

WUPPERTHAL - STRATEGY FOR ACTION
A CASE-STUDY IN CO-OPERATIVE RURAL
DEVELOPMENT

by
Allan Kaplan

Submitted to the University of Cape Town
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts in Environmental Studies

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ERRATA:

page 90 : Line 9:

'THE COMMITTEE THROUGH DISPLAYS OF FAVOURITISM'

should read:

'THE COMMITTEE RISKED ANTAGONIZING THE COMMUNITY THROUGH DISPLAYS
OF FAVOURITISM'.

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Figure 1 : Wuppertha - whitewashed, thatch-roofed houses nestling within the grandeur of the Cedarburg Mountains

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ABSTRACT

This study documents an attempt to employ a direct action strategy within the rural community of Wupperthal in order to combat rural stagnation and disintegration, to reduce poverty, and to promote development. The direct action strategy employed was that of helping people to form themselves into co-operative enterprises, thus utilizing the concepts of participation and control in order to raise levels of responsibility, initiative and critical awareness. The study documents the difficulties experienced and analyses the causes of, and reasons for, the successes achieved and the failures encountered. It also discusses some of the dangers of First World intervention in a Third World community. It ends by suggesting ways in which the co-operative direct action strategy may be extended and improved in order to make it more efficacious in the long term.

PREFACE

Wupperthal has been called "The pride of South African villages". During my sojourn there, an American tourist, having travelled extensively for a number of years throughout Southern Africa, arrived for a short visit. On leaving, he said to me that of all the places he had visited, Wupperthal appeared to him as the only truly indigenous South African village. Indeed, herein lies much of its charm. Nestled within the vast and imposing Cedarburg Mountains range, it is a village of so-called "Coloured" folk who have evolved from the original San (Bushmen) inhabitants of these mountains and from the European settlers who colonized the area so many years ago. A close-knit community, architecturally as well as socially, its white-washed, thatch-roofed houses blend into the rugged mountainous setting as naturally as mushrooms springing up in a pine-forest. There is a feeling of eternity about Wupperthal, a tranquil, peaceful calm as year by year the seasons turn over and cycles are repeated from generation to generation.

The village has its share of debilitating problems, many of which it shares with rural South Africa generally and which form the subject matter of, and reason for, the research and work which is reported upon in this thesis. Yet, at the outset, I feel it incumbent upon myself to note how privileged I feel to have been given the opportunity to work within and amongst this very remarkable people. I shall always remain grateful for the open arms with which I and my family were welcomed, the hospitality shown, and the many sincere and warm friendships which developed and ripened to the point where I was led into the inner structure of the village in a manner which I believe to be unprecedented in the case of any other outsider. For this

I would like to extend my heartfelt appreciation to the community.

This study is concerned primarily with an investigation of the efficacy of using a co-operative methodology in combating rural poverty and stagnation and in promoting rural development. As such it can stand by itself as a study on rural development. However, it should also be seen within a larger context. The School of Environmental Studies at the University of Cape Town has been undertaking research into Wupperthal for a number of years now. Three field trips have been conducted and reported on, and one thesis has been written prior to this one - Stephen Granger's "Land Tenure and Environmental Conditions at Wupperthal, 1982". Consequently, a fair amount of data has been collected, and is available from the School of Environmental Studies library. The reader should thus be aware from the outset that this particular report does not concern itself with quantitative data at all. It is, rather, a descriptive narrative which, while making use of raw data collected, tries to penetrate further into the very fabric of the community, in order to illuminate the ethos of the community and to relate this to the problems which are currently having to be faced and dealt with. It is then, concerned with the qualitative variables which might hinder or aid development. Quantitative data is considered relevant in this context only insofar as it serves to substantiate qualitative insights. The author would thus like to refer the reader who is interested in such data to the following publications:

S. Granger - "Land Tenure and Environmental Conditions at Wupperthal, 1982"

M. Heyns - "Wupperthal 150 Jaar 1830 - 1980", 1980

E. Strassberger - "The Rhenish Mission Society in South Africa 1830 - 1950", 1969 and The School of Environmental Studies Field Reports of 1981, 1982 and 1983.

