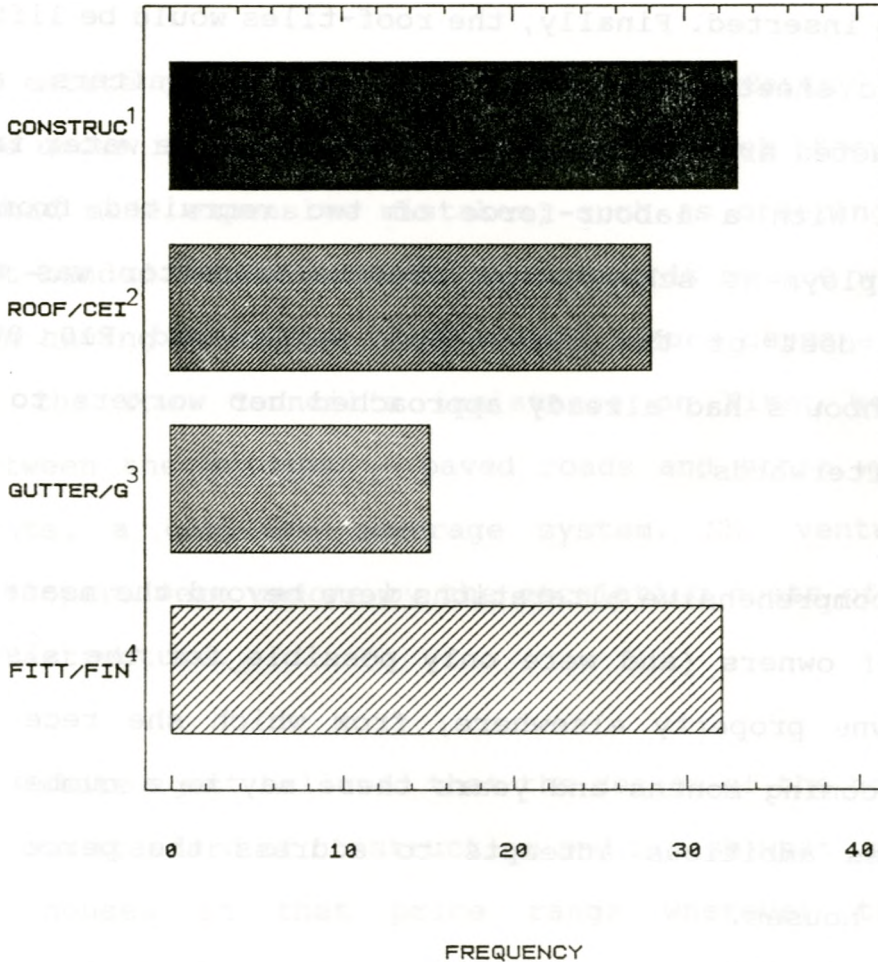
and electricity. Some of them were positive about the design of the houses. Others mentioned, again, how good it was to be independent and enjoy privacy, to be close to everything, including work, schooling, transport and other services (Fig 20).

The same respondents could also be extremely critical of their houses. Everyone had something to say about the way the houses were designed and constructed. They cited the cracks in the walls, the small size of the rooms, the shortage of plugs, the lack of quadrant where the fitted carpets met the skirting boards, problems with geysers, wiring and plumbing. They deplored the lack of plastic liners for the tile roofs, and wondered if the tiles themselves were up to the high winds in the area. (The fact that one of the houses lost several tiles off the leading edge of its roof in a high wind a few days before the survey began may have fostered this doubt.) They felt there should be gullies to carry rainwater away from the downpipes, and they regarded the omission of ventilators (airbricks) from the specification as a serious matter (Fig 21).

One homeowner had the determination (and the means) to address the standard complaints about the houses. At the time of the survey a nursing sister at the hospital was having her house remodelled in a way that addressed all the standard complaints of the Park people. On the basis of her standard 500/010 B, she was walling in and extending the roof over the rather useless shallow patio to create a useful extra room, and she was extending the adjacent front area to create a new entrance hall

Figure 21: Keiskammahoek Park Survey

## THINGS DISLIKED MOST ABOUT NEW HOUSES



1. Construction problems
2. Roof/ceiling problems (e.g. no plastic under tiles)
3. No gullies for downpipes
4. Problems with fittings and finish generally

and lounge, so that the former lounge could be the dining room its dimensions more properly imply. In criticism of the cement-block construction of the houses, the extensions were being done with baked bricks, and in every room of the house, pre-existing or new, she was having bricks removed from the tops of the walls and ventilators inserted. Finally, the roof-tiles would be lifted so that plastic sheeting could be laid over the rafters, and gullies constructed around the house to take away the water from the downpipes. With a labour-force of two recruited from a Mdantsane unemployment scheme, the sister-contractor was not expecting the cost of the alterations to exceed R10 000. Impressed neighbours had already approached her workers to do their houses afterwards.

Although such comprehensive alterations were beyond the means of the majority of owners (and were only possible for the sister because she owns property elsewhere, from which she receives rents) in the coming months and years there may be a number of similar or less ambitious attempts to address the perceived defects in the houses.

### **Contextualizing the Complaints**

Are all the 'defects' cited genuine defects for which the developers of the Council are responsible? Or are some of them perceived defects for which no one is responsible because they do not exist except in the minds of the residents? If the complaints are groundless what is the explanation for them? In

order to gain an understanding of the attitudes of the people of the Park to their housing I discussed their responses with an estate agent who has been much involved with selling the Keiskammahoek Park houses and other properties in the town, and also with an executive of the Ciskei Building Society.

The estate agent made the comment that McCarthy would not have gone under if he had been skimping on the job (though she claimed he had made expensive mistakes, such as ordering far too many left-handed doors, or fitting cupboards on the wrong walls and then having to change them around.) More germane, in her view, was the Town Council's insistence on First World standards 'between the bridges' - paved roads and storm water drainage, lights, a complete sewerage system. She ventured that the developers were undone by the escalating costs of the elaborate infrastructure.

The estate agent believed that the design of the houses was sound and the standard of construction and finish what one might expect for houses in that price range wherever they might be constructed. They were certainly in line with contemporary South African building standards, in terms of which such details as boxed-in eaves, gutters, fireplaces and ventilators have been obsolete for at least twenty years. She conceded, however, that the lack of plastic sheeting under the tiles was an unwarranted omission.

Hairline cracks were not necessarily evidence of bad building, according to her, as these were unavoidable on clay. Provided that the masonry was reinforced with wire during construction - as the Park houses apparently were - the cracks would not become structural.

The Ciskei Building Society executive, as well-acquainted as the estate agent with Keiskammahoek Park, echoed her testimony to the basic soundness, in modern terms, of the development. But he added that the old Government mass housing in places like Mdantsane had made blacks deeply suspicious of estate-type developments, especially those which utilized cement-blocks instead of baked bricks. For, in the old mass housing, the blocks had not been reinforced, had been much subject to cracking, and the cracks which resulted were structural, not hairline cracks. In the absence of an understanding of recent technical advances in cement-block construction, which were utilized in the Keiskammahoek Park development, owners were bound to be suspicious of all cracking, however superficial.

The attitudes and objections of the homeowners of Keiskammahoek Park appear to be perfectly reasonable where wandering cattle, problems of waste-disposal, untended verges, faulty geysers, badly-placed fitted-cupboards or power-sockets, and so on, are concerned. These are manifestly unnecessary, avoidable inconveniences. But what of the complaints about hairline cracks, unboxed eaves, the lack of fireplaces, ventilators and gullies, and the generalized feeling that there should have been



more value for all that money? If the Park houses are in conformity with contemporary building regulations, and the whole estate is reckoned to be above-average development in terms of infrastructure (so much so that it ruined the developer), then why should there be such uniform dissatisfaction among the residents about the same range of perceived defects?

To deal with the uniformity of the responses first; it has already been noted that, for such recent arrivals, the people of the Park are socially well integrated with one another, in terms of friendship and neighbourliness as well as kinship. Their common experience as members of the higher grades of the Ciskeian Civil Service has undoubtedly promoted their mutual identification. A few months before the survey, in October 1989, the people of the Park held a protest meeting to ventilate grievances about the houses, the estate and municipal services or their lack. Although neither the researcher nor his assistant was present at the meeting, it seems that those who felt most strongly about their problems and those who had the confidence to speak up - a handful of the residents - dominated the proceedings and influenced the others. In consequence, if there were people who had problems concerning refuse removal, wandering cattle, roofing-plastic, eaves, gullies, ventilators and fireplaces before the meeting, there were many more who shared these problems following the meeting. In short, owners had been 'conscientized' at the meeting.

But this does not explain the 'disease', only why it became an 'epidemic'. To explain why a minority of homeowners in the Park were so ardent about features which are said to have no part in modern housing design and construction, and why younger, less experienced residents were so easily conscientized into disaffection with these aspects of their new houses, it is necessary to take their position in the wider socio-economic context of Greater South Africa into account.

