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Working Papers

RURAL COMMUNITIES IN TRANSITION:

A STUDY OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC
AND AGRICULTURAL IMPLICATIONS OF
AGRICULTURAL BETTERMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

C.J. de Wet and P.A. McAllister

Working Paper No. 16



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FOREWORD

This comparative study, undertaken in the anthropological tradition of long-term field research, highlights the impact of agricultural "betterment" schemes in two rural communities - Chatha in Keiskammahoe district, Ciskei and Shixini in Willowvale district, Transkei. The authors provide a wealth of historical, sociological and ecological detail to describe and assess the implications of the continuation of the present official "betterment" strategy. This is done by comparing conditions in Chatha, where the strategy was implemented in the 1960s, with those in Shixini, where it was being implemented during fieldwork.

I would like to thank Prof G.G. Antrobus, Dr H. Furness and Mr P. Phillipson of the University of Fort Hare, who served as agricultural and ecological consultants for the project, and the ISER staff who typed and proof-read the report, particularly Margaret Shepherd and Anne Palmer.

Research specific to this project was funded by the National Programme for Environmental Sciences of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research. This support is gratefully acknowledged. The opinions expressed in the report are however solely those of the authors.

a) The area before the introduction of betterment

Here a brief outline is given of the demographic situation, of kinship and residential groupings, political organisation, agricultural practices and productivity, as well as ceremonial and voluntary associations.

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b) The introduction of betterment

Here the implementation of betterment is discussed looking at both the planning and consultative process, as well as the physical implementation of the scheme, which involved moving to the new residential areas. Attention is paid to the people's perceptions of what was happening to them, and an attempt is made to account for the differences in perception between the planners and the 'recipients' of betterment.

November 1983

c) The impact and consequences of betterment

Here attention is given to the demographic situation, to new residential patterns and their impact upon village-politics, patterns of agricultural cooperation, social and ceremonial organization and voluntary association. The current agricultural situation is examined, comparing current yields and stock-holdings with the pre-betterment situation. An overall evaluation of the impact of betterment on the area is attempted, in economic and ecological terms, as well as in terms of the people's resultant attitudes towards betterment, and towards development in general.

In the case of the Transkei area, broadly the same pattern is followed.

The current (i.e. pre-betterment) situation is discussed, the demographic and residential situation, and political organization, and focussing on the importance of the organizational principles of kinship and neighbourhood in social life, as well as in agricultural and general economic activity. Attention is paid to the question of land tenure, and to the different roles of fields and

INTRODUCTION

By "betterment" we mean the attempt, started in the 1930's and which reached its zenith after the Tomlinson Commission reported in 1955, by the South African Government, to transform agriculture in the "homeland" areas of South Africa. Betterment involved the division of an area or location into residential areas, arable lands and grazing commonage with the intention of rehabilitating the environment and making the area economically viable so that people would be able to make a living off the land. This necessitated people moving from their old homesteads to the newly allocated residential areas to make the rest of the area available for arable and grazing purposes. Betterment encountered many problems in the course of its implementation, and by and large cannot be said to have succeeded in its aims.

This report compares two areas - one in the Ciskei, which has already undergone betterment in the 1960's and one in the Transkei, which is in the initial stages of implementing betterment.

In the case of the Ciskei area, the report is divided into 3 sections.

a) The area before the introduction of betterment

Here is a brief outline is given of the demographic situation, of kinship and residential groupings, political organization, agricultural practices and productivity, as well as ceremonial activities and voluntary associations.

b) The introduction of betterment

Here the implementation of betterment is discussed looking at both the planning and consultative process, as well as the physical implementation of the scheme, which involved the people moving to the new residential areas. Attention is paid to the people's perceptions of what was happening to them, and an attempt is made to account for the differences in perception between the planners and the 'recipients' of betterment.

c) The impact and consequences of betterment

Here attention is given to the demographic situation, to new residential patterns and their impact upon village-politics, patterns of agricultural cooperation, social and ceremonial organization and voluntary association. The current agricultural situation is examined, comparing current yields and stock-holdings with the pre-betterment situation. An overall evaluation of the impact of betterment on the area is attempted, in economic and ecological terms, as well as in terms of the people's resultant attitudes towards betterment, and towards development in general.

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The current (i.e. pre-betterment) situation is discussed, the demographic and residential situation, and political organization, and focussing on the importance of the organizational principles of kinship and neighbourhood in social life, as well as in agricultural and general economic activity. Attention is paid to the question of land tenure, and to the different roles of fields and

gardens in agriculture.

The implementation of betterment inasfar as it has currently been implemented is discussed. In this case only a few homesteads have as yet moved; and the discussion focuses on the process of planning and consultation, and on people's perceptions of what betterment is and what it will do to their lives.

The likely effects of betterment are then discussed in terms of people's access to resources, economic and agricultural well-being, the nature of relationships between people, and the relationship between betterment and the ecology of the area.

In conclusion, a brief comparison is made between the two study areas, showing the essential similarity in terms of social structure in the Ciskei area as it was before betterment, and the Transkei area as it currently is. In terms of these similarities it seems that the effects of betterment in the Transkei area are likely to be largely similar to those in the Ciskei area.

Betterment itself is then contextualized in terms of its wider setting in terms of South African Governmental policy towards the black homeland areas. Various positive and negative evaluations of betterment are then considered in the light of the findings of this report. Finally, various suggestions are made as to how to set about improvement of agricultural development in black homeland areas.

G Folokhwe herding companies in 1976/1977

H Folokhwe ploughing companies in 1976/1977

I A brief literature survey

J Maps

1 OBJECTIVES AND LIST OF APPENDICES

The objectives of the project were to make a study of agricultural betterment schemes as an attempt to develop rural communities and to evaluate betterment schemes in two areas (one in the Ciskei, and one in the Transkei). The two field-work areas lend themselves to a comparative study as one (Chatha location in the Keiskammahook district of the Ciskei) has already undergone betterment schemes in two areas (one in the Ciskei, and one in the Transkei). The two field-work areas lend themselves to a comparative study as one (Chatha location in the Keiskammahook district of the Ciskei) has already undergone betterment schemes in two areas (one in the Ciskei, and one in the Transkei). The two field-work areas lend themselves to a comparative study as one (Chatha location in the Keiskammahook district of the Ciskei) has already undergone betterment schemes in two areas (one in the Ciskei, and one in the Transkei).

- A Chatha : List of pre-betterment village-sections before betterment
- B Chatha : Maps of village-sections and new residential areas
- C Agriculture in Chatha and Shixini

Research for this project was undertaken during the period of July 1982 to which field-work was undertaken are discussed more fully in the body of the report. McAllister has been doing field-work in the Shixini area since 1975, while de Wet has been working in the Chatha area since 1978.

- D Chatha : Vegetation and soil survey
- E Shixini : Vegetation and soil survey
- F Migrant labour in Shixini

- McAllister's own research (1972, 1980, 1981) together with research undertaken in the area during 1961 (Mayer 1972 vol. 1) serves as a base-line against which the current implementation of betterment in Shixini may be measured. Field-work for the Keiskammahook Rural Survey was carried out from 1948 to 1950 in 5 villages (of which Chatha was one), and was published in 4 volumes: Mountained (1952) Houghton and Walton (1952), Wilson, Kaplan, Maki and Walton
- G Fokhwe herding companies in 1976/1977
 - H Fokhwe ploughing companies in 1976/1977

In the case of Chatha, the project is fortunate in having a comprehensive base-line study, carried out before the implementation of betterment, against which the current implementation of betterment may be measured. Field-work for the Keiskammahook Rural Survey was carried out from 1948 to 1950 in 5 villages (of which Chatha was one), and was published in 4 volumes: Mountained (1952) Houghton and Walton (1952), Wilson, Kaplan, Maki and Walton

- I A brief literature survey

In both communities, a sound base-line of information exists, against which the impact of betterment may be assessed.

- J Maps

Research methods included:

- a) consultation of available documentary evidence of past and present demographic, agricultural and economic conditions and trends.
- b) consultation with agricultural planning officials, extension officers and administrators
- c) formal and informal interviews with a selected sample of the communities
- d) participant observation (i.e. actually staying in the community for periods

1 OBJECTIVES AND METHODS

The objectives of the project were to make a study of agricultural betterment schemes as an attempt to develop rural communities and to evaluate the socio-economic consequences of the implementation of betterment schemes in two areas (one in the Ciskei, and one in the Transkei). The two field-work areas lend themselves to a comparative study as one (Chatha location in the Keiskammahoek district of the Ciskei) has already undergone betterment during the mid-1960's, while the other (Shixini location in the Willowvale district of the Transkei) is in the initial stages of implementing betterment. A detailed study of the various phases of betterment was thus undertaken for this project, in terms of the way in which betterment was (and is) planned, implemented and perceived, as well as in terms of its socio-economic and agricultural consequences.

Research for this project was undertaken during the period of July 1982 to July 1983. The two communities in which field-work was undertaken are discussed more fully in the body of the report. McAllister has been doing field-work in the Shixini area since 1975, while de Wet has been working in the Chatha area since 1978.

McAllister's own research (1979, 1980, 1981) together with research undertaken in the area during 1961 (Mayer 1972 vol. 1) serves as a base-line against which the current implementation of betterment in Shixini may be assessed.

In the case of Chatha, the project is fortunate in having a comprehensive base-line study, carried out before the implementation of betterment, against which the current post-betterment situation may be measured. Field-work for the Keiskammahoek Rural Survey was carried out from 1948 to 1950 in 5 villages (of which Chatha was one), and was published in 4 volumes: Mountain ed (1952) Houghton and Walton (1952), Wilson, Kaplan, Maki and Walton (1952) and Mills and Wilson (1952).

In addition, 2 government surveys were carried out in Chatha during the planning of betterment (Government Reports 1952 and 1958). Research was also undertaken in Nqhumeya, a village in many ways similar to Chatha, in 1961 (Mayer, 1972, vol. 2).

In both communities, a sound base-line of information exists, against which the impact of betterment may be assessed.

Research methods included:

- a) consultation of available documentary evidence of past and present demographic, agricultural and economic conditions and trends.
- b) consultation with agricultural planning officials, extension officers and administrators
- c) formal and informal interviews with a selected sample of the communities
- d) participant observation (i.e. actually staying in the community for periods

of time, and participating in gatherings, meetings, feasts, community undertakings and ceremonies, thereby observing and recording patterns of association and cooperation, as well as discussing events with people on the spot)

e) botanical, soils and agricultural surveys of both areas.

2 BETTERMENT: A BRIEF INTRODUCTION(1)

By 'betterment' is understood the attempt, started in the 1930's and which reached its zenith after the Tomlinson Commission reported in 1955, by the South African Government to transform agriculture in the "homeland areas" of South Africa.

This programme of planned transformation of the "homeland areas", although it passed through various phases, is rooted in the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936 and in the Agricultural Betterment Act of 1939. The process of its implementation is referred to by people in these areas as 'the Trust' (iTrasti). It seems that all subsequent government initiated activity, such as the fencing of locations, agricultural extension programmes and actual betterment schemes, is seen by its recipients as being part of a single undertaking, originating in the far-reaching consequences of the 1936 Act.

Areas proclaimed as betterment areas were to be rehabilitated and made economically viable by being divided into residential areas, arable lands, and grazing commonage. Officials were to assess the carrying capacity of the area in terms of stock units, and were empowered to order a culling of stock if necessary.

Betterment areas were to be planned on the idea of economic units. An economic unit was to be designed in such a way that a family (apparently equated with a household) should have access to an amount of arable land and grazing commonage for its cattle that would enable it to make a minimum income of £60 per year, which was reckoned to be sufficient to enable the family to make a living off the land. It was anticipated that a stable rural peasantry could thus be created, and its members would no longer have to migrate to work in the cities.

The proportion of arable land to grazing land required to make up an economic unit varied from area to area, depending on climatic and other factors. In certain areas of the Ciskei, it was calculated at 3 morgen of arable land and 17 head of cattle, each requiring 3 morgen of grazing land. This arrangement meant that there were too many people on the land for every family to have an economic unit. If an area could accommodate say 100 economic units, it could only accommodate 100 families, and those 'surplus' families in the area would have to move off the land. They were to be accommodated in new rural villages and industrial towns which would be created to accommodate these people, who would be compensated for the land that they were leaving behind.

The successful implementation of the Tomlinson Commission's proposals would thus require a fundamental restructuring of the rural environment, as people would have to move into the newly planned residential areas, to make the rest of the area available for cultivation and grazing. It would also require a significant expansion of industry in and around the homeland areas to give work to the substantial proportion (more than half in many cases) that would have to move from their old rural homes into the new rural villages and industrial areas.

It was essential that these new industrial areas be quickly created, and be successful, as it was necessary that economic units be viable in the rural areas, so that people would want to participate in the implementation of the proposals. Cooperation of the people themselves was essential, as without it

reclamation in the homeland areas could have little or no effect.

Betterment, or 'rehabilitation' as it is also known, was in effect not implemented as envisaged by the Tomlinson Commission. The funding necessary for establishing the new rural villages and industrial towns was not made available by the Government. Since the new settlements (except in a minority of cases) never got off the ground, there was nowhere to which to move the 'surplus' rural population.

The idea of the economic unit was thus dropped. (It had already effectively been dropped at the outset, as the Tomlinson Commission had originally determined that to make a living off agriculture, a black family would need an income of £120 per year. This would however involve moving about 80% of the rural families off the land. This was impracticable, and would cause social problems, and so the figure of £60 was decided upon).

Betterment areas were then divided up into arable, grazing and residential areas. Culling of stock took place in some areas. The people moved to the new residential areas, being compensated for the move. The same number of families that had had land before betterment were awarded arable land, as it was policy in the application of the revised proposals that no one should lose rights to occupy land as a result of the implementation of betterment. Land regarded as unsuitable for cultivation was removed from use, so in the newly demarcated arable areas, less land was suitable if there had been such unsuitable land. People then found themselves with less arable land than before betterment.

Agricultural extension services were planned to be more effective and accessible, and in some areas irrigation schemes, as well as dairying, self-help and poultry projects were undertaken.

There was resistance to the implementation of betterment throughout the homeland areas, and the idea has come in for extensive criticism on political, economic, agricultural, anthropological and moral grounds. It has also found favourable comment from these quarters. These criticisms and comments will be evaluated in the concluding section of this report, in the light of the ethnographic discussion of the two areas in which research was done.

3 CHATHA BEFORE BETTERMENT

In this section, a brief outline of the demographic, residential, social and agricultural situation of Chatha before betterment will be given, which may serve as a base-line against which the impact of betterment in these areas may be assessed.

We do not have a clear idea of what the population of Chatha was before the advent of betterment, as the various available estimates differ, and appear to show a progressive decline in the number of households in the village, as well as in its population. These differences may be represented in tabular form as follows:

<u>Source of Estimate</u>	<u>Households</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>People per Household</u>
1) Keiskammahoek Rural			
Survey 1948-1950	375	2325(de jure)	6.2
2) Keiskammahoek Rural Survey	375	2245(de facto)	6.1
Questionnaires		2640(de jure)	7.2
3) 1952 Government Report	350	1594(unspecified)	4.6
4) 1958 Government Report	328	1880(unspecified)	5.7

Various explanations may be offered to account for these discrepancies,(2) but at best only a very general average estimate of these figures can be attempted, which would give Chatha a de facto population of roughly 2 000 people, living in approximately 350 homesteads, in the early 1950s.

Before betterment, Chatha was divided into a number of village-sections "each set on a ridge, separated from others by gullies" (Wilson et al 1952, p. 9). Each village-section was in turn divided into several hamlets, or sub-sections, again separated from each other by "a ridge, a valley, or some or other natural physical feature" (ibid, p.9). Hamlets usually consisted of clusters of approximately 10 to 40 homesteads. Since sons often set up their own homesteads near their fathers, a hamlet was usually occupied by households belonging to one or a few lineages. Thus in the case of one village-section (Ndela) of 32 households, 28 belonged to 3 lineages, all of the same clan. While as a general rule, members of the same lineage all lived in the same village-section, larger lineages had members in various village-sections, as brothers had established themselves in different parts of the settlement soon after Chatha was established in the 1850's (Mills and Wilson 1952, p.2). Clansmen were likewise to be found residing in various village-sections. A list of village-sections and their hamlets is given in Appendix A, and an idea of the composition of some of these hamlets may be formed by looking at maps 1, 2, and 3 in Appendix B. Fields were generally below the homesteads, stretching down towards the various streams, while cattle and small stock were grazed on the slopes above the homesteads, and in the mountains. Gardens and kraals were in the immediate vicinity of the homesteads. Water was drawn from nearby streams, and wood was gathered from clusters of trees and bushes along the courses of streams, and from the lower reaches of the forest area.

The village was politically centred round the headman and his council, which provided the forum for decisions affecting the whole village, as well as being the village's link with higher authority. The headman was the only official in the village whose authority was recognized by the Administration. He was paid by the (then) Native Affairs Department, and was both leader and representative of his village. His duties included assisting the Government in the administration of his village, and, subject to the Administration, the allotment of land (Wilson et al 1952, p.24-5). His official advisors were the subheadmen of the various village-sections. The subheadman's duties were essentially to assist the headman in carrying out his terms of office, at the level of the village-section. The subheadman conveyed requests from people of his village-section for residential sites and for arable land. He also had to collect contributions from members of his village-section when funds were required for some village undertaking, or for a local levy (ibid, p.29-30).

Public matters were discussed, disputes settled, and land allocated at the headman's council. Matters not settled at the village council would be referred to the (then) Native Commissioner's office at Keiskammahok. The headman was assisted in his conducting of the council by various councillors, who were usually older men, skilled in law and rhetoric (ibid, p.30-31).

Before betterment, the village-section was primarily a political unit, which largely coincided with the residential unit described earlier. People were tied to their village-section inasmuch as they depended on their subheadman for representation of their claims for allocation of land, and for the expression of their views on administrative matters. This led to a sense of identity among village-section members, and resulted in people supporting candidates of their own village-section for political office. So in 1950 the election of a new headman crystallized into a contest between the upper and lower sections of the village, in which the two respective candidates for office lived (ibid, p.11-12). The village-section was a significant source of claims and rewards.

Each village-section had its own council, under the subheadman, where it settled its own affairs. No-one but members of the village-section was permitted to attend these council meetings, unless invited to do so, but subheadmen of neighbouring village-sections sometimes provided assistance with difficult cases (ibid, p.15). As a councillor of the headman, the subheadman was also the village-section's channel of communication with higher authority, and matters which were not settled in the subheadman's council would usually be referred to the headman's council.

Matters which were more a family concern were heard before the council of the local lineage group or lineage remnant. From here matters which were unresolved, or required further representation, would be referred to the headman's council (ibid, p.31-32).

The councils of the lineage remnant, the village-section and the village, were thus structurally similar, operating at different levels of inclusiveness.

People identified with their village, and with their village-section, and these loyalties were instilled from an early age by competition between such groupings, and later on by their partaking of food and drink together at weddings, feasts and beer drinks (ibid, p. 15-16). Recreational and ceremonial activities thus served to reinforce the unity of these various groupings, bound

together by locality and by economic and political interdependence.

Although there was "extensive borrowing and cooperation within the hamlet and the village-section," (op.cit. p.17), proximity also gave rise to a clash of interests and conflicts. Of 100 cases of accusation of witchcraft or sorcery, the great majority were directed at kinsmen by blood or marriage (82%) and at people living in the same village-section (85%) (op.cit. p.172). Proximity thus functioned as a powerful source of unity, as well as a significant source of conflict.

The communal form of land tenure operated in Chatha before betterment. Under this system, all the members of the village had access to commonage for grazing stock and collecting firewood, etc. Arable land and residential sites were allocated by the headman and his council, subject to the approval of the Native Commissioner (Mills and Wilson 1952, p.8). Arable allotments theoretically reverted to commonage when their occupiers died, to be re-allocated. In effect allotments were inherited in the male line, while widows were allowed to retain the use of their dead husband's lands (op.cit. p.18).

As with population, the available estimates differ with regard to the distribution of land and stock before betterment. The discrepancies, particularly with regard to the amount of arable land and the percentage of houses with stock are such that reliable average estimates cannot usefully be made.(3)

We do however have data relating to the relative wealth of individual households in terms of ownership of land and stock for 74 families during the time of the Keiskammahoek Rural Survey.(4) This data indicates that "distribution of stock is very unequal" (Houghton and Walton 1952, p.173), and much more unequal than the distribution of arable land.

Although the Keiskammahoek Rural Survey does not give details as regards patterns of agricultural cooperation for Chatha, it does give such details for the village of Upper Nqhumeya, which like Chatha, operated on the communal system of land tenure (Mills and Wilson 1952, ch.2). It is here assumed that the two villages, alike in other respects, were sufficiently similar with regard to patterns of agricultural cooperation to warrant comparison. The recruitment of labour for ploughing in the village of Upper Nqhumeya may be represented as follows:

<u>Location of People Assisting Each Other</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>
Own Household	8 cases (11%)
Same Village-Section	52 cases (70%)
Other Village-Sections	12 cases (16%)
Other Villages	2 cases (3%)
	<u>74 cases (100%)</u>

(adapted from Wilson et al 1952, p.20).

Of 66 actual cases of cooperation, between households 79% were with members of the same village-section.

Patterns of agricultural cooperation may also be analysed from the perspective of relationship, and the same 66 cases of cooperation in Upper Nqhumeya in 1949 may be represented in terms of kinship relations, as follows:

<u>Relationship Between People Assisting Each Other</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>
Agnates	22 cases (33%)
Affines	13 cases (20%)
Agnates and Affines	2 cases (3%)
Clansmen	2 cases (3%)
Agnates and Unrelated People	4 cases (6%)
Unrelated People	19 cases (29%)
Maternal Relatives	4 cases (6%)
	<u>66 cases(100%)</u>

(adapted from Wilson et al 1952, p.69)

While in the majority of cases (71%), assistance was received from relatives, agnates were involved in only 42% of cases. So the high percentage of cases of assistance (79%) from people of the same village-section cannot be explained in terms of the fact that agnates lived in the same section. The bonds of solidarity and cooperation between members of the same village-section clearly stretched further than the bonds of agnatic kinship. While agnation certainly operated as a cohesive force, the cohesiveness of village-sections must be understood in terms of proximity, and political and economic interdependence. It was at village-section level that everyday cooperation and economic assistance took place, and it is here that one would expect and find agricultural assistance.

Oral evidence suggests that there was little hiring of oxen for ploughing. People either ploughed in companies or borrowed cattle, repaying their debt in some other form of assistance. Likewise, there was little hiring (on cash terms) of labour for tasks like hoeing. People would prepare food and beer and call a work-party. This is confirmed by data from Upper Nqhumeya where during the 1949/1950 season, 29 out of 35 fields (83%) were weeded by work-parties, while 6 (17%) were weeded through recruiting hired labour (ibid, p.20).

Those people who did not have arable land of their own, or who had less than they felt they could work, could gain access to arable land by means of sharecropping (whereby one party provides the land, while the other provides everything necessary to its cultivation, e.g. oxen, seed and labour, and the crop is shared); hiring (whereby the use of the land is leased out on an annual basis and the lessee is entitled to all the produce from the land); or borrowing (whereby a land or a portion of it is made available free of charge, and the recipient is allowed to keep the crop).

During the 1949/1950 summer season 11% of the households sampled in Chatha cultivated either their own land, or that of someone else, on a sharecrop basis (Mills and Wilson, p.26), while 5% hired land from others or hired out their own land (ibid, p.29) and 15% either borrowed land, or lent

out their own land (ibid, p.31) It is not clear between whom sharecropping and hiring relationships took place, although borrowing usually took place between kin (ibid).

The product of all this cooperation and labour was relatively little. Crops in the 1948/1949 season were negligible because of severe drought, and in the following year, described as a good season, (Houghton and Walton, 1952, p. 157) yields were as follows:

Maize 5.5 x 200lb bags per morgen
Sorghum 2.5 x 200lb bags per morgen.

(adapted from Houghton and Walton 1952, p. 162)

Given that the average land-holding per family was about 2.6 morgen (including gardens) (Mills and Wilson, 1952, p.39), these yields are below the annual consumption requirements of 20 bags per family as estimated by (Houghton and Walton (1952, p. 159). In 1949 income from agriculture (computed in cash and kind for crops and stock) contributed £9 3s 9d, or just over 25% of the estimated average family income of £35 17s 4d (adapted from Houghton and Walton 1952, p. 106).

The village-section functioned as an important social and ceremonial unit before betterment. At initiation schools, all the initiates from one village-section shared an initiation lodge separate from those of other sections. When a member of the village-section died, fellow members would not work in their fields before the funeral, and young men of the section would help to dig the grave. Members of a village-section would sit together at beer drinks, circumcision feasts and weddings, being given food and drink separately from other sections (Wilson et al, p.16). This same commensal solidarity also took place at the village level when attending ceremonies in other villages (ibid).

In preparing for a ceremony, members of the village-section were expected to help with tasks such as grinding mealies, collecting wood and water, and cooking (ibid, p.17).

Ritual and ceremonial relating to the lineage was effectively the concern of the lineage remnant, rather than the wider lineage group or the clan. The person responsible for supervising or performing such rituals was the remnant leader (ibid, p. 63-64). For more important occasions, lineage members from further afield (geographically and genealogically) might be invited. Affines would be invited to rituals involving their kinswomen's husband, while several unrelated people were usually also in attendance. It was, however, the wives married into the lineage who were expected to help with preparations, while daughters of the lineage assisted if they wished to (ibid, p.66). While a woman who was a staunch Christian might refuse to attend the rituals of her own lineage group, she was obliged to assist and attend at rituals relating to her husband's group (ibid, p. 66-67).

In addition to the voluntary organizations based upon church membership and school attendance, there were associations which were mainly recreational, to which boys and girls and young men and women belonged. Males were dominant in these associations and since circumcision was the critical divide between boyhood and manhood, there were two different associations: one for

boys, and one for young men. Girls identified with the group to which their brothers or boyfriends belonged (ibid, p. 158).

The Boys' Association (iBhavu) was usually frequented by boys of 14-20 years, and girls of 14-18 years of age (Mayer, 1972, p. 34). A local Boys' Association was recruited on village-section lines, and was hierarchically organized, promotion being achieved through winning stick-fighting contests (ibid, p. 40). Overnight gatherings were regularly held, to which members of other associations might be invited. Such gatherings saw the boys dancing to the clapping of the girls, and stick-fighting between members of the various associations attending (Wilson et al 1952, p.160).

An annual feast was held at Christmas time, lasting anything up to a month, at which nightly beer-drinking and courtship would take place, with the boys and girls going back home by day. Members of other associations would be invited on some nights to share in the festivities and to compete in the dancing (ibid, p. 160-161).

The activities of the Parliament (the association of young men and women - iPalamente) were organized on similar lines to those of the Boys' Association, although on more self-controlled and dignified lines. The "raucousness, violence and openly non-marital sexuality" associated with the Boy's Association were looked down on by members of the Parliament (Mayer, 1972, p. 21).

The 'Parliament' was also organized on village-section lines, (Wilson et al 1952, p.164), having its own internal hierarchy (Mayer 1972, p.74) which was observed in the distribution of beer during feasts. Members of other Parliaments were invited to these feasts and to the Christmas celebration. Instead of dancing and stick-fighting, social occasions were characterised by singing and competition between choirs of the various Parliaments (Wilson et al 1952, p. 162).

Like the Boys' Association, the Parliament rendered community assistance, the Boys' Association helping with weeding, while the Parliament assisted with agriculture and hut-building (loc. cit.). The main activity, however, of the Parliament related to its role in Christian weddings. The respective Parliaments to which the bride and the groom belonged, assisted with the preparations for the wedding, also parading through the community on horseback, and holding singing competitions (loc. cit.).

Both associations had reciprocal relationships with their counterparts in other villages and village-sections, inviting each other to attend social occasions, and to compete in stick-fighting and dancing, or in singing (loc. cit. p.164). This inter-sectional hospitality and competition helped to foster a sense of identity which later assumed political significance when men began to take a part in administering the interests and affairs of their village-sections.

Neighbours cooperated in a variety of ways, both social and economic, whether they were kinsmen or not. At the political and ceremonial level the bonds and tensions of locality were extended to the level of the village-section, and ultimately to that of the village. Outside of the immediate family and neighbourhood, the effective unit of cooperation and identification was the village-section, and it was this particular unit that was to be fundamentally challenged by the coming of betterment.

4 CHATHA : THE COMING OF BETTERMENT(5)

In 1947, the neighbouring Keiskammahoek locations of Gxulu, Chatha and Emnyameni were proclaimed 'betterment areas' (Government Notices Nos 2260 and 2262 of 1947). Oral evidence states that the Magistrate called a meeting at Chatha at which he explained what betterment entailed, and at which the people expressed themselves in favour of betterment. A committee was formed, and signed a document, committing Chatha to accept betterment.

In 1952 surveys of Gxulu, Chatha and Emnyameni were conducted. Chatha was found to be overgrazed and it was suggested that tracts of arable land situated on river banks and steep slopes would have to be withdrawn as they were 'causing considerable erosion' (Government Report 1952, p.2). Before betterment approximately 495 morgen of land were 'under the plough' (Government Report 1958, p.9).

After some correspondence between local government officials and central government in Pretoria (in which local officials argued that it would be futile to proceed with the plan for betterment, as the people were opposed to it), a committee was formed in 1957 to consolidate, and improve existing reports and recommendations for Gxulu, Chatha and Emnyameni. Another survey was conducted and advisory committees were appointed in the 3 villages to discuss the committee's proposals and to solicit the people's opinions. The committee's report in 1958 states that the village advisory committees were 'unanimous' in their support for the idea of the proposed rural township to which those people who could not be accommodated in terms of the proposed system of economic units, would be moved.

In 1961 it became clear that the proposed rural township was not feasible, and the idea of economic units was effectively dropped. The remaining 192 morgen of arable land which was not too steeply sloping or too eroded was to be divided into smaller lots, so that everybody who had had land before betterment would still have some arable land after betterment. The effective arable holding would thus amount to half a morgen per landholding household. In addition 30 families were to settle on irrigated allotments of 1½ morgen each. Before betterment the available arable holding in Chatha was over 2 morgen (Mills and Wilson 1952: p.34).

Implementation of betterment started in 1961, with the fencing off of proposed grazing camps. Arable and residential areas were fenced off and individual arable and residential allotments were demarcated. Sites were demarcated by tractors dragging lengths of chain and sites being marked off using these chains as units of measurement.

Two new concentrated residential areas were thus created, being laid out in the form of streets. This meant that some families had their gardens and kraals in front of their huts, while others had them at the back - a matter which has given rise to dissatisfaction as people feel they cannot effectively keep a check on their gardens and stock when they are not in direct sight.

Arable lands were also marked off in the same way, and four blocks of arable land were demarcated. The marking off of arable lands seems to have taken place in several stages, as fields were allocated to some people in 1964 and to others in 1968. Oral testimony suggests that people were unable to cultivate their fields during the implementation of the scheme, as the new

allotments were being surveyed and marked off on the areas where their old fields were.

After the residential sites had been marked off, people were allowed to choose their residential sites where they wished to stay. This was to be done by the people coming and standing on their sites on an appointed day. Some 60 families were already living in one of the new residential areas, which largely coincided with the residential area of one of the old village-sections (Nyanga). Some of these families had to move their houses to fit within the new demarcated sites. As one informant put it, "our house is now where our garden was". The remaining 270 families(6) had to move from their old sites into the new residential areas, and were paid compensation for their inconvenience and for the loss of their old homes.(7) Everybody did not move at the same time, as they waited until they had the necessary money, labour and materials to make the move. It seems that by 1967 everybody had moved: a process which had taken 3 years.

Fields were allocated in the same way, with people standing on the fields of their choice. It seems that fields were allocated singly, i.e. one at a time, rather than everybody standing on the fields of their choice at the same time. Where people's old fields fell within the newly demarcated areas, it was acknowledged by the people that they had first rights to new sites. People who had had fields where the new irrigation scheme was to be, were evidently given preference by the officials presiding over the allocation of fields, which gave rise to more dissatisfaction among the people who were already resentful about being moved.

Work on the irrigation scheme started in 1966. A residential area for the irrigation settlers was demarcated and lands were levelled and marked out. A meeting was held in 1966 or 1967, at which people were given the choice of joining the irrigation scheme. There were conditions attached to joining the scheme. People should have no goats or sheep, be limited to 4 cattle per household, and there should always be a male working full-time on the land. The scheme could finally accommodate only 24 families and 21 joined almost immediately, the other 3 joining over the next 5 years. Fields were allocated by settlers drawing numbers out of a hat, where each number corresponded to a particular field.

Production on the irrigation scheme started in 1969, and the irrigation settlers had the privilege of irrigated lands and of the services of an agricultural officer who would provide them not only with information, seed, fertilizer and insecticide, but also with access to markets. In addition they had access to government tractors and equipment for cultivation. It was clearly the irrigation settlers who stood to benefit by betterment, and as we shall see later, this was reflected in their perception of the implementation of betterment.

The events most frequently mentioned in the people's accounts of the betterment scheme emphasize their awareness of the scheme as being imposed upon them, in spite of their having objected to it. "The Trust (as the betterment scheme is known) came by force, because when the people said 'No, we don't want the Trust', the Magistrate said 'Your headman said you wanted Trust' - even there at the office in Keiskammahoek, the people said they didn't want Trust." The betterment scheme became identified with white officialdom and the government. "Trust, its the law of the 'White man' - the law came to tell us about Trust, that we must move."

A sense of intrusion into the integrity and well-being of the village is strongly evident. Here was the White man, the government, moving into the village, erecting fences, reorganizing the village, and telling the people to move. "We saw the white man and his people, they had chains, they were making the lines - we just saw." The continuous use of the third person ('they') in people's accounts emphasizes their perception that betterment was something which was essentially the doing of outsiders: a process in which they had not been consulted, and over which they had no control.