I would like to thank the following for their assistance on the project:

Prof. R Fuggle (School of Environmental Studies, U.C.T.) for valuable advice and constructive criticism; Ds. M Wessels (Superintendent of the Moravian Church in the Cape) and Ds. F Engel (Treasurer of the Moravian Church in the Cape) for their personal support and love, and for many things besides, not least their dedication to their calling; to the 1981, 1982 and 1983 Environmental Studies post-graduate students who supplied valuable information on various aspects of Wupperthal, and to S Granger, mentioned above, who undertook the first full-length study of the area; to the Wupperthal community as a whole, and in particular to Stoffel Farao (Central Office bookkeeper), Piet Salamo (glove factory manager), Karel Zimri (glove factory member), "Oom Baard" Valentyn and Piet Gertse (shoe factory members), Kit Zass (project driver), and Jurie, Marlene and Magriet van Rooy (glove factory members) - these I thank for friendship as much as for information. I would also like to thank my wife, Mel, for her backing and encouragement in the face of the many difficulties experienced; and Hendrik Rabe, the potter mentioned in the text, for the many warm, valuable and constructive late night discussions on Wupperthal and the insights attained. Many thanks, too, to Katinka Henry who typed the first draft and who won an admirable battle in deciphering my somewhat illegible script. Thanks too to Anne Grant who typed the final draft. Finally, a very special thanks and acknowledgement to Charles Moore who produced two valuable slide-shows on the project and whose excellent photographs I have used exclusively to illustrate this thesis.

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CHAPTER 1

SITUATING THE STUDY: PROBLEMS, CAUSES AND STRATEGIES

"We oscillate between a model that has lost its virtue and charm and an idea that has yet to demonstrate its effectiveness. This is what is usually referred to as the crisis."

Sinaceur, 1983



Figure 2: Beukarskraal - an outstation settlement backed by overgrazed and eroded hillside.

1.1 THE PROBLEM

The problem to which this work addresses itself is essentially that of poverty and development in South Africa; it is an attempt to find strategies which might serve to alleviate poverty to as great an extent as possible. Poverty as such, however, covers a large field and there is no question of this thesis tackling all of this ground. But there are certain aspects to poverty and development in South Africa which appear to dominate the situation, and it is these considerations too which link discussions of poverty in South Africa with development problems in other parts of the world as well; particularly major parts of the Third World. I am therefore going to focus now on these aspects in order to bring into relief, as it were, the specific problems concerning poverty and development with which this paper is concerned.

The first point which needs emphasizing is that poverty - and underdevelopment - is far more prevalent and far more crushing in rural than in urban areas. This is true for Third World countries generally (Richardson, 1978; McRobie, 1982; Frank, 1979; Streeten, 1981); and it is especially true for South Africa (Thomas, 1982; Coetzee, 1983). In spite of the economic growth which South Africa has been experiencing, the incidence of poverty increases annually; positive economic growth rates appear to bring in their wake increasing poverty and underdevelopment in the rural areas; "It is clear that the poverty problem is growing in the midst of economic growth" (Ligthelm & Coetzee, 1984, p 13). Thus this paper starts from the initial premise that the problem of poverty in South Africa - and the task of combating it - lies

primarily in the rural areas. The problems are unemployment, lack of work-places, lack of forward mobility, ecological degradation and agricultural stagnation. Consequently we have urban migration, resulting in poverty, over-crowding and a lower quality of life in urban areas (Friedman, 1981). Concomitantly we have what might be described as a "brain-drain" from the rural areas, and the tempo of rural poverty increases one notch. And the wheel turns again.