The Ciskei Building Society executive's explanation for the residents' over-reaction regarding hair-line cracks, cited above, provides some insight. Vernacular knowledge about housing among black southern Africans extends way beyond the stereotypes of 'traditional' construction and decoration: it includes experience and vicarious knowledge of housing that the South African government and white contractors have supplied to blacks over at least three generations as well as white houses and suburbs observed in passing, worked on and in or viewed in magazine illustrations or, more recently, on TV. Given the priorities of the apartheid policy, as applied in South Africa and the homelands, this experience has been one long cautionary tale of cramped and uncomfortable housing at best, severe privation at worst, in the old 'match box' houses of the urban locations. It was therefore eminently expectable that those who had been through this experience as residents or visitors, or who were more indirectly acquainted with it, would seek to avoid any vestige of it when they found themselves in a position to purchase houses of their own.

The reference group of the new 'salariate' with their housing subsidies, from which they derived their model of what middle-class housing should be, was the typical housing of whites, and the comparatively few blacks in the broad middle-class. In the case under discussion it is the reference group of the leaders of the Park residents which counts, since their ideas seem to have had a strong influence on the others. These leaders were the more senior members of the Park community in all senses of the term. Being of the older age group their model of how middle-class housing should be was conditioned by their *first impressions* of the housing of middle-class whites and others gained in their youth (which might well have stimulated their own aspirations to middle class status).

The typical single-storey, ranch-style housing of the white and more affluent brown suburbs of the 1950s, 1960s and even 1970s was characterized by a fairly high standard of construction and finish, which included a fireplace, boxed eaves, gullies, ventilators, and so on. Much pride was taken in suburban flower and vegetable gardens in those days - the same sort of pride which the Park residents take in their gardens today because it is the aspect of their housing which is most directly under their control.

The Park people would now like their houses to be brought in line with their well-ordered gardens. Having evoked the horticultural standards of the white middle-class suburbs of the 1950s, they would like to reintroduce the building standards of that era as

well - hence the interest in the initiative of the nursing sister who is doing her best to 'restore' her new house along those lines.

### Conclusion

The Town's representatives of the Ciskeian 'salariate', a class which cannot find its identity in what it produces and therefore seeks it in what it consumes, have found themselves in a 'gilded ghetto' on the town's only housing estate where their single greatest object of consumption and status symbol, their housing, does not match their expectations. Their expectations, in turn, have been to a considerable extent conditioned by their seniors, who hark back to a time when the white middle-class was considerably better-housed than the black - or indeed any - middle class first-time buyers of new housing are today, and do not understand the complex economic processes which brought the society to this pass. Though it is the first time the majority of the Park residents have lived in town, though they had lived there for less than two years at the time of the survey and most of them have a 'weekly boarder' relationship to the town, they were able to organize themselves around a deeply-felt common issue, in spite of the fact that it was more perceived than real. What made this possible was the spill-over of their *esprit de corps* as members of the Ciskeian civil service (which all but a few had in common), along with the rapid development of 'micro-neighbourhoods' within the estate, comprising friends and kin.

It is too early in the genesis of Keiskammahoek Park (to say nothing of the new black town itself) to characterize the estate in hard and fast terms. But if the thirty three homeowners of the Park are serious about settling in the Town, and if the remaining 120 houses or plots on the site are eventually going to fill up with residents of a broadly similar, essentially middle class outlook and capacity to defend their interests, then Keiskammahoek Park as a social entity is likely to become a major engine of socio-cultural influence and change in the town.

The developing estate is simultaneously a convenient 'laboratory' in which to study the emergent black local élites of the Greater South Africa. Studies of black élites in South African social science tend to be scarce and out of date or relevant only at the national level. The *doyenne* of South African black élite studies, Mia Brandel-Syrier, was concerned with the local level of analysis, but her context was a township on the Reef in the period 1958 to 1961 (1971, 1978). Admirably detailed and comprehensive as her two 'Reeftown' studies are, they are rooted in a region and a time that has passed for ever. Much the same can be said of Thomas Nyquist's study of the black middle class in Grahamstown (1983). In spite of the recent date of publication, the data is mainly drawn from the 1960s, in Grahamstown. Lynette Dreyer has produced the most recent study of black élites, based on data collected in the latter half of the 1980s (1989). But she is concerned with national-level black élites, the *nomenklatura*; not the anonymous school-teachers,

nurses and shopkeepers of the local-level studies, including the present one.

Granted the pervasiveness and influence of élites at both local and national levels, it is apparent from this brief survey that the circumstances of the contemporary black middle classes in Greater South Africa is not well described. In the RSA the ethnography is either hopelessly out of date or too rarified to illuminate the lives of the rank-and-file 'salariate'; in the homelands, in spite of the explosion of homeland civil services since 'independence', there is no empirical research besides the present project (to my knowledge). If this first essay into the situation of the new black 'salariate' of the Town has any value at all it will have been to indicate the extraordinary capacity of the newcomers to adapt to the unfamiliar, to organize themselves and vigorously to defend and further a new, quintessentially middle class identity. It remains to be seen how they and subsequent investors in Keiskammahoek Park will weather the political and economic winds of change which were heralded by F W de Klerk's speech to Parliament on 2 February 1990 and, more locally, by the coup which toppled Sebe the following month.

**CONCLUSION: FROM COMMUNITY TO REGION**

Jeremy Boissevain, writing in the context of the nature of communities and community studies in *Europe*, makes several observations which are apposite to the situation in the District. He argues that "Political, religious and economic relationships, say, in an Italian village, clearly do not exist in isolation at a local level. They are influenced by relationships and processes that lie beyond the community at regional, national and even supra-national levels" (Boissevain 1975, p.9). The context in which rural European communities find themselves - the "high degree of centralization, the interrelation between various levels of integration, the impact of multiple long term processes, the sweep of change" (ibid, p.11) all carry important methodological implications. The conventional structural functional style anthropological study of villages as communities, is no longer possible. "New concepts and research methods are called for" (loc. cit), moving beyond concepts such as equilibrium and consensus, and beyond what was hitherto an almost exclusive focus on the time-honoured research technique of participant observation.

**The Changing Nature of Wider Regional and National Ties**

While the people of the District have always been involved in ties with their wider regional and national setting, the years since the Rural Survey have greatly accelerated this process,

and changed its nature. At the time of the Rural Survey, the typical relationship with the wider setting was that of the (usually) long-distance labour migrant. Although it has not lessened people's economic or political dependence on their wider setting, one of the effects of the apartheid policy has been to change the nature of that dependence, and in doing so, has changed the emphasis in people's patterns of interaction and identification. It has taken people beyond their village communities, and led them into more multi-stranded outside ties (as opposed to the more individualistic, single-strand ties of the long-range migrant). People are now tied more closely into the District, through the creation of new economic opportunities and administrative structures, and, similarly, to the Border/Ciskei region - in particular to the Ciskei through participation in the Ciskei civil service and bureaucracy and through the increasing dependency of many households on state old age pensions, as unemployment levels rise. A significant percentage of the households in the District have shifted the pattern of their dependency, from migrant proletariat, to state 'salarate'. While largely failing in its attempt to encapsulate those people it defined as Ciskeian citizens, within what it defined as the Ciskei 'homeland', the apartheid policy has increasingly integrated many people into a wider-than-village, predominantly Ciskei-focused set of social and economic relationships.

The focus of the Rural Survey was essentially on the



complexities *within* villages, e.g. the impact of land tenure on settlement patterns, relationships between groups *within* a village such as Rabula or Burnshill or Chatha, the expression of social conflict in terms of witchcraft accusations, or the complexity of ceremonial and ritual organization *within* a village. Because of the changing nature of the ethnographic situation on the ground since the time of the Rural Survey, our analytical focus in this report has been on the nature and complexity of people's ties with their wider setting beyond the village of their origin and ongoing return. In our attempt to understand the dynamics of the District, we are increasingly led beyond the community-oriented approach of the Rural Survey.

The most significant change that has occurred in the District since the late 1940s, has been in terms of access to resources. The policy of Betterment Planning resulted in many people in what then were communal tenure villages having to move, and losing much of their arable land in the process. By contrast, freehold and quitrent tenure villages were much less severely affected. But the economic importance of access to arable land has decreased significantly since the Rural Survey because of more far-reaching economic changes. For reasons discussed in the sections on Rabula and Burnshill, cash incomes have risen significantly in real terms since the Rural Survey - in considerable measure in response to the economic opportunities arising out of the 'homeland' policy. Some villages such as Rabula have of course benefitted more than others from the

'homeland' pie - but even in Chatha (where there is a much lower participation in the Ciskei civil service than Rabula) real incomes rose by 170% from 1950 to 1981.

The Town, so marginal to the Rural Survey, has been all but totally transformed in the intervening years. The exodus of the whites, the advent of the irrigations scheme, the introduction of two timber-related industries, the expansion of the civil service corps focused on the rebuilt magistrate's court complex, the construction of the new hospital and a military barracks nearby -- these radical developments all in the space of twenty years have revolutionized the town. Strongly orientated towards the middle-class, the new people are frequently to be found in one branch or another of Ciskei's civil service. Their regular salaries and housing subsidies have provided the means to conduct a massive expansion of both the housing base and the local retail sector, of which the construction of the town's first shopping mall on the site of a former trading store is only the latest manifestation.