The people's sense of having no real control in the situation was also reflected in the feelings of puzzlement and fear in their accounts. "Trust took us (across the river) - we didn't know why we moved - we just saw when they made the lines - they didn't tell us why they were making the lines - then they said we must move - we didn't know which side of the lines to stay - we didn't ask the White man why he was moving us, because we were afraid."

The headman was caught in the middle, between his people and the government, and was identified with the betterment scheme, by some people as wanting it, and assisting the government in implementing it. At about the time of betterment the houses of the headman and two of his councillors burned down during the same night. He was of the opinion that "my houses were burned down for the sake of Trust," and this does seem a distinct possibility. He was seen by people as evading his moral responsibility towards his people. "We always went to the headman, but he didn't answer us," and "then headman said ' Now Trust is here, now you must move to Nyanga', then we asked questions of the headman, in the year we moved, in 1965."

The move itself is spoken of in terms of hardship. People "suffered to move". "It was very difficult because we carried our things from Nyokane to Nyanga on our hands - this roof, we took it whole from over there - the young men and boys carried the roof - I didn't have people in the family to build the house for me."

Another factor making for an experience of the move as painful, was that many men were away at work at the time. When the time came to move, women had to make the decision as to when to move, but without adequate information, and without the consent of their husbands. Several male informants state that they came home to find their houses no longer standing and their families moved across the river.

People feel a sense of having been betrayed by the white officials, of having been misled as to what betterment actually involved. "Then we lived as the Government told us - the story is not the same as you tell (told) us - you must tell what you know." "The white man does not do what he promises." (i.e. in the matter of the Trust).

The aspect of betterment which has perhaps had the most far-reaching effects upon patterns of association in Chatha, was the reallocation of residential sites and arable lands, as it has done much to undermine the old patterns which revolved around the village-section.

People were free to choose their new residential sites, but it appears that

people were not allowed to move en bloc in such a way that people from village-section A could occupy sites 1 to 60 and village-section B could occupy sites 61 to 130, etc. The magistrate apparently was afraid that old village-factions would be maintained and aggravated by entire village-sections living so close to each other. "The magistrate said that if they put Rawule and Jili together, there would be trouble and they would fight, so that's why he mixed them."

Some informants say that members of village-sections wanted to stay together, while others suggested that some people were perhaps happy to get a little further away from their kinsmen (although it seems likely that this latter group was in the minority). One such informant's comment suggests that sometimes the cohesiveness of the old village-sections could be a liability. "I left Skafu (i.e. the new residential area next to his old village-section of the same name) because of witchcraft." Married women may have played a role in choosing new residential sites, as one informant suggests that women wanted to stay near their families, particularly those whose families had been living in the old village-section of Nyanga, into which the majority of the village was moving. In the absence of the proximity of the husband's lineage, some security would presumably be offered by being close to her own people.

In any event, the practical problems involved in the selection of sites made it unlikely that any coherent village-section pattern could emerge in the new residential area. Firstly, those people who were already in the new residential area because their homes had always been there stayed where they were. This meant that other people had to fit in around them. Secondly everybody wanted a good site, as close as possible to wood and water, and so many people found the sites which they wanted, already occupied. People were obliged to take whatever sites were available, whether they were close to members of their lineage or village-section, or not.

Some comments from informants will serve to illustrate the ad hoc nature of the selection of residential sites. "I chose this place because it was the only place I could get because the other places were full. All the sites at Skafu were occupied, otherwise we would have wanted to live at Skafu". "We were not allowed to stay in one place by village-section. I didn't want this site. I wanted to stay there at the bottom but the sites were taken, so you took any site." "I chose to live here because it was close to my home - it's also close to the forest and the river." "The people went to stand on their sites at night, and so when you got there, the places were full. The site I wanted was occupied." "I chose to go to Skafu but the place there was unsuitable - it had dongas. I left and came to ask for this site." A factor further adding to the confusion was that women whose husbands were away at work had to choose residential sites without the advice or consent of their husbands, who came home to discover that the village was undergoing a transformation.

The result was a mixture of different village-sections, with anybody as your neighbour. However, there are some parts of the new residential areas that show a considerable degree of grouping on old village-section lines. This is because the people were already living there, or perhaps because that section of the new residential area was close to where they were living, enabling a group move, if the particular village sub-section (hamlet) was small enough to make this possible.

The process of allocating fields was largely similar to the allocation of residential sites, with people selecting their fields as they could, with the

proviso that those people who had larger fields, or whose fields had been where the new irrigation scheme was to be were given first choice. As with residential sites, people were "overtaken" (i.e. could not get the site they wanted), and resentment is expressed at the fact that "the fields were not all the same size." Contesting sites was apparently of no avail, because "when people fought about a place, it would be given to another person," if it could not be established who first occupied the site.

When the villagers were given the choice of joining the irrigation scheme, only 21 initially responded positively. Why did people not wish to take advantage of the apparent benefits of the irrigation scheme?

People on the irrigation scheme replied that they had joined because they had wanted to farm on irrigated land, to have enough food to feed themselves and their children, and to sell their crops for money to send their children to school, or that they had joined because their old fields had been where the irrigation scheme now was. One person said that he had been given a bad field on the new dryland allotments, and had wanted to farm, while another replied that he had previously had no land.

People who had chosen not to join the scheme argued that they "did not want to work with water", presumably for fear of chest or rheumatic ailments or that they would not be strong enough for the labour they would have to perform on the irrigation scheme. As one informant put it, "there they will be working in the fields all the time. No summer, no winter, it will all be the same." Others felt that they would not be able to work away as migrants, as there would have to be an adult working full-time on the scheme, or that they would not be allowed to keep goats or sheep.

Most of the responses from people not joining the irrigation scheme associated it with something negative - loss of freedom to migrate, imposition of conditions of labour in their own fields, threat to their health, impairment of dignity. The betterment scheme had already undermined the dignity and autonomy of the people by making them move. To join the irrigation scheme would be to submit to even further control, and might even be seen by fellow-villagers to smack of collaboration. In addition the scheme had not yet proved itself, and until it did, it would be foolhardy to sacrifice the security of a job in the city.

Those who joined the scheme clearly saw it as offering them new possibilities. Given that they had to move, it made better sense to move to 1½ morgen of irrigated land, than to half-a-morgen of dryland. Of the 24 families who settled on the scheme, 14 moved straight from their old village-sections to the new irrigation scheme, while the rest first moved to the new residential areas before moving over to the irrigation scheme - possibly because the scheme was only opened after they had moved and had assessed the situation in the new dryland areas.

There are no clear 'sociological' differences (in terms of age, sex, education, migration experience, networks within the village, or landlessness) between dryland and irrigation scheme household heads which might have influenced their decision to join at the time, and no clear reason suggests itself as to why those particular families chose to take this substantial social and economic risk.

One of the striking features of this betterment project is the difference in the perception of government officials and of the villagers themselves as to:
a) whether the betterment scheme was necessary in the first place

b) whether it was implemented with the consent of the people themselves.

The officials were probably looking at the situation in terms of long-term considerations such as maintaining the environment and the quality of stock. In these terms the area appears to have been overgrazed, overpopulated and eroded, necessitating reclamation of some kind.

The villagers who now see the pre-betterment situation as a time of plenty, were probably operating with a short-term survival view. In these terms, a 'good year' would be a year in which the people had managed without crop failure or stock loss. In addition, the people's perception of the betterment scheme as impinging on their freedom, has led them to romanticize the pre-betterment period as a time of freedom and of plenty, in which 'betterment' was not necessary.

The difference in perception of officials and of the villagers themselves as to the nature of the village's consent to the scheme is graphically illustrated by an oral account of the original meeting in 1947 when the Magistrate first came to Chatha to discuss betterment. "At the meeting at the headman's place the speaker (who had been nominated by the people) stood up and said 'You white people are God to us, and we believe and accept what you say.' Then the Magistrate instructed the headman and his council to nominate a committee."

Since the announcement of betterment proposals by the government in the 1940s, these proposals had met with opposition and resistance in the Transkei and the Ciskei, and indeed throughout the country. The villagers of the Keiskammahoek area must certainly have heard of this resistance and that it had been to no avail. Betterment would come whether they wanted it or not, and to oppose it would only bring further grief. So the speaker's apparent playing on the omnipotent as opposed to the benevolent attributes ascribed to the Creator was misunderstood by the Magistrate, although probably not by his fellow-villagers.

The official view that the people supported betterment was thus probably influenced by the fact that they generally liaised with headmen and their committees who probably saw the futility of resistance and therefore gave their consent. As an official in the employ of the government, the headman particularly was in an invidious position, caught between the government and his own people. It is possible that the officials would have seen the attitudes of headmen and their committees as representative of their people, and therefore assumed that the people also wanted betterment.

The problem of inadequate communication was probably further aggravated by the nature of the public meetings at which betterment was discussed. At such meetings problems of audibility, comprehension, effective translation and boredom may have arisen. The perceptions of informed speakers and uninformed listeners as to what was actually communicated may well have been very different. Furthermore, women evidently did not attend all the meetings at which betterment was discussed, and many men were away at the time. Different families would thus have been differently informed, and some dependent on hearsay. Several years later, when the time came to move, the details would have become obscured, and the feeling that the whole scheme had been forced upon the people would have been very natural.

5 CHATHA AFTER BETTERMENT

a) Demography and Residential Patterns

Today (1983) there are 432 homesteads in Chatha, of which approximately 415 are occupied, giving an estimated total population of 3 104.(8) This figure may be broken down at household level as follows:

<u>People at Home</u>	<u>People Away</u>	<u>Total Household Size</u>	<u>Percentage Away</u>
5.53	1.95	7.48	26%

While the average household size has only increased slightly (from 7.2 to 7.48) since the Keiskammahoek Rural Survey, the number of people away has risen from 15% to 26%. The rate of population growth is lower than average (i.e. 78% increase instead of the usual doubling in a generation) This may however be a function of the accuracy of our original estimate of approximately 2 000 people in the early 1950s.

The 432 homesteads in Chatha are distributed as follows:

New Residential Area	Nyanga	269 homesteads
New Residential Area	Skafu	139 homesteads
New Residential Area	Irrigation Scheme	24 homesteads

The new residential area of Nyanga consists of one large area of 219 homesteads, and a small area of 50 homesteads, separated for the most part by a gully. Nyanga and Skafu are separated from each other by a large ravine, involving a fairly steep descent from Nyanga to Skafu. Both these new areas are situated on hills sloping down towards the river, and are both on one side of the village, separated from the irrigation scheme by the road and the river running through the village. The houses of the irrigation scheme are also situated on a hill, running down towards the irrigation plots and the river.

People draw water from the river, or from one of its tributaries and collect wood from the forest, or from one of the gladed areas across the river. Stock are grazed in the newly demarcated grazing camps up in the mountain, or along the hills across the river. An impression of the village as it now is may be had from Map No. 2 in Appendix A. The four new arable areas are boundary fenced, while a few people have fenced off their own allotments inside these areas. In many cases people have to walk further to fetch wood and water, or to get to their fields than they did before betterment. Fields may be at least half an hour's walk from the occupier's homestead.

The new residential areas are laid out in streets: on one side of the street the gardens are in front of the houses, and on the other side the gardens are behind the houses. Most residential sites are fenced off, and within these sites, virtually every garden is fenced off. The cattlebyre is also inside the residential site and consists of a rectangular building of wood, poles and branches. The great majority of residential sites are one-quarter morgen in extent, while the rest are 1/8 morgen in size. There is no fixed garden size, as people have laid out their gardens individually within their residential sites.

The distribution of old village-sections in the new areas may be inferred

from Maps 4 to 7 in Appendix B. These maps tend to show a greater coherence than is in fact the case. One village-section (Nyanga) consisted of 4 hamlets, while four others each had more than one hamlet. This internal diversity is not indicated on the maps of the new residential areas.

The distribution of old village-sections in the new areas in terms of number of households affiliated to each old village-section may be represented as follows:

<u>Old Village-Section</u>	<u>Nyanga</u>	<u>Skafu</u>	<u>Irrigation Scheme</u>	<u>Total</u>
Nyanga	91	8	3	102
Ndela	60	0	14	74
Nyokane	58	15	5	78
Rawule	21	35	0	56
Jili	30	39	1	70
Skafu	8	42	1	51
Recent Immigrants	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>
	<u>269</u>	<u>139</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>432</u>

The majority of households associated with the old village-sections of Nyanga, Ndela and Nyokane are to be found in the new residential area of Nyanga, while the majority of households linked with the old Rawule, Jili and Skafu are to be found in the new Skafu. This would make sense, as the new Nyanga was closest to the old areas of Nyanga, and Ndela while the new Skafu was closest to the old Skafu, Jili and Rawule areas. The old Nyokane was about equidistant from both new residential areas, and its people probably mostly went to the new Nyanga area because it was larger, and so could accommodate more people, and offered a wider choice of sites.

The old area of Ndela was closest to the new irrigation scheme, and this proximity is reflected in the fact that the majority of households on the irrigation scheme originated from the old area of Ndela.

b) Village Politics

The major change in the political life of Chatha since betterment has been the demise of the village-section. Today (1983) the village-section does not exist in any territorial sense, as its members are scattered all over the new residential areas. With betterment, all available arable land was re-allocated by the magistrate, with the people choosing their own sites. The role of the subheadman as an allocator of land through the headman has thus fallen away. This change, together with territorial dispersion, has meant that the village-section no longer functions as an effective political unit, as its (former) members' interests are no longer focussed on their village-section membership, but on the new residential areas, and on the affairs of the village as a whole.

The old village-section does still play a role in village politics, but more as a unit facilitating administration rather than as an interest group. Each village-section still elects its own subheadmen, so that today, although there

are 2 new residential areas as well as the irrigation scheme, there are 7 subheadmen. (2 for the old village-section of Nyanga, which had traditionally been divided into 2 village-sections before betterment and one for each of the old village sections of Ndela, Nyokane, Rawule, Jili and Skafu). Four of these subheadmen (those for Nyanga (2), Ndela and Nyokane) reside in the new residential area of Nyanga, while 3 (those for Rawule, Jili and Skafu) reside in the new residential area of Skafu.

It so happens that the majority of households with affiliations to the old village-sections of Nyanga, Ndela and Nyokane reside in the new residential area of Nyanga, while the majority of households with affiliations to the old Rawule, Jili and Skafu reside in the new Skafu. While it makes sense that a subheadman resides in the area in which the majority of his old village-section resides, this has not always been the case. The previous subheadman for the old district of Rawule (who retired two years ago) resides in the new Nyanga, while the previous subheadman for Nyokane (who died two years ago) had resided in the new irrigation scheme. In the case of the old village-sections of Nyanga, on the one hand, and Skafu on the other, it does appear to be important that their subheadmen reside in Nyanga, as the present basis of village politics reflects tensions between the new residential areas of Nyanga and of Skafu, with their support rooted in the membership of their respective former village-sections.

The subheadmen are responsible for acting as a channel of communication between the headman's council, and the members of their former village-section, as well as for representing the interests of their village-section.

For example, earlier this year (1983) a number of drought-relief jobs were made available to the people of Chatha by the Ciskei Government, involving a remuneration of R2.00 per day. Each subheadman was asked to bring a list of the names of the neediest people in his village-section to the headman. The subheadmen, together with the headman, discussed the proposed names, and decided on the final list of successful applicants. The larger village-sections were entitled to a proportionately larger number of allocations.

Subheadmen are also responsible for the collection of funds, for example, towards the new secondary school or for a donation requested by the Ciskei National Independence Party towards its annual conference. Subheadmen have lists of the heads of households in the village-sections and will either collect the money themselves, or delegate this task to someone else.

The village-section still has its own council and its own court, which discuss issues and disputes pertinent to its own members.

The headman's council is still the highest court of decision and appeal in the village although its role appears to have been modified by the advent of betterment and of the Black Authorities Act of 1951. The headman is assisted by a committee which is elected by the village council. The present committee consists of 13 men, of which 8 are from the new residential area of Nyanga and 5 from the new residential area of Skafu. There is no clear pattern as regards former village-section membership in this committee. With betterment the amount of land available for cultivation was finally determined and all of it was allocated. Thus there is no more arable land which can be allocated for cultivation purposes, and so the headman and his council no longer have the power to allocate arable land. Arable allotments are in effect passed from a man to his widow, or from a widow to her son, and the headman accompanies the relative of the deceased to the Magistrate's

Office in Keiskammahoek and asks for the site to be transferred to his or her name. The same procedure is followed with residential sites, except where a site has fallen vacant, in which case it is allocated by the village council.

While the headman is answerable to the Magistrate, and needs his approval for the transfer of arable lands and residential sites, the village council is also connected to the wider administrative system by way of the Tribal Authority (which came into being as a result of the Black Authorities Act of 1951). Created on the lines of traditional chiefly authority, these bodies are of an ambiguous nature because their members are elected and they are answerable to both the local Magistrate and the Ciskei Legislative Assembly. Cases which are unresolved at the village council may be heard on appeal at the Tribal Authority, after which appeal may be made to the Magistrate's court at Keiskammahoek. Ciskei Government business affecting Chatha, such as drought relief, road construction, collection of funds or announcement of Government decisions, is filtered through the Tribal Authority, on which Chatha is represented.

Although not related to the coming of betterment, another change in village politics has been the advent of political parties in the Ciskei with the granting of self-government to the Ciskei in 1974. There is a committee of the Ciskei National Independence Party in Chatha, and most adult residents in the village are members of the Party.

The business of village council meetings consists largely of local village affairs, the settling of disputes, the announcement of government directives and the collection of contributions to various causes. Local village business would include matters like the administration of drought relief, the fencing of grazing camps, the impounding of cattle, election of members of various committees, etc., while examples of some causes towards which households contribute money have been:

- the extension to the primary school
- the erection of a shearing shed
- the erection of a secondary school
- the annual Ciskei National Independence Party conference
- the extension to the buildings at the Ciskei National Shrine of Ntaba ka Ndoda.

The emerging internal political unit within the village is no longer the village-section, but its replacement, the new residential area. There is a sense of competition, and at times enmity between the members of the new residential areas of Nyanga and Skafu. This sense of competition is expressed in the words of one Nyanga informant, as follows: "no, the village-sections are no longer politically important, except that it is important in the sense that Skafu is now like that" (i.e. competitive, factional)

An issue which has recently brought the tension between the two areas to a head, has been the choosing of a site for the proposed new secondary school at Chatha. The primary school and the clinic are situated in the area of Skafu - a matter which is resented by the inhabitants of Nyanga, who argue that both had been earmarked for Nyanga, which has twice as many homesteads as Skafu. In the opinion of some Nyanga residents, the prime movers in Skafu had talked the headmen over, and with deceit and guile had procured these benefits for this area. "The people of Skafu call the people of Nyanga amaqaba (i.e traditionalists, pagans, uneducated) - the people of Skafu don't use the clinic so much; Nyanga people use it much more."

At two village council meetings the people of Chatha had voted to have the new secondary school sited on the Nyanga side of the village. Problems had then arisen because it was felt by some government officials that as the school was not only for Chatha but also for neighbouring villages, the school should be placed as centrally as possible for all the villages concerned. Such a central site could only be located in the new area of Skafu. Parties from both sides of the dispute, i.e. from Nyanga and from Skafu had apparently gone separately to Zwelitsha to make representations to government officials. Although it appeared that it was only a specific group under the subheadman of the old village-section of Skafu that was fighting for the school site to be in Skafu, opinion in Nyanga seemed much more united in wanting the school in Nyanga, and in seeing the group in Skafu as the villains of the piece.

The issue came to a head and was finally resolved, at a series of village meetings early in 1983, after it appeared that again there had been lobbying for official support behind the scenes. A government official told the people that Skafu was the logical place for the school, and that the government would not subsidize the school on the Nyanga site. The arguments put forward by the Skafu camp were that officials had come to Chatha and had rejected the proposed site at Nyanga, and that it would in any event be impossible to build a secondary school without the financial assistance of the government. The Nyanga camp argued that government officials had in fact approved the site, but that the group in Skafu was running to the government behind the village's back. The village had voted for the Nyanga site, by a large majority, with only a few dissenters from Skafu and from the irrigation scheme. The Magistrate had told the headman to act on the majority vote of the village.

The group pushing to have the school at Skafu was led by the subheadman for the village-section of Skafu, who combined the roles of leader of his lineage remnant in Skafu, chief lay-preacher, shopkeeper, and chairman of the school committee. The group wanting to have the school at Nyanga was led by the village headman and a section of his village committee.

The lineage remnant agitating for the Skafu site, seems to be emerging as the most effective entrepreneurial group in Chatha. Its members own a small shop, several private taxis, several tractors, control the school committee, and are highly educated in village terms, boasting several teachers among their ranks. It seems that much of the antagonism directed by Nyanga residents against Skafu is envy and suspicion of this group, whose intellectual and entrepreneurial talents are more co-ordinated and effective than those of the residents of Nyanga.

The importance of the location of the secondary school (which informants suggest is actually about securing the spending power of the scholars from other villages, who will be needing board and lodging in Chatha) is emphasized by the fact that Nyanga members of the lineage of the Skafu entrepreneurs are of the strongest opponents of this latter group. The problematic nature of the dispute was perhaps best expressed by a member of this large lineage group, who nevertheless was in favour of the Nyanga site "It doesn't help to beat a snake when its head has already disappeared. . . we are quick to take our problems to the authorities, who complicate matters for us . . . the thing that will happen here is bad, (because on the one hand) there is a jail (i.e. being told where to build the school), on the other hand, government may not participate . . . let's try by ourselves, although its late . . . we will struggle to raise R2 000 . . . people are devious . . . perhaps only a

single member of clan X has spoken there (i.e. to the authorities)--the members of clan X are dead . . . malicious talk makes for madness."

The mention of 'a single member of clan X' is a clear reference to the leader of the Skafu group. The speaker's preparedness to talk about a member of his own lineage group as 'devious' and as making 'malicious talk' at a public meeting indicates the severity with which people were divided on this issue.

The matter was finally resolved when the Magistrate apparently gave his support to the village decision, and ruled that the official who said that the government would only subsidize the central site in Skafu, had spoken out of turn. The chief in charge of the Tribal Authority came to inspect the proposed site at Nyanga and approved it. Construction is due to start soon.

This tension between Nyanga and Skafu has also revealed itself in various other issues, and although Nyanga appears much more united and concerned than Skafu at present, it seems reasonable to expect that the Skafu 'entrepreneurial group' will attract growing support as they represent the largest former village-section (Skafu), and the second largest lineage group (19 households) in the new residential area of Skafu. The contests in village politics in Chatha then seem likely to continue to develop into a struggle between the new residential areas of Nyanga and Skafu. Nyanga, having twice as many homesteads as Skafu and being largely united as a group behind the headman will probably play the struggle along conventional lines, appealing to procedure and authority, whereas Skafu's politicians will probably seek to increase their influence through the areas to which they have access, viz. church activities, education, and village enterprise.

The old pre-betterment competition between the former village-sections of Nyanga and Jili has thus moved to competition between the new residential areas. The residential relocation brought about by betterment has also resulted in a shift of alliances. Whereas formerly the village-section of Skafu tended to support Nyanga against Jili, the fact that a large part of the old Skafu and Jili have been thrown together in the new residential area of Skafu, seems to be making for an alliance between the old Jili and Skafu members against Nyanga, the traditional seat of the headman.

c) Agriculture

Betterment has brought about various changes in the land-tenure system. Basic to the new dispensation is the division of the village into dryland and irrigation areas.

As we have seen, the number of dryland arable allotments has been finally determined, so that barring unusual circumstances, no more land will become available for arable purposes. Arable allotments are in effect passed from a man through his widow to his son. With betterment, 230 dryland arable allotments were allocated. It was originally intended that 266 allotments would be allocated, so that together with the proposed 30 irrigation settler families, all 296 families that had had arable land before betterment would still have arable land. However, more of the land set aside for cultivation was found to be unsuitable and withdrawn, so that 230 allotments were finally allocated. Records are incomplete, but official and oral accounts suggest that the vast majority (about 90% or more) of these are $\frac{1}{2}$ morgen allotments, with the remaining few being larger, extending up to 3 morgen. The fact that no more arable allotments are likely to be made available,

means that the percentage of landless households must increase through time. Of the 406 residential allotments on the dryland residential areas, 176 (43%) have no rights to arable lands, whereas at the time of betterment, 10% of households were estimated to be landless.

Of the 432 residential sites, the majority are of one-quarter morgen in size while the rest are 1/8 morgen in size. These sites have been laid out and people are unable to expand their gardens when they are able to cultivate more area, as was possible to a limited extent before betterment (Mills and Wilson 1952, p. 35). People in effect all have gardens, as they convert part of their residential site into gardens, although in some cases this has not occurred.

The commonage has been divided up into grazing camps, of which 8 camps totalling approximately 3 000 morgen in area have been set aside for the cattle of dryland homesteads, while 4 camps totalling 180 morgen have been set aside for the cattle of the households on the irrigation scheme. Free access to commonage for firewood, water, thatching grass or cattle dung may be had by anyone.

Approximately the same percentage of dryland households has stock today as at the time of the Keiskammahoeek Rural Survey, although stock-holdings are lower, particularly with regard to sheep. The present situation may be compared with that of 1948, (Houghton and Walton 1952, p.175) as follows:

	1948		1981	
	% of stock- holding house- holds	No. of Animals per stock- holding house- hold	% of stock- holding house- hold	No. of Animals per stock- holding house- hold
Cattle	73%	5.2	68%	4
Sheep	42%	2.1	30%	6
Goats	41%	6	33%	4.4

In 1948, 16% of sampled households had no stock at all whereas in 1981, 28% of sampled households had no stock at all. In terms of stock-holdings, people are worse-off today, particularly in terms of the number of households with no stock at all. Once again, cattle are more evenly distributed than sheep or goats.

Before betterment people sought assistance for ploughing largely from members of their own village-section, and from kin. Assistance was received from agnates in almost twice as many cases as from affines, but overall, assistance was received from agnates in less than half of the cases of such cooperation.

During the 1981/1982 agricultural season, a considerable number of fields were not cultivated, and of these that were, a large number (45% in my sample) were ploughed by tractor. To get a more representative picture, patterns of cooperation in ploughing were monitored in gardens as well as fields. In the sample, 71 households entered into cooperative arrangements, involving 112 relationships with people outside their own households.

The nature of these relationships may be respresented in tabular form, as follows:

<u>Affiliation to Former Village-Section</u>	<u>Number</u>
Help received from person of same former village-section	76 (68%)
Help received from person of other former village-section	31 (28%)
Help received from person of unspecified former village-section	3 (3%)
Help received from person of another village	2 (2%)
	<u>112</u>

There is a decrease in the recruitment of help from one's own village-section (although it still accounts for two-thirds of cases) and an increase in help from other former village-sections. This is not suprising if we consider that members of one's former village-section are now scattered throughout the new residential areas. In these circumstances, the tie shows a remarkable tenacity.

Perhaps the explanation for these enduring ties is to be found in the nature of the kinship relations between cooperating households.

For the purpose of delineating categories of kinship I have taken the relationship between two cooperating houses as that between the two male heads of the household (whether dead or alive). I have further distinguished between relationships of close and distant consanguinity, and close and distant affinity.(9) The relationships of cooperation in ploughing and planting may thus be portrayed in terms of kinship, as follows:

<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Same Former Village-section</u>	<u>Other Former Village-section*</u>	<u>Unspecified Former Village-section</u>	<u>Total</u>
Close				
Consanguines	24	0	0	24 (21%)
Distant				
Consanguines	19	0	0	19 (17%)
Close Affines	5	11	0	16 (14%)
Distant Affines	19	8	0	27 (24%)
Non-Relatives	8	10	0	18 (16%)
Unspecified	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8 (7%)</u>
	<u>76</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>112</u>

* including 2 cases from other villages.

Whereas there is slightly more cooperation with closer consanguines than with

distant consanguines, there is more cooperation with distant affines than with close affines. The amount of help received from affines has increased significantly, being equal to that received from consanguines. The overall percentage of help received from kinsmen has in fact risen, with less help being received from non-relatives.

Whereas kinship ties would explain cooperation with people of one's former village-section in the case of agnates (since agnates usually were of the same village-section), this is not necessarily the case with affines and non-relatives.

It is possible that people cooperate with households that live close to each other in the new residential areas, and that the high coincidence of cooperation with kinsmen and former village-section members could be best explained in terms of the convenience of residential proximity and newly developing ties of neighbourhood.

I have distinguished between households which are close together, a medium distance apart, or far apart.(10)

The 105 identified relationships of cooperation may be classified in terms of proximity as follows:

<u>Distance</u>	<u>Same Former Village-section</u>	<u>Other Former Village-section</u>	<u>Total</u>
Close	20	13	33 (31%)
Medium	43	9	52 (50%)
Far	10	10*	20 (18%)
	<u>73 (70%)</u>	<u>32 (30%)</u>	<u>105</u>

* including 2 cases from other villages

Something like seven-tenths of these relationships are with former village-section members, while one-third are with houses within a distance of 7 households. Convenience of proximity is clearly not the decisive factor determining patterns of cooperation. People prefer to stick to their former village-section members, whom they know better.

The proximity of cooperating households may also be looked at in relation to the kinship relationships between them.

<u>Type of Relationship</u>	<u>Close</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Far</u>	<u>Total</u>
Close Consanguine	8	13	3	24
Distant Consanguine	2	12	3	17
Close Affine	3	7	6	16
Distant Affine	10	11	5	26
Non-Relative	9	8	1	18
Unspecified	0	1	3	4
	<u>32</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>105</u>

Here again, only one-quarter of cases of cooperation with both consanguines and one third of cases with affines are between households living close together. Half of the cases of cooperation between households living close together are with non-kin. It would make sense to cooperate with non-relatives who live close by, as one would have built up trust with a neighbouring non-kinsman, rather than with a distant one. However, half of the cases of cooperation with non-kin were with people from the same former village-section, i.e. with people one already knew before betterment.

It is clear that proximity in the new residential areas is not the basis on which agricultural cooperation is taking place. One must conclude that the 15 years since betterment have not been enough to forge new ties of neighbourhood and bonds of trust, and that people fall back on the known and trusted ties of village-section and kinship.

The rise of instances involving kin indicates that the strategic value of kinship has shifted with the changing context. Within the old village-sections, one had ties with neighbours who were not necessarily kinsmen, and so various trustworthy options were open. In the new residential areas neighbourhood is still an unproven asset, so people tend to fall back on kinship as a resource.

One would expect more cooperation with close relatives than with more distant relatives, given that closeness of residence is not a significant factor in determining cooperation. We do in fact find that more people cooperate with close than with distant consanguines. In the case of affines, the reverse is however true. The nature of relationships with affines is not always as clearly defined, nor the obligations as binding as with consanguines. Mere kinship is not an axiomatic value which is always recognized or honoured, so a relationship with affines who are not strangers in every regard would be more predictable and rewarding than with strangers who were merely affines. It is in this light that we can perhaps explain why there are more relationships of cooperation with distant affines than with closer affines. Only three-tenths of close affines involved were members of the same village-section as the household they were assisting, whereas in the case of distant affines, the figure was two-thirds. Familiar affines are more likely to be trustworthy and helpful than strangers who happen to be the immediate family of your wife.

In the context of the new residential areas, people have not had time to develop strong bonds of neighbourliness, and look for help to proved relationships of kinship and village-section. Where these two ties can be united, so much the better will be the undertaking.

As in 1949, there is little hiring of oxen for ploughing. People who do not plough with tractors, either borrow cattle or plough in companies. During the 1981/1982 season 43 households in a sample pooled their cattle with other households in a company (6 instances), hired cattle (2 instances), or borrowed cattle (35 instances). The 44 relationships involved between the 43 cooperating households may be portrayed as follows:

<u>Nature of Relationship</u>	<u>Same Former Village-section</u>	<u>Other Former Village-section</u>	<u>Total</u>
Close Consanguines	12	0	12
Distant Consanguines	1	1	2
Close Affines	3	7	10
Distant Affines	5	9	14
Non-Relatives	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>
	<u>23</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>44</u>

Here again there is a very high reliance on relatives, in 86% of the cases, with a higher dependence on affines than on consanguines. Help is drawn fairly equally from people of former and other village-sections.

The proximity of households cooperating in this way may be looked at from the angle of closeness of residence, as follows (Forty-one relationships were identified in terms of this criterion)

<u>Distance</u>	<u>Same Former Village-section</u>	<u>Other Former Village-section</u>	<u>Total</u>
Close	5	9	14
Medium	12	5	17
Far	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>
	<u>21</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>41</u>

Proximity of residence is clearly not a major factor in determining from whom one borrows cattle, as only 34% of cases of cooperation are with households close by. As former village-section membership is also not a decisive factor, we must look to kinship relations as the key to the borrowing and sharing of cattle for cultivation.

Given that cattle for ploughing are not in ready supply, households with no cattle or inadequate cattle must look where they can to fill up their ploughing teams. People turn to kinsmen for help, and take whatever kinsmen they can find who have cattle and are willing to lend them. Hence the spread of assistance in terms of agnates and affines, members of one's own and other village-sections, and closeness or distance of residence. People turn to kinsmen because they are more liable to lend one their cattle than non-kin. In this regard it is worth mentioning that the only 2 cases of hiring of cattle found in the sample, were between non-kin.

As was the case with obtaining help for the labour of ploughing and planting, people turn to the known and trusted categories of kinship and village-section. For assistance with cattle where a limited range of possible assistance is available, people turn to kinship, rather than to former village-section or neighbourhood.

Only 4 cases were found in the sample where labour was hired for assistance with hoeing or harvesting. For the most part households perform these tasks themselves. Overall there appears to be little commercialization of assistance in the agricultural process. This seems to be the case for a number of reasons: fields and gardens are relatively small, people do not have the money to hire assistance (particularly when returns are very low), and established relationships and patterns of reciprocity exist. Where people do

not reciprocate directly with their labour or cattle, they may do so in other non-agricultural ways.