Briefly then, the problem with which this thesis is concerned is that of rural poverty and its eradication. The second point which must be made is that development efforts thus far have failed in upgrading rural areas (Singer, 1979). Development plans, having been directed largely towards economic growth in the hope that such growth would have a "trickle-down" effect, have left rural areas of the third world worse off than before (Bequele & van der Hoeven, 1980; World Bank, 1981). In fact, one of the contributory factors to the poverty problem in the third world is the fact that economic growth has been taking place mainly in the modern sector of the economy in which highly sophisticated technology is used. The growth or modernization approach, which concentrates strongly on urban development, advanced technology and large scale development projects producing modern products and services, has benefited only a limited elite in the less developed countries, while no trickling-down of benefits to the poor, predominantly rural, section has taken place (Streeten, 1981).

If this is true for the Third World generally, it is a particularly apt comment on the South African situation as well. Current national decentralization plans come nowhere near to solving the

problem of rural poverty. In fact they hardly address the problem as it stands. Decentralization as it now exists is more concerned with industry, with economic output and growth, than with people. It will give rise to new urban pockets of wealth. The technology these plans involve, because of cost and the present political dispensations, will always remain out of the hands of the masses of rural poor, who will migrate to these new centres as they did to the old. This might serve to relieve pressures in certain urban areas but will increase poverty in the country. Hanks puts it as follows: "Urban drift in South Africa will be exacerbated by the proposals (concerning industrial decentralization), because the chief pull from the countryside is not urban amenities, but the urban economy; average income in the cities is up to four times as high as the rural average. South African authorities should note that with most rural areas experiencing massive unemployment and deteriorating environmental conditions; and with new emphasis being given to the development of 'deconcentration points', rural to urban migration is bound to accelerate." (Hanks, 1983, p 17). In fact, in South Africa it is precisely the close proximity of first and third worlds which exacerbates an already unhealthy situation. Du Plessis (Ligthelm & Coetzee, 1984) notes that the geographic proximity of rich and poor countries strengthens the polarization effect of economic activities to the advantage of the rich country and the disadvantage of the poor country. Marker (personal communication) points out that as a result the pull of the major nodes becomes increasingly greater, while the peripheral nodes are neglected. The consequence is that "on the whole, grass-roots rural development has actually been neglected." (Thomas, 1982, p 60). This rural poverty, and the impoverishment of the land itself, must

grow because there is not envisaged any development of the people themselves in terms of education towards pride, initiative, responsibility. Development has concentrated on technological and economic growth for certain restricted areas, but the viability of the future cannot be impressed upon people who are not given an opportunity to take control of their own lives, of their own potential; who are seen at best in terms of labour potential for a technological machine which has little relevance to their own immediate situations in the rural areas.

Thus we are led to consider the third aspect of the problem upon which this work has concentrated. Derman & Poultney (1984, p 2) have stated the following: "Essentially there are two broad theoretical perspectives that attempt to explain the root cause of poverty. Either one believes that the poor are poor because they cannot take advantage of existing opportunities for self-advancement because of social values and attitudes that derive either from their cultural heritage or from their persistent poverty; or conversely one believes that the poor remain persistently poor because too few opportunities exist for them to improve their lot and that avenues for self-advancement are historically linked to the advancement of the more privileged sector of society at the expense of the under-privileged, i.e. the cause of poverty is structural rather than cultural." (Derman & Poultney, 1984, p 2). Now there are obviously arguments for both cultural and structural explanations of poverty, and the author of the present paper contends that these explanations do not necessarily contradict but often actually illuminate each other. However, the issue has been brought up here in order to make it clear that for the purposes of

this paper we are interested in the 'cultural' aspect of the poverty problem, always accepting that there is marked overlap; i.e. we are interested in attitudes that derive from "cultural heritage or persistent poverty." This is not to say that we will not have to do, during the course of this paper, with 'structural' aspects of poverty; indeed, it is the contention of the author that these structural aspects decisively influence "cultural heritage" and "persistent poverty." But this author maintains that, change the structure as one will, one has still to face the limitations in the consciousness of the rural people as these affect development and the path out of poverty.