But probably the most telling sign of the Town's coming-of-age as a regional centre of importance in Ciskei was the tarring of the road which connects the town with Rabula and the main King William's Town - Alice road at Dimbaza. Suddenly, for the first time, Keiskammahoek was brought within easy commuting distance of Zwelitsha-King William's Town-Bisho; people who had previously regarded the purchase of a car or a kombi as too

onerous, given its short life and high maintenance costs on the unmade roads, began to reconsider their position. The new road ushered in a transport revolution which, combined with the introduction of an automatic telephone exchange and the multiplication of receivers, is part of a more general communications revolution bringing the Town into much closer touch with the rest of Ciskei, the Eastern Cape region and the country as a whole.

This is not to say that the District as a whole has become wealthy overnight. There are still many households which would fall below almost any kind of 'poverty datum line', or 'minimum household subsistence level' calculation. However, it is clear that even in a poorer village such as Chatha, on the whole, people are better off than they were in 1948-1950.

### Changing Patterns of Economic Differentiation and Social Stratification

As may be expected, this increased wealth is not spread evenly throughout the District, or within communities.

The role of the Town as commercial and administrative centre (and hence the wealthiest settlement in the District) has expanded dramatically since the time of the Rural Survey. After a shaky start in the early 1980s, when the new black entrepreneurs were undercapitalized and burdened with repayments

and tended to suffer in competition with the remaining white traders, the black commercial sector has now come into its own. In place of the old general trading stores, the town now boasts a variety of modern retail services in new or renovated premises, independent businesses rather than managed branches of chain-stores; their owners - 'self-made' men for the most part - take their places among the local élite.

Another section of the new élite of the town, defined more in terms of their educational qualifications than their wealth, is the burgeoning 'salariate' - the 'white-collar' and 'uniformed' workers who have flooded into the town in recent years. With their housing subsidies and their creditworthiness they have been more able than most to obtain new, western-style housing and furnishings, eschewing the hand-me-down houses the whites vacated. With these symbols the new 'salariate' in Keiskammahoek Park may be making a *claim* for high status in the community, but, without the *acknowledgement* of the community, such a claim would remain just that. Acknowledgement is made problematical by a local school of thought which attaches more significance to *extent* of land *owned* than to 'mod cons' *exhibited*. As the Park properties are not nearly as well endowed as some of the older properties in town in this respect, the possibility of a status trade-off arises. This may be why every Park householder denied that it made any difference whether people lived in old or new houses when the question was put to them. It is evidently too early in the evolution of the new black community in the Town

for the emergence of a clear-cut stratification system, but just as the whites in the Town used to represent an island of relative affluence in a sea of relative and absolute deprivation in the wider District, so the black newcomers in the Town 'between the bridges' with their salaries, housing subsidies and dedication to western consumption patterns appear to be continuing that tradition.

Some rural settlements, such as Rabula and Burnshill are clearly better off than others, such as Chatha. This difference exists in large measure because, over the years (even as far back as the 1948-50 period), these former settlements have been located on more accessible roads, and so their members have enjoyed easier access to educational and employment centres in the area. Their higher incomes and educational levels and their mobility have enabled them to benefit from the jobs and resources made available with the unfolding of the 'homeland' policy, as they have been better placed to build up contacts and to secure jobs in the Ciskei bureaucracy. Not only have more of their members secured better-paying jobs (which has enabled them to invest in the education of their children), but also to bring home all or most of their earnings - both in cash and in kind - in contrast to long-range migrants, who spend a substantial amount of their income at their places of work.

Both between and within communities, land tenure has increasingly become less important as an economic marker than it

was at the time of the Rural Survey. Access to arable land is no longer such an important economic resource, as a result of the rise in the real value of cash incomes across the District. This relates to the increasingly important contribution made by old-age pensions and disability grants, to the rise in wages and salaries in the manufacturing and mining sectors since the time of the Rural Survey, and, crucially, to the development of the Ciskei civil service.

While land-owning households, with their history of higher incomes and educational levels have had the advantage in securing the better-paid jobs, these are by no means their monopoly any longer. Education levels have risen across the District (and indeed, across Ciskei), and non-land-owners are increasingly gaining access to bureaucratic jobs.

Moreover, a number of job opportunities arising from the 'homeland' policy have been of an unskilled nature, such as those at the factories in the District and nearby Dimbaza, as well as in the wider Ciskei/Border region, or cleaning and security jobs at the SS Gida Hospital and at schools, or on the newly established Zanyokwe irrigation scheme near Burnshill village.

As in the Town, higher incomes have led to consumerism, reflected in the acquisition of hire-purchase goods and the like. One senses that differential access to income and to

education is becoming an increasingly important social marker. However, it does not seem possible as yet to speak of clear-cut social strata having developed. Many households still have a stake in various kinds of income. The civil service opportunities that have opened out (and their spin-offs) are as yet not long enough established for reference to households that, as a whole, can be classified as 'salaried' as contrasted with households dependent upon income from unskilled jobs and pensions.

The changes in access to income have, however, led to an increasing number of women becoming wage-earners and - in cases such as teachers and nurses - *substantial* wage-earners, in their own right. As elsewhere in southern Africa, this is beginning to reflect itself in a greater autonomy and assertiveness on the part of women, in a modification of sex roles, and in changing household composition, as more women are becoming able to and are choosing to go it alone without a husband. Income changes are likewise making themselves felt in the relationships between the generations.

Where women in the civil service are eligible for housing subsidies in their own right, there is an incentive to become homeowners, whether married or single. As observed in the section on the Town, for as long as married women face disabilities in purchasing property in Zwelitsha or Mdantsane, and title deeds are less secure in those towns than in the

former white municipalities, such as Keiskammahoek, peripheral towns will continue to attract this new source of investment. But following the repeal in South Africa of the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 and with the re-incorporation of Ciskei on the cards, this state of affairs cannot endure; other factors will determine where women invest in property in the future.

It has for a long time been the case that the younger generation has been increasingly gaining independence from its elders because they and not their seniors are earning the money as migrants. This process continues in households in the District today - with the difference that, in the case of civil servants, income is now higher than that of migrants. The fact that such civil servants bring their money home themselves over week-ends, means that they have a greater say in its allocation - which further increases their independence from their elders.

Besides differences in wealth, another factor making for social differentiation is that of power. Such limited access to power as there has been in communities in the District has been located in the institutions of local government on which they have had representation. The major change in this regard since the Rural Survey has been the introduction of the Tribal Authority (TA) system, discussed in the section of this report on Local Government.

In the District, (as elsewhere in Ciskei,) there have been a



number of mutually reinforcing constraints which resulted in deficiencies in the functioning of local government. These related to the 'top-down' character of the process of government in the Ciskei; the lack of adequate funding for the T.A.; its having to act as a channel for decrees and fund-raising initiatives from central government rather than being a channel *upward* for matters of local concern; and, in particular, its lack of competence and legitimacy. Since it did not have clearly defined and acknowledged rights and duties (i.e. competence) or the authority and financial means to make and implement decisions (i.e. legitimacy), a body like the T.A. was simply unable to function effectively. Tightly controlled and yet, at the same time, protected by Bisho, a number of individuals in T.A.'s across the Ciskei (and in the District) found themselves following the path of inefficiency or corruption - thereby becoming further distanced from the constituency they were supposed to, but in effect, unable to serve.

Chiefs and headmen did not have the scope for corruption that they had in Transkei in the Matanzima era, where they had much greater say over allocations of land, (Haines and Tapscott 1988). However a number of them and their T.A.'s became increasingly associated with what was perceived as the repression and corruption of the Ciskei government, and correspondingly disaffected from and feared by their fellow villagers. As with economic differentiation, so with political

differentiation - in face-to-face communities, people are bound by a complex network of relationships and interests, cutting across this dislike (at times hatred) and fear that many people have of their official leaders at the local level.

### Looking to the Future

The bulk of the field research for this report was undertaken before the *coup d'état* of 3 March 1990. Since then, the situation in the Ciskei has undergone significant changes, and the all-but-certain re-incorporation of the Ciskei into South Africa will herald yet further changes. In this sense our report gives an indication of the situation in the Ciskei on the eve of the collapse of the 'homeland' system of government.

This report has, among other things, considered four issues which it would seem are likely to undergo significant change in the unfolding post - 'homeland' situation - viz land tenure, local government, the transformation of income patterns, and the urbanization of small towns. One can here offer only suggestions as to what course possible developments may take, and what further avenues of research are likely to be important in the future.