People argue that it is no longer worth share-cropping because of the small size of the arable allotments, whereas before betterment, they say, there was a lot of sharecropping. Moreover, some people obtain land from the settlers on the irrigation scheme, and as this is illegal, people may be loath to admit that they do enter into hiring and sharecropping arrangements. Nevertheless it was possible to ascertain (often indirectly) that some dryland allotments are sharecropped and hired out and that up to one-third of the irrigation settlers make portions of their allotments available to drylanders on either a lease or sharecrop basis. As information was received indirectly, i.e. through other people, it is not possible to give an estimate of the frequency of these arrangements but it would not seem to involve more than 20 to 30 cases in all.

Dryland cultivators plant maize, beans, potatoes, pumpkins and melons in their fields, and the same crops, together with others such as beetroot, spinach, beans, carrots and peas in their gardens. The only crop for which it was possible to get estimates of yields was maize. The average yield per half morgen of dryland arable land for the season 1981/1982 was nearly 4 bags of mealies on the cob, which converts to roughly 4 x 200lb bags of mealies off the cob per morgen, which is less than the average of 5.5 bags measured during the Keiskammahoek Rural Survey. The average maize yield in gardens was 1.3 bags of mealies on the cob, but as the size of gardens varies, it is not possible to convert this figure into bags per morgen. It is not possible to estimate the contribution to annual household income by cultivation, but it is clear that it is not remotely sufficient to enable subsistence, given Houghton's estimate of a requirement of 20 bags of maize per family of five people per annum (Houghton and Wilson 1952, p. 159). The reasons for the continuing pattern of low yields since the Keiskammahoek Rural Survey will be discussed later. Suffice it to say that the removal of eroded and steeply sloping arable lands, regarded as 'unsuitable' by betterment officials, has put a pressure on the remaining land, which has not resulted in the increased yields that officialdom had hoped for.

The irrigation scheme was laid out to accommodate 24 families, and unless someone leaves the scheme, there is no room for additional newcomers. Although in theory people can be thrown off the scheme if they do not meet its requirements, this has not happened thus far, and allotments, as with dryland sites, have passed from a man to his widow or son. In one case, an unmarried daughter succeeded to the allotment after her mother died. The 24 arable allotments are each approximately $1\frac{1}{2}$ morgen in size, and are divided up into a number of plots. The idea was that this would encourage rotation, and the cultivation of different crops. The allotments are watered by gravitational irrigation from a canal running down from a weir thrown across the river. The 24 residential sites on the irrigation scheme are in one settlement, and are each one-quarter morgen in size.

The principal conditions relating to tenancy on the scheme are 1) that settlers may have only 4 cattle and no sheep or goats; 2) that the occupier must continually be on the site, not being absent for a period of longer than 14 days without approval; 3) that settlers must obey the instructions of the agricultural officer who advises them; 4) that settlers must pay the prescribed rental; 5) that settlers must plough only by means of the government-supplied tractors, and not with oxen, as this may damage the embankments and because oxen-drawn ploughs do not plough deeply enough. In effect these

regulations are not always met, but nobody has yet been expelled from the scheme, because the agricultural officers have tended to turn a blind eye.

The irrigation settlers appear (with two exceptions) to have kept to the ruling of having no sheep or goats. Three-quarters of the families on the irrigation scheme have cattle, at an average of 4.1 units per cattle-owning household, while the remaining families have no stock.

Irrigation settlers make considerable use of the government-supplied tractors and planters, using them to plough as many of their plots as possible. They plough the remaining plots by means of oxen. In addition they have access to government-subsidized seed, fertilizer and insecticide.

Of 11 cases recorded where people used oxen to plough some of their plots on the scheme in 1979, the cattle used came from the following sources:

own household	6 cases
brother of male head of house	2 cases
son of male head of house	1 case
distant affine of male head of house	2 cases

Labour for ploughing is usually supplied by the cultivating household, and/or some close kin as well as those supplying the cattle. Hoeing and harvesting is usually done by members of the cultivating household and some close kin although in a few cases (12.5% in a 1979 sample) help was hired. Payment was made either in food or in cash.

Although sharecropping and hiring are apparently illegal on the irrigation scheme, something like one-third of the families on the scheme do in fact enter into such arrangements with people in the dryland section of the village. One widow sharecropped 16 of her 26 plots during the 1978/1979 season.

Yields are difficult to measure, although it is clear that families on the irrigation scheme are getting much better returns than on the dryland allotments.

In summer, the irrigation farmers grow potatoes, peas, beans, pumpkins, melons and mealies, and in winter, cabbages, potatoes, tomatoes and peas. Yields from vegetables are impossible to measure, as the farmers sell their produce to the dryland residential areas on an ad hoc basis. People will come and buy, say 6 cabbages from the farmer in the field, or the farmer will take his wares and sell them in the dryland areas, or take some home to cook. Maize is the only crop for which most people can give an estimated yield. Even here one cannot convert a total crop into an average yield per morgen, as some farmers put more of their plots under maize than others. Most irrigation farmers put at least half of their plots under maize, and in the 1978/1979 season, yields varied from 0 to 50 bags of maize (off the cob) with an average of 17 bags of between 50 kg and 90 kg each. In 1979, the irrigation settlers were selling their maize at between R10 and R16 per bag in the village. While it is not possible to calculate the actual income families make from the irrigation scheme, it is substantially higher, both in kind and in cash, than the income derived by families involved in dryland agriculture.

The irrigation scheme is not, however, working as well as it could, for several reasons. There has been a fairly high turnover of agricultural officers

(4 in the last 5 years) and there is no permanent officer on the scheme at present. Tractors and seed are not in fact always available. The scheme has not been able to secure a market outside the village. (Previously crops were sold for them in King William's Town, but this arrangement broke down because of organizational and transport problems.) The credit scheme has been discontinued because people were not repaying their loans. The irrigation farmers are not looking after the scheme properly, and canals are not cleaned or repaired adequately. Moreover, not all the land on the scheme is being used. Possible explanations for some of these problems will be advanced later.

d) Social and Ceremonial Organization

The village-section still functions as an important social and ceremonial unit, although it appears to be losing some of its distinctiveness in this regard.

At funerals, the grave is no longer necessarily dug only by young men of the village-section, and other sections do help in this task. Until recently former village-sections had their own burial societies. These are being replaced by a funeral parlour in Keiskammahoek, to which people make regular payments. Section members are however expected to make larger contributions at the funerals of their own fellows. Funeral services are taken by the lay-preachers in the village. Assistance in chopping wood and cooking food is lent by relatives, neighbours and friends, although the distribution of food and of tea and coffee is usually done by village-section members.

Members of a particular village-section are no longer served food and drink separately at a wedding, but men of all sections sit together in the kraal where they receive hospitality. Food and beer are still distributed by men of the particular village-section of the household at which the celebration is taking place. A few men of each district are sometimes called into a hut to receive specially laid out food and drink.

The ceremonial activities in which the old village-sections still play a prominent part are those leading up to the circumcision of young men, although changes have also taken place in this context.

A few days before the actual circumcision ceremony, a group of men go off to cut saplings for the building of the hut. Initiates from one village-section no longer share a lodge separate from those of other sections. Where initiates from different village-sections are being circumcised together, the various sections are supposed to cut saplings separately, transporting them with oxen from their own village-sections. Where young men from only one village-section are to be circumcised, it is usually the case that cattle from only that village-section are used, although men of different village-sections may come along to help. Where men from various sections are to be circumcised together, village-section distinctions do not seem to be important with regard to the above activities.

The new residential areas do appear to be becoming bases of cooperation in activities relating to circumcision. In one example, a young man from the new irrigation scheme was to be circumcised, and the work-party and cattle for the wood-cutting were drawn from a mixture of his old village-section and the new irrigation scheme. In another case six young men from the new Nyanga area and one from the new Skafu area were to be circumcised. The candidate from Skafu had his own hut, wood was gathered and celebrations were held separately. An informant explained this by saying that Skafu would

be too far from the site of the Nyanga hut for food to be brought daily for the Skafu initiant, although lodges involving young men from both new residential areas do occur.

During the cutting and gathering of saplings and the building of the hut, breaks are taken when a bottle or two of brandy and some beer are produced by the households of the candidates. These bottles are shared out on a tot basis, and the distribution of the brandy and beer is usually performed by men of the sections concerned. Where young men of several sections are to be circumcised together, the section of the senior candidate takes this responsibility.

After fetching wood or building the hut, the work-party repairs to the houses of each of the candidates in turn, where they are given tea, coffee and bread, and then brandy and beer. Again, distribution is usually performed by men of the relevant section.

Men (Amadoda, i.e. of approximately 40 years and above) and youths (Abafana, i.e. circumcized youths of up to 40 years of age) sit separately at these receptions, with young men serving the tea, coffee, bread and usually the beer. Where there is more than one bottle of brandy the men and the youths are served separately by different distributors. The beer is decanted into separate containers and also drunk separately by men and youths. Where women attend these receptions, (i.e. those at the houses) they sit separately and are served separately.

The highlight (from the point of view of village-section participation and of shared hospitality) is the series of receptions which take place at the houses of the candidates on the afternoon before they are circumcized. People are served with meat (a beast usually having been slaughtered) and cooked vegetables, tea, coffee and bread, brandy and beer. Again the men, the youths and the women sit in separate groups and are served separately.

The most eagerly anticipated part of the proceedings is the arrival of the bottles of brandy in the cattlebyre from where they are distributed among the men and the youths, (the women receiving their brandy separately). The number of bottles and how they are to be divided between the men and the boys is announced. If the number of bottles allocated to the men is sufficient, i.e. 6 or more, these are apportioned, on the basis of village-section. A man from each village-section will then distribute the bottle (by means of a tot-measure) among the men of his village-section. Only men from that specific village-section may drink from that bottle, and I have not seen anybody attempting to obtain a tot from a bottle allocated to another section.

On occasion one distributor may serve for two village-sections, and where this happens, the sections are paired off as follows:

Nyanga and Skafu
Ndela and Nyokane
Rawule and Jili.

The gathering may on occasion arrange itself so that men are sitting in their respective village-sections, although at large gatherings such clusters tend to form by themselves. After the brandy has been consumed, some beer is brought forward, after which people start to drift off home.

It is only the brandy that is divided by village-sections, and then when there

is enough to do this. Where there are only a few bottles, they are simply distributed among those present. Beer is not normally allocated by sections.

It is amongst the men that brandy is divided by sections, while the youths receive their brandy as an undifferentiated group, and not by village-sections. The young men appoint distributors for themselves on village-section lines, but the understanding is that if the reception is in a house of, say, village-section A, the A's distributor will be assisted by another distributor from an other section. This is to ensure that everybody gets a fair share of the brandy. It does, however, happen that the distributor of, say, Nyanga presides at a Nyanga gathering, and tensions have arisen because people have felt that they have been dealt short.

Among the Abafana the old sections of Nyanga and Ndela have a reciprocal relationship, whereby they distribute together for each other, and there appears to be a similar relationship between Jili and Rawule. Nyokane has been incorporated into Ndela for ceremonial purposes by the young men, and they share one distributor, as well as one junior sub-headman.

Like the men, the women divide into two groups, which sit separately. The women of about 35 years and above (Abafazi) may receive their brandy as a group, or by village-sections (where they are identified with the village-section of their husband), while the married women of up to about 35 years of age (Abafazana) receive their brandy as a group.

People talk of the importance of cooperation and assistance among village-section members at events like funerals and feasts, suggesting that if people refuse to help, they will find themselves isolated at ceremonies, or when they need help. It is not clear at what stage or to what extent such sanctions would become operative.

Today there are two main sorts of voluntary associations to which the youth belong: one which is open to people of all ages, and one which is open only to circumcized young men and their female associates.

Of the first, open category, there are two associations viz. the Upper Chatha Youth Club and the Chatha Students' Association.

The aims of the Upper Chatha Youth Club are

- "1) that the youth of Chatha should take responsibility for everything that keeps a person on the right track, e.g. games like rugby, netball--and other activities that refresh the mind and body.
- 2) to provide the Youth Choir for entertainment at functions in Chatha
- 3) to be open to everybody regardless of their educational standard" (taken from the minute book of the Upper Chatha Youth Club).

The Youth Club's sporting branch is known as Home Defenders, and people make it clear that Home Defenders and Upper Chatha Youth Club are the same thing. The group is active in sport, playing against clubs from other villages. They do not appear to lend agricultural assistance as a group, (as the iBhavu or iPalamente groups did before betterment) but contribute financially as a group to funerals.

An initial entrance fee is paid, after which members may be called upon to contribute to the costs of, say a new rugby ball or netball or team rugby jerseys, or a celebration. In 1981 a celebration was held to mark the arrival

of a consignment of rugby jerseys, at which a sheep was slaughtered. Money for club funds or for funeral contributions is collected from individual members, and not on a village-section basis. Money is also raised at functions, such as dances in the school building.

The association is administered by an elected committee, which is not chosen along former village-section lines. The present committee consists of 12 members, of whom 11 are male and 1 female, with approximately equal representation from the 3 new residential areas of Nyanga, Skafu, and the irrigation scheme. In the past these ratios have been different, and there do not appear to be any predetermined ratios for men and women, or for the 3 residential areas.

The Chatha Students' Association, like the Upper Chatha Youth Club is open to people of all the 3 residential areas of Chatha, but sets an educational qualification on membership. Only people who have passed standard six are eligible for membership, although it is not yet clear whether any other restrictions apply. The sporting branch of the Chatha Students' Association is known as the Rockers.

One cannot belong to both the Upper Chatha Youth Club, and the Chatha Students' Association. There is antagonism between the two associations, and at one stage Home Defenders would not play sport against Rockers. Only 6 people from the new residential area of Skafu belong to the Upper Chatha Youth Club, while only some 2 or 3 people from the new residential area of Nyanga belong to the Chatha Student's Association. So the Upper Chatha Youth Club effectively serves the new area of Nyanga, while the Chatha Students' Association effectively serves the new area of Skafu.

Of the second sort of association, the Abafana, (circumcized young men), appear to be organized more along old village-section lines. Abafana groups are associated with old village-sections, and each group has a 'subheadman', as well as young men who serve as distributors at feasts. Some former village-sections appear to be merging: Ndela and Nyokane have joined forces, as have Rawule and Jili.

Each village-section Abafana group has its own council at which it discusses its business and settles its disputes. From this council matters are referred to the senior (i.e. adult) headman of the section. If he is unable to resolve a matter it will then be referred to the headman's council. The groups assist the headman by conveying decisions of the senior meeting, being 'the eyes of the community' (assisting in maintaining order and preventing crime in the community) and raising funds for village undertakings like the secondary school.

Each group is administered by an elected committee. In the case of Nyanga the committee currently consists of 8 males all over 30 years old. Seven are from the old village-section of Nyanga, and all 8 are resident in the new area of Nyanga.

Village-section Abafana groups conduct their business separately, but come together on festive occasions. The institution of the Christmas feast functioned until recently (+- 1977) on village-section lines. Each group held a feast, slaughtering a sheep, and inviting other village-sections to attend. Money for such feasts was contributed by the young men and women of the section and collected and kept by the subheadman concerned.

The various Abafana groups also come together at weddings, where they

organize horse races and festivities. On such occasions a leader is especially appointed. If the bride is from Nyanga, then the leader will apparently be chosen by the 'subheadman' of Nyanga, and if at from Skafu, by the 'subheadman' of Skafu. Here the older village-sections of Nyanga and Skafu appear to be incorporated into the new residential areas of Nyanga and Skafu. The various Abafana groups also cooperate in the digging of graves.

Abafazana (i.e. married women of up to about 35 years) are also organized along village-section lines, where an Umfazana will be identified with the village-section of her husband. Abafazana groups form choirs, singing at concerts to collect money, and assist with preparations for weddings, circumcision feasts and funerals. The distinction between village-sections is less rigidly maintained than among Abafana groups, with Abafazana cooperating across village-section lines.

Earlier this year (1983) a dispute arose between the groups of old Nyanga and old Skafu, although it seems to reflect a growing tension between the new areas of Nyanga and Skafu. The young men of (old) Nyanga had gone to a ceremony in Skafu, where they had allegedly not been given meat. When the young men of (old) Skafu subsequently arrived at a circumcision ceremony at Nyanga they were turned away by the young men of (old) Nyanga.

Although the dispute was expressed in terms of the old village-sections of Nyanga and Skafu, it seems to be part of an on-going tension between the young men of the two new residential areas, between members of predominantly old Nyanga and old Ndela in the new residential area of Nyanga on the one hand, and members of predominantly old Skafu and old Jili in the new residential area of Skafu on the other. The Abafana and the Upper Chatha Youth Club and Chatha Students' Association groupings seem to be reflecting the same tensions that are developing at the level of village politics between the adults of the new residential areas of Nyanga and Skafu.

e) Conclusions

Although betterment has given people new neighbours, it has not yet given rise to neighbourhood loyalties of the sort that existed in the old village-sections. Neighbours are in and out of each other's houses every day for company and for small things, but people walk the length of the village to visit kin and friends, and to maintain these relationships.

Ties of kinship and former village-section still form the basis of agricultural and much other cooperation. The impact of new neighbourhood and new residential area is beginning to make itself felt in the ceremonial sphere. This is noticeable, for example, in neighbours lending assistance at funerals, and in kinship-based rituals being attended by and involving the wider neighbourhood. Although village-sections still form the basis for organizing much ceremonial activity, the frequency with which this is happening, as well as the discreteness of grouping are diminishing. Village-sections combine on occasions, the division between e.g. Ndela and Nyokane is disappearing, section-based procedures for distribution of food and drink are not always observed. Voluntary associations such as burial societies and youth associations are becoming increasingly organized around the two new residential areas and the village as a whole. The same is true of political activity, where the two new residential areas are emerging as the significant interest groupings in village politics, although village-sections still remain as a unit of internal administration, and a source of political support within the new residential areas.

It is interesting that a division does not appear to be developing between the irrigation scheme and the rest of the village. Although people on the irrigation scheme are substantially better off in agricultural terms, and so in general income, this has not been a barrier to social intercourse in the village. People visit, attend ceremonies, marry and lend agricultural assistance without seeming regard to the river between the irrigation scheme and the rest of the village. At the time of betterment, there was a distinct reluctance to join the irrigation scheme, seemingly for reasons of economic uncertainty and because it was felt that joining the scheme would involve a further loss of autonomy and dignity (i.e. on top of that brought about by having to move). This year, (1983) in a year of extreme drought, some people doubt the wisdom of their initial choice.

Most of the heads of houses who moved at betterment, or their wives, are still alive. At the time of moving, they moved with already established bands of kinship and village-section, which now continue to tie them to people on the irrigation scheme. It will perhaps only become clear what the true impact of residential and agricultural relocation has been when the generation that moved, and its memories, have been replaced by a younger generation that acquired its networks and commitments under the new dispensation.

The general economic position of the people of Chatha appears to be worse after betterment. The estimates of the Keiskammahok Rural Survey and of the 1958 Betterment Report differ substantially in some respects, but the following trends are clear, even accounting for the differences between the two reports. In the case of the dryland household:

- a) both the population and the number of households has increased.
- b) the residential density is much higher in the new residential areas.
- c) the amount of arable land has decreased markedly.
- d) the percentage of landless households has risen sharply.
- e) agricultural yields have fallen by more than a quarter.
- f) the number of cattle-units has remained fairly constant.
- g) the amount of grazing available per cattle-unit has increased.
- h) the percentage of households without stock has increased.

The amount of space, arable land and stock available per person have thus all decreased, and people are therefore less able to make a living from the land than before. It is therefore not surprising that the percentage of village members who are away from home has risen.

The households on the irrigation scheme, although having less access to living space and to stock than before, are considerably better off in terms of the arable land at their disposal. They have less land at their disposal than before, but this is more than compensated for as they now have choice land, next to the river, with permanent irrigation. The lot of the irrigation settlers has thus improved considerably, as is shown by their increased agricultural output, both in terms of amount and diversity.

Betterment does not appear to have achieved its aim of rehabilitating the

environment. The vegetation and soils survey conducted for this report found that "Both the vegetation and the soil indicate that most of the land available to the villages of Chatha has been seriously misused. A combination of overgrazing and other poor management techniques have resulted in vegetation that is very unproductive, and soils that are deficient and extremely susceptible to dessication and to drastic erosion. However, with appropriate techniques the existing macchia and grassland areas could undoubtedly be rehabilitated, and could provide good grazing land. Such grassland could also be maintained by correct management with appropriate stocking rates." (Appendix D)

Moving people into concentrated residential areas appears to have worsened erosion. Both man and beast now have to use a limited number of paths and roads in a concentrated area. Bringing cattle from the camps to be dipped fortnightly, and taking small stock out to grazing is destroying the ground surface, particularly during periods of rain.

Betterment has failed to rehabilitate the environment of Chatha because it has not been able to overcome two of the primary reasons for the original malaise, viz. overpopulation of both man and beast, and inadequate extension services and management techniques.

Betterment failed to overcome the overpopulation problem because the cornerstones of the plan (removing of surplus population and culling of stock) were knocked out before the scheme was even implemented. When it became clear that the rural townships to which the 'surplus' population were to be moved would not come into being, it was no longer possible to move these people. The same number of people suddenly found themselves with 40% of the arable land to which they had previously had access. The man-land ratio in fact worsened considerably with the implementation (or partial implementation) of the betterment plan in Chatha. The second form of planned population reduction also never happened, viz the reduction of stock-holdings on an orderly basis. No culling of stock appears to have taken place, and government stock sales have been unable to attract people to sell off their stock, perhaps principally because individual holdings have not been high enough for people to feel able to sell animals, knowing that they will still have enough stock for agricultural and ceremonial purposes.

All that betterment could hope to do, was to make for a more conservationist use of the already overcrowded land. A holding operation was the best that it could do. To achieve this it would be necessary to implement an intensive extension service and efficient management of the existing resources. This has not been possible as there has not been the necessary back-up service and support from state agriculture since the implementation of betterment.

Up to 1981 the dryland houses (approximately 400) have had no agricultural official to help them with the cultivation of their fields and gardens. From the beginning of 1981, the dryland households have been allocated an agricultural officer whom they share with the adjacent village. Up till then what extension assistance they received, came from the officer allocated to the irrigation scheme, together with sporadic services from Keiskammahoeck. To make matters worse, there has been a fairly high turnover of agricultural officers. This has made for a lack of continuity in agricultural extension policy and practice, as well as in the supply of services.

The discontinuity has also been influenced by the changing political status of

the Ciskei area over the last 10 years, together with the accompanying changes of personnel at the level of central administration. New people have had to be trained, and in the transition local administration appears to have suffered, together with the quality of service and supervision in the villages themselves.

An aspect of rehabilitation that appears particularly to have suffered from this lack of effective administrative support, has been that of rotational grazing. The supervision of the grazing camps is in the hands of a ranger who is a member of the village. He thus has to contend with community pressures against doing his job too well, as well as against the convention that all grazing camps should be opened during a period of drought. This means that camps that need a rest during lean times are simply grazed out.

The convention of turning the cattle into the fields after the maize crop has been harvested also makes for the fact that there is effectively no winter cropping on the dryland fields, and that irrigation farmers are hampered in their attempts to cultivate in winter.

Without the state's willingness (or in the last few years, ability) to finance and administer the necessary extension and supervision services required as a follow up to betterment, it has not been possible for the amended proposals to achieve even the limited goal of maintaining the environment and the agricultural status quo.

Even given effective state services there are other factors which militate against agricultural improvement. Here factors such as a lack of labour (in large measure a consequence of the migrant labour situation which betterment originally sought to overcome), a lack of ploughing cattle, a lack of capital equipment (such as fencing), and a lack of money are all constraining factors. These deficiencies work in an interrelated and cumulative way. Several of these negative factors could in large measure be overcome by an effective back-up service that ensured a regular supply of tractors, seed, fertilizer and equipment, as well as access to credit-schemes and markets. Such services are however subject to governmental decisions and budgets, and as such are in the hands of the politicians, both in the Ciskei and in the Republic.

But in the end, it is perhaps the shortage of resources that is the most insurmountable obstacle. In 1981, the average household income for a family of 5.5 people living at home was estimated at between R750 and R900 per year. Gardens were less than 1/4 morgen in size, and arable allotments were on average 1/2 morgen in size. Even given the most effective extension system imaginable, it is simply not possible to make a living on 3/4 morgen of dryland with such an income. Even the small-scale farmer has overheads, such as the purchase of seed and (if he can afford it) fertilizer, the hiring of tractors, and the purchase of tools. Given the low yields and the obstacles to agriculture recorded, many people make the decision to spend money on agriculture only when other basic expenses have been met. As a result, there are years when up to 50% of fields lie uncultivated. Dryland cultivation is at best a subsidiary source of subsistence in Chatha, at worst a drain on already scarce resources. In such circumstances, the decision not to cultivate cannot be held to be irrational.

Because it has not been able to overcome the fundamental shortages of labour, traction power, equipment, extension services, markets, motivation, money and land, betterment has not been able to increase agricultural self-sufficiency in Chatha. Even the households on the irrigation scheme are

dependent to a large degree on the money coming in from migrant labour to enable them to cultivate. Although substantially more productive than their dryland counterparts, they are still caught up in the above cycle of short-ages.

The betterment scheme has also failed to 'sell' the idea of betterment to the villagers, to convince them that the rehabilitation of the land would be in their own best interest. The idea held by the great majority of the villagers, that the scheme has left them worse off than before, both economically, and in terms of violated dignity, is the opposite of what was intended. This negative perception of betterment arises largely out of two factors, (a) the inadequate improvement of the environment and of agricultural production, as discussed above, and (b) inadequate building up of communication and trust. If government officials had taken, say, a year or two longer about introducing and explaining the scheme, if there had been an official living in the village, moving among the people, and demonstrating identification and good faith, many more people might well have been persuaded of the value of betterment. Betterment could then have been implemented more as a process, which could have been adapted to the specific conditions of different villages.

As matters now stand, the villagers have very little, if anything, to show for betterment, having had to leave their old homes and having lost some of their land. Many are still puzzled and angry as to why it ever had to happen, while others are more cynical arguing that the white man did not keep his word. One man suggested that the reason for betterment could well have been to control the people more effectively.

It is largely only the irrigation settlers, i.e. the 6% of the community that have visibly benefited, who have 'bought' the idea of betterment.

In any event, the implementation of betterment has had a negative impact on people's perceptions of the intentions and trustworthiness of government officials and projects. Some people express the fear that they may be moved again, feeling themselves to be powerless in such a situation. The implementation of betterment has made the chances of the acceptance, and thus success, of any future government-implemented development project, much more remote and difficult than might otherwise have been the case.

6 SHIXINI AND ITS PEOPLE

Shixini is the name of one of two Administrative Areas ('locations'; 'wards') which constitute Jingqi Tribal Authority in Willowvale district, Transkei. (see map 1). It is inhabited by Xhosa-speaking people, historically identifiable as members of the Gcaleka chiefdom, and in 1970 had a population of 3 056 people. There are forty Administrative Areas in Willowvale, each administered by a headman who may also be a chief or sub-chief. Shixini's headman is Chief Mandlenkosi Dumalisile and he is also head of the Jingqi Tribal Authority. The other Administrative Area within this Tribal Authority, Ntlahlane, has its own headman. Chief Mandlenkosi is a direct descendant of Ncaphayi, Hintsa's oldest son in the right-hand house. During most of the period of fieldwork that produced the material for this section of the report Chief Mandlenkosi was away from home as a member of Transkei's diplomatic corps, and his younger brother, who is also a Transkei Member of Parliament, acted as chief and headman in his place.

Like other wards, Shixini is divided into sub-wards ('sub-locations'), eleven in all, each administered by a sub-headman (isibonda) on behalf of the chief/headman. The position of sub-headman is an unpaid, unofficial one, though the role is of some importance, since the sub-headman is essentially an intermediary between his chief and the people. He performs certain minor administrative duties on behalf of the chief and heads the sub-ward court or moot (ibandla), at which petty cases are heard before the assembled men of the sub-ward as a whole.

Shixini people are generally fairly conservative. They are traditionally oriented or 'red' people in the sense that Mayer (1961) and others have used this term. This is particularly true of the coastal part of the ward, where most of the data were collected. It is with the three most south-easterly sub-wards of Shixini ward that I will be concerned here. These three sub-wards - Nompha, Ndlelibanzi and Folokhwe (see map 2), with a population of some 1 500 people, are to be transformed into what will in effect be a single administrative unit, under the 'planning and reclamation' scheme presently being implemented in Shixini. At present the people of these three sub-wards live in roughly 240 widely scattered homesteads, which consist of little more than one or more huts each (the average in Folokhwe in 1976 was 1.83 huts per homestead) and an adjoining stock enclosure or enclosures, in which cattle, sheep and goats are kept at night. Many homesteads have other smaller structures - a chicken coop made of woven branches, or a similarly constructed container for storing melons, pumpkins and suchlike. Some have underground maize storage pits, some have shop-bought galvanised iron tanks for this purpose. Most homesteads have an adjoining, fenced garden.

The 'planning and reclamation' scheme currently being implemented in Shixini is similar to what are often called 'rehabilitation' or 'agricultural betterment' schemes, which have been outlined in more detail earlier in this report. As far as Shixini people are concerned the 'trust' (itrasti), as they call it, involves the following:

1. Abandonment of existing homesteads and homestead sites, including their adjoining gardens and the rebuilding of homesteads on sites allocated in the new residential area.
2. Abandonment of their existing fields and the development of new fields in the area newly set aside for use as arable land.

3. The demarcation of fixed grazing camps and the fencing of these camps. Cattle and other stock will be allowed to graze only within these camps.

These rather momentous changes can be examined from two points of view - the social and the economic. Such a separation of social and economic is analytical only, since in practice the two are closely connected, as will be shown below. As far as the social is concerned, a brief account of the most important aspects of the social structure in Shixini will be provided, and an attempt will be made to assess the impact of itrasti on this. The economic aspect of 'planning' will then be considered against a background of how Shixini people make a living today.

Kinship and neighbourhood in Shixini

In Shixini homesteads are widely scattered on the hilltops and ridges, though more or less distinct clusters of homesteads can often be identified. Often such clusters of homesteads are numerically dominated by (or consist entirely of) the members of single agnatic group. Individual homesteads are frequently inhabited by some kind of extended family unit, though the tendency is for a man's sons or younger brothers to establish their own independent homesteads soon after marriage. In doing so, however, they often choose a site near to that of their father or other paternal kinsman, with the result that adjoining homesteads are often of the same lineage. Lineages vary in depth from three to seven generations but the localized lineage group is commonly a lineage segment or part thereof - the descendants of a common grandfather or great-grandfather.

Agnatic solidarity extends also to the patronymic, exogamous clan, members of which share a common clan name, clan praises and clan ancestors, and who are putative blood kin. The terms used to denote lineage are also used to refer to all local members of the clan, who form a de facto lineage group and who are involved in each others ritual, economic and socio-political affairs. This does not occur where clansmen are not close at hand and some Shixini lineages do not include other clansmen as de facto members, while others do. A noticeable difference between lineage proper and clan is that geographically distant clansmen are not called to rituals as distant lineage members are. No man knows all his clansmen, though he knows most of his lineage members and his exact genealogical relationship with each of them.

Lineage and local clan corporateness is evident in many spheres of life. It is the core worshipping group, it stands united against outsiders and settles disputes between members within itself. Economic co-operation among members is extensive and the group as a whole has an interest in the economic affairs of its individual homesteads. Each member of the lineage is a potential inheritor of livestock held by other members and there is also a corporate interest in land, fields being heritable property.

Lineage members are hierarchically ranked in terms of the principles of primogeniture and 'house' seniority. Ideally, the genealogically most senior male is the head (inkulu) of the lineage and he has certain responsibilities in this regard. (See, for example, Wilson et al, 1952, 63-64). Every lineage head is something of a patriarch and it is significant that many prominent, powerful and highly regarded figures are lineage heads. But these men are community leaders as well as heads of specific agnatic groups, for their influence and their supporters extend into the local community and beyond.

This feature is associated with two factors both of which tend to blur the division of sub-wards into agnatic groups. Firstly, homesteads (individually or in small groups) which are the only local representatives of a specific clan have become closely associated with larger, localized lineage groups on the basis of the affinal or matrilineal links between them. It has been pointed out that different local lineages of the same clan tend in practice to form a unified, solidary group hardly distinguishable from a lineage in functions and ideology - a link based on putative partilineality and sealed by adherence to a common set of clan ancestors. In the case of the two groups associated with one another through matrilineal ties, it is the maternal ancestors who are held in common, and since maternal ancestors are also important, this kind of association also has a religious basis and is reinforced in ritual.

Secondly, there are a number of homesteads associated with, and economically and politically dependent on, one or other of the larger lineage groups, without there being any close kinship tie between them. Usually these are fairly poor homesteads, often headed by widows and the only local representatives of their dead husbands' clans. The basis of the relationship is largely one of mutual assistance and the moral obligation to assist those in need. The dependent homesteads look to the larger, wealthier lineages for economic and political support and view the heads of these lineages as their leaders and spokesmen.

The lineage or lineage segment then, although the most important single kinship group and a major structural principle, is by no means a functionally and ideologically isolated unit. Other kinship links are also very important, and a man may go to other clansmen, his mother's people, or even to his affines for assistance, be it economic, political, or whatever. Men whose lineage mates live far away are of necessity forced to rely on whatever kinship or friendship links exist locally. Agnatic groups and homesteads are embedded in a wider system of relationships which involves neighbours and fellow members of the community.