The most fundamental changes in the District since the time of the Rural Survey relate to the transformation of income patterns. People are still heavily dependent on externally

derived sources of income, but the bulk of that income has shifted from being derived (via migrant labour) from the South African private sector to being derived (via pensions, civil service jobs, industrial decentralization and agricultural projects) indirectly from the South African state. The central question in this regard is the extent to which this source of income will be cut as the Ciskei is re-incorporated into South Africa. There is a real possibility of the civil service being rationalized and less financial support being given to the industrial decentralization policy, as a new South African political programme will have to commit large sums of money to housing, health and education, and will have to respond to the demands of a powerful urban constituency. If the South African government's allocation to Ciskei is significantly lessened, many jobs may be lost in Ciskei.

This of course will have political implications, as a significant interest group, and a new pattern of consumption, has developed around the available benefits of the 'homeland' system. In the District, this involves a considerable number of individuals and their dependents. (The politically sensitive nature of any possible retrenchment is reflected by the recent dispute between the South African and the Transkei government around the freezing of an allocation of R55 million requested by Transkei for civil service salaries). (Such retrenchment would drastically affect incomes and lifestyles in Rabula, Burnshill and the Town). Any new government in South Africa could well

find itself facing resistance - not so much by rural people dispossessed of their land as in the past (Beinart and Bundy 1980; Claassens 1990), as by a dispossessed ex-'homeland' 'salariate'.

The need for any new government to maintain effective local government would probably mean that job rationalization would be more likely to bite hard at central level (i.e. Bisho) than at local level (i.e. Keiskammahoeek Town). While various government-sponsored industries and projects in and around the Town may be rationalized, the magistracy and the hospital seem more likely to survive as important sources of employment. Some people may no longer be able to meet their payments on their housing bonds, and may have to search for work elsewhere. This means that there may be less money circulating in the Town, and some businesses may suffer, or close down. It does not however seem likely that the Town will see a mass exodus of its population in a new political dispensation.

Thus far, the *coup d'état* and the collapse of the headmanship and of the Tribal Authority system of local government has not improved the lot of the people in the District in any meaningful way. The absence of effective local administration in communities in the District is causing growing confusion and frustration. The rapidly changing situation in Ciskei - helped on by the overthrow of the Sebe regime - is evidenced by the emergence of residents' associations and youth situations, and

on increasing politicization of rural areas. The situation has been further complicated by tensions which have been developing between the Ciskei military council and the civic and residents' associations. These arise from the military council's decision to re-introduce the headmanship and to re-instate a number of chiefs who had been dismissed, because they had been designated (by a commission appointed by the military council) as political appointees, without the proper genealogical claims to chieftainship.

The course which local government is likely to take in Ciskei is difficult to predict. It will depend on the models of local government that emerge out of the negotiation in the wider South African context, and on the terms, and timetable of Ciskei's re-incorporation into South Africa. In the meantime local government services are at present reaching many villagers in a seemingly sporadic and *ad hoc* fashion. Whether this will continue in pre-incorporation Ciskei will depend on the way in which the issue of the re-introduction of headmen develops, and on whether the government and the civic associations will be able to find common purpose in establishing an effective and acceptable linkage between communities and administration at district and 'homeland' level. It is however clear that many people look to participation in a greater South Africa with its hopes for a non-racial democracy. This overriding priority will influence their perception of, and reaction to, any new local government initiatives that the Ciskei military council may

introduce.

And what of "The Land" - the issue behind the formation of the reserves and the 'homeland policy' in the first place? As with local government, issues of access to land in the Ciskei will ultimately only be resolved in the wider context of land policy in the greater South Africa. What does seem clear is that the high degree of landlessness (i.e. lack of arable land) in villages such as Burnshill, Chatha and Rabula is not likely to be alleviated to any significant degree. Arable holdings in a village like Rabula, while originally as large as forty hectares, have over the generations been subdivided several times, and do not provide scope for redistribution among Rabula's landless inhabitants. In Chatha, holdings are on average half a hectare. Unless grazing land is divided up into arable holdings (a project with limited scope and potentially explosive implications) the landless will have to find land outside of the Ciskei. And even in greater South Africa, the political and age-economic scope for accommodating the millions of landless people from all of the 'homelands' would appear to be fairly limited. Unless there is rapid and sustained urbanization in South Africa, landlessness, with its attendant economic, political and social implications, is therefore part of the future of the District.

The years since the Rural Survey - in large part because of the particular ways in which the 'homeland' policy has impacted on

the District, have seen an interrelated set of changes, around patterns of access to resources, of settlement, mobility and social interaction. The political changes which are inevitable in the Greater South African situation, will presumably provide an altered regional and national context for the inhabitants of the District - which will in all probability once again give rise to transformations at household and at District level as well as the demographic trends and patterns of mobility (see Appendix No.3). Future research should be directed towards the manner in which that new context unfolds and establishes itself. This presents us with a valuable opportunity. In coming to understand the ways in which the Keiskammahoe District moves away from the apartheid legacy (and, indeed, the extent to which it is in fact able to do so), we shall have deepened our understanding of the impact of that legacy on the lives of *abantu base Qobo Qobo* (the people of Keiskammahoe).

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Appendix No.1. Initial Project Research Brief

The project will focus on three settlements. While two of them (Rabula Village and Keiskammahoek Town - de Wet, Leibbrandt and Palmer - 1989) have been studied in a pilot project, this project will involve new and far more detailed research, building on the general themes which emerged from the pilot project. Burnshill Village (the third settlement) was studied in 1977 by one of the members of the research team for his M.A. thesis. However, since then significant changes have taken place, and the Burnshill study will be an entirely new piece of research, documenting changes which have taken place since 1977. One of the researchers' previous research in another settlement (Chatha) in the Keiskammahoek District (conducted between 1978 and 1984 for doctoral purposes - de Wet 1985) will be incorporated as additional comparative information. Together with the three settlements to be studied, this should provide a representative picture of the Keiskammahoek District as a whole.

- 1) The Rural Village of Rabula Rabula is one of the few areas in Ciskei where people have freehold land rights, and thus serves as a useful contrast to other types of rural villages, in the Keiskammahoek area, with different land tenure systems. The project will look at changes since 1948 in:
  - i) patterns of inheritance and sale of land
  - ii) the acquisition of land by women, and its relation to the rise of households without marriage
  - iii) reasons for variations in household size and structure, educational

levels, types of employment, patterns of income and expenditure of landed and landless households iv) reasons for the low level of cultivation among freeholders, and differences in yields between freeholders and people on government controlled arable land v) patterns of interaction and stratification between freeholders, people on government land, and landless people.

- 2) The Rural Village of Burnshill The project will look at changes which have taken place over the last ten years, as well as since the 1948 base-line, and will study changes in
- i) household size and structure, educational levels, patterns of employment, income and expenditure
  - ii) patterns of cultivation and yields
  - iii) local entrepreneurial activity
  - iv) recreation and social activities
  - v) the ways in which the quitrent land tenure system operating in Burnshill relates to the above-mentioned aspects. This will enable an interesting comparison of the relationship between land tenure and socio-economic conditions in Rabula and Burnshill, as well as in Chatha, which has yet another type of land tenure system.

- 3) The Town of Keiskammahoek As the administrative, marketing and service centre for the Keiskammahoek District, the Town has undergone a total transformation in the last twenty years. As the 'Homelands' policy has unfolded, whites have left the Town, to be replaced by black bureaucrats,

traders, professionals and others. The project will assess the impact of this change in the following areas: i) relationships within the former white community, now scattered throughout the Eastern Cape ii) the role of new whites, who have come into the town to run new institutions and industries iii) the emergence of a black middle class of administrators, teachers and traders, and its relationship to the black and 'coloured' working class iv) the role of trade and the informal sector in the community v) domestic life and the role of women (women, especially married women, seem to bear the brunt of the kinds of changes that have taken place in the restructuring of the community) vi) patterns of recreation and sociability, and how these relate to the fact that salaried people tend to commute on a weekly basis, leaving the town largely empty over weekends. vii) while there would be a case for treating the new large hospital and the irrigation scheme as separate studies, their complex integration with the community justifies their inclusion as special topics within the project. Their effects upon economic and social patterns within the community will be closely monitored.

4) The project will also look at *changes which have taken place with regard to local government*. These include the introduction of the Tribal Authority system of local government, the introduction of party politics in Ciskei, and the redefinition of the powers of headmen. White officials responsible to the South African government have

been replaced by black officials now responsible to the Ciskei government, and the Town is now run by a black town council. A structure of Rural Development Committees has also recently been established. The project will look at the impact of these changes on the local government situation with regard to i) the decision-making process ii) the chain of command in the administrative process (at official and unofficial levels) iii) interaction between traditional and modern/bureaucratic norms and practices (especially the role of the chief) iv) overlap in membership and influence between the various institutions of local government. v) The ways in which local government institutions in the Town could act as development agents.

C) Research Design and Methods. The first phase of the project will involve three principal researchers, plus research assistants. Two researchers will each spend two months in the field, while the third will spend four months in the field. Research will be completed by January 1990 and the report will be completed by January 1991. Research methods to be used will include participant observation (living in the actual settlements studied), questionnaires and surveys, in-depth interviews, recording of life-histories, attendance at meetings and ceremonies, recording and photographing of events, and the use of aerial photographs.



Appendix No.2. The Legal Situation with regard to the Holding, Sale and Transmission of Freehold and Quitrent Land

This appendix covers the legal contexts of the sale and inheritance of land from the passing of the Native Administration Act - No 38 of 1927 - (later renamed the Black Administration Act) and its amendments, up to 1990.

*The legal situation in regard to freehold land was as follows*

- a) if the deceased had drawn up a will, that will would govern the devolution of his/her property (Section 23(3) of Act No 38 of 1927, quoted in Kerr 1990: 189).
- b) if a marriage was contracted in community of property or under antenuptial contract, the property of the deceased would devolve "as if the deceased had been a European" (Government Notice No R200 of 1987, quoted in Kerr 1990: 194) - i.e. in terms of South African, rather than customary law.
- c) If the circumstances of the deceased's marriage were such that in the opinion of the Minister of (then) Native Affairs (renamed in various ways and most recently restructured as the Department of Development Aid) it was not appropriate to apply customary law to the devolution of the whole, or part of his property, the Minister could instruct that such property should devolve "as if the said Black had been a European" (Government Notice No R200 of 1987, section 2(d), as quoted in Kerr 1990: 194).
- d) In the event of the deceased's position not being covered

by a) to c) above, his property was to be distributed according to customary law (Government Notice No R200 of 1987, section 2(d), in Kerr 1990: 194). This effectively meant male primogeniture. As we will presently show, most freehold land in Rabula appears to have been transmitted in this way, with the eldest brother informally making portions of his inherited land available for use by his other brothers, and on occasion, sisters.

*The legal situation in regard to quitrent land was as follows:* In terms of Section 23(2) of Act No 38 of 1927, upon the titleholder's death, the land "shall devolve...upon one male person, to be determined in accordance with the tables of succession to be prescribed under sub-section (10)" (quoted in Kerr, 1990: 189). This effectively prescribed male primogeniture (see Kerr, 1990, Appendix B). A man's widow would, unless she remarried or entered into another customary union, be "entitled to the use and occupation of his land" (Proclamation No R188 of 1969, Section 37(1)). Women were thus effectively excluded from inheriting quitrent land. Although it was possible to sell quitrent land, it was not permitted to do so without the title holder being given permission by the (then) Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner.

### Appendix No.3 Demography and Mobility

Demography and mobility were not particular concerns of the three case-studies which make up the bulk of this report, but any overview of change within the District since the Rural Survey must necessarily consider these important factors.

In a 'homeland' such as Ciskei the preparation of accurate population figures is bedevilled by the inaccessibility and high mobility of much of the population, among other difficulties. As a census for the 1990s has not yet been undertaken in Ciskei, the latest official figures are from 1984. Unfortunately, many of the developments described in this report either commenced or accelerated after that date. In the absence of reliable and up-to-date data or the professional demographer's expertise it is impossible to do more than sketch broad trends over the period from 1936 (the Rural Survey's base year) to 1984. The figures for 1936 and 1946 are the Rural Survey's; those for 1970, 1980 and 1984 were obtained from Ciskei's Ministry of the Interior.

The Rural Survey was undertaken in a period of remarkable stability, as far as population was concerned. In the sector of the rural locations with which the Survey was involved the population of 15 197 in 1936 declined by a negligible seven to 15 189 in 1946. By 1970, the beginning of the decade when social research recommenced in the District, the population in the rural locations had risen by about a third, to 22 746. It continued to grow thereafter: to 26 434 by 1980; 27 967 by 1984.

The population figures for the Town combine the figures for the town proper (the area 'between the bridges') with those for Tshoxa, the former township or location, whose demography resembles that of the rural locations more than that of the town proper. Unfortunately, the figures from the present source are not separable. From a base of just over a thousand in 1936, the population of the town and Tshoxa increased nearly four-fold to 3 923 in 1980. These overall figures disguise the fact that in 1936 whites were about half the population whereas by 1980 only a handful remained. Just four years later, in 1984, when the last whites and 'coloureds' had left and the 'new' blacks had not yet arrived in any numbers, the population stood at 1 682 -- a reduction of 43% which is scarcely credible, unless there was a major exodus of blacks at the same time. Other kinds of settlements, associated with the institutions of St Matthew's Mission and Fort Cox, the agricultural college, also underwent dramatic reductions in population in the first years after 'independence'. Elukhanyweni, the settlement established for the people relocated from the Humansdorp area in the 1970s, bolstered the population in the vicinity of the town by 1 722 in 1980, an increase of 44%, but by 1984 Elukhanyweni had lost 568 people, presumably to more salubrious accommodation elsewhere. At the time of writing, strenuous attempts are being made by the community to return to their expropriated land near Humansdorp.

If the steep population decline in the non-agricultural segment of the District turned out to be a trend, along with a tendency to continued increase in the rural areas, it would not bode well

for the economic future of the District. But the results of the 1991 census will probably confirm that the decline was nothing more than a temporary phenomenon of the first years following 'independence'. While St Matthews and Fort Cox might continue to lose population, the rapidly expanding resources of the Town should attract further newcomers from the rural parts of the District, as has already occurred in Keiskammahoek Park, the housing estate described in the section of this report on the Town of Keiskammahoek.

Mobility within and beyond the District reveals antithetical trends. On the one hand, migrant labour beyond the District and the region has been diminishing over the years. This is in part a function of the recession in the mining industry, in part of a perception in the industry of the Xhosa as 'trouble-makers', which leads recruiters to look to less politicized regions for new labour. On the other hand, mobility within the District and the region has been increased by improvements to the roads and the advent of the kombi taxi. Commuting is now possible where it was not before. Shopping trips to King William's Town from Keiskammahoek are not the expeditions they once were. And the newcomers to Keiskammahoek Park are well able to visit their relatives and friends elsewhere at least once a month. The new high rate of internal mobility in Ciskei should serve to integrate the territory more closely than ever before, accelerating the spread of modernization from the towns to the outlying rural locations. At the same time, the socio-economic contrasts between those settlements that are within commuting

distance of the urban/industrial areas, such as Rabula and the Town, and those that are not, such as Chatha, may become more marked. This development, in turn, would lead to a higher rate of rural-to-urban migration in the territory, further stimulated by the relatively high rate of demographic increase in the rural areas.

Appendix No.4 Household Composition in Burnshill 1977-1989Household Composition - 1977Male headed households (20)

Married man, wife and grandchildren .....	5
Married man, wife, children and grandchildren .....	4
Married man, wife, children and other relatives .....	3
Married man, wife and children .....	2
Widower and other relatives .....	4
Widower, children and grandchildren .....	1
Bachelor and non-relatives .....	4

Female headed households (33)

Widow, children and grandchildren .....	7
Widow, grandchildren and other relatives .....	4
Widow and grandchildren .....	3
Widow, children and other relatives .....	3
Widow and non-relatives .....	1
Married female and children .....	6
Married female, children and other relatives .....	2
Married female, relatives and non-relatives .....	1
Married female and other relatives .....	1
Unmarried female and other relatives .....	3
Unmarried female and grandchildren .....	2

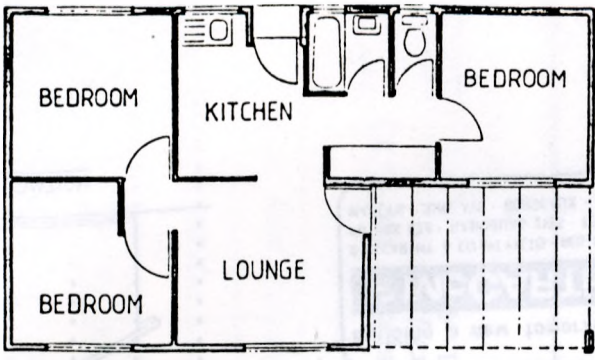
Household Composition - 1989Male headed households (42)

Married man, wife and children .....	12
Married man, wife and grandchildren .....	8
Married man, wife, children and grandchildren .....	7
Married man, wife and other relatives .....	5
Married man, wife, children and other relatives .....	4
Married man and wife .....	4
Widower and other relatives .....	4

Female headed households (53)

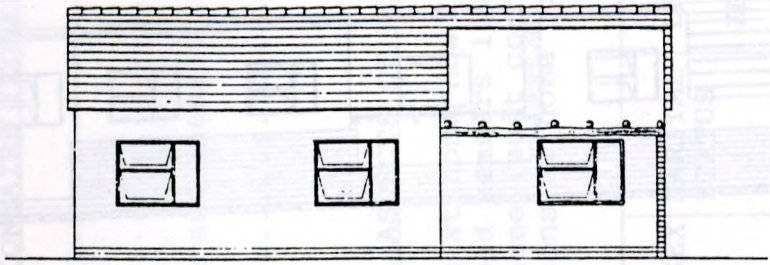
Widow, children and grandchildren .....	17
Widow and children .....	5
Widow and grandchildren .....	5
Widow, grandchildren and other relatives .....	4
Widow, children, grandchildren and other relatives .....	2
Widow, children and other relatives .....	1
Widow, alone .....	1
Unmarried woman, children and non-relatives .....	1
Unmarried woman and grandchildren .....	1
Unmarried woman, children and grandchildren .....	1
Unmarried woman, children and other relatives .....	4
Married woman and children .....	7
Married woman, children and other relatives .....	2
Separated woman and grandchildren .....	1
Unmarried woman alone .....	1