The involvement of kin in the affairs of each other's homesteads is well illustrated in the institution of the homestead's 'caretaker', the usipatheleni. Homestead heads who are labour migrants have 'caretakers', who act for them and attend to their interests while they are at work. Of the sixty homesteads in Folokhwe sub-ward that had a regular caretaker, forty-three had caretakers of the same lineage as the head of the homestead. Of these, the great majority were of the same lineage segment (descendants of a common grandfather), and more than half were full or half brothers of the homestead head. Many informants say that the term usipatheleni is inappropriate when the caretaker is a fellow lineage member and should be applied only to non-agnates because a man cannot be a mere caretaker at a homestead which is also his in terms of lineage ideology. For convenience sake however, the term is used here irrespective of the relationship between the two parties.

A caretaker should be a person who is trusted, someone who works closely with the homestead head in everyday life. "It should be someone who thinks as you do, someone you normally discuss things with. There should be harmony in your way of thinking". Some said he should also be a ploughing partner. "How can you have a person at your home if he is not one who ploughs with you? Even your oxen are borrowed from him." A close kinsman is often preferred, "because he will be patient and do his job properly. It is also his homestead, and he will come often to see that everything is all

right". But usipatheleni may be an unrelated neighbour or friend and he performs the same duties that an agnate would do with the exception that he usually cannot organize and conduct ritual killings on the absentee's behalf, but has to delegate this to a member of the migrant's lineage.

Usipatheleni's duties are many and varied, for he has total responsibility for the homestead left in his care, in conjunction with the wife and other members of the homestead, and in consultation with the other members of the local agnatic group. He attends to all matters regarding the homestead's livestock, sees to it that the ploughing and other tasks are done and organizes work parties to this effect if need be. He acts as the host at rituals and beer drinks and at the latter makes public presentations of beer (iminono) on behalf of the absentee. He represents the homestead at the sub-ward moot and is responsible for the actions of all members of that homestead. As one migrant worker put it, "when I am away, he is I". The wife calls him when something requires his attention, informs him when she wants to brew beer, visit her home or when visitors arrive. He consults her in all things involving the homestead and may instruct her to perform tasks that need to be done.

Neighbourhood

Sub-wards in Shixini are usually divided into two or three sections (depending on their size), which are largely but not entirely geographical divisions. These divisions, or sub-ward sections, form the largest social units within the sub-ward. In Ndlelibanzi sub-ward there are three sub-ward sections and in Folokhwe too, there are three. In both cases these sections are named and hierarchically ranked. In Folokhwe's case the three are called Komkhulu, Chibi and Ngingqi. Komkhulu, the highest ranking, is associated with the royal Tshawe clan and the sub-headmanship. Cibi is the largest and second ranked section, while Ngingqi is the smallest and lowest ranking, since "it was once one with Komkhulu", having broken off some thirty years ago when Komkhulu became too large. Although kinship is of basic importance to Shixini people we have seen that kin group boundaries are not easily definable and that such groups may include non-kin and distant or classificatory kin who, in a functional sense, are full members. Sub-ward section organization forms a counterpart to the kinship system and illustrates well a second basic social principle, that of neighbourhood or community. The sections provide the basis, along with kinship, of social organization in Shixini.

Sub-ward sections are most commonly referred to by their names or as iilali ('locations'). They are also izithebe groups and are called as such, though like ilali, isithebe is a relative term. It is one of a number of terms used to refer to one of the important functions of sections, that of 'hospitality' groups in terms of which food (meat and beer) is distributed at social and ritual occasions (see Hammond-Tooke 1963). Folokhwe sections are izithebe only within Folokhwe, while the whole sub-ward forms one isithebe at occasions in other wards.

Just as the de facto lineage group includes people who are not de jure members of the lineage, with the result that we may say that neighbourhood encroaches on kinship organization and tends to blur the division into agnatic groups, so does agnation enter into sub-ward section organization, making it difficult to ignore the lineage principle in what is essentially a territorial division. On the one hand the sections are based on ties which cut across agnatic boundaries while on the other the lineage system runs parallel to

them to some extent. The table below indicates the association between section and lineage or clan in Folokhwe sub-ward, as does Map 3. While each section is strongly associated with two or more of these groups, only one of them (Yalo clan) is found only in one section (excluding all the smaller clan and lineage groups consisting of only one or two homesteads). Also, each section contains representatives of at least nine clans/lineages, and no one section is identified exclusively with only one agnatic group. Two factors contribute to the general association between sections and lineage groups - the tendency for lineage members to settle close to one another and the hereditary nature of section membership, which means that even if a son settles at some distance from his father he retains the right to belong to the father's section if he so wishes.

In Folokhwe sub-ward, Komkhulu and Cibi sections are further divided into two and three sub-sections respectively. In Cibi the division is strictly in accordance with the three large agnatic groups resident there, the Bamba, Ntshilibe and Ntlane each forming one sub-section, which is named accordingly. Other Cibi homesteads are affiliated to one or other of these sub-sections. The Komkhulu sub-sections are geographical rather than lineage based. The difference between Cibi and Komkhulu in this regard is related to lineage fission and conflict between lineage groups and to the fact that there is no one large lineage group at Komkhulu, though the Cirha clan is numerically dominant. The hereditary nature of section membership applies also at sub-section level, so that sub-sections do not coincide exactly with distinct territorial divisions.

The division of the ward into sub-wards and of the sub-ward into sections, is seen most clearly at beer drinks, where the allocation of seating positions and the distribution of beer express and reflect the relative status of the sections and sub-wards and the relationships between them (McAllister, 1981). At one level of the sub-ward the host sub-ward section (i.e. the section to which the homestead which has brewed is affiliated) sits on the left hand side of the hut (on entering) next to the door. Other sections of the sub-ward sit on the right and towards the back of the hut, 'below' the hosts, and are arranged according to their status within the sub-ward and their relationship with the host section. Men from other sub-wards, and from other wards, usually sit outside, each in his respective sub-ward or ward. The host section usually makes an attempt to "find a place" in the hut for the sub-ward with which it has the closest relationship. Different sections of a ward do not necessarily all have the same kind of relationship with neighbouring sub-wards. Women sit outside and are grouped in a similar way.

An example may clarify this. At a beer drink held in Komkhulu section of Folokhwe sub-ward, Komkhulu men sit on the left hand side of the hut (on entering), while Chibi men sit on the right, next to the door, with Ngingqi next to them and towards the back of the hut. At a beer drink held in Chibi the seating positions of Chibi and Komkhulu are the reverse of the above but Ngingqi's remains the same. At a beer drink in Ngingqi, Ngingqi sits on the left, Komkhulu on the right, and Chibi next to Komkhulu towards the back. The seniority of the Komkhulu section is thus illustrated by the fact that it never occupies the most junior place (that towards the back of the hut), while Ngingqi's low ranking position is illustrated by the fact that it occupies the most junior place at beer drinks held in both Komkhulu and Chibi.

Folokhwe has three neighbouring sub-wards - Jotelo, which is geographically (and to some extent socially) closest to the ngingqi section of Folokhwe; Ndlelibanzi, which is closest to Chibi section; and Velelo, which is closest to

Lineage and sub-ward section distribution of Folokhwe homesteads

Clan	Number of lineages*	Number of homesteads	Number of homesteads per ward section			Total
			Komkhulu	Cibi	Ngingqi	
Tshezi	2	1,3	3	1	-	4
Cirha	3	5,5,2	11	-	1	12
Ngqunu	1	8	-	2	6	8
Kwayi	2	1,4	-	1	4	5
Yalo	1	3	-	-	3	3
Ntlane	3	1,1,9	3	6	2	11
Ntshilibe	3	1,1,12	1	13	-	14
Bamba	2	1,6	1	6	-	7
Qinebe	1	2	-	1	1	2
Ndaba	1	2	2	-	-	2
Ganu	1	1	-	1	-	1
Vulane	1	1	2	-	-	2
Giqwa	2	1,2	-	1	2	3
Tshawe	1	1	1	-	-	1
Qocwa	1	1	1	-	-	1
Jwara	1	1	1	-	-	1
Jola	1	1	-	-	1	1
Nyawuza	1	1	-	-	1	1
Total	27	79	26	32	21	79

This table includes 3 widows who have returned home to establish homesteads and one who has come to live near her daughter. These homesteads are regarded as being of their dead husbands' clans.

* This includes segments or 'fragments' of lineages (see Wilson et al, 1952)

From: McAllister (1979, p.50)

Komkhulu section (map 3). Thus at a beer drink held in Komkhulu, Velelo men will be asked into the hut before Ndlelibanzi men. The latter may be called in after Velelo men have been seated, if there is still space. In Chibi, Ndlelibanzi will be called in before Velelo, and so on. While other sub-wards like Ndlelibanzi are also divided into sections, these sections are relevant only at beer drinks held within Ndlelibanzi and not at those held in other sub-wards.

This kind of seating arrangement also makes it possible to give recognition to prestigious guests or to specially invited individuals or groups. Thus any sub-headman who happens to be present, and other members of the royal Tshawe clan, are invariably asked to sit with the host section. On another level, the interplay between neighbourhood and kinship finds expression in the system of asking abayeni ('sons in law') of the homestead head's lineage group, as well as lineage members or clansmen from distant areas, to sit with the host section. In the case of 'beer for harvest', all the members of the ploughing company to which the homestead head belongs sit with the host section, irrespective of their ward or section affiliation.

The distribution of beer takes place in accordance with the spatial arrangement of people. The host section is allocated (or allocates itself) certain special beakers of beer, which may be divided between the section's sub-sections, if such exist. Amongst these beakers is one called imvuko ('awakening'), which symbolizes the ideal of mutual assistance among the members of a section or sub-section - "even if it is at night one can go and wake them" (to ask for help) (McAllister 1981,p.8)

As briefly indicated here, the organizational principles of kinship and neighbourhood (the latter as formally expressed in wards, sections and sub-sections) are given symbolic form at beer drinks. The values of good neighbourliness (ubumelwane) and mutual support, and of ties of blood and marriage, are acted out in the distribution and consumption of beer. Similar principles operate at rituals and feasts (imigidi).

Sub-ward sections perform a number of functions in Gcaleka life which are not related to the distribution of food at beer drinks and rituals. They play an important (unofficial) role with regard to land rights and the control of pasturage. A section may 'close' areas to grazing in order to allow the grass to recover, and it is generally accepted that a man does not graze his stock in areas controlled by sections other than his own without asking for permission to do so. Decisions such as these are reached by consensus among the senior men of the section. During fieldwork Cibi section had closed a large area of grazing and no one was allowed to graze stock in this area. For uninhabited land areas to be made available for homestead sites requires the agreement of the section concerned and applications for sites in already inhabited areas must be approved by at least part of the section - those living close to the proposed site - or even the entire section if it is small. A section may also apply as a group to have part of its area proclaimed as land for cultivation (see p.51).

Men whose geographical location does not coincide with section membership are for grazing purposes regarded as part of the section in which they reside. This applies also with regard to application for homestead sites, which may also require the approval of nearby homesteads of an adjoining section. There therefore appears to be a distinction in some spheres between the 'hospitality' group and the section, though in practice the overlap is very great. In Folokhwe for example, there are only two Komkhulu members who do not

reside in the area associated with Komkhulu.

Sub-ward sections do not have formal leaders, but all the senior men of a section constitute its ibandla (moot). The ibandla meets to discuss issues such as those regarding land mentioned above, to make decisions, settle disputes and try offenders. Decisions made are forwarded to the sub-ward ibandla for further discussion and ratification. Minor disputes between members are ideally resolved within the section while more serious offences go to the sub-ward ibandla, from where they may be forwarded to the Chief's court or the Tribal Authority.

Sections are also concerned with certain wider "political" functions. The maintenance of the school and the provision of dip for goats, for example, are organized on a sub-ward level and require the cooperation of a number of sub-wards. Each has a fund from which withdrawals are made in order to provide the money for dipping fluid and for maintenance of the local school buildings. The money is raised at sub-ward level by means of inkazathi beer drinks, where the beer is sold, and the sub-ward sections are responsible for this. Each section organizes its own beer drinks, with each of its homesteads contributing a portion of the maize required, and has its own fund from which it contributes to the sub-ward fund.

Cooperative economic tasks may involve the whole of a sub-ward, sometimes along with people from other sub-wards, or they may be confined to one or two sections, depending on the size of the task to be done. In Folokhwe sub-ward, Komkhulu and Ngingqi sections usually work together and have a permanent relationship with one another in this respect. "Ngingqi is one with Komkhulu. When we work we work together." Economic co-operation of this type involving ilima or isicelo work parties is discussed below.

Kin and Neighbours in economic life.

Some indication has been given of the importance of kinship and neighbourhood, the two major organizational features of social life in Shixini. Although analytically separate, these two principles overlap in practice. We have been concerned with this because it will be necessary to try and gauge the impact of the betterment scheme on these principles. In this section a more detailed look at the economic dependence of homesteads on both kin and neighbours is provided.

Each homestead relies on others for its economic well-being and is involved in a complex network of economic relationships. As among other Cape Nguni economic links extend beyond kin groups and serve to demonstrate the location of each homestead within a wider system, upon which it is dependent. Agnatically based economic co-operation is an important element within the wider framework, notably with regard to activities involving cattle.

Relationships involving livestock, particularly cattle, feature prominently in the lives of the Gcaleka. People give and receive stock on loan, pay for various services (such as that of the diviner or herbalist) with stock, make and receive stock prestations, nqoma (put out) their cattle to other homesteads, are involved in bridewealth transactions, help each other to meet bridewealth obligations, etc. Homesteads group their cattle together for herding purposes, and combine them in ploughing groups.

Herding "companies" serve to overcome labour shortages and also to ensure that cattle belonging to absent workers are not neglected. An analysis of

seven herding groups involving thirty-four homesteads reveals that only two were composed exclusively of fellow lineage members, but that only one of them transcended sub-ward section membership. (see Appendix G). A common strategy among labour migrants is to leave their cattle with a man who does not migrate. Homesteads with only one or two cattle also do this, but on a more permanent basis. This may occur between kinsmen or between non-kin, but only one case was encountered where homesteads of different sub-ward sections were involved in such a relationship.

Ukungoma, on the other hand, would appear to occur infrequently within the sub-ward section or even within the sub-ward, possibly because it involves a greater emphasis on status relationships. Ukungoma means "to put out" cattle to other people and data from Folokhwe indicate that it is desirable that this does not occur too close to home. The wide distribution of cattle has certain advantages to both lender and borrower (see Hammond-Tooke 1962, p.157; Wilson 1936, p.135). Borrowers are placed under an obligation to provide reciprocal assistance and possibly political support to the lender if and when required. Since such support would normally be forthcoming from neighbours and close agnates in any event, it is unnecessary to establish a ngoma relationship with them. It is therefore to a man's advantage to put out cattle to homesteads outside of his immediate locality and outside of his immediate kin group.

There is a strong moral as well as a transactional element. It is only men with sizeable herds who are able to put out cattle and who are in fact expected to do so. Informants state that a man ought to have twenty to forty cattle "to be respected", but spontaneously qualify this with the condition that respect is gained not merely by the fact of possession. "He must help those in need." Cattle are put out to relatively poor men and the community as a whole is able to benefit from a man with large herds and many ngoma relationships.

The most extensive form of economic cooperation and organisation in Shixini is in ploughing "companies". In Folokhwe sub-ward there were ten of these in 1976, involving sixty-one out of seventy-nine homesteads plus two in a neighbouring sub-ward. Some informants state that "a man ploughs with whom he likes" and that these companies have no link with clan or lineage affiliation, but in practice the two overlap. For example, all the Ngqunu lineage members are in one company and the Bamba in another. The Ntshilibe lineage is divided into two companies, reflecting the division between the great and right-hand houses in this lineage, and all but two of the Ntlane homesteads are divided into two companies, though this division is a function of spatial rather than genealogical distribution. All these groups also include members of other lineages and clans, some of which are widely distributed among the ten companies. The majority of members of any one company are invariably of one sub-ward section but only three companies do not have members of more than one section and one includes two homesteads from another sub-ward. (See Appendix H)

Ploughing companies partly overcome the problem of shortages of oxen, implements and labour and enable many to plough at what they consider to be the right time and to get the work done quickly once the decision to plough has been made. In addition to this many people, including the families of absent migrants, would not be able to cultivate at all without the assistance of others due to their lack of some or all of the necessary inputs. It is with regard to oxen and labour that shortages are most acute and informants

stress the manpower shortage. Most young men and senior boys are away at work at any one time and it is these two age categories which are associated with the most arduous part of agriculture, ploughing and planting.

Each company has a head or leader and a nucleus of long standing members (a 'core'), and some have a number of affiliated members, defined as such by the fact that they "asked to join" an already established company. The companies are named according to their heads or past heads, and are often referred to by the clan names of the majority of their members, reflecting the association between lineage and core membership. In six of the companies the head is also a lineage head or lineage segment head and the company includes members of his descent group. In no case are father and son members of different companies, though there are four cases of full brothers being divided in this way. Core members are not necessarily all of the same lineage, and sometimes include neighbours, friends and other kin.

There is another class of affiliated members consisting of homesteads which are poor in cattle and labour, with few prospects for improvement. Often they are headed by widows, and are entirely dependent on their company for ploughing and planting. These homesteads are often (but not always) of the same agnatic group as the core members and they remain dependants of the company for long periods. Work done for them is apparently not conditional upon some contribution to the operation of the company.

The structure of ploughing organization is flexible at any given moment and there is an exchange of labour and implements between individual companies. A plough may be lent to another company, a labourer from one might assist in the ploughing done by another and so on. The ideal of mutual assistance thus cuts across the boundaries of individual companies. Only part of a company may be required to perform smaller tasks, and at times two or more companies come together to perform large operations on the request of an individual homestead. This is termed umqibelo.

A prominent feature of economic life in Shixini is the reliance on work parties for a wide variety of tasks. There are essentially ad hoc groups which come together in response to an appeal by an individual homestead to perform tasks such as harvesting, cutting thatching grass and so on. In some cases a small number of neighbouring homesteads enter into a standing reciprocal relationship with one another and form a group which is distinguishable from the more well known work party (isicelo or ilima). As with many other forms of economic cooperation, the evidence on work parties in Folokhwe confirms the finding of Wilson et al (1952, p.70) that the obligation to assist kin is not greater than that towards neighbours.

The various forms of economic co-operation and mutual assistance discussed above all involve a certain amount of formality and organization. Two other such forms, the loan (ukunqoma, in its broader sense) or sharing of fields and the use of maize storage pits in other men's cattlebyres, may also be mentioned. Once again, such relationships occur between both kin and non-kin, but usually between members of the same sub-ward section. In Folokhwe sub-ward, in 1976/77 eight cases were recorded where people stored their maize in pits in other homesteads' cattlebyres. In no case did the people involved in such relationships belong to different sections of the sub-ward, and in only 3 cases were they kin.

In a sense all these are atypical, for by far the most frequent manifestation

of economic assistance to others is informal and ad hoc, occurring on a daily basis between kin, neighbours and friends, usually within the same sub-ward section, and involving smaller tasks or less important forms of assistance - the loan of a horse in order to travel to town; a few hours assistance with the building of a hut; the loan of a bag of maize; provision of a sledge and oxen in order to transport bricks or manure; gifts of food, seed, fertilizer, etc. Various moral principles underlie this - the obligation to give, to help those in need, to reciprocate, to be a good neighbour and/or kinsman. Reciprocation may be delayed for years, it may take an intangible form or it may be in terms of an established norm. Or the renderer of assistance may receive and expect nothing material in return, as was so often stated by informants, apart from the knowledge that he can turn to the receiver for political support and that he gains a certain status by helping the less fortunate.

It is evident from this brief survey that the economic survival of the homestead depends to a great extent on its relationships with others, and in this respect neighbours and non-kin seem to be as important as kinsmen. It is against this background that the likely effects of relocation under the betterment scheme, must be viewed.

There are three ways in which a man may obtain a field: (1) by inheritance; one (usually by primogeniture); (2) by applying for one previously allocated to someone else and (3) by making for new areas to be opened up. A man and applying for a field in such an area in the case of inheritance, a man simply applies via the sub-wardman (through) to the chief and headman of the ward of Shikha for the field to be registered in his name. In the case of the other two ways of obtaining a field the matter is more complicated. A homestead head wanting a field and not wanting to inherit one usually first discusses the issue with kin and neighbours to establish whether there are any presently unused or abandoned fields that are worth applying for. If a man wants to apply for such a field he may obtain the agreement of the person whose name the field is registered. If the field is officially abandoned then this step is not necessary, and the applicant (or someone) by acting for the applicant) approaches the sub-wardman to register the application for the field. The sub-wardman with a border of pasture you (or some other suitable gift) and the application is discussed at the next meeting of the sub-ward (liberal) consisting of all the senior members. A the sub-ward. If there is no objection to the application the libanda goes on an appointed day to inspect the field in question and to verify its boundaries. To ensure that any possible future disputes about the boundaries will be prevented later, the libanda and the applicant travel to the field and place a yiliba inform him that application has been made for the field and approved by the men of the ward. The chief (or his clerical assistant) registers the field in the of notarial libandis the sub-wardman to print a receipt for the field.

7 FIELDS AND GARDENS IN SHIXINI

Although agriculture and animal husbandry continue to be practised in Shixini, with the ideal of economic self-sufficiency being firmly held by most homestead heads, the local economic product is insufficient to provide for subsistence needs. As a result there is a marked dependence on migrant labour to provide the cash required to purchase food and other necessities. Local economic activity, furthermore, as Spiegel (1980) has shown in the case of Lesotho, depends largely on the cash remitted by absentee wage earners. For reasons that will become clear below, it seems almost certain that dependence on the wages of absent male migrant workers will increase with the advent of the betterment scheme, at least in the short term.

In theory each homestead in Shixini is entitled to both a field and a garden in which to cultivate maize and other crops. In practice many homesteads lack fields, gardens or both. In 1977 21 (25%) of the homesteads in Folokhwe (one of Shixini's constituent sub-wards) did not have fields, 6 (7.4%) did not have gardens and 10 (8%) had neither garden nor field. Only 53% of homesteads had both a field and a garden to cultivate. Figures like this can, of course, be misleading, and it is necessary to examine in more detail not only the question of landlessness, but also the allocation and use of land. On this basis it should be possible to assess the impact of betterment, with its radically different form of land tenure on agriculture. I will discuss fields first, then gardens.

Theoretically, a man qualifies for a field once he marries, and each additional wife that he marries entitles him to an additional field. Previously, a field was regarded as being allocated to the wife but nowadays, possibly because of the shortage of arable land and the fact that land has become heritable property, a field is regarded as having been allocated to the husband. In practice it is not marriage but the establishment of an independent homestead that entitles a man to a field.

There are three ways in which a man may obtain a field: (1) by inheriting one (usually by primogeniture); (2) by applying for one previously allocated to someone else, and (3) by waiting for new areas to be opened up as arable land and applying for a field in such an area. In the case of inheritance a man simply applies, via the subheadman (isibonda) to the chief and headman of Shixini, for the field to be registered in his name. In the case of the other two ways of obtaining a field the matter is more complicated. A homestead head wanting a field and not expecting to inherit one usually first discusses the issue with kin and neighbours to establish whether there are any presently unused or abandoned fields that are worth applying for. If a man wants to apply for such a field he must obtain the agreement of the person in whose name the field is registered. If the field is officially abandoned then this step is not necessary, and the applicant (or someone acting on behalf of the applicant) approaches the subheadman to make application for the field. He presents the subheadman with a bottle of brandy (or some other suitable gift), and the application is discussed at the next meeting of the sub-ward moot (ibandla) consisting of all the senior men of the sub-ward. If there is no objection to the application the ibandla goes on an appointed day to inspect the field in question and to verify its boundaries, to ensure that any possible future dispute about the boundaries will be prevented. Later, the isibonda and the applicant travel to the chief's place to inform him that application has been made for the field and approved by the men of the ward. The chief (or his clerical assistant) registers the field in

the name of the applicant. The chief may later visit the area to verify the allocation of the field. If such a visit takes place, the applicant is expected to brew beer for the men of the sub-ward and to present the chief with a suitable gift. A similar procedure is followed when fields in an area newly set out for cultivation are allocated. In such cases the chief is accompanied on his visit to the fields by an official from the Department of Agriculture and Forestry, whose duty it is to measure and mark out the boundaries of the fields and to make a record of their sizes.

A sub-ward or one of its sections may make application as a body to the chief or headman for part of the grazing land within its area to be proclaimed arable land. In 1967-68 Ngingqi section of Folokhwe sub-ward made such an application, and of the eight new fields which were established seven were allocated to members of Ngingqi section.

It should be evident from the above that the number, size and location of fields is fixed. There are a certain limited (and usually inadequate) number of fields available in any one sub-ward, and each field has set boundaries. In other words, a person cannot easily extend the area that he or she cultivates, or change the location of his/her field (e.g. by allowing the field to revert to grazing and cultivating in another area). Most fields have been cultivated more or less continuously year after year, for a long period, with the result that the fertility of the soil has diminished considerably. This is clearly indicated by the type of vegetation that occurs on abandoned fields (see Appendix C and E) and, in the case of old fields still used, by the relatively low yields (see below). As a result of low yields, fields are sometimes abandoned by their holders. Of the 21 homesteads without fields in Folokhwe, three had officially abandoned their fields (i.e. they were no longer registered in the name of the homestead head). Furthermore, at least a dozen of the homesteads which did hold field appeared to be in the process of abandoning them, because they cultivated them relatively infrequently (perhaps once every four or five years) or not at all. Lack of labour power was also sometimes cited as being a reason for not using fields.

Gardens

At present (1983), every homestead has the right to an adjoining garden site, and those without gardens are usually new or impoverished homesteads, without the means to acquire fencing material and suchlike, or without the necessary labour. Young married men, once they have established their own homesteads, usually delay the laying out of a garden for a few years, during which time they work as migrants and accumulate the capital required to establish a garden.

Shixini people rely heavily on their gardens for a supply of food and other products - a factor that does not seem to have merited much consideration by those who plan betterment schemes. I will attempt here to demonstrate the importance of gardens to Shixini residents, because this is necessary for any attempt to assess the impact of the betterment scheme.

A convenient way of illustrating the importance of gardens is to compare gardens with fields on a number of counts. There are a number of important differences between the two types of arable land, which are of the utmost relevance when trying to determine the likely affect of betterment on the ability of Shixini people to make at least part of their living outside of the context of labour migration.

The first important point of comparison concerns the physical location of the

two types of arable land. Fields are concentrated at some distance from the homesteads, in the low-lying areas adjoining the rivers and major streams, and on the ridges next to the low-lying areas (see map 4). Gardens, on the other hand, immediately adjoin homesteads. As a result they are continually in view, threats to crops from animal and human predators can be readily seen and averted, no travel is involved when having to cultivate or harvest (fields are 15 to 20 minutes walk from the homesteads, and it is relatively easy to fertilize them with manure if so desired).

Secondly, gardens are fenced and fields are not. This means that cattle and other livestock have to be actively herded when there are crops in the fields, to ensure that the crops are not damaged. This of course requires labour, usually the labour of boys. This has a further implication - it keeps the boys out of school for a good part of the year. The fencing of a garden, on the other hand, entails a considerable cash outlay. Wire and poles have to be purchased and food and beer prepared if a work party is called to do the fencing.

As far as size is concerned, gardens are usually smaller than fields, though there are many exceptions to this, particularly in the case of those homesteads which rely very heavily on garden produce. Some gardens are as much as 6 to 7 acres (2,42 ha) in extent, and have been developed to this size due to the infertility of the homesteads' fields. Older residents of Shixini maintain that gardens have become larger over the years, and attribute this to the decreasing yields from fields.

As indicated above, gardens are more fertile than fields, as measured by the yields obtained from them (see McAllister 1979). Differences in soil type aside, this may be due to reasons already indicated - i.e. the long period for which fields have been used, the ease with which gardens can be overseen, their proximity to homesteads and therefore to cattlebyres (for manuring) and so on. A rather important additional factor, however, is that the boundaries of gardens are not fixed, as is the case with fields. Gardens are continually being extended, their boundaries changed, their location slightly altered. This is reflected in the yields that people obtain. Nanganethole, for example, a young homestead head in Folokhwe sub-ward, obtained 16 bags of maize from his large garden in 1975. In 1976 he extended the size of his garden and, in addition, fertilized it with manure, with the result that he doubled his previous year's yield.

In extending or altering the boundaries of a garden the only requirements that must be met are that a homestead head must consult his/her neighbours and obtain their approval for the planned change, after which the permission of the sub-headman must be obtained. In addition to this, it is held that no person should mark off as a garden more land than he or she can cultivate.

In fields, monoculture is the norm, and one seldom finds crops other than maize, beans or peas growing in them. Should all three of these crops be grown in one field (which would be unusual) they are usually grown in distinct areas or at different times and not intermingled. In gardens, polyculture is the order of the day, and a large variety of crops are grown apart from the staple maize. These include beans, peas, pumpkins, melons, tobacco and so on. This difference is due no doubt to differences in soil fertility and also to the distance of fields from homesteads. On the other hand, this difference may itself help to explain differences in soil fertility. Maize monoculture (common in most fields) is likely to exhaust the soil far more rapidly than garden polyculture, where the variety of crops growing in the

same area but ripening at different times possibly acts as a sort of crop rotation system.

As an example of the importance of gardens let us take the case of Mzilikazi's homestead. Mzilikazi Tshemese is a man of about sixty five years of age who lives with his wife Nothusile and his two sons (Kwedinana, the eldest, and Lindeman, the younger) in Folokhwe sub-ward of Shixini ward. In 1976/77 Nothusile cultivated a garden in front of their umzi (homestead), growing mainly maize, beans, sweet potatoes, tobacco and a variety of other small crops. The garden was small, a mere 2,368 square metres, and it did not produce a large proportion of their total food needs. The homestead also had a field, some 3 to 4 km away, which had been cultivated fairly regularly over the years. Mzilikazi was part of a ploughing 'company' (see Appendix H) and Kwedinana was one of three young men who did the bulk of the hard work within this company. At this time, Kwedinana had just started going out as a migrant worker, and Mzilikazi was on the point of ceasing to migrate. In the years that followed, however, things went wrong. Kwedinana married in 1978, and his wife did not get on very well with her mother-in-law. Relations between the young couple and Nothusile became strained, and Kwedinana went off to work in Umtata, taking his wife with him. Over the next three to four years Kwedinana visited home only once, and has subsequently moved to Johannesburg. What is more important is that he sent very little money to his parents, very irregularly, contrary to their expectations. Mzilikazi tried to find employment on the mine which he had worked for in the past but he was judged too old. Later, he found a job on the local road gang, earning around R50 per month.

In 1980, Mzilikazi and Nothusile decided to enlarge their small garden. While the reasons for this are not quite clear, it seems likely that this, like Mzilikazi's attempts to find a job, was a response to the failure of Kwedinana to remit as expected, and the realisation that they would have to find other means to try and ensure their livelihood. It seems that Kwedinana was also responsible (both directly and indirectly) for the subsequent failure of Mzilikazi to cultivate his field. Not only had Kwedinana's marriage meant that Mzilikazi had lost his oxen (as lobola) but his move to Umtata and his failure to return home at ploughing time meant that his labour power was lost to the ploughing company. Mzilikazi's position within the ploughing company thus took a knock, and although he remained a member of the company, his status within it declined. Since he could contribute neither oxen nor adult labour apart from his own (his other son was about 13 years old at the time) his bargaining position within the company was weakened. This meant, among other things, that at ploughing time he was unlikely to get his field ploughed at a favourable time, thus increasing the risk of a poor yield. Having saved some money from his wages on the road gang, therefore, Mzilikazi consulted his neighbours and the sub-headman, purchased fencing wire and poles, and organized a work party of men to enlarge his garden.

The new garden measured 12,324 square metres (or 1,23 hectares), and it has been ploughed and planted with a variety of crops every year since. As a result, the homestead is now considerably better off, in terms of food supply, than it would have been had it had to rely on the old garden and the field. In 1982, for example, Nothusile had obtained five bags of maize (off the cob) in barter exchange for some of the sweet potatoes that she had grown in the garden. The garden had also produced a small crop of maize, half a bag of beans (unshelled), a small bag of red chilis, a crop of tobacco, and a variety of pumpkins and melons. In April 1983 a casual walk through the garden revealed that apart from maize the following crops were growing: beans, cow peas, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, cabbages, Cape gooseberries, tobacco,

potatoes, butternuts, a variety of pumpkins and melons, wild 'spinach' (imifinó) and a number of medicinal plants. Tobacco is used for home consumption and is also an important cash crop. In 1978, for example, Mziliakzi sold four bags of tobacco for a total of R86.

This case is fairly typical of Shixini homesteads, many of which have gardens as large as or larger than Mzilikazi's garden, and which grow a similar variety of crops. No wonder then that amongst the various types of beer drinks frequently held in Shixini is 'beer to praise (ukubonga) the garden'. This beer drink, held by many homesteads each year, follows the general pattern of Gcaleka beer drinks described elsewhere (McAllister 1979, 1981). It involves the brewing of beer for the ancestors and for the other members of the community, an act that is believed to elicit the continued blessings of the ancestors and to secure good harvests from the garden in future years.

Livestock

Although Shixini people attach great value to livestock, particularly cattle, which have social, religious and political as well as ceremonial value, they obtain very little of their subsistence needs directly from this source. In 1976 there were 591 cattle, 515 goats, 1 267 sheep and 30 horses in Folekhwe sub-ward. Virtually every homestead also kept some poultry and a few pigs. The mean average figures of 7.7 cattle, 16,7 pigs and 6,7 goats per homestead are, however, misleading, because a large proportion of the livestock was concentrated in relatively few hands. One man and his brother's son between them, for example, owned 53 percent of the cattle, 60 percent of the sheep and 18 percent of the goats. If these two homesteads are excluded the means fall to 3.7 cattle, 6,76 sheep and 5,58 goats for the remaining 74 homesteads. Thirty homesteads had no cattle at all, forty had no sheep, and thirty nine no goats. Twenty-two homesteads had none of these kinds of livestock (McAllister 1979).