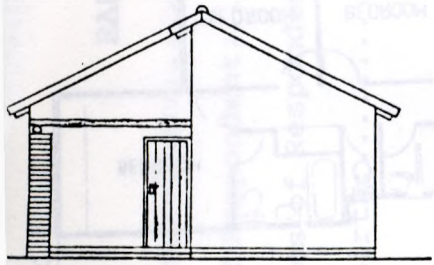
PLAN

217




FRONT ELEVATION

500/008 B      61 m<sup>2</sup>

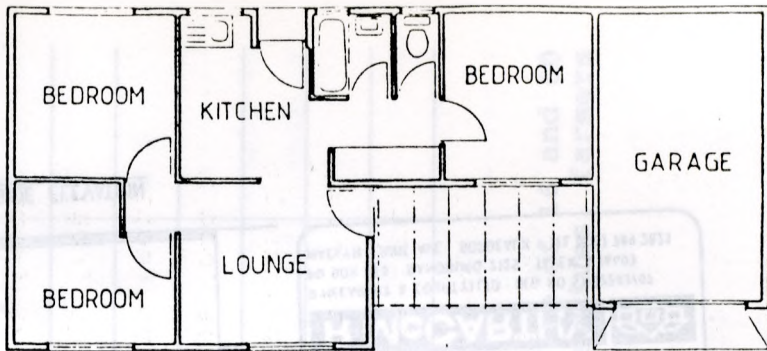


SIDE ELEVATION

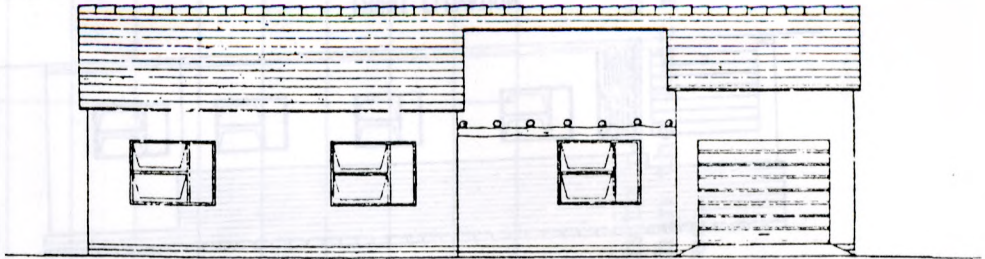
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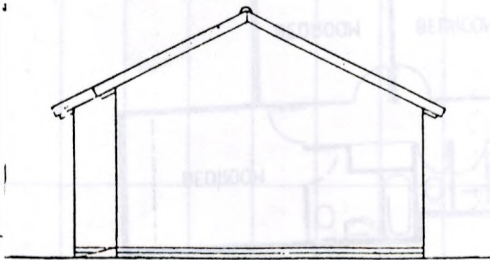


PLAN



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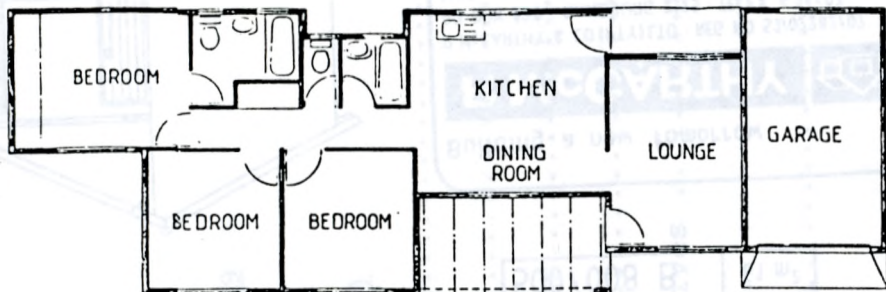


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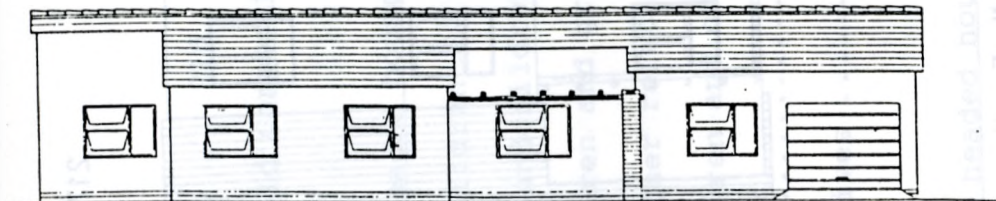
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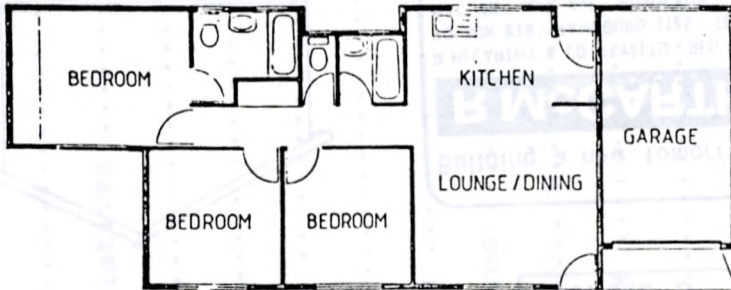


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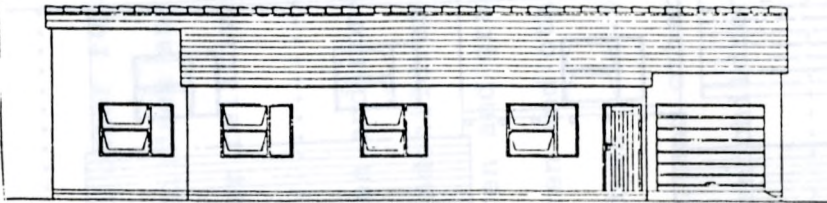
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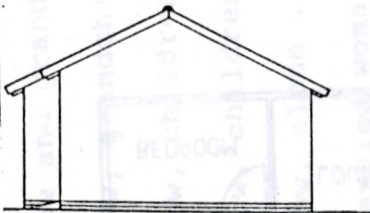


PLAN



FRONT ELEVATION

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RABULA QUESTIONNAIRE (CONFIDENTIAL)

Date of Interview:.....  
 Surname of Respondent:.....  
 First Names of Respondent (English and Xhosa):.....  
 Place of Birth:.....

DEMOGRAPHIC AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPECTS OF HOUSEHOLD

- 1.1 Total number of persons at home now (must correspond to 1.3) \_\_\_\_\_
- 1.2 Total number of household members living and working temporarily away from home (must correspond to 1.4) \_\_\_\_\_
- 1.3 Characteristics of persons at home now. \_\_\_\_\_

NAME	RELATION TO HEAD	AGE	SEX	MARITAL STATUS	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	OCCUPATION*	WHERE
1 HEAD							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							
9							
0							
1							
2							

Under occupation, 'unemployed' refers to persons between the age of 16 and 60 who have attempted to find a job within the last month. Housewives, farmers and retired persons are not unemployed.

1.4 Household members living and working away from home (for 1 week or more).

a) NAME	b) RELATION TO HEAD	AGE	SEX	MARITAL STATUS	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	OCCUPATION	TOWN WORKING	WHEN WAS THE LAST TIME HE/SHE WAS AT HOME (YEAR & MONTH)	LENGTH OF STAY	H OFTN A TH H
1 a)										
b)										
2 a)										
b)										
3 a)										
b)										
4 a)										
b)										
5 a)										
b)										

2. TYPE OF LAND HOLDING AND LAND USE

2.1 a) Do you have a garden? \_\_\_\_\_ How large is it? \_\_\_\_\_

b) Do you have a field? \_\_\_\_\_ How large is it? \_\_\_\_\_

N.B. If the household has more than one arable field indicate the

2.2 (a) If any of these land holdings do not belong to the household to whom do they belong?.....

(b) Relationship of owner to household?.....

(c) (i) To use this field do you:  
Pay money.....share crops.....give nothing.....

(ii) Give details (i.e. what type of rental or share cropping arrangement).....

(d) (i) Does anybody outside this household use your field?....

(ii) If so, who are they?.....

(iii) How are they related to you?.....

(iv) What cultivation arrangements are involved?.....

2.3 (a) Did you plant/plough your lands this season and last season?

	THIS SEASON (1989/90)	LAST SEASON (1988/89)
GARDEN		
ARABLE LAND		

(b) If NO (to either or both garden or arable land) why not?

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

(c) (i) YES, how much of the lands were ploughed and planted (1/4, 1/2, 3/4, all)

GARDEN	ARABLE LAND
--------	-------------

(ii) If not 'all', why was only a portion used?.....  
 .....  
 .....