8 THE IMPLEMENTATION OF BETTERMENT IN SHIXINI

Up to about the middle of 1979 Shixini people were unaware of the fact that betterment or 'planning', as it is often called in the Transkei, was about to be imposed upon them, though they had observed its implementation and the effects of this in other nearby areas, and as a result had formed fairly definite attitudes towards it. While investigating the general question of conservatism and resistance to change during the period 1975-1976, many of the people spoken to, raised the issue of betterment in response to questions about their way of life and perceived threats to this way of life.

Attitudes towards rehabilitation at the time were predominantly negative, and revolved around the effects of rehabilitation of their livestock, on their ability to produce food from the land, and on their homesteads. 'Itrasti' they said, led to a reduction in the amount of arable land that a homestead would have at its disposal, and this in turn led to a smaller supply of produce from the land. "You get smaller fields under 'itrasti'. but if there is no itrasti you have a big field"; "if I have only two acres of land to plough I will starve." Some mentioned that gardens, particularly, could not be large under 'itrasti' and that this had adverse effects on one's livelihood due to the importance of gardens for subsistence. "You cannot have a big garden; this brings starvation."

People were critical also of the limited amount of land provided for homestead sites, and of the fact that homesteads had to be built so close to each other. "The homesteads are crowded; you cannot breathe"; "your fowls and pigs cannot even cross the fence and go next door or they will be killed. Here they have lots of space"; "the huts are crowded and there is no space for more." Implied in statements such as these were the possibility of friction between neighbours due to overcrowding, the difficulty of adding additional huts to one's homestead due to lack of building space, and the difficulty that would be encountered should a son want to establish a homestead next to that of his father - a practice that is common in Shixini but which becomes very difficult, if not practically impossible, under 'itrasti'.

Rehabilitation was associated with unwanted interference on the part of the government into matters concerning animal husbandry, and was believed to have negative effects on livestock. People felt that the establishment of cattle camps meant that they were unable to graze their animals where they believed the best grazing to be ("this kills our livestock") and that 'betterment' led to the enforced culling of cattle: "Your cattle are reduced and those that are left die because you have to keep them in camps." "You do not even have manure in your kraal because cattle stay in these camps."

Shixini people also objected to the fact that rehabilitation schemes usually involved having to leave an old established homestead site and establish a new homestead at a new site. This was objectionable not only for certain practical reasons, such as having to go to the effort and expense of building another homestead, and leaving behind all the manure from the old cattle byres, but on moral-religious grounds also. Many people thought that the ancestors would take a poor view of the abandoning of an old homestead for a new site: "If you leave your homestead you are leaving your ancestors behind." It was suggested that the ancestors would be annoyed if their graves were abandoned and not cared for: "the ancestors will be angry because their graves will not be looked after, they will simply be out there in the veld. When you are ill you sometimes go and pray next to the grave . . ." Others disagreed with this point of view, saying that the ancestors would understand

that such a move had not been undertaken voluntarily, but at the direction of the state's authorities. Even these people, however, said they would feel loath to leave a site long associated with their lineages. "I will have to leave behind the graves of my lineage to be ploughed by some other person who does not care for them"; "the site of my forefathers will be taken away from me and given to somebody else."

Generally Shixini people equated change with rehabilitation, and resisted the idea of change: "People around here do not want change because they are running away from itrasti. Everything that is new to them is like introducing itrasti." They were quite happy, like most rural people everywhere, with the status quo. Such changes as they desired were changes that would have further entrenched their conservative lifestyle - more land to cultivate, more livestock, better yields, and so on. Insofar as they aspired to anything, it was to more of what they already had and valued positively rather than to something different.

It is against this background that one should view the beginnings of the implementation of betterment in Shixini, and the people's reactions to the introduction of betterment, aspects of which may appear to be rather surprising. In view of the attitudes towards betterment outlined above one might have expected the people to object vociferously, if not violently, to its implementation. This did not happen, and the official record indicates that betterment is being implemented with the full agreement, or even at the request of, the people being affected by it.

'Agreement' for the implementation of betterment was obtained in two ways - through holding meetings with large groups of people at the chief's 'great place', and through holding meetings at sub-ward level. At sub-ward level, the sub-headmen were asked to meet with the members of their sub-wards, to test the people's opinions on betterment, and to ask the people to 'vote' on the matter. When I asked Shixini people why they were getting betterment some of them replied, 'sivotile' (we voted). They were quick to point out however, that this was a 'vote' in name only, because many believed that if they did not vote in favour of itrasti a bulldozer would be sent to their residential areas to demolish their homes. (I was unable to ascertain whether this threat had actually been made or not.) People were apparently not prepared to voice their objections in public, especially if this was at a meeting at the chiefs homestead. Correspondence between the chief, the local office of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry and the regional office of the Department at Butterworth, bears testimony to this. For example, in a letter from the chief to the Willowvale office of the Department dated 7 September 1979, it was stated that a meeting had been held at the great place on the previous day to discuss the implementation of the rehabilitation scheme. At this meeting, according to the writer, "the attitude of the community was good and they unanimously accepted planning and reclamation."

Having apparently obtained the support of his people, the chief and eight of his sub-headmen then called at the Willowvale office of the Department to inform the officer in charge of their acceptance of planning and reclamation. The letter from Willowvale (dated 11 October 1979) conveying this information to the regional office of the Department concluded to the effect that "Chief Jongikwezi Dumalisile (Mandlenkosi's younger brother and acting chief) is a diligent MP and is keen for progress in his Administrative Area and Willowvale as a whole. Dealing with planning while the iron is still hot with

(will?) be advantageous to Gatyana i.e. Willowvale." On 12 November 1979 the regional office wrote to the central (Umtata) office of the Department, requesting that Shixini administrative area be given priority with regard to planning, since "people want to go to the approved residential areas". The Willowvale office, too, tried to hurry things along. In a letter to the Butterworth office dated 5 December 1979 They wrote: "Reminder: Planning at Shixini Administrative Area; Willowvale. I am always asked by Chief Mandlenkosi Dumalisile as to when planning will be executed at the above Administrative Area by the planning officers. Personally I can be pleased too if they can be attended as according to the department staff teams, site demarcation can be executed within this year 1980 (sic)".

It seems that this approach had some effect, for in 1980 planning officers started to mark out the new residential sites, and it became clear to people that they would have to move to these areas at some stage, despite their reluctance to do so. In the minds of most people, however, this move was (and still is) far off. They continue, for example, to build new huts, to extend their gardens, to lay out new gardens, and so on. Activities such as these seem to indicate that they do not regard the move as being imminent. Indeed, most people believed at the time of site demarcation that it would be five or ten years before they would have to move. Even today, many people refuse, it seems, to concern themselves too much with the fact that at some time or another they will have to apply for a site in the new residential area, believing that it will be many years before they are compelled to do so. Perhaps this unconcern is facilitated by the fact that an application for a site in the new area can be approved only once the applicant is up to date with his/her tax payments. Since the authorities are not making any special effort to get people to pay their taxes, the conclusion that may be drawn is that they are in no particular hurry to make people move to their new sites. It is possible that the people also draw this conclusion.

It is possible that people continue to build new huts because they have been informed that they will be compensated for having to abandon their homesteads and build new ones. According to Willowvale officials of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry, the compensation paid for each hut depends on its condition and its shape. The standard rate is as follows:

A 'poor' hut	R20
A 'fair' hut	R25
A 'fairly good' round hut	R30
A 'good' round hut	R35
A 'very good' round hut	R40
A 'very good' square hut	R45

Before compensation can be paid an evaluation has to be made by officials of the Department, and they need to have the funds with which to pay. The valuation had not yet been done by April 1983, and no funds were yet available either. This may be another reason why Shixini people have shown no great enthusiasm in applying for new sites. But the promise of compensation alone cannot explain why people continue to build new huts, since it is not adequate compensation. Normally a round hut costs in the region of R100 to build, including the purchase of poles and a door and payment to the thatcher, the builder, the women who cut the thatching grass, the girls who made the mud bricks, and so on.

During the 1982/1983 agricultural season it was apparent that many people

were making use of the tractor service offered by the Department of Agriculture for ploughing fields, despite the fact that this was fairly expensive, the alleged infertility of fields, and the very little use that had been made of this service in the past. It was noticeable also that the tractor-ploughing service was being procured for fields which had been used relatively infrequently over the years because of factors like infertility of the soil and lack of labour power or cash. It appears that despite the shortage of oxen some people were trying to demonstrate that they were actively farming in an attempt to ensure that they would be allocated a field in the new arable area once the move to the new residential area took place.

Another important aspect of the people's reactions to the implementation of betterment was the number of rumours that were circulating shortly after the marking out of the new residential area. These rumours, which sometimes contradicted each other, appear to have reflected the apprehension and uncertainty that the people felt at the prospect of having to face such significant changes in their lives. It was thought, for example, that bulldozers would be sent to flatten their homes when the time came to move. In June 1981 a strongly held belief in the lower part of Shixini was that the members of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry who had marked out the new sites had been arrested by the Willowvale police, on the instructions of the chief, because they had acted without the necessary authorization. This story was found to be groundless when enquiries were made. Another rumour held that the local magistrate had said that people applying for sites in the new residential area would be left without any arable land, while those who remained on their existing sites would have land to plough.

Another strongly held belief was that all the people living on a three to four kilometre wide coastal strip in Willowvale would have to move, because the Transkei government planned to turn this area into a cattle ranch. The chief confirmed that this was one of the reasons why the people from the coast had to move, adding that the entire Transkei coastline was to become a state ranch.

Movement to the new residential area

By April 1983 only three homesteads were already established in the area which was set aside for the new residential site, and the vast majority of the residents of Nompha, Ndlelibanzi and Folokhwe will have physically to uproot themselves and move to a new site. Inquiries with officials of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry in Butterworth and Willowvale revealed that 401 sites had been planned for this area. A close study of the plan on which the sites are mapped and numbered indicated, however, that there are actually 433 sites. This discrepancy is due to the fact that certain numbers have been duplicated on the plan, while others have been omitted, apparently in error. The highest number on the plan is 401, but to this one has to add the 35 duplicated numbers, and the numbers 11A, 13A and 15A, and then subtract the 6 omitted numbers. These duplications and omissions do not appear on the separate written list of numbers against which the names of successful applicants for the new sites appear. It is likely that some difficulties and resentment will result from this at a later stage.

Since there are presently only roughly 240 homesteads in the three sub-wards whose members must move, the number of new sites provided for appears to be in excess of immediate requirements. Obviously it will be some time before all these sites are occupied.

By April 1983, 33 applications for sites had been approved (including those

who were already living on 'new' sites). This number is not large enough to determine whether people are attempting to choose who their new neighbours will be, or to move in groups from their old areas. Amongst these applications, however, there are cases of close consanguineal kin applying for sites close to each other. For example the Folokhwe sub-headman and his mother adjoining sites (both presently have their own homesteads in Folokhwe), and a father's brother's son of this sub-headman has applied for a site very close to these two. It remains to be seen whether or not the sub-headman's other close kin (his full brothers, for example) will also apply for sites near to his own.

Another interesting feature is that half of the applicants for new sites are women, i.e. female household heads (widows, women deserted by their husband etc). It is possible that women living in homesteads which used to belong to their husbands, situated close to their husband's agnates, are keen to leave such a situation and establish their own, independent homesteads. This emerged fairly clearly in an interview with one of the widows who had already established a homestead on her new site. Previously she had lived in Ndlelibanzi, next-door to members of her late husband's lineage group. She said that she had been unhappy there since her husband had died, because "The people there were not nice to me." She had therefore decided to move out as soon as possible, and welcomed the betterment scheme for providing her with the opportunity to move.

One of the most demanding tasks that rural women have to perform every day is the drawing and carrying of water from local streams and rivers to their homes. A survey conducted in the Amatola Basin, Ciskei, concluded that each homestead required 82 litres of water daily, and that several trips had to be made to water points each day. (Steyn 1982). At present, most Shixini homesteads are fairly close to a stream or spring, and most women do not have to walk very far for water. Distance from water is in fact one of the considerations people bear in mind when deciding where to build their homesteads. Betterment, aside from limiting people's choices as to where to build, is likely to have the effect of putting pressure on water points close to the settlements, because of the concentration of people. If this happens, or if the local (nearby) water supply becomes unsuitable for home consumption due to the concentration of people and livestock, then people will have to draw water from further and further afield. In the Amatola Basin, an area where betterment has been implemented, women spent 2 to 3 hours each day performing this task (Steyn 1982).

In the coastal parts of Willowvale district, as in other parts of the Transkei, the sea and shoreline are a fairly important economic resource, particularly in that it provides a highly nutritious dietary supplement, mainly in the form of shellfish, eaten primarily by women and children. During spring tides, Shixini women and girls go down to the rocks and return with buckets full of black mussels, rockbait, oysters, the occasional catfish, and many other edible seafoods. A number of women collect sacks full of a type of seaweed washed up by the tide, for which they are paid by the processing company. Driftwood is collected and used as fence poles and as firewood, and a small number of men (and many small boys) are regular fishermen. All the people of Folokhwe sub-ward, and most of those in Ndlelibanzi, will be considerably

9 THE LIKELY EFFECTS OF BETTERMENT IN SHIXINI

The likely effects of betterment on Shixini people may be grouped under a variety of sub-headings, viz. distances travelled, economic well-being, labour migration, relationships between people, ecology and the Red Xhosa way of life.

Distances travelled

In some respects the move to the new residential site will benefit people, in that they will no longer have to walk long distances to the school, shop, dipping tank and bus-stop (on the road to Willowvale), all of which are in close proximity to one another (see map 4). At present those furthest from these facilities are the people living in the southernmost part of Folokhwe sub-ward, some 5km away. No part of the new residential area is more than 2km away from the shop.

Fields, however, will be at a greater distance from homesteads than they are at present. The majority of people in Folokhwe sub-ward, for example, are 1½ to 2 km from their fields. Some are closer than this, while some are as much as 3km away. Some of the new fields are going to be 4 to 5km away from the residential area. The distance from the northernmost point of the residential block to the southernmost part of the new arable area is about 5½km (see map 5). This increased distance will be exacerbated by the fact that cultivation in fields is likely to become much more important than it is at present, because of the limitations on garden size in the new residential area.

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further from the sea when they have had to move. At present no Folokhwe homestead is more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ km from the sea, but after the move all Folokhwe homesteads will be about $5\frac{1}{2}$ km away. This will not stop them from utilizing the resources that the sea has to offer, since some women come from as much as 10km inland to collect shellfish at present. What it does mean is that many will have to expend more time and energy than before in continuing to make use of this resource.

Economic Well-being

Perhaps the most critical question concerning betterment is whether or not the people affected will be better off or not economically, after the implementation of the scheme. It is, of course, difficult to predict with any certainty what the position will be in Shixini after the planning exercise has been implemented. However, there are certain indications of what may happen, both in the short and in the long term. These revolve around the question of homestead site, arable land and livestock.

a) Homestead sites

Apart from the fact that application for homestead sites is going to cost the applicant any back taxes that he or she owes, as well as a gift to the chief, the site itself will cost each householder a considerable sum. The compensation being offered to Shixini people, as mentioned earlier, is inadequate to provide the materials to build even one new hut. So a household head moving to a new site will have to lay out money for huts, cattlebyres, garden fencing, and so on. Since it is unlikely that homestead heads will be able to accumulate enough resources to do all this more or less at once, the development of the new homesteads is likely to take a number of years. During this time the homestead will be spending money but not getting much agricultural produce in return.

b) Arable land

Agriculturally too, it seems that the short-term prospects for Shixini people are not very promising. It takes time and money to develop new fields and gardens in areas previously not cultivated. Furthermore, it is common knowledge in Shixini that a newly developed piece of land is not as productive as an established one. This is possibly due to the time taken for organic matter in a ploughed field to become properly broken down, and to the lack of humus (provided in old fields by the old maize stalks). This is borne out when we examine the yields obtained from newly developed gardens. The garden belonging to Mbawu, a Folokhwe resident, produced 5 bags of maize the first time that it was cultivated. That was in 1974. The yield in 1975 was 7 bags and in 1976, 12 bags.

As far as long term yields are concerned, this seems likely to depend on a number of interrelated factors - the amount of arable land available to each household, the assistance, if any, received from the Department of Agriculture and Forestry, and so on. An important factor likely to mitigate against the ability of Folokhwe residents to produce food for themselves is the smallness of the gardens that they will have in the new residential area. As mentioned earlier, present day gardens are up to 6 acres in extent (2,42 ha) although most are

probably only about half or one-third of that size. The size of the new residential sites, on which huts, stock enclosures and gardens must be established, is 2 116 square metres (roughly $\frac{1}{2}$ acre or 0,22 ha). It is unlikely that the new fields will be used for as wide a variety of crops as gardens presently are used, because most will be fairly far away from the new residential site, and because it is unlikely that individual fields will be fenced. It appears that the necessary agricultural services are seldom sustained after the institution of betterment schemes, and that they are inadequate. In Chatha, 15 years after betterment, yields have declined rather than increased.

c) Livestock

As indicated in Appendix C and E, it seems likely that the amount and quality of grazing in Shixini will deteriorate with the institution of betterment, with negative effects on livestock, and on the overall ecology of the area.

Labour Migration

If Shixini people do indeed find that they are economically worse off under the new scheme of things, they are likely to become even more dependent on migratory wage labour than they already are assuming that they are able to obtain labour contracts. (The extent of dependence on migrant labour in 1976 is indicated in Appendix F.) It is also possible that the monetary expense that people will have to bear as a result of the scheme will lead to increased dependence on migrant labour earnings from the outset. If O'Connell (1980) is correct in arguing that betterment schemes discourage investment in agriculture, then once the step into greater involvement in migratory labour is taken, it is extremely unlikely that dependence on migratory labour will ever lessen under present conditions. In this way the betterment scheme could become self-defeating, with the people becoming more impoverished as a result of the scheme.

Relationships between people

Data from Chatha and from other areas subjected to betterment schemes indicate that the effects of betterment on social relationships within the affected community are fairly marked. These effects may be divided into those concerning kinship relations, neighbourhood or territorial relations, relations between the generations and between the sexes.

As far as kinship is concerned, the evidence from Chatha shows that kinship became not less but more important after betterment, as a basis on which people relate to each other, particularly in the field of economic co-operation. The relative importance of ties based on neighbourhood or common territory, on the other hand, has declined considerably in Chatha, though such ties remain prominent in the field of ritual and ceremony (i.e. they remain important as symbols). After a betterment scheme is implemented and people have moved their homesteads, it is unlikely that one's neighbours in the new residential area will be the same as one's old neighbours. In an area like Shixini it is also unlikely that people who are total strangers will find themselves living next to each other after betterment. However, casual former acquaintance is not the same thing as close neighbourly relations, nor, it seems, does it transform itself into such very rapidly. Bonds of close neighbourly association probably take a generation or more to become established. In Chatha, new ties of neighbourhood have not been formed even

after 15 years of betterment. Instead, people fall back on kinship ties in the field of economic assistance and cooperation, and retain the old neighbourhood associations in the field of symbolic activity.

In Nzongisa (Mount Ayliff district, Transkei), O'Connell reported that 5 years after the forced implementation of a betterment scheme (with the help of a contingent of South African Police), the social barriers between people remained marked. People had become "more suspicious to intrusions into their personal space, more conscious of theft and trespass and more suspicious of the 'aliens' who live around them" (1982, p.274). In Tshabo (East London district), Bigalke found evidence of tension between izithebe. (hospitality groups based on the old geographical divisions) which could be attributed to "the proximity brought about by village life" (Bigalke 1969, p.7). It is clear from map 4 that the area covered by the new residential site is smaller than any one of the three sub-wards that are going to be moved into it. During fieldwork a man who exclaimed "It is going to be like Mdantsane here!" was not, from his point of view, exaggerating.

In view of the evidence from Chatha, it seems likely that the identity of Shixini sub-wards, and of sub-ward sections and sub-sections, will be largely destroyed by betterment. Politically, sub-wards will be merged in the new residential sites, and such merging may give rise to a new kind of political sub-division within the ward, one based on residential area and incorporating the old sub-wards. Within the new residential areas, the present sub-wards will not be territorially discrete, and their identity as groups of people and homesteads sharing a common geographical area will be lost. Some of the functions of sub-wards and sub-ward sections, such as their role in the allocation of land and in the control of grazing, will fall away, having been taken over by the planning officers. So sub-wards and their sections will lose what autonomy they have; they will lose the power to make decisions regarding these rather important aspects of their lives.

It is likely that the well-developed sense of identity held by sub-wards and sections will continue to be expressed at the level of ritual and ceremony. This is particularly likely in those cases where sub-wards or their sections are associated with particular lineage or clan groups, in view of the likelihood of an increased emphasis on kinship after betterment. Sub-wards and their sections may also remain important as informal administrative units within the residential blocks, as is the case in Chatha.

Available evidence on betterment schemes indicates that two other important effects on social relationships may be expected in Shixini as a result of the reorganisation of the area. Firstly, the authority of elders over juniors is likely to be further undermined and secondly, the relationship between the sexes may undergo radical changes as a result of the concentrated settlement pattern and of the demise of the youth organizations. With regard to both the elder/junior relationship and the youth organizations, betterment represents the death knell for institutions already under considerable pressure from factors like migration and education (Mayer 1980).

The Xhosa convention regarding relationships between the generations is that the elders are responsible for the behaviour and well-being of their juniors, while the latter ought to respect, serve and obey their elders. This convention has been under attack for many years due to the influence on younger people of education, migratory labour and urban experience. Migrant labour in particular has freed juniors from economic dependence on their elders, and has in fact turned the table on the elders, who now depend on their juniors

for money. It is only in the sphere of land that elders have retained economic power. Juniors know that they are dependent on the senior members of the community for the allocation of a site on which to build a homestead and garden, and for the allocation of a field. With betterment, the elders lose this power, because land allocation is done by planning officers. In Mayer's words, betterment "deprives the lineage elders of their role in the allotment of land, on which their remaining authority over their sons strongly resides" (1980, p.59).

O'Connell (1980, 1981) has suggested that betterment in Nzongisia has contributed (along with factors such as migrant labour) to "the problem of adultery" (1980, p.274). Moral norms, he says, have declined due to a combination of factors - people living much closer to each other than before, the proximity of relative strangers, the inability of a migrant worker's brothers to keep an eye on his wife while he is away (because they do not live close by), and so on. O'Connell also links the increased incidence of crimes such as rape and burglary to the imposition of betterment.

The decline of the youth organizations (umtshotsho, for uncircumcised boys and girls aged about 14 to 18, and intlombe, for young men and older girls) affects the relationship between the sexes as well as those between the generations. Briefly, umtshotsho and intlombe operated within the system of Red Xhosa values, and functioned to socialize young people into their roles as defined by the Red ideology. The standards of the youth were also the standards of the elders, and young and old referred to these organizations as the 'schools' of Red children (Mayer and Mayer 1972).

Sexual relationships between male and female within the youth organizations are encouraged but carefully controlled, largely by the practice of ukumetsha (external sexual intercourse) and very few premarital pregnancies resulted. It is notable that the incidence of premarital pregnancies increases considerably in areas where the youth organizations cease to operate.

These organizations are structured along the lines of the existing political units within an area, and involve an element of rivalry and competition between the politico-geographical units of ward and sub-ward. As the Mayers put it, "The youth organizations directly reflect territorial and political patterns, and actively assist the identification with ones neighbourhood, section and location", (1972, p.4). The spatial reorganization of people that occurs with betterment seems to disrupt and finally destroy the youth organizations. Other factors, some of them also associated with betterment, contribute to this. These include the changing relationships between youth and elders, the increasing incidence of labour migration, which makes it difficult for young men and older boys to find the time to participate in the youth organizations, and education.

With regard to education, the concentrated settlement pattern imposed by betterment schemes allows or enables the authorities to try and ensure that children attend school because it provides greater control over the people than is possible with a scattered settlement pattern. In Shixini the parents of children unaccountably absent from school are liable to a fine of R5, in terms of a Tribal Authority regulation. Up to now it has proved difficult to enforce this fine, but this problem is likely to fall away once the people are concentrated in a relatively small area in the new residential site. Another aspect of the increased control as a result of betterment lies in the enforced payment of overdue taxes before application for new sites are granted (see p.).

Ecology

The two aims of betterment schemes are to raise the standard of living of the people through improved agricultural production and the preservation or conservation of an area's natural resources. We have noted earlier that betterment seldom brings about any economic improvement, that it is usually associated with a decline in living standards. What then of ecology, that relationship between humans and the natural resources at their disposal? Will the natural resources of Shixini be restored or conserved in any way? We have noted that betterment deprives the people affected of control over the resources on which they at least partly depend. Implied here is an assumption that left to themselves the people would eventually over-exploit their resources, and that they are in the process of doing so at present. It thus appears necessary for the state to step in, to 'plan' the area anew, and thereby to 'reclaim' what is on its way to being lost.

The agricultural and ecological surveys conducted in the southern parts of Shixini, albeit brief and in some ways superficial indicated that there was no serious overgrazing nor erosion (Appendix C and E), while suggesting that "a gradual deterioration is probably occurring" in the area. The ecological report also suggests that instead of arresting such deterioration, the betterment scheme is likely to increase the rate of deterioration. The major reason for this prediction lies in the failure of abandoned fields to revert to good grazing land. Instead, when fields are abandoned patches of thatching grass (*C. validus*) establish themselves and prevent the return of other useful grasses. The effect of this is likely to be increased pressure on grazing under the betterment scheme.

It seems to be assumed by government planners that the people who live in an area do not make any attempts (conscious or unconscious) to preserve some kind of ecological balance. In pre-colonial times the scattered residential pattern of Nguni-speakers was clearly well-adapted to the nature of the terrain and made ecological sense (Sansom 1974). Even today the fact that Shixini people make an attempt to control access to land and to grazing indicates a concern with the preservation of these resources. Shixini people have tried to solve the problem of a shortage of arable land and declining soil fertility in a number of ways. Some have abandoned their fields and developed their gardens. Those who can afford it fertilize their fields and continue to use them, while making use of gardens as well. Certain aspects of the indigenous resource management system may well be improved upon, but betterment schemes seem to imply that there is nothing good about the way that people manage what they have. The provision of fertilizer and the exercise of some control over the abandonment of arable land in Shixini might well be a more effective method of 'reclaiming' the area than the one presently being instituted (see Appendix E).

The Red Xhosa way of Life

For a number of reasons betterment schemes seem to contribute towards the demise of the Red Xhosa lifestyle. Some of these reasons have been touched on already. The change in the settlement pattern, the assault on the old established political and territorial units, the disappearance of generations-old neighbourhood groups, the increased dependence on migrant labour earnings and the exposure to urban-industrial lifeways and values that this entails, the proximity of new-style residential areas to schools and churches, the change in the nature of the relationship between elders and juniors, and the

disappearance of umtshotsho and intlombe.

Mayer has indicated that Red Xhosa conservatism is a rural resistance ideology. In this respect it is important to appreciate that the demise of the Red Xhosa culture and lifestyle as a result of betterment is not merely the demise of what some may regard as an antiquated and outmoded adherence to tradition. On the contrary, it is the demise of a relatively successful adaptation to a rural situation in which the overwhelming trend has been towards greater and greater impoverishment of the people through both drawing them into the wider economy and preventing them from fully sharing in the fruits of that economy. Seemingly aware of this trap, Red Xhosa have tried to actively defend their way of life by not allowing themselves to be drawn into the wider socio-economic system any more than is absolutely necessary, by consciously rejecting consumerism, by antipathy towards churches and other 'ways of white people', and by clinging to what they regard as 'proper Xhosa' (McAllister 1979, ch 5; Mayer 1980). That Reds achieve this in some areas, against great odds, is attributable at least in part to the fact that they have some means of subsistence in the country and to their relatively undisturbed pattern of settlement. Throughout the Transkei and the Ciskei betterment has marked the end of the Red way of life. There is no ground for supposing that Shixini will prove to be an exception.

10 CONCLUSION

In this section a brief comparison will be made of the two study areas covered in the report. The findings of the report will then be placed in a wider perspective, by looking at the broader context of the planning and implementation of betterment schemes in general, and by evaluating the achievements and limitations of betterment generally in the light of the ethnographic research undertaken for this report. Some tentative suggestions for alternative strategies of agricultural development will then be made.

The two study areas of Chatha and Shixini appear to be largely similar inasmuch as the pre-betterment situation in Chatha corresponds fairly closely to the current situation in Shixini with regard to social structure.

Chatha as a location under a headman would have been similar to Shixini, although Shixini is larger and more populated than Chatha was. Chatha was divided into 6 village-sections, corresponding to the 11 sub-wards of Shixini, each under a sub-headman. The village-sections of Chatha were mostly further sub-divided into hamlets, similar to the sections of Shixini sub-wards, which are in turn divided into informal groups, suggesting that the proliferation of sub-groupings is greater in the case of Shixini.

In both cases, local residential groupings tend to be made up predominantly of local clusterings of agnatic kin, with the wider local groupings being characterized by the two complementary aspects of (predominantly) agnatic kinship and neighbourhood. The village-section or sub-ward is predominantly a political unit recruited largely on residential lines, and embodying ties of both kinship and locality. In everyday interaction and cooperation ties with both kin and non-kin are important, and the distinction between criteria of association (i.e. in terms of either kinship or locality) cannot be sustained with any statistical regularity.

Local groupings, like hamlets or sections, form ceremonial associations or hospitality groups (Hammond-Tooke, 1963), which are incorporated into groupings like village-sections or sub-wards for the same purpose at a more comprehensive organizational level.

Village-sections or sub-wards are the smallest effective political units (i.e. political in the sense that they are recruited on territorial rather than kinship lines), having their own councils or moots and being responsible for the settlement of disputes and the allocation of land.

A direct comparison of economic conditions in pre-betterment Chatha and present-day Shixini does not seem possible with any great accuracy. Chatha appears to have had a lower incidence of landlessness, although gardens certainly appear to be larger in the case of Shixini, as do maize yields. A higher percentage of households in Shixini have no stock. While holdings of sheep and goats are roughly equal, less households in Shixini have cattle than was the case in pre-betterment Chatha.

Certain basic differences exist between pre-betterment Chatha and Shixini, which are perhaps more of a cultural than a structural nature. Shixini residents are conservative and largely 'Red' Xhosa, living in relative physical isolation from Westernizing influences such as Christianity and school education. Chatha residents on the other hand have been exposed to mission activity and schooling since at least the turn of the century, and many, although not all of its residents, would have been more aptly described as

'School' people at the time of betterment.

The overall similarities, however, in social structure seem to suggest that the sorts of problems and changes that have been brought about by betterment in Chatha will be largely similar to those that may be anticipated in Shixini and justify the projections made in the section on the likely consequences of betterment in Shixini. This is largely because the fundamental impact of betterment has been to disrupt social relationships and in many cases, to increase impoverishment through negatively affecting established human ecological patterns by rearranging residential, arable and grazing areas within settlement.

Betterment itself has been accorded various aims by analysts, ranging from a concerted attempt to create viable agriculture in the black homelands, to an equally concerted attempt to maintain these areas as reserves of cheap labour for South African industry and to maintain and improve control over these areas. The Tomlinson Commission's stated aims were the development of these areas by effective socio-economic planning and the preservation of the traditional social structure. While analysts may argue as to the stated or concealed intentions of planners at various levels of political and bureaucratic authority, it does seem important to locate betterment within the context of government action, in general, in the homeland areas. As such, betterment was linked to the problems of black agriculture, demography, social structure and political participation. Betterment thus takes place within the context of the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts, dividing South Africa into racially separate areas. Betterment planning or anything similar, which contemplated the large-scale movement of rural people and proposed sweeping changes to prevailing land-tenure systems was unthinkable in the context of the rural areas of 'white' South Africa, as the electorate would simply not have stood for it. Whatever the moral intentions may or may not have been, betterment must surely be seen within the context of the South African Government's perception of the need for orderly and effective administration of the homeland areas. As such it was a bureaucratic exercise, involving the implementation of a complex plan from outside (i.e. from central government). Consultation of planning documents suggests a bureaucratic belief in the effectiveness of planning, that betterment would succeed if only the planning work and necessary local surveys were done properly. Although much mention is made of the importance of consultation with the local people and of obtaining their consent, both the comprehensiveness of the general betterment idea, and the detail of specific betterment plans for particular locations, suggest that all the thinking and decision-making had already been done. The logic of the idea and of the plans was regarded as sound, and what was needed was the acceptance of the planners' ideas by the people, rather than the actual incorporation of their ideas into the process of planning and implementation.

Various criticisms have been levelled at betterment. These include:

1. The inadequacy of the planning process with the result that

- a) the calculated sum of R120 per year as the income necessary to maintain a family permanently on the land in the 1950's was inadequate. The Tomlinson Commission's original estimate was R240, but the figure was halved, as otherwise "at least 80 percent of the present number of families in Bantu Areas would have to be removed from the land" (Yawitch 1981, p. 28-9, quoting from the summary of the Tomlinson Commission);

10 CONCLUSION

b) the envisaged economic units have by and large not been created (Cooper 1979, p.378-9);

c) the question of what was to become of the surplus population which would have to be moved off the land was not adequately taken into consideration (Cooper 1979, p.378; Daniel 1971, p.646);

d) the people who were to be the recipients of betterment were not adequately consulted in the process of planning, as to either their wishes or suggestions. (Cooper 1979, p.378; Seneque 1982, p.3, 11).

2. The resources required for the implementation of the Tomlinson Commission's proposals were never made available (Cooper 1979, p.378; Yawitch 1981, p.30). The betterment proposals accordingly could be neither completely nor effectively implemented.

3. Betterment has been disruptive to local patterns of relationships and cooperation. Moving people from their old residential areas has put them next to strangers, making for the formation of new and as yet, unstable or unsatisfactory sets of relationships (Bigalke 1969, p.6ff, p.32ff; O'Connell 1981, p.44-48).

4. The aims of betterment as expressed by the Tomlinson Commission (viz. to develop the homeland areas by effective socio-economic planning, to promote sound economic and moral principles along Western lines, while yet seeking to preserve the traditional social structure and to encourage Africans to cherish their own culture) were contradictory (Hellman 1957, p.2; Wilson 1956, p.14). The Commission had ignored "the fact that the different aspects of a society necessarily hang together" (Wilson 1956, p. 14).

Betterment has however found favourable comment:

a) The costs of implementation of the betterment proposals are not very high, when compared to schemes in Nigeria.

b) The recipients of betterment are not burdened by debt, not having had to buy their way into the scheme.

c) Preliminary surveys of areas before the implementation of betterment make for more effective planning, although this process needs to be considerably improved.

d) The division of betterment areas into parts designated for arable, grazing and residential purposes is a first step in ensuring correct land-use practices and reducing soil erosion (Daniel 1971, p.645-6).

The plan is essentially a good one for rationalizing land-use, although its application has been unsatisfactory, as it has failed to improve the productivity of the land (Cooper 1979, p.378).

In the Ciskei by 1960, 3 irrigation schemes had been established, trucks were provided at nominal rates for the transport of manure, stock sales had been organized by the Department of Agriculture, dairies had been established in various districts, and soil conservation measures had begun to be implemented (Baker 1960, p.139ff).

Experience from the two research areas suggests that by and large the criticisms levelled at betterment are valid as regards the inadequacy of the planning process, the inadequacy of the resources required for the successful

implementation of betterment (especially the lack of necessary back up services like adequate agricultural extension services), and the disruption of local patterns of relationships. Inasmuch as betterment has resulted in an increase in migrant labourers in Chatha by reducing the amount of arable land available, and has disrupted and changed social patterns, it can hardly be said to have preserved the 'traditional' social structure. The work of Bigalke and O'Connell as well as Mc Allister's projections in this report, suggest that betterment has in fact been destructive of 'traditional' social patterns in their areas of research.

The positive aspects of betterment outlined by Daniel and Cooper above, refer largely to the planning, rather than the implementation of betterment. Even here there are problems. Betterment surveys are incomplete (ignoring for example soil potentials in the case of Shixini), inaccurate, and at times self-contradictory (as in the case of Chatha). Betterment plans seem to be drawn up for a fixed number of households (those in the particular villages at the time, as in the cases of Chatha and the Amatola Basin) and do not appear to have made adequate provision for natural population growth. (This is not the case in Shixini.)

The agricultural activities reported above for Ciskei up to 1960, have in fact had a very limited effect. Dairy schemes have been abandoned in many areas, stock sales have until recently amounted to about 8 cattle-units per village per annum (Annual Report 1976), the extension service has had very limited effect due to a lack of funds and personnel, and conservation measures such as rotational grazing have not always been implemented.

Experience suggests that certain areas are worse-off after betterment, both in agricultural and ecological terms. But betterment alone cannot be blamed for the agricultural and ecological decline of the homeland areas. As Yawitch argues, "The realities of intense overcrowding, overpopulation and shortage of land, especially in view of the inability of the Government to even attempt to implement Tomlinson's plan fully by providing capital, technical advice and infrastructural development meant that there was no possibility of betterment succeeding" (Yawitch 1981, p.432).

As argued earlier, betterment as an attempt which was geared only to the black rural areas, must be understood in its widest sense within the context of the South African Government's perception of the role of the black homelands within the wider political framework of South Africa. The differential allocation of resources to black and white agriculture since 1910 has been documented by Bowbrick (1970) and F. Wilson (1971), and the decline in production in homeland areas has been analysed by Simkins (1981).

Betterment may be understood as an attempt to arrest the decline in black agriculture and living standards, which could not succeed because it was unable to change the social, political and economic factors which have largely been responsible for that decline. Both the planning and the execution of betterment were severely affected by these overall factors.

Given that betterment has not succeeded in significantly improving agriculture in the homeland areas, what may yet be done?

Any agricultural programme that does not succeed in overcoming the broader constraints that betterment could not overcome, will fail, for the same reasons as betterment has (by and large) failed. Until the broader factors

constraining agricultural production have been removed, any attempt at agricultural development will amount to an intervention from outside which will not be able to be locally sustained because the means to sustain it are not locally available. Planning by itself cannot guarantee development and may in fact actually retard it.

At present agriculture is at best a secondary source of subsistence to families whose major sources of income come from outside the local community, either in the form of remittances or of pensions. People's livelihood comes from outside their community and much of their lives within it are geared to time-consuming activities such as domestic chores, (-collecting wood and water, cooking, laundry) or to education as a means of getting out of the community. Until the vicious circle of low income - low education - low health - inadequate services - extra-community focus, can be broken, people's concerns and resources will be focused primarily on matters of day to day existence and security, and only secondary, if at all, on the agricultural resources at their disposal.

What is needed to promote lasting agricultural development is to promote the quality of life of the people concerned in such a way that some of the most significant constraints to agriculture are overcome in the process.

Improved access to water for example, will mean that women will have to spend less time each day fetching water, and may thus have more time for agriculture. Limited irrigation may then also be possible for either fields or gardens. Improved health services would make for a stronger community able to earn more money in the cities, and able to perform agricultural labour until a greater age (retired migrants, widows). Improved social amenities, like schools, recreation facilities and shopping amenities, could make for a higher degree of identification with the home community and less of a desire to go to the cities. Better shopping facilities would make for more competitive prices, and would serve as possible sources of credit and employment in the community.

Unless the broader South African political system substantially modifies the influx control regulations, and allows large numbers of rural blacks to migrate to the cities, the pressure on land in the rural areas can only increase, particularly in areas like the Ciskei, where resettlement is an ever-present reality. Such a political concession seems unlikely in the foreseeable future.

Re-organization of the land-tenure system in homeland areas will run up against similar problems. If people are allowed to buy or sell land, or if existing allotments are re-arranged into larger, economically viable units, people will most probably have to give up their allotments, together with the financial, social and political security these provide. A restructuring of rural land-tenure systems in this way, would not be viable without the modification of the laws governing influx control, and would be very deeply resented, and quite possibly resisted.

Under present socio-political conditions in South Africa, agriculture in the black "homelands" is very unlikely to achieve even subsistence level on any large scale. The irrigation projects in the homelands are by and large externally financed and managed, and some are running at a loss. These costly ventures have only a limited application.

Agricultural development projects should thus accept the above limitations. It is here argued that agricultural development should not be seen as the key to rural development. Rather, it should be seen as one of the results of general rural development, whereby the quality of life of rural communities is improved to the extent where its members have the economic and moral resources, as well as the skills and the infrastructure to commit their spare energy and resources to agriculture. Only when the necessary enabling conditions for better agricultural production are present, and when communities are able to sustain those enabling conditions for themselves, can significant agricultural production take place.

Some possible starting points for implementing such a general rural development strategy which could be of direct relevance to agriculture would be

a) the improvement of access to water-points.

This would save time spent on fetching water, would promote health and make limited irrigation of crops possible;

b) the improvement of transport facilities:

This would enable people to have access to a wider range of goods and services, both commercial and agricultural, at more competitive prices. People would also have access to local markets for whatever they might produce, whether agricultural or not, as well as to necessary social services such as hospitals and secondary schools;

c) the provision of credit facilities, whether for agricultural or other purposes. Access to credit makes planning of any undertaking easier, such as re-building a house, buying school uniforms, hiring a tractor. People might pledge stock as collateral or might invest through savings clubs, or Tribal Authority-managed credit organisations, where debts could be repaid by providing labour for Tribal Authority undertakings, such as repairing roads or fences.

The research done for this project has related to the effect of betterment as it has been implemented in Tribal Authority areas. It is, however, felt that whether one is dealing with Tribal Authorities, or recently released white farms which have been added to black homelands through consolidation, the approach to agricultural development should be the same. Improvement in agricultural production, in the sense of lasting self-sustaining improvement, will only be achieved through the general improvement of the quality of life of the members of rural communities.

11 FOOTNOTES

1 This introduction has been compiled from various sources and betterment reports (all included in the bibliography) and from the experiences of the researchers in the field. Specific references have thus not been given.

2 By 'de facto' population is meant the number of people actually in Chatha at the time of the survey, while 'de jure' population signifies the total population of Chatha, i.e. those in Chatha at the time of the survey, as well as those temporarily away, whether on migrant labour or for other reasons.

The discrepancy within the Keiskammahoek Rural Survey itself is probably the result of the fact that Mills and Wilson's figure of 2325 (1952, p. 44) seems to have taken the de facto figure (which is given as 6.1 in another volume of the survey - see Houghton and Walton, 1952, p. 62) to be the de jure figure. It is also possible that the average of the various de facto samples may have been calculated in different ways, given that the data sheets vary widely for the 3 samples taken during the Survey. The 1952 and 1958 Government Reports do not specify how their data were collected, or whether their figures represent the de facto or the de jure population.

3 The various estimates relating to the distribution of arable land and stock may be tabulated as follows:

	<u>Keiskammahoek Rural Survey</u>	<u>1952 Report</u>	<u>1958 Report</u>
Amount of arable land excluding gardens	890 morgen (a)	334 morgen	495 morgen
Households with arable land	two estimates 86% (b) & 97% (c)	73%	90%
Households with Stock (d)	84% (c)	56%	98%
Households with neither Land nor stock	0% (c)	23%	1½%

a) Mills and Wilson 1952, p. 44, converted to morgen.

b) Calculated from the table in Mills and Wilson, 1952, p. 44.

c) Calculated from the Keiskammahoek Rural Survey Questionnaires.

d) 'Stock' here refers to cattle, sheep and goats.

The Keiskammahoek Rural Survey and the 1958 Report appear to be the most thorough of the 3 available sources, so at best we can say that in the mid 1950's,

1) Approximately 90% of households had arable land.

2) Approximately 90% of households had stock.

3) Not more than 5% of households had neither land nor stock.

The differences in the estimates of the amount of arable land remain

too great to reconcile. Mills (personal communication) states that he personally measured the fields of 75 families during the Keiskammahoe Rural Survey, and the figures of that survey are probably the most reliable.

4 Tables in Houghton and Wilson, 1952, p. 175 indicate that:

- 27% of sampled households had no cattle.
- 58% of sampled households had no sheep.
- 59% of sampled households had no goats.

An examination of the questionnaires themselves indicates that 16% of households had no stock at all.

Land holdings ranged from 0 morgen to 4.7 morgen (10 acres) with 73% of sampled households holding arable lands of medium size (approximately 1 to 3.8 morgen) with 3% having no arable land. (Mills and Wilson, 1952, p. 39).

No sampled households without any arable land were without stock.

5 Substantial portions of this section are taken from de Wet 1981 (a)

6 By my calculations, approximately 60 families were already living in what became the newly demarcated area of Nyanga before betterment.

7 The betterment report of 1958, suggested an average of £10-0-0 per family, but it is not clear, either from official documents or from oral sources, what sum was finally paid.

8 This figure has been computed from a 1 in 5 sample of households.

9 The degree of relatedness has been calculated as follows:

a) a relationship between two households is one of 'close' consanguinity if it is between the household of a man (or his widow), and that headed by his father, mother, brother, sister, son or daughter (i.e. if his sister or daughter is unmarried).

b) all other relationships of consanguinity between households are 'distant'.

c) a relationship between two households is one of 'close' affinity if it is between the household of a man (or his widow) and that headed by his wife's father, mother, brother, sister, son or daughter (i.e. if his wife's sister or daughter is unmarried), or that headed by the husband of his sister, daughter or mother (i.e., where his mother is married to a man who is not his father).

d) all other relationships of affinity between households are 'distant'.

10 Households have been taken as:

- a) 'close' together if they are up to 7 households apart
- b) a 'medium distance' apart if they are up to half way across the same new residential area apart
- c) 'distant' if they are situated right across the same residential area, or if they are situated in separate new residential areas.

11	<u>Keiskammahoeek Rural Survey</u>	<u>1958 Government Report</u>	<u>Current Situation</u>
Population	2640 (total)	1880(unspecified)	3104 (total)
Percentage of population away	15%	up to 25% of house- hold heads	26%
Households	375	328	430
Amount of arable land	890 morgen	495 morgen	150 morgen (dry- land) 30 morgen (irriga- tion)
Average size of Arable holdings	2.36 morgen	1.67 morgen	.5 morgen (dryland) 1.5 morgen (irriga- tion)
Maize Yields/ morgen	5.5 bags	2 bags	4 bags (dryland) up to 50 bags (irrigation)
Landless Households	10%	10%	43% (dryland) 0% (irrigation)
Cattle-units Grazing/Cattle Unit	1410 1.84 morgen	1600 1.90 morgen	1388 2.30 morgen
Stockless Households	16%	1.5%	28% (dryland) 25%(irrigation)

- 1) Approximately 90% of households had arable land.
- 2) Approximately 90% of households had stock.
- 3) Not more than 5% of households had neither land nor stock.

The differences in the estimates of the amount of arable land remain

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CHATHA : LIST OF VILLAGE-SECTIONS BEFORE BETTERMENT

VILLAGE-SECTION

HAMLETS

1 NYANGA

Platana
Kwili
Ngxangxasini
Korofini kwa Mfaca

2 NDELA

Korofini o Moya
Ndela 'proper'

3 NYOKANE

Nyokane 'proper'
Dwabe

4 RAWULE

Tyalibongo
Rawule 'proper'

5 JILI

Jili 'proper'
Esixotyeni

6 SKAFU

Skafu

CHATHA : MAPS OF PRE-BETTERMENT VILLAGE-SECTIONS AND NEW RESIDENTIAL AREASMap No. 1 : Pre-betterment village-section: Nyanga (hamlets: PLATANA and KWILI)

Lugwali Lugwali Ntusi Luthi Mgamama Mgamama Ndlazulwana
 (Bhele) (Bhele) (Cirha) (Nguni) (Thembu) (Thembu) (Mbuyisa)

Jama Pama Dibela Koti Ntusi Yaze Mbolekwa Stemela Dhenge
 (Dlamini) (Tshezi) (Miya) (Gqwashu) (Cirha) (Leta) (Mkwane) (Jola) (Cirha)

Lugwali Lugwali Mgamama Mbhalo Gcilitshana Ntusi Momothi Ndlazulwana
 (Bhele) (Bhele) (Thembu) (Dlambulo) (Radebe) (Cirha) (Kрила) (Mbuyisa)

Koti (Gqwashu) Mbhalo (Dlambulo)

Sodumo Mbhalo Mbhalo Gcilitshana Momothi Rode Gcilitshana
 (Dlamini) (Dlambulo) (Dlambulo) (Radebe) (Kрила) (Gqinebe) (Radebe)

Dhenge (Cirha)

Lugwali Lugwali Lugwali Lugwali Lugwali
 (Bhele) (Bhele) (Bhele) (Bhele) (Bhele)

Rode Lugwali Lugwali Lugwali Lugwali Pama
 (Gqinebe) (Bhele) (Bhele) (Bhele) (Bhele) (Tshezi)

Jama Jama Sodumo Yalezo Yalezo
 (Dlamini) (Dlamini) (Dlamini) (Bhele) (Bhele)

Pama (Tshezi)

Nduku (Kwayi)

Pama (Tshezi)

('surnames' are underlined: clan-names are given in brackets, below or next to 'surnames')

Map No. 2 : Pre-betterment village-section: Ndela

(hamlet: NDELA proper)

('surnames' are underlined, clan-names are given in brackets, below or next to 'surnames')

Nkohla
(Tshezi)

Nkohla
(Tshezi)

Nkohla
(Tshezi)

Pama
(Tshezi)

Ngxafane
(Sukwini)

Ngxafane
(Sukwini)

Dingeni (Tshezi)

Nkohla (Tshezi)

Ngxafane (Sukwini)

Ngxafane (Sukwini)

Singqomo (Tshezi)

Nkohla

(Tshezi)

Singqomo

(Tshezi)

Singqomo

(Tshezi)

Singqomo

(Tshezi)

Singqomo

(Tshezi)

Singqomo

(Tshezi)

Singqomo

(Tshezi)

Singqomo

(Tshezi)

Singqomo

(Tshezi)

Ngxafane

(Sukwini)

Mboso

(Mqocwa)

Dingeni

(Tshezi)

Singqomo

(Tshezi)

Nkohla

(Tshezi)

Dingeni

(Tshezi)

Pama

(Tshezi)

Pama

(Tshezi)

Pama

(Tshezi)

Pama

(Tshezi)

Pama

(Tshezi)

Pama

(Tshezi)

Pama

(Tshezi)

Map No. 3 : Pre-betterment village-section: Jili
(hamlet: JILI proper)

('surnames' are underlined; clan-names are given in brackets, below or next to 'surnames')

Tyolo (Mbamba)

Sidwangube

Gingci

(Jwara)

Ham

(Sukwini)

Ham

(Sukwini)

Ham

(Sukwini)

Ncinane

(Chisana)

Sidwangube

Ncinane

(Chisana)

Ncinane

(Chisana)

Mpengu

(Dlamini)

Pama

(Tshezi)

Mtyalela

Ntshilibe)

Mtyalela

(Ntshilibe)

Ncinane

(Chisana)

Mndende

(Dlamini)

Kom

(Chisana)

Mpuqa

(Cirha)

Tasana

(Thembu)

Yibae

(Cirha)

Magqaza

(Giqwa)

Tasana

(Thembu)

Magqaza

(Giqwa)

Mbolekwa

(Mkwane)

Mxashimba

(Ncilashe)

Sampempe

(Keswa)

Lugwali

(Bhele)

Sampempe

(Keswa)

Mbolekwa

(Mkwane)

Mqhomo

(Dlomo)

Pama

(Tshezi)

Klaas

(Mfana)

Dlelaphantsi

(Jili)

Mbolekwa

(Mkwane)

Mqhomo

(Dlomo)

Sampempe

(Keswa)

Sampempe

(Keswa)

Sitshitshi

(Jili)

Sitshitshi

(Jili)

Sitshitshi

(Jili)

Lugwali

(Bhele)

Mhlawuli

(Mlambo)

('surnames' are underlined; clan-names are given in brackets, below or next to 'surnames')

Map No. 5 : Post-betterment residential area Nyanga - sub-section Kwili (50 households)

(showing distribution of households of former village-sections)

KEY

- KEY A = Nyanga
- B = Ndela
- C = Nyokane
- D = Rawule
- E = Jili
- F = Skafu

	NYANGA					KWILI					
	A	A	A		C	A	A	B	A		street 4
	B	A	A		A	A	A	A	A		street 2
		A	E	B	B	D	A	B	A	B	street 3
	C	A	A	B	A	A	C	A	A	A	B
		A	F	A	B	B	A	A	A	A	street 2
			D	A	C	A	A	C	A	A	B
	B	C	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	street 1

KEY

- A = Nyanga
- B = Ndela
- C = Nyokane
- D = Rawule
- E = Jili
- F = Skafu

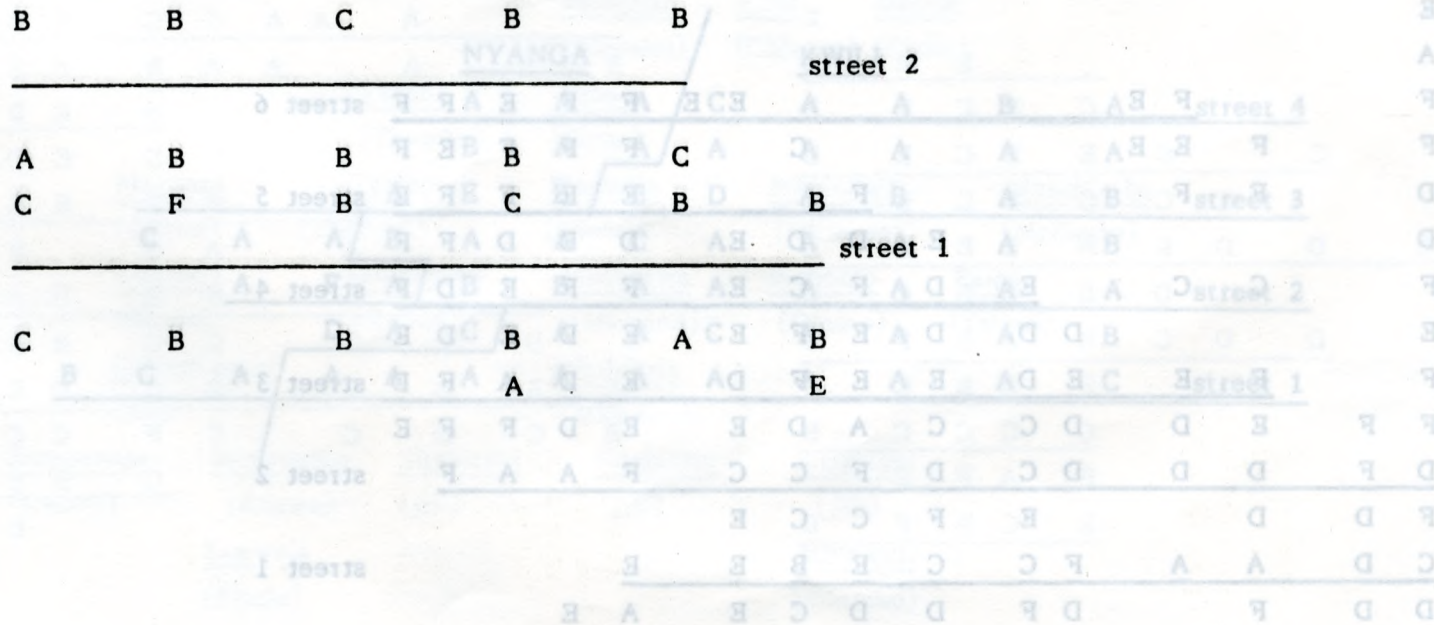
street 6
street 2
street 3
street 4
street 3
street 2
street 1

Map No. 7 : Post-betterment residential area : Irrigation Scheme (24 households)

(Showing distribution of households of former village-sections)

KEY

- A = Nyanga
- B = Ndela
- C = Nyokane
- D = Rawule
- E = Jili
- F = Skafu



APPENDIX C

Agriculture in Chatha and Shixini: By G. Antrobus, University of Fort Hare.

The following account is the result of one visit each to Chatha in Keiskammahoek, Ciskei (20 April 1983) and Shixini in Willowvale, Transkei (22-24 April 1983) and cannot therefore be regarded as any more than an impressionistic view tempered by discussions with the researchers (de Wet and McAllister) who have conducted long-term fieldwork in the areas respectively.

In the first place, it should be noted that the 1982/83 season has been described as one of the driest since the early 1930's, a condition which has been common to most of Southern Africa (and the Southern Hemisphere for that matter). The observations therefore are of conditions in an extremely dry season.

Secondly, the two areas are not the same from a climatic, topographical or geographical location point of view. The resultant agricultural practices therefore need to be adjusted for social, economic, physical and biological differences before any direct comparisons can be made.

Thirdly, the statements made should be regarded more as qualitative, considered opinions of the average position than of the averages of precise measurements of many samples taken at random. Since there was no hypothesis which the writer was attempting to establish it is, however, believed that the observations are made in a disinterested way.

In outline the route adopted is to:

- a) describe and compare the environments of the two areas from an arable and pastoral viewpoint
- b) describe the arable farming
- c) describe the garden plots
- d) describe the pastoral farming
- e) compare the agro-economic potential of the two areas.

a) The agricultural environment and geographical location

CHATHA

The Chatha location is inland, situated in a distinct catchment area with land ranging from a small flat area next to a stream used for irrigation with most land used for dryland arable purposes on the slopes of the narrow valley, to grazing land situated on higher mountain slopes which also receive a higher rainfall and sustain natural forest land.

SHIXINI

The Shixini location is situated on land between two rivers stretching a few kilometers up from the coast. Dryland cropping is practised in some areas next to the river as well as on the ridges. In the past various areas have been ploughed on steep slopes with shallow stony soils, but these have since been abandoned - some apparently a decade or more ago. Many of these 'old lands' are easily identified by the presence of long thatching (Cympopogan)

grass. The grazing areas are simply those not used for cropping purposes (either as garden plots or fields) or for houses and stock kraals. Except for the garden plots which are fenced in one fashion or another there are no fences in evidence and all cattle, sheep and goats are kraaled at night.

b) Differences due to rainfall : Veld and fields

The most obvious differences between the two areas is the result of the substantially higher rainfall in Shixini. Thus, although the grass was generally very short for cattle grazing in Shixini, the cover was even and very good with little sign of either water or wind erosion, except on old lands. In Chatha in the lower valley the grazing was very severely depleted and appeared to be very heavily overgrazed. At a distance the upper mountain side pasture appeared to be in a somewhat better condition.

Higher rainfall would also account for the substantial difference in crop yields observed. At Chatha, except on the irrigated fields, 50% of maize stalks were as short as 0,25m (knee height) or lower and seldom (10%) reached 1,5m (shoulder height). Most plants had no maize cobs at all, while the few cobs to be seen were found to have almost no formed seed. In one field ($\frac{1}{2}$ morgen) about 150 melons ranging in size from 10 - 25 cm in diameter had been harvested. A few lands showed evidence of interplanting of beans as well as melons with maize but no more than 1 bean plant and 1 melon plant to 36 maize plants.

In Shixini, maize yields in most fields could also be described as poor with similar plant populations (19 000/ha) with cobs between 8 and 20cm long and many of only 2 cm across. Generally maize plants stood taller than at Chatha - typically between 0,25m and 1,25m with few as high as 1,8m. There was more evidence of interplanting of other crops with maize - e.g. 'baby' tomatoes, pumpkins and melons - than at Chatha.

Observation of unploughed and unplanted areas

A feature common to both areas was that a proportion of the fields were not ploughed and also had not been recently ploughed. At Chatha about 75% of the land was ploughed although much of that was unplanted. In Shixini in one area 7 out of 12 fields were ploughed but unplanted. According to a local resident instructions had recently been issued (by State officials?) that land had to be ploughed (otherwise claims to fields in the newly demarcated 'betterment area' would be unsuccessful). It is interesting that the area ploughed in Chatha was higher than the usual about 50%. Here a directive had recently been issued to the effect that those people who did not cultivate for several seasons, might lose their arable allotments.

c) Garden Plots

Apart from the fact that homesteads are scattered at Shixini as opposed to Chatha, the feature which most clearly distinguishes the two areas is the relatively high crop output from garden plots in Shixini area. At Chatha garden plots are generally $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{1}{3}$ the size of those at Shixini, and at the time of the visit showed very little evidence of crop production (very little maize, some melons and pumpkins). The Shixini garden plots showed clear evidence of maize previously harvested and maize still to be harvested and most plots were closely interplanted with a variety of other crops. In one of the plots which was examined more closely the growing crops included maize, beans, cowpeas, weet potatoes, pumpkins, 'baby' tomatoes, tobacco and several 'medicinal' plants.

Irrigated fields

Only Chatha had fields under irrigation. The irrigation can only be described as supplemental irrigation and the effects of the present drought were clearly evident. A disturbing feature was that only about two-thirds of the irrigated (Trust) fields were cropped at all. It was not possible to estimate yields in the time available but one plot holder claimed that an area of about 1,25ha which had yielded 30 bags "on the cobs" in the 1982 season would yield 9 bags of maize on the same basis in the 1983 season. Crops under irrigation included grain, sorghum, pumpkins, and melons. A Zenzele garden next to the stream and irrigated by bucket had a crop of cabbages.

d) Pastoral Farming

As far as livestock farming is concerned the visual difference in the condition of the stock is probably attributable to the amount of grazing available. Apart from some cattle and sheep grazing on maize stalks, most of the Chatha livestock were in the mountains and so no really considered opinion can be given. Of the Chatha stock seen, the cattle were in much poorer condition than either the sheep or the goats. In fact the goats looked in good condition. From observation of the fields it appears that less than 20% of ploughing is done by oxen but it was not possible to gauge the standard of livestock management (as indicated via calving percentage, mortality and herd composition). Rather few sheep were tailed (for example 2 out of 7).

The livestock in Shixini consisted of between 1:20 and 1:40 cattle to sheep, and goats with woolled (merino type) sheep outnumbering goats. The sheep, especially the rams appeared to be very small compared to typical sheep on white farms. In a group of 22 sheep only 2 were tailed. The goats ranged from black (50%), grey, speckled and brown (25%) to white (25%) and appeared to be generally larger and in better condition than the sheep. One household was observed to have 1 (small) cow with one suckling calf-at-foot (of about 9 months old and half to two thirds of the size of the cow), 11 geese, 8 chickens and 4 piglets. One Shixini man is alleged to own 300 sheep, 170 goats and 10 cattle.

e) Comparison of the two areas

From an agricultural point of view (soils, topography and climate) Shixini is superior to Chatha. The former area, however, is far from markets with the road in a very poor condition; the nearest town is about 45 minutes away by vehicle. Chatha is not without potential but appears to have been more heavily overpopulated by man and beast. It was not obvious from the superficial observations made whether the superior crop yields in Shixini were due solely to ecotope (weather, soil, topography) or if there were differences in know-how as well. My guess, nevertheless, is that the differences observed are attributable chiefly to ecotope differences. I have no doubt that improvements could be achieved in both areas.

A number of questions about farming need to be answered. What is the profitability of fields compared to gardens? What would be the profitability of fields if these were individually fenced? What are the best cropping strategies to adopt? To what extent is cash (or credit) for inputs a limiting factor?

APPENDIX D

Chatha : Vegetable and Soil Survey : by P.B. Phillipson and H.D. Furness,
University of Fort Hare

1 Introduction

The study area lies approximately at the boundary of two major veld types recognised by Acocks (1975) - the Valley Bushveld (Southern Variation) and the Dohne Sourveld. The former occurs along the river valleys in Ciskei and the Eastern Cape, the latter occurs at higher altitudes in the Amatole and other mountain ranges. The two veld types may produce a range of vegetation types from grassland to high forest, depending on their successional stage. The grassland of the Valley Bushveld is typical sweet, i.e. nutritious throughout the year, whereas that of the Dohne Sourveld is sour, i.e. nutritious only in summer. The Keiskammahoek District was the subject of a thorough Botanical Survey by Story in 1952, in which the vegetation of Chatha and its environs is specifically mentioned. Story recognised 3 main areas of different vegetation types around Chatha as follows:

- i) "Grassland (including cultivated ground)", mostly below about 1 000m, around Chatha village.
- ii) "Moist Forest", on steeper ground above the grassland up to about 1 300m
- iii) "Macchia", above the forest, up to the peaks of the mountains.

In addition Story noted patches of Helichrysum argyrophyllum, and of "vlei vegetation" on high ground within the macchia, and patches of "open woodland" within the grassland. Large areas were also covered with plantations of exotic trees above Chatha Forest Station.

Comparison of Story's map of June 1948 with air photographs of the area taken in December 1975 suggest that no major changes in the overall areas of each vegetation type had occurred, and each type could be clearly recognised in 1983, during the present survey. Distribution of these vegetation types is shown in figure 1.

2 Sampling Sites

It was decided to sample the vegetation and soils at six different sites as follows, Sites 1 and 2 during February 1983 and Sites 3-8 during April 1983:

- i) Site 1 - Dense macchia, near exotic tree plantation.
- ii) Site 2 - Thin macchia on exposed ridge.
- iii) Site 3 - Woodland patch near High Forest.
- iv) Site 4 - Woodland patch on steep ground below Chatha village
- v) Site 5 Thin grassland on old cultivated ground near Site 3.
- vi) Site 6 - Dense grassland below village near Site 4.

The sites were chosen to cover a wide range of vegetation types, and to allow an assessment of the condition of each, particularly with respect to their utilisation as grazing land. At each site a visual estimation was made

FIGURE 1

Chatha - Vegetation types and sampling sites

(Modified from Story, 1952)



1000 m

- | | | | |
|--|--|--|--------------------------------------|
| | Macchia | | Dry Forest |
| | <u>Helichrysum</u>
<u>argyrophyllum</u> | | Grassland and
Cultivated ground |
| | 'Vlei Vegetation' | | Forest Plantation |
| | Moist Forest | | 1 ● Sample Sites with Site
Number |
| | Open Woodland | | |

of the most important species and specimens were collected for later identification. In addition soil samples were taken from cultivated ground as follows:

vii) Site 7 - Maize field adjacent to site 6.

viii) Site 8 - Abandoned fields below stone quarry (south of Chatha village)

The location of each sampling site is shown in figure 1.

Soil samples were collected by augering to a depth of c. 10 cms. The following determinations were carried out in all samples.

- 1 Soil moisture: Soil samples were weighed, dried at 90°C to constant mass and reweighed. The difference in weight gave the soil moisture content which was then expressed as a percentage of the dry mass.
- 2 Soil organic matter: The method of Walkley and Black (1934) was used. This involved a wet digestion with chromic and sulphuric acids. Any unreduced chromic acid was titrated with ferrous sulphate solution, using diphenylamine as indicator.
- 3 Mechanical analysis: Clay, silt and sand fractions were determined by measuring the specific gravity of the suspension at set times using a Bouyoucos hydrometer (Black, 1965).

3 Results

3.1 Vegetation

3.1.1 Site 1

This area consisted of a complete cover of shrubs (mostly sclerophyllous) and grasses growing to a height of at least 1.5 m. Predominant shrubs were Erica brownleeae and Cliffortia paucistaminea. Also present were:

Psoralea pinnata

Pelargonium cordifolium (syn P
Cordatium)

Psoralea caffra

Erica sp

Stoebe cinerea

Rubus sp.