(d) Did you plough with tractor or oxen?.....

(e) In ploughing:

- Who holds the plough?.....
- Who drives the cattle?.....
- Who leads the cattle?.....
- How are they related to the head of house?.....
- Do you hire them or not?.....

2.4 (a) If you plough with cattle, were these your cattle?.....

(b) If NO, whose were they? What is this person's relationship to you? What did you pay for the use of these services (in cash or kind)?

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

(c) Do you have a plough?.....  
 If NOT, whose plough do you use?.....  
 How is he related to you?.....  
 Did you hire the plough?.....

2.7 Which of the following do you use in crop production?

ITEM	USED(Yes/No)	IF YES, WHERE DO YOU GET IT FROM?	COST	USED IN GARDEN
Commercial Fertilizer				
Dung(manure)				
Seeds (Certified)				
Seeds(local)				
Insecticide				

2.8 If commercial fertilizer, certified seeds and insecticide are not used, why not? .....

.....  
 .....

2.9 (a) Do you get any agricultural advice - e.g. from extension officer? (Yes/No) .....

(b) If Yes

From whom?	
How often?	
About what?	Crops : Cattle:

2.10 Who normally does the following work?:

Who plants the seed?	
Who hoes and weeds?	
Who reaps?	
Who tends the livestock?	
Who milks the cows?	

2.11 How many times in a season do you weed your field? .....



3. CROP PRODUCTION AND SALE OF CROPS

3.1 Please indicate the yields of all crops planted last year\* and the expected yield for this season). Also indicate the size of land planted and the reaping time.

CROP	LAST YEAR (1988/89)					THIS SEASON (1989/90)				
	Planted Yes/No	Yield	Month Planted	Month Reaped	Area of Land Planted	Planted Yes/No	Expected Yield	Month Planted	Month Expect to reap	Area of Land Planted
Maize	[Off the cob]									
Sorghum										
Pumpkin										
Green Beans										
Cabbage										
Potatoes										
Spinach										
Other/list										
Do you intercrop?										

\* 'Last Year' refers to the 1988/89 summer season and the 1989 winter season.

'This Season' refers to the 1989/90 summer season only.

N.B. Check out the area of land planted with earlier responses on landuse. Remember that it is possible to grow beans and maize in the same field. Check for intercropping.

3.2 (a) Did you sell any of your crop production (produce) last year?  
 Yes/No .....

(b) If NO, why not? .....

(c) If YES,

Type of crop sold	How much sold Amount Price	Where sold and to whom	When sold

(d) Do you plan to sell any of this season's produce?  
 Yes/No .....

(e) If Yes,

What crops?	
What quantities?	
What prices do you expect?	
To whom do you expect to sell?	

3.3 Did you eat all of the crops which you did not sell? (Give away  
 feed to animals etc.)

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

4. STOCK INFORMATION

4.1

	CATTLE			TOLLIES	SHEEP	GOATS	HORSES	PIGS	CHICKENS	OTHER (SPECIFY)
	OXEN	BULLS	HEIFERS							
STOCK NOW										
Stock Same Time last year										
Reason for Increase/ Decrease (Recent births or Deaths/slaughter buying or selling										
What uses do you get out of your livestock? e.g. Milk, eggs, meat, wool, hides, ploughing transport										
Livestock or produce from livestock sold or exchanged in last 12 months (name items only)										
Where sold and to whom										
Why sold										
Quantity Sold or exchanged										
Income/Goods received										

4.2 Do all the stock belong to you? ..... If not, whose are they? .....  
 How are they related to you? .....

5. INCOME AND EXPENDITURES

5.1 How many people in the household receive pensions?

FIRST NAME	TYPE OF PENSION	AMOUNT	HOW OFTEN

5.2 How many people at home now have earned an income during the last months? (e.g. wages and salaries, casual work, hawking, selling skills and services, renting land or livestock).

FIRST NAME	TYPE OF INCOME	TOTAL PER MONTH					
		Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec

5.3 (a) Are any of the household members who are not at home now remitting money or material goods? Yes/No .....

(b) We would be gratified if you would specify the persons who remitted or brought back money and/or goods during the last months.

FIRST NAME	AMOUNT OF REMITTANCE					
	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec

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

AREA
SHOP
RETURN BUSFARE

(b) Specify what you bought and from where?

.....

.....

.....

.....

(c) Were these goods bought for cash and/or account?

.....

.....

.....

5.5 (a) Where do you keep your savings? (no savings, bank, post office, building society, other)

.....

(b) How much savings have you accumulated? (none, up to R50, between R50 and R100, more than R100)

.....

(a) Do you hire anybody (domestic)?

.....

(a) Do any women in this household hold land?

.....

Appendix No.7. Burnshill Survey Sheet

1. Household structure: Name, sex, age, educ., occupation, wage, marital status, work done, working hours, rel. to head.

2. Those away: Where they live or work, employer's activity, when last at home, length of stay, how often at home.

3. Remittances past 6 months: Cash

In kind:

4. No. of living rooms:

5. Do you have a field? If yes what was planted and reaped last year?

Do you have a food plot? If yes what was planted and reaped in the past year?

6. Stock: Cattle: Goats: Horses:

7. Where do you buy most of your goods?

8. Which members of the home have been to town during the past month?

9. A day in the life: What you did yesterday, time spent on each activity, who does what, collecting water, collecting wood.

10. Associations and clubs:

11. Informal sector: If yes, give details

12. Ritual (i.e. Recent Ritual Activities)

KEISKAMMAHOEK PROJECT : SURVEY OF NEW HOUSING DEVELOPMENT

ERF NUMBER .....

NAME OF INTERVIEWEE ..... SEX: M / F. AGE .....

RELATIONSHIP OF INTERVIEWEE TO OWNER .....  
(If not owner. E.g., wife, husband, sibling.)

FULL NAME OF OWNER .....SEX: M / F. AGE .....

OTHER PERMANENT OCCUPANTS OF HOUSE:

NAME ..... SEX: M / F. AGE..... ROLE.....

NAME ..... SEX: M / F. AGE..... ROLE.....

NAME ..... SEX: M / F. AGE..... ROLE.....

NAME ..... SEX: M / F. AGE..... ROLE.....

NAME ..... SEX: M / F. AGE..... ROLE.....

NAME ..... SEX: M / F. AGE..... ROLE.....

OCCUPANCY

On what date did you move into your new house? .....

ORIGIN

where did you move from?

- \* A house you rented in Keiskammahoek town
- \* A house you owned in Keiskammahoek town
- \* Your parents' or other relative's house in KKH town
- \* A house in KKH District, outside town  
(Specify whether rented, owned or parent's house)
- \* A house in another country District of Ciskei  
(Specify whether rented, owned or parent's house)
- \* A house in another Ciskei town (e.g. Bisho, Zwelitsha, Alice)  
(Specify whether rented, owned or parent's house)
- \* A house somewhere else  
(Specify town and whether in RSA, another homeland or overseas)

REASONS FOR MOVE .....

OCCUPATIONS OF BREADWINNERS IN HOUSEHOLD

NAME	OCCUPATION	EMPLOYER
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.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....



EDUCATIONAL LEVELS OF ADULTS IN HOUSEHOLD

NAME

HIGHEST STANDARD ATTAINED (OR DIPLOMA OR DEGREE)

.....

.....

.....

EDUCATION OF CHILDREN IN HOUSEHOLD

NAME

STANDARD (OR YEAR OF DIPLOMA OR DEGREE COURSE)

.....

.....

.....

.....

DO YOU HAVE ADDITIONAL CHILDREN LIVING ELSEWHERE? YES / NO.

IF YES, PLEASE GIVE DETAILS BELOW

NAME

SEX

AGE

PLACE

REASON

.....

.....

LOCATION OF PARENTS AND SIBLINGS OF ADULTS IN HOUSEHOLD

NAME

PARENTS

(CLOSE) SIBLINGS

.....

.....

.....

DO YOU OWN PROPERTY OR STAND TO INHERIT PROPERTY OUTSIDE KKH TOWN? YES/NO.

VISITING BEYOND KKH TOWN

Do you visit parents or other close relatives who live outside KKH:

- \* Every weekend, staying over one or two nights
- \* Every weekend, not staying over
- \* One weekend a month, staying over
- \* One weekend a month, not staying over
- \* Every three months, staying over
- \* Every three months, not staying over
- \* Every six months
- \* Once a year, for a couple of weeks
- \* Once a year, for a weekend
- \* Once a year, for a few hours

HAVE YOUR VISITS 'HOME' BECOME LESS FREQUENT RECENTLY? YES / NO.

DO YOU HAVE ANY CLOSE RELATIVES IN TOWN (INCLUDES IN-LAWS)? YES / NO.

IF YES, PLEASE SUPPLY DETAILS

RELATIONS BY BLOOD:

NAME	OCCUPATION <sup>1</sup>	RELATIONSHIP <sup>2</sup>
.....		
.....		
.....		
.....		