Several coarse grasses were present, of which Cynopogon validus was predominant. Many other herbs were present, including:

Pteridium aquilinum

Helichrysum mixtum

Mohria caffrorum

Helichrysum foetidum

Panicum aequinerve

Nidorella auriculata

Epilobium capense

Aristea sp

Acalypha penduncularis

Geranium sp.

Occasional young plants of Buddleia salvifolia were present. There was no evidence of recent grazing by stock or of veld fire at this site.

3.1.2 Site 2

Here Erica brownleeae and Cliffortia paucistaminea also predominated, although they were both shorter (up to 1.5m), much less vigorous and more widely spaced. Coarse grasses were not noted and between the Erica and Cliffortia a mixture of short grasses, herbs and small shrubs were present although soil cover was far from complete. Species noted were:

Themeda triandra

Trachypogon spicatus

Berkheya rhapontica

Anthospermum sp

Tetraria sp

Helichrysum griseolanatum

H. dasycephalum

H. nudifolium

H. odoratissimum

H. argyrophyllum (on bare soil)

Myrica

Asphalanthus sp

Other species (especially grasses) were also present, but the state of the vegetation after severe drought and heavy grazing prevented their identification.

3.1.3 Site 3

This area consisted of a rich mixture of tall trees, shrubs and climbers and included several tall trees of Podocarpus falcatus. Other trees included:

Rhus chirindensis

Mimusops obovata

Trimeria grandifolia

Schotia latifolia

Allophyllus decipiens

Maytenus heterophylla

Cassine papillosa

Canthium inerme

Canthium mundtianum

Shrubs included:

Diospyros villosa

Viscum obscurum

- Carissa bispinosa
- Maesa alnifolia
- Ochna serrulata
- Calpurnia floribunda
- Clusia pulchella
- Canthium pauciflorum
- Grewia occidentalis

Climbers included:

- Secamone filiformis
- Helinus integrifolius
- Cissampelos torulosa
- Rhoisissus tridentata
- Asparagus aethiopicus var aethiopicus
- Secamme alpini

A number of grasses and other herbs were present as ground cover, although few could be identified with certainty after the serious drought and grazing that had occurred. The area had been inadequately fenced off by the Forestry Department.

3.1.4 Site 4

This area consisted of thin open woodland containing a variety of short trees and shrubs, surviving mainly on steep rocky slopes and near the river banks. The site enclosed a cultivated area on flatter ground. Plants included:

- Zizyphus mucronata
- Ficus burtt-da yi
- Diospyros lycioides
- Fagara capensis
- Rhus dentata
- Rhus macowanii
- Scutia myrtina
- Rhus sp
- Euclea sp
- Lippia javanica
- Leonotis leonurus
- Halleria lucida
- Artemisia afra
- Tecomaria capensis

Along the river bank itself, the following were also recorded:

Phygelius capensis

Noltia africana

Gnidia pulchella

3.1.5 Site 5

Next to the Woodland Patch of Site 3, a very thin grassland was present. The ground was severely overgrazed, such that erosion scars were numerous, and soil cover was extremely low. A few small grasses were present, but only the predominant Cynodon dactylon could be identified with certainty, although even the plants of this species were severely stunted. Scattered small plants of Gazania linearis were present. In patches, small bushes of Felicia filifolia were dominant, though forming only sparse ground cover. Amongst these were occasional small bushes of Helichrysum zeyheri and H. anomalum.

3.1.6 Site 6

The grassland area adjacent to the thin woodland of site 4 had evidently received little grazing. Two large grasses were particularly conspicuous - Cymbopogon validus and Miscanthidium capense. Other smaller grass species were present in smaller numbers. A large number of small shrubs and herbs were also present including:

Leonotis dubia

Helichrysum anomalum

Helichrysum allioides

Helichrysum nudifolium

Selago corymbosa

Cliffortia linearifolia

Athrixia phyllicoides

Anthospermum sp

Clutia sp

There was no evidence of recent veld fire at this site. A neighbouring area contained similar species but showed signs of recent grazing.

3.2 Soils

Results of soil analysis are presented in Table 1. A feature of the results is the very low soil moisture content recorded at site 2 - 8. Sites 5 and 8 in addition to low soil moisture, showed a low soil organic matter content.

Table 1

Results of soil analysis from eight sites in the vicinity of Chatha Village

Site	Soil Moisture content (% of dry mass)	Soil organic Matter (%)	Clay (%)	Silt (%)	Sand (%)
1	31.0 (0.54)	3.36 (0.24)	23.1	23.2	53.7
2	9.0 (0.153)	3.66 (0.071)	38.7	5.1	56.2
3	7.8 (0.067)	3.37 (0.038)	9.8	26.0	64.2
4	3.5 (0.088)	1.88 (0.022)	35.5	22.5	42.0
5	1.4 (0.166)	0.73 (0.021)	15.5	12.6	71.9
6	3.9 (0.333)	0.73 (0.042)	25.9	13.9	60.2
7	3.7 (0.173)	1.21 (0.005)	23.8	16.0	60.2
8	4.6 (0.10)	1.08 (0.02)	32.4	20.0	47.6

() = S.E.

4 Discussion

4.1 Vegetation

4.1.1 MACCHIA

The species collected at Sites 1 and 2 correspond closely to those given by Story (1952) and Acocks (1975) for the macchia (= fynbos) in the Amatole mountains. Trollope and Booyesen (1971) refer to *Erica brownleeae* and *Cliffortia paucistaminea* dominated macchia as "Highland Macchia", to distinguish it from "Lowland Macchia" which replaces it below about 1 200m, and which is dominated by *Cliffortia linearifolia*. The macchia in the Amatole mountains is considered to be a successional stage between sour grassland and Forest, and has been studied in detail, particularly from an agricultural point of view.

Removal of the macchia is of agricultural importance. The typical macchia plants are virtually useless, but can be replaced by a productive, dense, sour grassland by suitable management techniques.

Systems of eradication of macchia and subsequent maintenance of grassland in the Amatole mountains are well established (Trollope and Booyesen 1971 and Trollope, 1973), and involve cycles of burning, resting and grazing. These techniques were applied to the Chatha grazing camps between 1967 and 1975 and gave promising initial results (Trollope, pers. comm.) However, the programme was discontinued due to administrative problems. Relaxation of control allows rapid re-establishment of the macchia, and this has evidently occurred at Chatha since 1975. The burning treatment was staggered on the different camps at Chatha, thus they may show different stages in macchia regeneration. This probably accounts partly for the differences between sites 1 and 2.

However the effect of heavy grazing at Site 2, and the more exposed situation at this site causing less vigorous re-growth of the macchia species, are probably more significant factors. Site 2 contained several small grass species, that evidently represent the relics of the sour grassland, that was becoming established during the period of control. The only two species that could be identified, *Themeda triandra* and *Trachypogon spicatus*, are typical

species of the Dohne sour grassveld (Acocks, 1975). The grasses were severely stunted due to overgrazing and are evidently unable to maintain complete ground cover. This has allowed other plants (notably Helichrysum species) to colonise the bare ground, especially in more rocky places. In particular, the presence of Helichrysum argyrophyllum is significant. It is a species that forms dominant patches at high altitudes in the Amatole mountains. Such patches were recorded near Chatha by Story as increasing in extent in 1948. They appear to have increased further since that time. Helichrysum argyrophyllum only colonises soil where grass cover has become very thin due to overgrazing and it gradually kills the grasses completely under these conditions. This process has caused considerable areas of land to be unproductive in the Amatole mountains. H. argyrophyllum does have the beneficial effect of binding the soil, thus overgrazed areas at higher altitudes in the Amatole Mountains never show the severe soil erosion present at lower altitudes such as at Site 5. H. argyrophyllum can be eradicated by suitable management techniques, being replaced by typical Dohne sour grassveld species.

4.1.2 Woodland Patches

The indigenous forest at Chatha is an area of temperate forest which occurs as the climax vegetation type of the Dohne sourveld, which now survives mainly on relatively steep South-facing slopes. Such forest is very diverse, having Podocarpus falcatus as the dominant species (Acocks, 1975). Story divides the forests of the Keiskammahoe district into Moist Forest and smaller patches of Dry Forest. Dry Forest tends to occur at lower altitudes than Moist Forest, often as patches along the lower margin of the Moist Forest. However, a comparison of Story's species lists for the two types of forest show very strong similarities. Species recorded from site 3 are all typical and characteristic of Dohne sourveld forest, and most are species common to both Dry and Moist Forest. However, the following occurred which are listed by Story as more typical of Dry Forest:

Diospyros villosa
Schotia latifolia
Ochna serrata

The woodland at site 4 has a few typical forest species, e.g.: Halleria lucida, and others that are more typical of riverine bush at lower altitudes, e.g. Rhus macowanii. However, the majority were widespread species that occur in many different veld types, including temperate forest of the Dohne Sourveld and Valley Bushveld, e.g. Scutia myrtina, Zizyphus mucronata and Fagara capensis.

The mixed affinity of the vegetation of site 4 conforms to the idea that this area does lie approximately at the boundary of 2 major veld types, as shown by Acocks. Woody plants have been allowed to survive in several places along the Chatha river, and also on a rocky slope which would be unsuitable ground for grazing. However, the proximity of cultivated ground and general disturbance in the area has encouraged the establishment of a number of weedy species such as Leonotis leonurus, Lippia javanica, and Artemisia afra.

4.1.3 Grasslands

Apparently, Story considered the grasslands below the forest at Chatha to be sweet rather than sour grasslands, again suggesting that this lower area is at least at a transitional level between Dohne Sourveld and Valley Bushveld

regions. However, since this area was already densely populated at the time of Story's survey and the pattern of settlement and land use have changed considerably since that time (Story does not distinguish areas of cultivated land and of grassland on his map) it is impossible to make a direct comparison.

Story does note several localities in the lower areas that were badly overgrazed at the time of his report, but mentions no areas where the severity of this land misuse reached the drastic proportions found at Site 5. The plants collected at this site highlight this severity. Helichrysum ze yheri has rarely (if ever) been recorded so far east as Chatha, it is a characteristic species of parts of the little Karoo, Great Karoo and Kalahari and is thus an indicator of extreme aridity and poor soils. Felicia muricata is a widespread "Karoo invader" of overgrazed areas in South Africa, Gazania linearis and Cynodon dactylon are also widespread as colonisers of disturbed ground and are probably relict weeds that occurred at this locality when it was cultivated. Helichrysum anomalum is a typical Amatole mountains species, common in dry habitats. At this altitude Helichrysum agryrophyllum is apparently unable to grow.

The grassland at site 6 shows strong signs of development into Lowland macchia, in particular the presence of Cliffortia linearifolia, Cymopogon validus, Miscanthidium capensis and Anthospermum sp. indicate this.

The area was probably one of those mentioned by Story as overgrazed, he specifically mentioned Selago corymbosa as a major component of such areas. To be grazed effectively in the future this area is also in need of careful management. Undisturbed it would probably develop into Lowland macchia with Cliffortia linearifolia dominant, or if overgrazed, would probably increase.

4.2 Soils

At the time of sampling and from the limited number of analyses carried out, soils at sites 1, 2 and 3 can be regarded as being in the best condition due to their higher soil moisture and organic matter content (Table 1). This was probably brought about by the higher vegetation cover observed in these areas which would prevent soil moisture loss and, due to litter fall, gradually add organic matter to the soil. Soils at all other sites (including cultivated lands) can be regarded as being in poor condition due to the very low soil moisture, and organic matter content. Although organic matter is not a direct indicator of soil fertility it does play a role in retaining soil moisture, improving soil structure as a potential source of nutrients (released when organic matter decays).

Cation exchange capacity of soils was not determined (due to insufficient time), but the clay content of over 20% from most soils (Table 1) suggests that they do contain exchangeable cations, which could be used by plants, provided sufficient soil moisture was available.

5 Conclusions

Both the vegetation and the soil indicate that most of the land available to the villagers of Chatha has been seriously misused. A combination of overgrazing and other poor management techniques have resulted in vegetation that is very unproductive, and soils that are deficient and extremely susceptible to desiccation and to drastic erosion. However, with appropriate techniques the existing macchia and grassland areas could undoubtedly be

rehabilitated, and could provide good grazing land. Such grassland could also be maintained by correct management with appropriate stocking rates. There is some doubt whether grassland established at the lower altitudes, around the village, would be of a sweet or sour nature.

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2. Sampling Sites

Ten sampling sites (see map) were selected to represent a range of soil types and vegetation types. Sites 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 were selected as they represent a range of soil types and vegetation types.

- i) Site 1. Grazed land near Site 1 (a)
- ii) Site 2. Streamside vegetation near Site 1 (a)
- iii) Site 3. Grazed land near Site 1 (a)
- iv) Site 4. Abandoned field near Site 1 (a)
- v) Site 5. Abandoned field on hill (a)
- vi) Site 6. Field near Site 1 (a)
- vii) Site 7. Newly ploughed ground near Site 1 (a)
- viii) Site 8. Newly ploughed ground on hill near Site 5 (a)
- ix) Site 9. Newly ploughed ground near residential area (a)
- x) Site 10. New residential area (a)

3. Results

3.1 Vegetation

3.1.1 Grasslands

Most of the area of uncultivated land is covered with a diverse but fairly homogenous mixture of short grasses, with a variety of other herbs and relatively few woody species. Typical grasses at sites 1, 2, 3 and 10 were:

- Themeda triandra
- Paspalum dilatatum
- Cynodon dactylon

APPENDIX D : REFERENCES

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4.2 Soils

At the time of sampling and from the limited number of analyses carried out, soils at sites 1, 2 and 3 can be regarded as being in the best condition due to their higher soil moisture and organic matter content (Table 1). This was probably brought about by the higher vegetation cover observed in these areas which would prevent soil moisture loss and, due to litter fall, gradually add organic matter to the soil. Soils at all other sites (including cultivated lands) can be regarded as being in poor condition due to the very low soil moisture, and organic matter content. Although organic matter is not a direct indicator of soil fertility it does play a role in retaining soil moisture, improving soil structure as a potential source of nutrients (released when organic matter decays).

Cation exchange capacity of soils was not determined (due to insufficient time), but the clay content of over 20% from most soils (Table 1) suggests that they do contain exchangeable cations, which could be used by plants, provided sufficient soil moisture was available.

5 Conclusions

Both the vegetation and the soil indicate that most of the land available to the villagers of Chatha has been seriously misused. A combination of over-grazing and other poor management techniques have resulted in vegetation that is very unproductive, and soils that are deficient and extremely susceptible to desiccation and to drastic erosion. However, with appropriate techniques the existing macchia and grassland areas could undoubtedly be

APPENDIX E

Shixini : Vegetation and Soil Survey: by P.B. Phillipson and H.D. Furness, University of Fort Hare

1 Introduction

The study area lies within the veldtype referred to as Coastal Forest and Thornveld by Acocks (1975). This region extends from the Keiskamma river mouth in the Eastern Cape along the coast to the north of Natal. It occupies a narrow strip of land, with a strong coastal influence, below about 450 m altitude in the north and 300 m altitude in the south, at its widest about 50 km across.

Although the climax vegetation throughout this region is considered to be short dense forest, this now only remains in patches, having been destroyed and replaced by grassland or thornveld. Acocks divides the Coastal Forest and Thornveld into five main types: the study area lies mainly within the region of Typical Coast Belt Forest, with a narrow strip of Dune Forest separating this from the sea.

Very little research has been done on this veldtype in Transkei, thus little is known about its effective management or the successional stages that eventually may result in the re-establishment of forest, or other vegetation changes.

2 Sampling Sites

Ten sampling sites (see map) were chosen to compare vegetation (v) and/or soils (s) on undisturbed ground, abandoned arable ground, existing arable ground, new arable ground and new residential sites, as follows:

- i) Site 1. Grazed land near coast (v,s)
- ii) Site 2. Streamside vegetation near Site 1 (v)
- iii) Site 3. Grazed land near river (v, s)
- iv) Site 4. Abandoned field near Site 3 (v, s)
- v) Site 5. Abandoned field on hill (v, s)
- vi) Site 6. Field near Site 5 (s)
- vii) Site 7. Newly ploughed ground near Site 1 (s)
- viii) Site 8. Newly ploughed ground on hill near Site 5 (s)
- ix) Site 9. Newly ploughed ground near new residential area (s)
- x) Site 10. New residential area (v, s)

3 Results

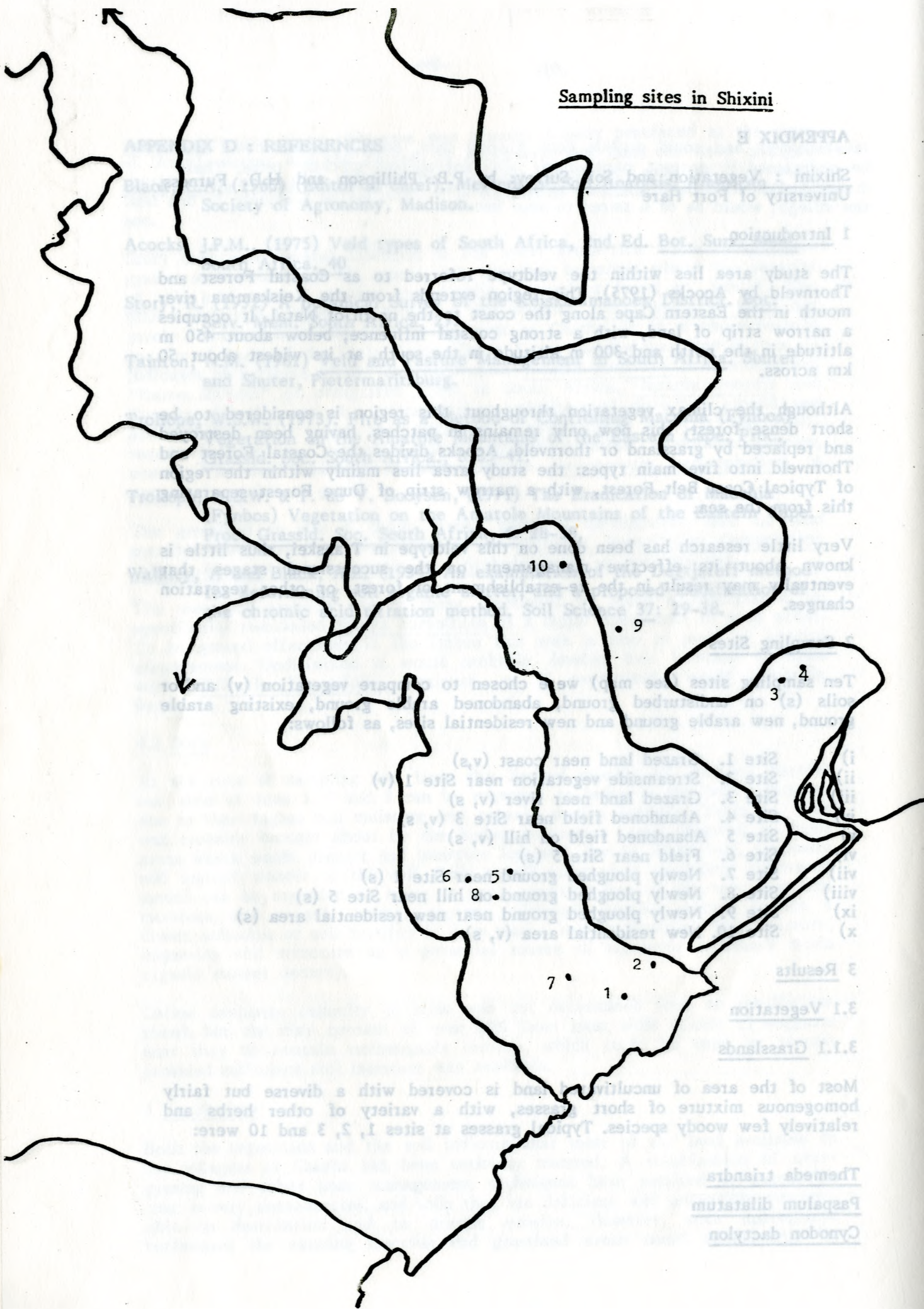
3.1 Vegetation

3.1.1 Grasslands

Most of the area of uncultivated land is covered with a diverse but fairly homogenous mixture of short grasses, with a variety of other herbs and relatively few woody species. Typical grasses at sites 1, 2, 3 and 10 were:

- Themeda triandra
- Paspalum dilatatum
- Cynodon dactylon

Sampling sites in Shixini



Cynodon dactylon
Paspalum distatum
Themeda triandra

3.1.1 Grasslands

3.1 Vegetation

3 Results

Most of the area of uncultivated land is covered with a diverse but fairly homogeneous mixture of short grasses, with a variety of other herbs and relatively few woody species. Typical grasses at sites 1, 2, 3 and 10 were:

small quantity. Here the veld is probably overgrazed where stock go to the river to drink.

No other effects of overgrazing were noted; in all established grassland a good soil cover was present, and even in cultivated areas the soil was sufficiently stable to prevent serious soil erosion.

It appears to be accepted practise to abandon fields when they become unproductive (little or no fertiliser is used). These abandoned areas, such as Sites 4 and 5, appear to become colonised mainly by Cympopogon validus, the value of which has been discussed above. The patches of this species in the mixed grassland may also represent old abandoned fields and gardens, although this was not mentioned by villagers.

If this is the case, it suggests that many of the patches of C. validus are very old, and that, once these are established, succession to other vegetation types is strongly retarded. In fact, no evidence was seen of any vegetation replacing C. validus as a natural successor. It is therefore likely that areas of this species are gradually accumulating.

The utilisation of this species for thatching probably slows the recovery of soils impoverished by cultivation, since much organic matter is removed rather than returning naturally to the soil. In addition, the periodic cuttings may have the effect of rejuvenating individual plants.

The other species present with C. validus in abandoned fields are probably remnant weeds of cultivation.

4.2 Soils

Soil moisture results should be used with caution, as they were collected over a two day period (S_1 , S_7 , S_4 and S_3 on the first day, the remainder on the second day) with rain falling overnight. Site 7 (newly ploughed) was sampled before the rain and had approximately half the soil moisture content of the other newly ploughed areas (S_8 and S_9). It therefore appears as if soil moisture content in areas covered with vegetation would have been slightly higher than newly ploughed areas, had no rain fallen during the sampling period.

Soil organic matter content was highest in recently ploughed areas (i.e. S_7 , S_8 and S_9). This suggests that the effect of ploughing was to incorporate surface plant material into the upper layer of soil. This increased organic matter content (which suggests increased fertility) was not maintained, as soils from abandoned lands (S_4 and S_5) had C. 50% less organic matter than recently ploughed lands (Table 1).

Undisturbed grasslands (S_1 and S_3) had an organic matter content intermediate between those of newly ploughed areas and abandoned lands. This lends support to the idea that recent ploughing has increased soil organic matter by bringing about the addition of leaf material to the soil.

Clay content gives a rough indication of the cation exchange capacity (C.E.C.) of the soil. Generally if clay content is high C.E.C. is high, indicating large amounts of cations (particularly Na, K, Ca and Mg) present in the soil which could be utilised by plants.

Assuming that cultivated lands are abandoned when yield decreases, as a

Sporobolus spp

Eragrostis spp

Stenotaphrum secundatum (which becomes increasingly common towards the coast).

Other common herbs include:

Gazania linearis

Berkheya sp

Centella coriacea

Pycnus ferrugineus

Senecio retrorsus

Hypoxis sp

Helichrysum spp

Large patches of the tall thatching grass Cymbopogon validus occur as virtually pure stands among the areas of short grassland. At Sites 2 and 3 a few woody species remained, including:

Phoenix reclinata

Conyza scabrida

Maesa alnifolia

Diospyros dichlorophylla

Rhamnus prinoides

Rhus macowanii

Coddia rudis

Lippia javancia

These species were typical in many places on rocky ground or near streams and rivers. Also noted elsewhere on rocky ground was Stangeria, large clumps of the grass Miscanthidium erectum and members of the Cyperaceae and Juncaceae were noted at Site 2, and at other places near streams. Patches of Aristida junciformis were noted at site 3.

3.1.2 Abandoned ground

Sites 4 and 5 had been abandoned for at least one whole season, and both had a virtually pure stand of Cymbopogon validus. At Site 4 this stand was considerably denser, although between clumps of Cymbopogon small plants of various weedy grasses were noted e.g. Rhynchelytrum repens, Paspalum dilatatum etc. At Site 5 little else occurred, only Cynodon dactylon and Felicia filifolia were observed (neither were noted at Site 4).

3.2 Soils

Results for soil moisture, soil organic matter and mechanical analysis are

presented in Table 1.

Table 1.

Results of analyses of soils from the Shixini area of
the Transkei

(Values in parenthesis = S.E.)

Site	Soil Moisture (% of Dry mass)	Soil Organic Matter (%)	Clay (%)	Silt (%)	Sand (%)
S1	9.8 (0.10)	2.88 (0.122)	22.5	26.2	51.3
S2	-	-	-	-	-
S3	12.2 (0.833)	2.68 (0.219)	20	29	51
S4	13.9 (0.318)	1.97 (0.058)	14.6	32.8	52.6
S5	14.2 (0.167)	1.55 (0.013)	34.6	7	58.4
S6	12.1 (0.034)	1.87 (0.308)	33.1	25.7	41.2
S7	11.0 (0.977)	3.53 (0.035)	6.9	50.1	43.0
S8	23.7 (0.536)	3.66 (0.018)	12.8	35.7	51.5
S9	19.3 (0.385)	3.41 (0.001)	18	27.2	54.8
S10	12.5 (0.177)	2.35 (0.046)	22	25.2	52.8

4 Discussion

Although successfully used as grazing land in the past, the study area is not well suited to this type of agriculture. As Acocks (1975, p. 15) points out, to use the land for grazing is to fail to "make full use of the potentialities of this area", thus the land could be used more efficiently in other ways - i.e. either as arable land or in the cultivation of pastures or fodder. However most of the grasses that occur are acceptable to stock although the following are exceptions:

- i) Cymopogon validus is apparently eaten only to a small extent by stock during periods of food shortage, however this species is of economic importance to the villagers as thatching material. Evidently supply is greater than demand - large patches were untouched as a source of thatch at the time of the study.
- ii) Miscanthidium erectum only occurs near streams and along forest margins, so although plentiful in such habitats is of no real relevance to the question of land utilisation.
- iii) Aristida junciformis occurs as the result of overgrazing. It is notoriously difficult to eradicate once established, and can develop into a virtually useless pure stand, as has happened in parts of Natal. The spread of this species should be carefully guarded against. Tainton (1981) suggests that the only effective means of control of this species is mechanical removal of the plants.

Fortunately at Shixini, A. junciformis was only noted at Site 3, in relatively

result of soil nutrients being depleted, then new fields (S₇, S₈ and S₉: 7-18% clay) can be expected to be utilised for a shorter period than some of the abandoned lands (e.g. S₅; 35% clay), due to this lower clay content.

5 Conclusions

Although subsistence agriculture has continued successfully for a long period of time in the study area, a gradual deterioration is probably occurring. A rearrangement of land allocated as residential, arable and grazing areas is unlikely to improve the situation, since the arable land that will be abandoned will be replaced by patches of Cympopogon validus, and increasing pressure on grazing land may cause an increase in Aristida junciformis.

Clearly the only ways to prevent further deterioration are as follows:

- i) Use of fertilisers on arable ground, and a policy of not allowing fields to be abandoned,
- ii) Prevention of an increase in grazing pressure and eradication of existing plants of A. junciformis,
- iii) Cultivation of pastures and fodder crops, to supplement grazing as necessary.

Excess Cympopogon could possibly be sold by Shixini villagers as thatching material to villagers inland. However Cympopogon areas could probably be rehabilitated as arable land by ploughing and applying suitable fertilisers. Although they have become deficient in nutrients it appears likely that the soil in the abandoned fields is potentially better than that in the new fields. Land use re-allocation should obviously be undertaken with a view to improving the efficiency of the agricultural systems employed. Clearly the rearrangements at Shixini are likely to have a detrimental effect on vegetation and soils and their efficient utilisation.

APPENDIX F

Migrant Labour in Shixini

Most Shixini homesteads depend for their continued existence on the earnings of absentee male migrant workers. In Folokhwe sub-ward, there were only 14 (out of 79) homesteads which did not have at least one male migrant worker in 1976 (Table 1 below) (McAllister 1979, p. 28).

Table 1

<u>Male Migrants per Homestead in Folokhwe sub-ward (1976)</u>	
<u>Number of Migrant workers</u>	<u>Number of Homesteads</u>
1	36
2	23
3	5
4	1
0	14
TOTAL	<u>79</u>

The fourteen homesteads without a migrant included 5 that were headed by widows and 3 that were the second homesteads of polygynists.

Of the 128 males aged 16 years and over in Folokhwe, 99 were regular migrant workers, 7 were occasional migrants, and twenty two were non-migrants (Table 2). Only one man had never been a migrant worker, due to a sizable inheritance. There were only four female migrants - two widows and two young unmarried women.

Table 2

Regular, occasional and non-migrant males in Folokhwe (1976)

	<u>No.</u>
Regular migrants	<u>99</u>
Occasional migrants	
- specialists	3
- elderly men	2
- other	2
Non-migrants	
- elderly ex-migrants	7
- wealthy men	3
- specialists	3
- boys aged 16 to 19	5
- other	4
TOTAL	<u>128</u>

APPENDIX G

Folokhwe herding companies 1976/77 **

	No. of homesteads per company	Clan/lineage affiliation	Sub-ward Section affiliation	No. of lineages represented
1	2	2 Cirha	2 Komkhulu	2
2	7	2 Cirha 3 Tshezi 1 Ndaba 1 Qocwa	7 Komkhulu	5
3	6	5 Bamba 1 Ntshilibe	6 Cibi	2
4	7	3 Ntlane 1 Vulane 1 Cirha 1 Kwayi 1 Nyawuza	5 Komkhulu 2 Ngingqi	5
5	5	4 Ntshilibe 1 Ntlane	5 Cibi	2
6	4	4 Ntshilibe	4 Cibi	1
7	3	3 Ntlane	3 Cibi	1
Total homesteads		34	34	34

Notes:

(i) The two Cirha in Company 1 are of different lineages

(ii) In two cases all the cattle held by a lineage or lineage segment are in the same company. These involve the Tshezi in Company 2 and the Bamba in Company 3. The association between lineage cattle and ancestors is strongest in the case of the Bamba group. Here two younger brothers keep their cattle in the elder's cattlebyre at their late father's homestead. The only brother in the right hand house as well as the elder brother's father's brother also have some of their cattle at the elder brother's homestead. Here the elder brother is also the lineage head.

(iii) In Company 4 the members are of different Sub-ward Sections but this is the result of an arrangement whereby two Ngingqi homesteads keep their three cattle in the cattle byre of one of the Komkhulu men, who is a close neighbour to them. The Komkhulu man involved is affinally related to one of these Ngingqi homesteads, but he has no kinship link with the other.

** From: McAllister (1979, p.267)

APPENDIX H

Folokhwe ploughing companies 1976/77

(i) The Ngqunu company

<u>Membership</u>	<u>Clan</u>	<u>Relation to head</u>	<u>Sub-ward section</u>
Mbambaza	Ngqunu	-	Ngingqi
Ngangethole	Ngqunu	BS	Nqingqi
Kobole	Ngqunu	B	Cibi
Tandukuma	Ngqunu	B	Cibi
Kezana's widow**	Ngqunu	FFBSW	Ngingqi
Kose	Ngqunu	B	Ngingqi
Mjanji*	Kwayi	None	Ngingqi
Ntlekiso*	Kwayi	None	Ngingqi
Mgilibane	Qinebe	Matrilateral	Ngingqi
Phela*	Yalo	Affine	Ngingqi
Qamela	Ndaba	None	Komkhulu

(iii) Nqakama's company

<u>Membership</u>	<u>Clan</u>	<u>Relation to head</u>	<u>Sub-ward section</u>
Nqakama (head)	Cira	-	Komkhulu
Nontwaba	Tshezi	Matrilateral	Komkhulu
Sonkebese	Tshezi	Matrilateral	Komkhulu
Rwatiti	Tshezi	Matrilateral	Komkhulu

(iii) Ndlebezenja's company

<u>Membership</u>	<u>Clan</u>	<u>Relation to head</u>	<u>Sub-ward section</u>
Ndlebezenja (head)	-	Cirha	Komkhulu
Mzilikazi	Cirha	Clansman	Komkhulu
Mafukufuku*	Cirha	FFBSS	Jotelo ward
Gulakulinywa	Qocwa	Classifactory Matrilateral	Komkhulu
Thyobeka's widow* **	Ntlane	Affine	Cibi
Stokwana	Mvulane	None	Komkhulu

(iv) Ndingindawo's company

<u>Membership</u>	<u>Clan</u>	<u>Relation to head</u>	<u>Sub-ward section</u>
Ndingindawo (head)	Ntshilibe	-	Cibi
Ndabanduna	Ntshilibe	FB	Cibi
Photose	Ntshilibe	FBS	Cibi
Gubukile	Ntshilibe	FBS	Cibi
Zonkwenkwe's widow**	Ntshilibe	FBW	Cibi
Jija	Ntshilibe	FFBS	Cibi
Xanjana*	Kwayi	None	Ngingqi

* "Affiliated" members

** The clan names given for widows are those of their dead husbands.

F=Father, B=Brother, S=Son, W=Wife, M=Mother.

(v) Ziwele's company

<u>Membership</u>	<u>Clan</u>	<u>Relation to head</u>	<u>Sub-ward section</u>	<u>Membership</u>
Ziwele (head)	Cirha	-	Komkhulu	Kenneth (head)
Walatha's widow**	Cirha	Clansman's wife	Komkhulu	Masilingane
Ntanyongo	Cirha	Clansman	Komkhulu	Vile
Nomathu's widow* **	Bamba	None	Komkhulu	Ntsompha's widow**

(vi) Gqwetha's company

<u>Membership</u>	<u>Clan</u>	<u>Relation to head</u>	<u>Sub-ward section</u>	<u>Membership</u>
Gqwetha (head)	Ntlane	-	Komkhulu	Gamalakhe
Kolindawo	Ntlane	S	Komkhulu	Honono
Thekwane	Ntlane	FBS	Komkhulu	Bhokhwe's widow**
Toto	Ntlane	Clansman	Ngingqi	Nomtsoyi
Nkihlana	Ntlane	FBSS	Cibi	Hlathi
Tshakmane*	Yalo	None	Ngingqi	Ntoninje*

(vii) The Bamba company

<u>Membership</u>	<u>Clan</u>	<u>Relation to head</u>	<u>Sub-ward section</u>	<u>Membership</u>
Kenneth (head)	Bamba	-	Cibi	Gavan
Twalingubo	Bamba	B	Cibi	Kabilawo
Govuza	Bamba	B	Cibi	Mahlathini
Dwetya	Bamba	FB	Cibi	Khulile
Mkeni	Bamba	FB	Cibi	Bonakele*
Ncedile	Bamba	B	Cibi	
Modi	Ntshilibe	MSS	Cibi	
Dyubeni*	Kwayi	None	Cibi	

(viii) Kenneth's company

<u>Clan</u>	<u>Relation to head</u>	<u>Sub-ward section</u>
Cirha	-	Komkhulu
Cirha	B	Komkhulu
Ndaba	None	Komkhulu
Nyawuza	WM	Ngingqi

(ix) Gamalakhe's company

<u>Clan</u>	<u>Relation to head</u>	<u>Sub-ward section</u>
Ntshilibe	-	Cibi
Ntshilibe	B	Cibi
Ntshilibe	FBW	Cibi
Ntshilibe	FB	Cibi
Ntshilibe	Clansman	Cibi
Ntlane	None	Cibi

(x) Gavan's company

<u>Clan</u>	<u>Relation to head</u>	<u>Sub-ward section</u>
Ntlane	-	Cibi
Ntlane	S	Cibi
Ntlane	FFFFFBSSSS	Cibi
Ntlane	Clansman	Jotelo ward
Qinebe	None	Cibi

APPENDIX I

A Brief Literature Survey

Betterment schemes have been, and still are being widely implemented in the rural areas of Southern Africa.

As yet no comprehensive study of either the implementation, or the consequences of the implementation of betterment in specific areas has been done. Certainly nothing approaching the scope of the present report has been published.

To the writer's knowledge, few people have acutally done field research into the issue of betterment.

Board (1964) conducted a questionnaire-based survey in 12 locations in the King William's Town district into the effects of betterment on agricultural practices, deducing that 'as yet, there is little evidence that the rehabilitation programme has achieved its principal objective of remoulding the agricultural patterns of the Bantu people' (p. 48).

Houghton (1961) conducted a survey into the newly-established non-agricultural villages which were to be a part of the implementation of the betterment programme near Alice. He found that 'the average standard of living in Kayaletu (sic) cannot be described as adequate' (p. 173) and argued that "as land reform progressively detaches the migrant workers from the traditional subsistence farming it is necessary, if dire poverty is to be averted, that wage earnings are raised appreciably" (p. 174). In consequence, there was a need for steady industrial expansion (p. 175).

Yawitch (1981) conducted survey-type research in 5 magisterial districts of Lebowa. Her research appears to have consisted of interviews "from cabinet ministers and chiefs to agricultural officers, to the local population" (p. 2) and of consulting official documentation and betterment plans. Yawitch found people were worse off after betterment in terms of access to resources and, (in cases), to jobs, and that betterment was widely resented, and felt to be a failure.

"As the information began to be collected", she says "it became clear that the empirical data on betterment was the very least of the problems that had to be faced. The major issue was rather the vexed problem of how to explain betterment, not in technical terms, but as a complex social phenomenon" (p. 2). State action in regard to betterment should perhaps best be understood as that "the government was rather seeking the most convenient way in which to organize the reserves so that they could ultimately feed themselves, govern themselves and still provide the labour basic to the functioning of the central South African economy" (p. 30-31). The reserves could not therefore become "thriving centres of agriculture and industry" (p. 31). Betterment "has become a form of political control" (p. 95) and "that is why this publication actually says so little that is directly concerned with relocation. . . why agricultural planning and betterment have been analysed, not in technical terms, but as processes that have arisen out of a broader strategy and policy" (p. 2).

Of anthropologists that have conducted in-depth research into specific communities, only 3 have written on betterment, viz., Bigalke (1969), de Wet (1981a, 1981b, Whisson et al 1982) and O'Connell (1981).

Bigalke's research (1969) was into the religious life of the Ndlambe community he studied near East London, devoting only a few pages to the impact of betterment. He found resentment about the stock reductions involved in betterment. The move to centralized residential areas involved "a disruption and realignment of social groups" (p. 7), specifically "the disruption of kinship and clanship-based residential ties" (p. 7), as the pre-betterment residential pattern was largely based on ties of clanship and kinship.

O'Connell's (1981) work was mainly focused on cultural categories and social organization in 2 Xesibe communities in the Transkei. His brief (5 page) publication on betterment finds that old neighbourhood and kinship bonds have been disrupted, that betterment tends to "disrupt alliances, distort spatial-aesthetic experiences, and replace something old and acceptable with something new and undesirable" (p. 45). Without the old pre-betterment social controls, acts of violence, theft and adultery have increased. Betterment has also failed "because it was forced on the people against their will" (p. 48).

De Wet's work has been specifically on the effects of betterment in a Ciskei village, and will not be discussed here, as it is incorporated in the body of this report. It does, however, appear to be the only detailed study of a particular betterment scheme to date.

It is of interest that soon after the publication of the Tomlinson Commission, 4 anthropologists wrote, condemning its proposals in the strongest terms. Hellman (1957) argued that the terms of reference of the commission were contradictory, viz., to develop the Native areas by effective socio-economic planning and yet to preserve the traditional social structure. While implementing a drive towards Westernization by promoting sound economic and moral principles along Western lines, the Commission sought to encourage the Native to cherish his own culture. The Commission also contradicted itself inasmuch as it proposed a system of political separation, while arguing that "in South Africa at present, differing elements are tending towards a unified pattern within an integrated way of life" (1957, p. 2, quoting from the Tomlinson Commission). At the same time the Commission rejected this unification as "conflicts arise between European and Bantu who are culturally alien to each other, especially if the numerical ratio is taken into account" (p. 2, quoting from the Tomlinson Commission). The Tomlinson Commission could not succeed in reconciling the contradictions inherent in its proposals, according to Hellman.

Wilson (1956) welcomed the idea that there should be individual ownership of economic units of land, but noted that the government had rejected the extension of individual tenure (p. 12). The Commission had not adequately considered the position of those who would have to give up their land rights to make the betterment proposals possible, and had endorsed the Government policy of halting and reversing the flow of Africans into towns in European areas. Where would those who had given up their land go to seek a livelihood? (p. 13)

Confused in its double goal of Westernizing the African rural population, while yet preserving their "Bantu culture", the Commission had ignored "the fact that the different aspects of a society necessarily hang together" (p. 14). Wilson's concluding paragraph was very pessimistic. "I cannot think of

anything better calculated to hamper the programme for agricultural reform in the reserves than to link it with apartheid" (p. 14).

Krige and Krige (1957) argued that the mass removal of people from the rural areas necessary to the Commission's proposals would have a depressing effect on the labour market (p. 17) and would deprive the removed people of a livelihood. The relocation of people within the rural areas, together with these mass removals would result in the disruption of community ties, the disintegration of family life, and the collapse of a corner-stone of Lovedu society - the network of kinship alliances based on the exchange of cattle for wives (p. 19).

The Kriges' conclusion is particularly harsh "So little sociological insight is there in the recommendation of the Tomlinson Report, that so far from preserving Bantu social life, we can think of no more effective means (short of those adopted in the Russian Revolution) of breaking down and sweeping away the whole of the social order" (p. 21).

Other writing on betterment is of a more general, macro-perspective, looking at its broader political, agricultural and economic implications. Here the work of Baker (1960), Beinart and Bundy (1980), Bell (1978), Bowbrick (1970), Cooper (1975), Daniel (1970), Daniel (1981), Davenport and Hunt (1974), Hirson (1977), Houghton (1962), Nieuwenhuizen (1964), Seneque (1982), and Thompson (1956) may be mentioned.



APPENDIX J

Maps

Maps of Chatha after betterment

Shixini:

Map 1 : Jingqi Tribal Authority

Map 2 : Shixini Administrative Area

Map 3 : Clan Distribution of Folokhwe Homesteads

Map 4 : Distribution of huts, gardens and fields in Folokhwe sub-ward. . .

Map 5 : Proposed new residential, arable and grazing areas in S.E. part of Shixini

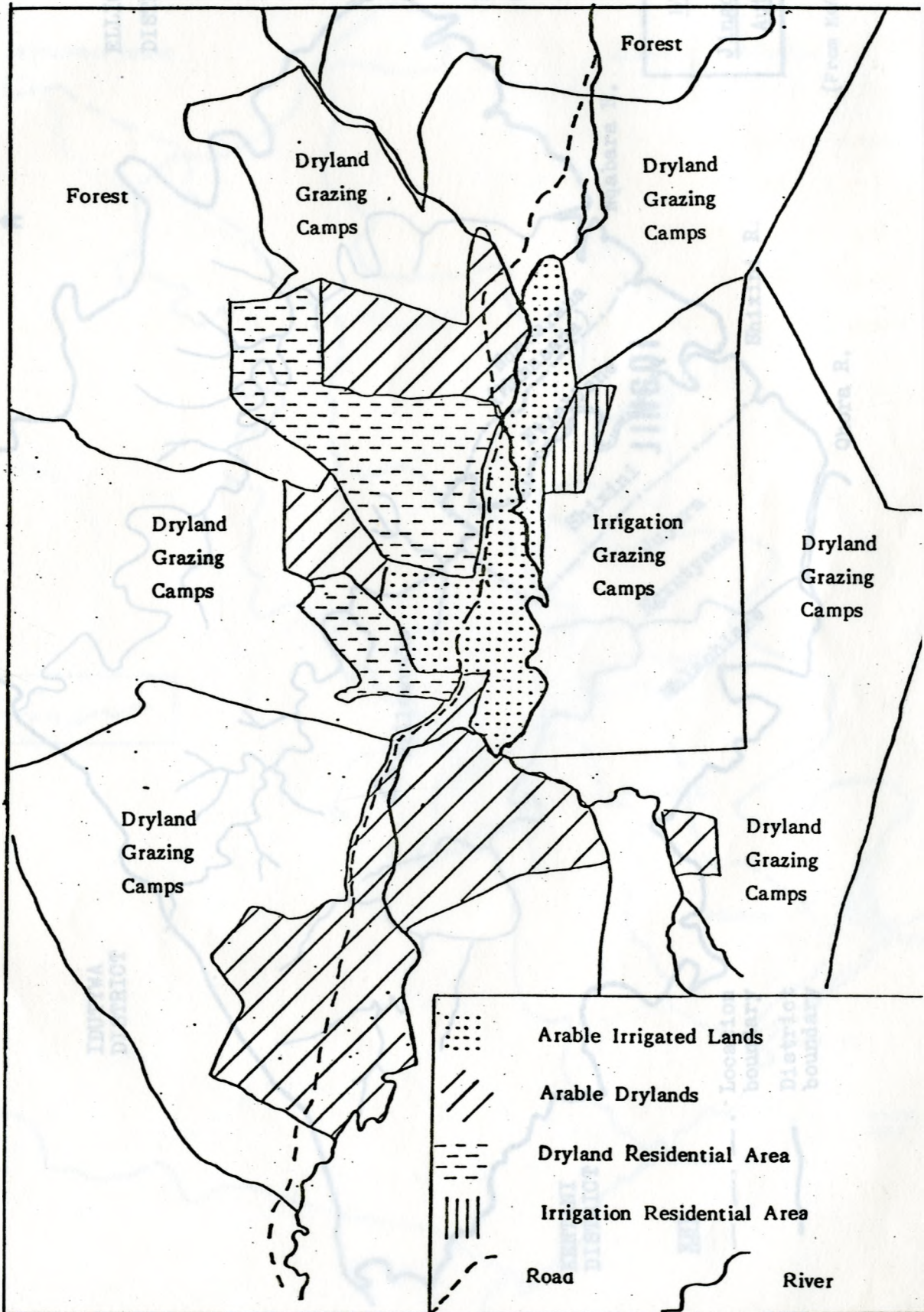
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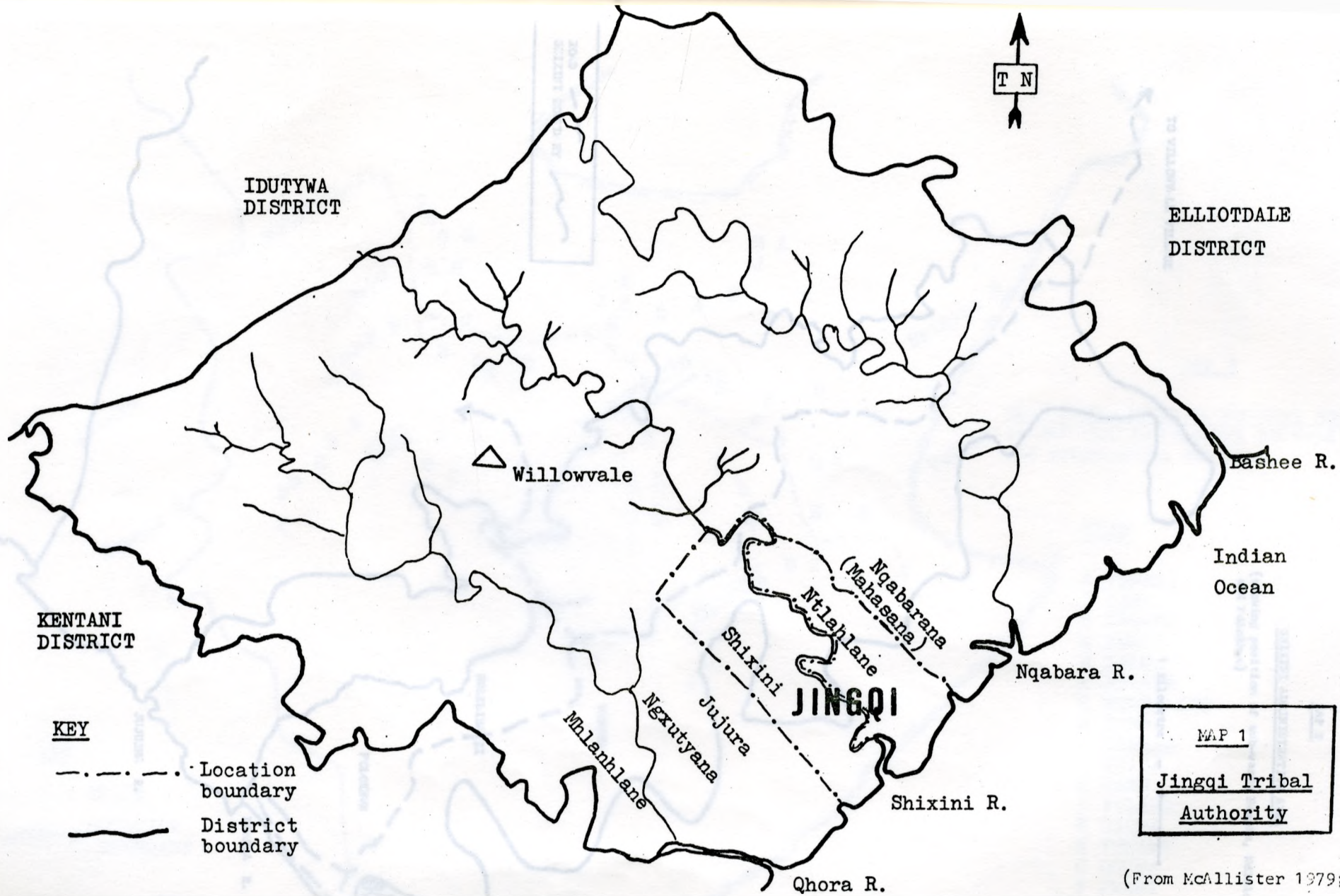
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Map of Chatha after betterment

(scaled down from Native Affairs Department Ciskei
Plan No. C1566, updated on 28th July, 1967)





MAP 1
Jingqi Tribal
Authority

(From McAllister 1979;6)

MAP 2

SHIXINI ADMINISTRATIVE AREA

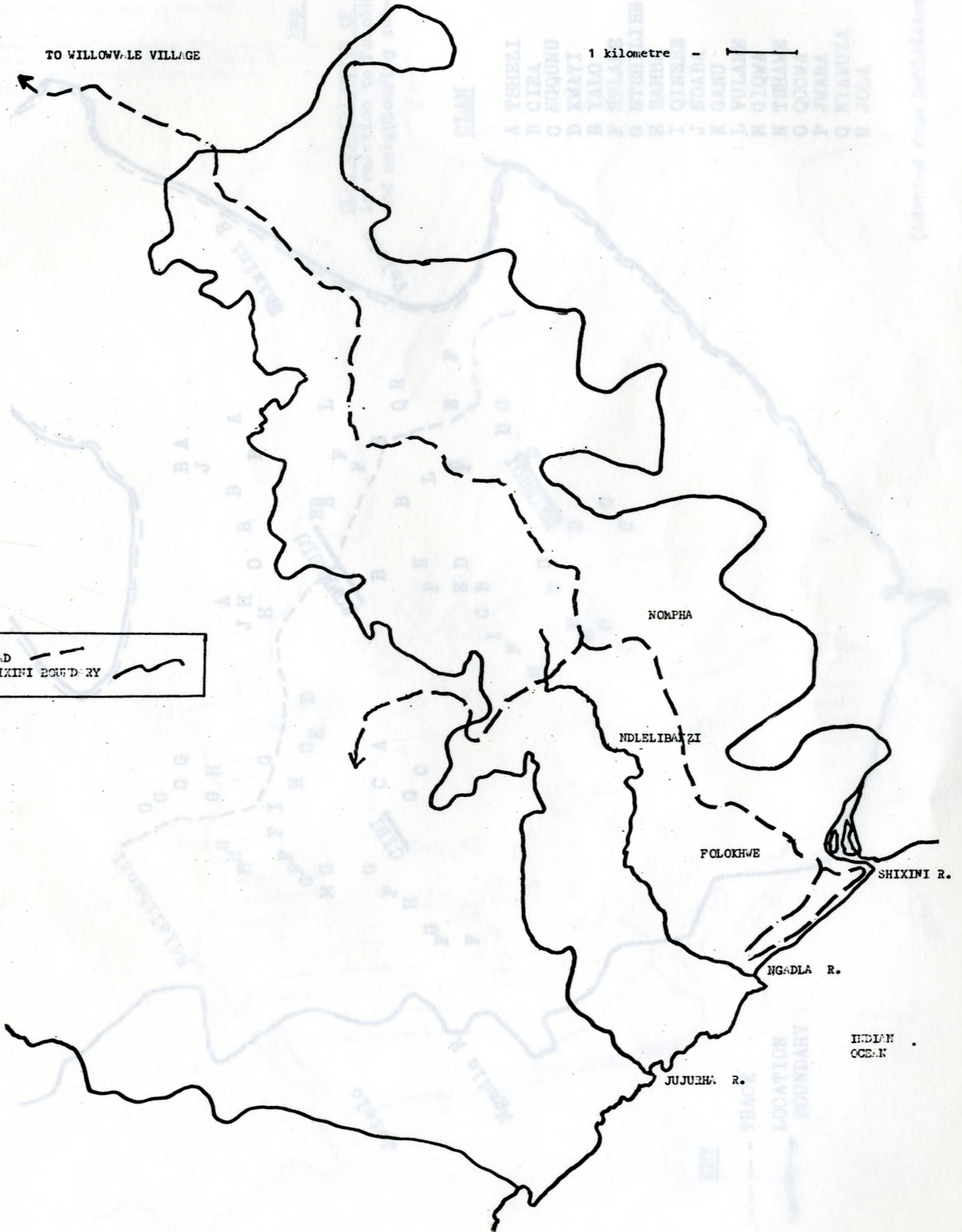
(showing position of sub-wards Nompfa, Ndlelibanzi and Folokhwe)

TO WILLOWV. LE VILLAGE

1 kilometre



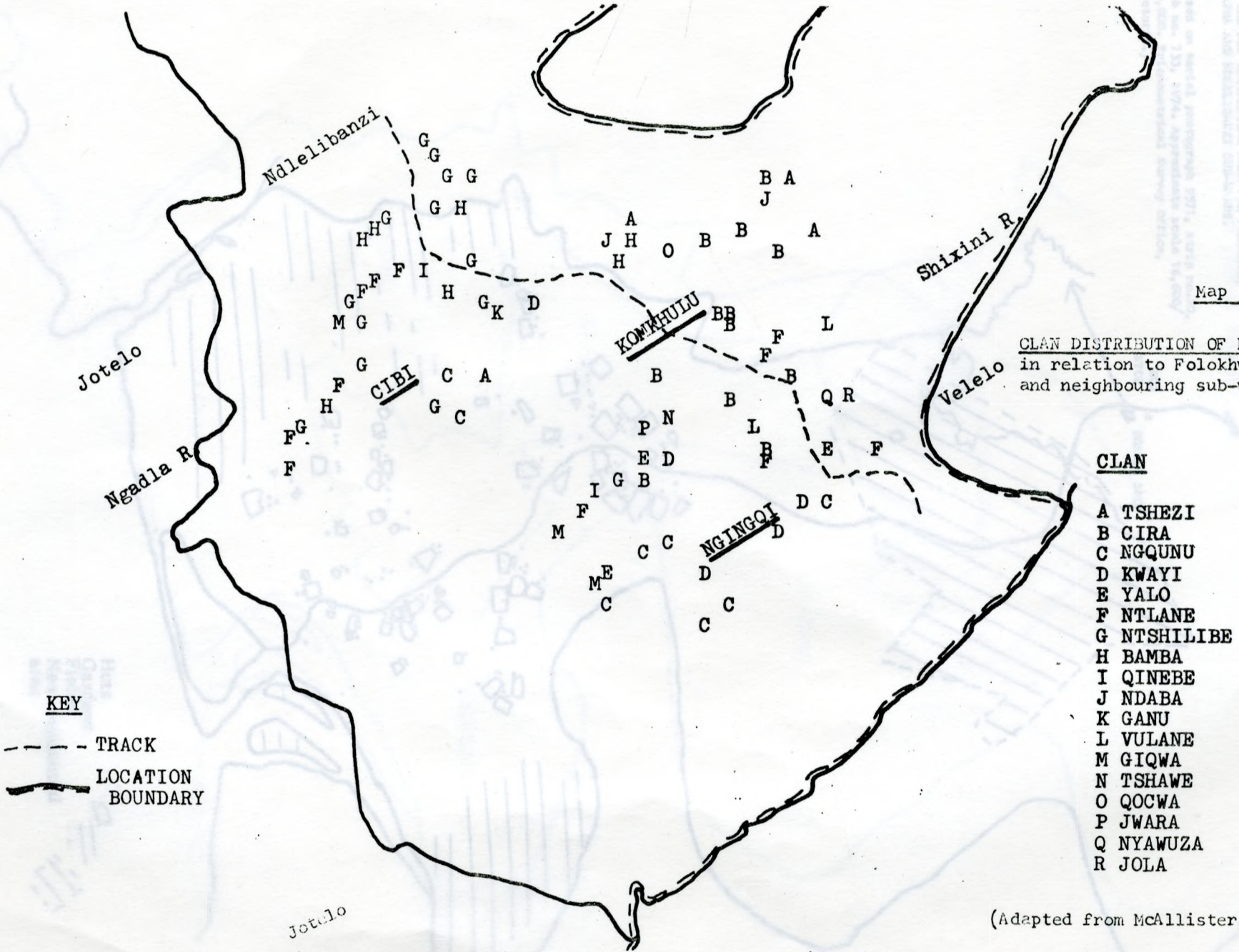
ROAD
SHIXINI BOUNDARY



INDIAN
OCEAN

Map 3

CLAN DISTRIBUTION OF FOLOKHWE HOMESTEADS
in relation to Folokhwe sub-ward sections
and neighbouring sub-wards.



KEY
 - - - TRACK
 _____ LOCATION
 BOUNDARY

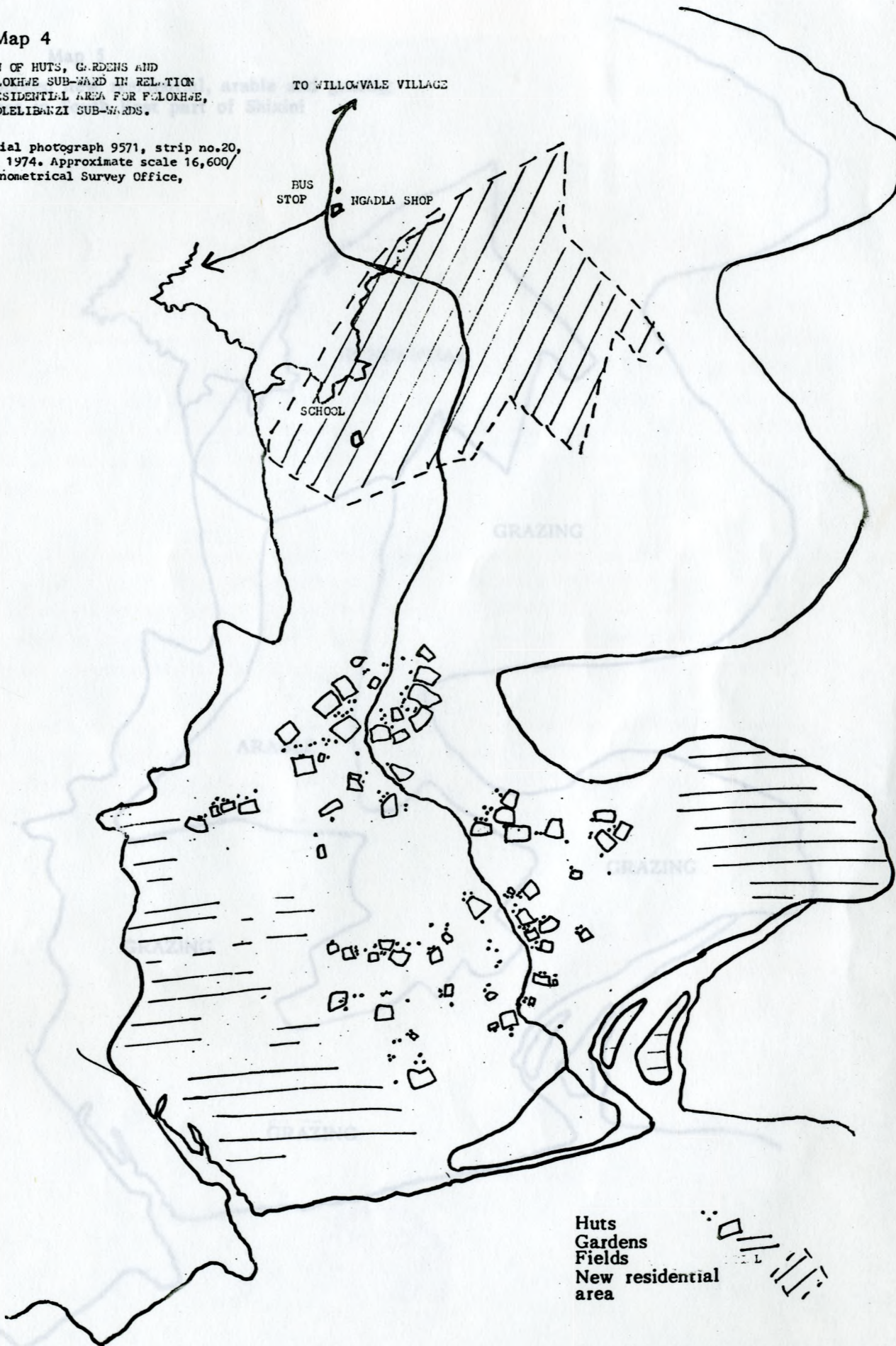
- CLAN
- A TSHEZI
 - B CIRA
 - C NGQUNU
 - D KWAYI
 - E YALO
 - F NTLANE
 - G NTSHILIBE
 - H BAMBA
 - I QINEBE
 - J NDABA
 - K GANU
 - L VULANE
 - M GIQWA
 - N TSHAWE
 - O QOCWA
 - P JWARA
 - Q NYAWUZA
 - R JOLA

(Adapted from McAllister, 1979 p.47)

Map 4

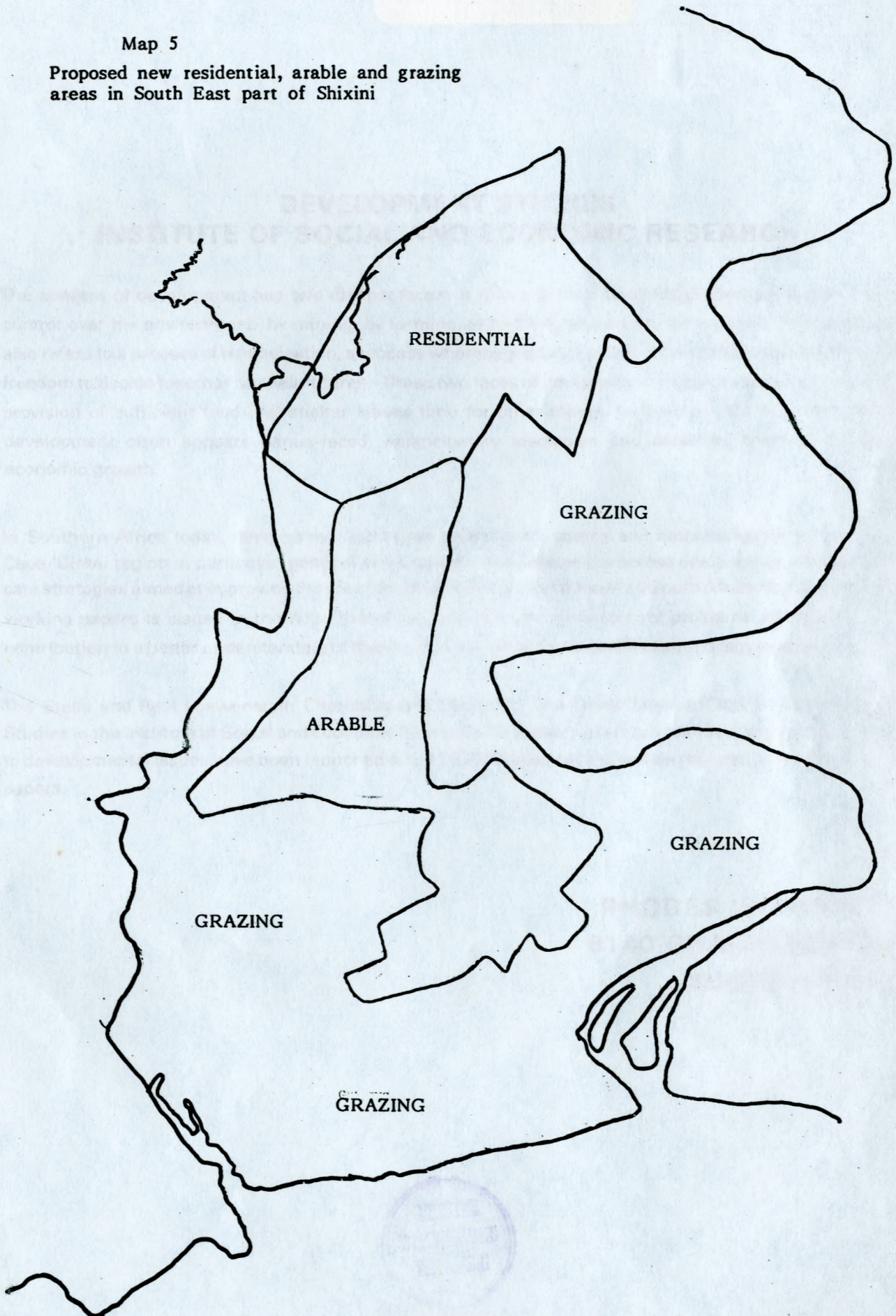
DISTRIBUTION OF HUTS, GARDENS AND FIELDS IN FLOKHWE SUB-WARD IN RELATION TO THE NEW RESIDENTIAL AREA FOR FLOKHWE, NOLPHA AND NDLELIBANZI SUB-WARDS.

(Based on aerial photograph 9571, strip no.20, Job no. 733, 1974. Approximate scale 16,600/20,000. Trigonometrical Survey Office, Pretoria.)



Map 5

Proposed new residential, arable and grazing areas in South East part of Shixini



DEVELOPMENT STUDIES INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH

The concept of development has two distinct faces. It refers to man's continual attempts to gain more control over his environment: by mining, by farming, or by flying jet aircraft, for example. Development also refers to a process of emancipation, a process whereby groups of people as well as individuals gain the freedom to decide together on their futures. These two faces of development merge in certain cases. The provision of sufficient food and shelter leaves time for other things, for choices. On the other hand, development often appears Janus-faced: emancipatory ideologies and activities seeming to stunt economic growth.

In Southern Africa today, development strategies reflect such strains and ambiguities. In the Eastern Cape/Ciskei region in particular, political and economic boundaries cut across one another, and complicate strategies aimed at improving the life chances and living conditions of all South Africans. This series of working papers is issued in the hope that more research into development problems will make some contribution to a better understanding of these problems, and to a more effective strategy in tackling them.

The Stella and Paul Loewenstein Charitable and Education Trust established a Chair of Development Studies in the Institute of Social and Economic Research. As a result, a number of research projects related to developmental issues have been launched since 1979. Project results will be reported in these working papers.

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