RELATIONS BY MARRIAGE

NAME	OCCUPATION	RELATIONSHIP
.....		
.....		
.....		
.....		

DO ANY OF THESE RELATIVES LIVE IN THE NEW HOUSES? YES / NO. (INDICATE)

IF NO, ARE ANY OF THESE OR YOUR OTHER RELATIVES IN THE PROCESS OF MOVING INTO THE NEW HOUSES OR PLANNING TO MOVE INTO THE NEW HOUSES? YES /

DO YOU HAVE ANY CLOSE FRIENDS IN TOWN? YES / NO

IF YES, PLEASE SUPPLY DETAILS.

NAME	SEX	AGE	OCCUPATION
.....			
.....			
.....			
.....			

DO ANY OF THESE FRIENDS LIVE IN THE NEW HOUSES? YES / NO.

IF NO, ARE ANY OF THESE FRIENDS IN THE PROCESS OF MOVING INTO THE NEW HOUSES OR PLANNING TO MOVE INTO THE NEW HOUSES? YES / NO.

DO YOU THINK IT MAKES ANY DIFFERENCE WHAT SORT OF HOUSE YOUR CLOSE RELATIVE OR FRIEND LIVES IN? YES / NO

REASON FOR ANSWER: .....

WHAT DO YOU LIKE THE MOST ABOUT YOUR NEW HOUSE?

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

WHAT DO YOU LIKE THE LEAST ABOUT YOUR NEW HOUSE?

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

DOES YOUR SPOUSE HAVE THE SAME LIKES AND DISLIKES AS YOU? YES / NO.

IF NO, PLEASE SPECIFY  
LIKES

DISLIKES

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

DID YOU OR YOUR SPOUSE BUY YOUR HOUSE PRIMARILY AS AN INVESTMENT OR  
PRIMARILY AS A HOME IN WHICH YOU INTEND TO LIVE FOR A LONG TIME?

\*INVESTMENT

\*HOME

\*OTHER (SPECIFY) .....

DO YOU OR YOUR SPOUSE HAVE ANY PARTICULAR INTERESTS OR INVOLVEMENTS  
BESIDES YOUR HOUSE, CHILDREN, RELATIVES, FRIENDS AND OCCUPATIONS?

\*FURTHER EDUCATION (SPECIFY.....)

\*CHURCH (SPECIFY.....)

\*SCHOOL (SPECIFY.....)

\*SPORT (SPECIFY.....)

\*OTHER (SPECIFY.....)

WHAT DO YOU LIKE THE MOST OR THE LEAST ABOUT LIVING IN KKH TOWN?  
MOST LEAST

.....  
.....

HAVE YOU OR YOUR FAMILY BEEN MORE HEALTHY OR LESS HEALTHY SINCE MOVING INTO YOUR NEW HOUSE?

MORE HEALTHY

LESS HEALTHY

PLEASE SAY WHY YOU HAVE BEEN EITHER MORE HEALTHY OR LESS HEALTHY HERE

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

HAVE YOU HELD A TRADITIONAL RITUAL SUCH AS UKAPA, UMZALI, UBUMBUYISA, UGUGULA, IZINNYANYA OR ABANDWANA IN YOUR NEW HOUSE YET? YES / NO.

IF YES, PLEASE GIVE DETAILS .....

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IF NO:

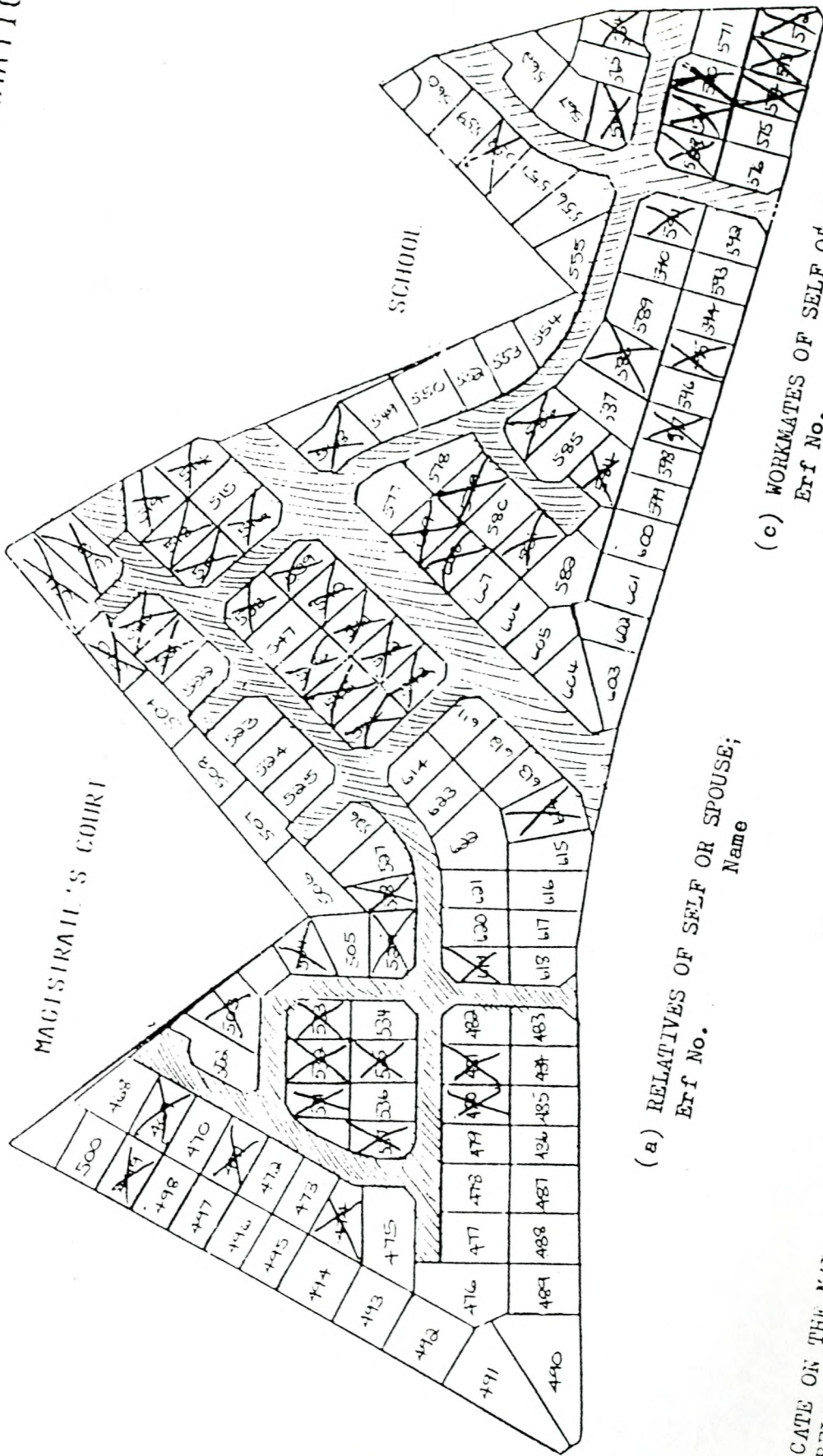
- (a) DO YOU PLAN TO HOLD SUCH A RITUAL AT SOME TIME IN THE FUTURE? YES / NO.
- (b) DO YOU HAVE NO INTENTION OF HOLDING A TRADITIONAL RITUAL HERE? YES / NO.
- (c) HAVE YOU HELD OR DO YOU PLAN TO HOLD OTHER KINDS OF GATHERING AT YOUR HOUSE, SUCH AS PRAYER MEETINGS? YES / NO.

FINALLY, PERHAPS YOU WOULD MENTION SOME THINGS YOU WILL BE ABLE TO DO IN YOUR NEW HOUSE THAT YOU WERE NOT ABLE TO DO BEFORE SO I CAN UNDERSTAND WHAT YOUR NEW HOME MEANS TO YOU.

.....  
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(CONTINUE ON NEXT PAGE)

KEISKAMMAHOEK PARK SURVEY -- NEIGHBOURHOOD FORMATION



(a) RELATIVES OF SELF OR SPOUSE;  
Erf No. Name

(b) CLOSE FRIENDS OF SELF OR SPOUSE;  
Erf No. Name

(c) WORKMATES OF SELF OR SPOUSE;  
Erf No. Name

(d) PEOPLE YOU KNOW LESS WELL  
Erf No. Name

PLEASE INDICATE ON THE MAP  
THE HOUSES BELONGING TO:



# **DEVELOPMENT STUDIES UNIT INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH**

The Development Studies Unit (DSU) at Rhodes University is located within the Institute of Social and Economic Research (ISER).

The DSU recognises that development is a multi-faceted, people-orientated process in which explicit cognisance must be taken of the economic, social and political needs and aspirations of all communities, especially those that are disadvantaged, discriminated against and excluded from access to opportunities for democratic participation in building a regional economy.

Through its research, the DSU probes and attempts to expose underlying causes of inequality and relative deprivation, in order to identify alternative ways of facilitating development, and establishing a socio-political framework within which development can be pursued.

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