Wupperthal was chosen as the area of study because it exhibits the three elements of poverty with which this work is concerned to a marked degree. It is rural, it exists as a third world enclave within a first world context, and, because of the fact that it is entirely owned by the Moravian Church of SA it demonstrates a certain independence which frees it from the harshest of the structural constraints of South African society and allows the cultural components of the poverty question to come to the fore. As we shall see later, Wupperthal has so many things in its favour that the fact that it is nevertheless disintegrating points to the overwhelmingly powerful role which the consciousness of the members of the community plays in its continuing poverty, when coupled with the isolation of rural living. And it is these elements of poverty which come under the spotlight in the present work.

1.2 THE OBJECTIVE

In the light of the problems mentioned above, the objective of this

work has been the search for strategies which might prove effective in combating these problems; strategies which could be tested in Wupperthal in order to ascertain their validity with respect to other rural areas as well. It was not the intention of this study to aim for a purely theoretical understanding of the problems involved in the under-development of rural areas; nor, on the other hand, was it the aim to present a mere descriptive account of a development project in operation. Rather this work represents an attempt to understand the theoretical nature of the problem; to use this understanding as the framework, or foundation, of a practical project; and to assess this project in the light of its actual impact on the situation in order to ascertain whether the original theoretical conception of causes and responses was valid or not.

This study also embodies an attempt to extrapolate the causes of poverty and under-development to situations outside of the area of study itself. The problem of the under-development of rural areas - and of subsequent development attempts - results in phenomena (and are often complicated by these phenomena) which are essentially environmental in nature; for example, agricultural stagnation, ecological degradation, urban migration, community disintegration. Hanks notes that "..... the longer the rural areas are neglected, the more environmental degradation will increase, with ecological and economic consequences extending far beyond the present restrictive boundaries." (Hanks, 1983, p 19). Redclift, on the other hand, points out the many difficulties which development itself brings to the environmental crisis (Redclift, 1984). It is within the context of these environmental parameters that the present paper takes its direction.

1.3 THE AIMS

This work encompasses four aims, or goals, in its attempt to achieve the objective as outlined above. During the course of the development project, which has thus far been underway for two years, having started in July 1982, these aims and their execution often overlapped, and did not follow each other as cleanly and sequentially as delineated below. For example, development of strategy would appear logically to follow the analysis of the problem, where in fact strategy was at times developed and applied in order to be better able to analyse the problem; for certain focal issues, certain cathartic moments, might be illuminated better by stirring the waters than by passive observation. In fact, many insights which have been gained during the course of this work have come about through the movement generated - in an otherwise largely passive community (see 1.4.2) - by applied strategy. This would imply too, of course, that certain actions were taken on the part of this researcher with regard to the Wupperthal community, which were, in a sense, "blind"; that is, they were not first backed by pure theoretical and observational research. This researcher, however, makes no apology for this methodology, for two reasons. First, as has been implied above, the community under research was largely stagnant; that is, there was so little movement that many relevant parameters of the community's behaviour remained hidden as in the sluggish shallows of overgrown waters - hence the mud needed stirring in order to ascertain what was causing the blockage. Rondinelli (1977) provides justification for this approach. Second, the researcher undertook this project not merely as a research topic but also to assist in alleviating the problems alluded to in section

1.1 as far as he was able. He holds himself accountable not merely to the reader and to the School of Environmental Studies at UCT, under whose auspices the research took place, but also to the Wupperthal community as a whole, to the members thereof, and to the Moravian Church of SA, which owns Wupperthal. More will be said about this below (see section 2.1) but what needs to be noted here is that when this researcher arrived in Wupperthal to begin research aimed at developing strategies of action, certain projects which had already been underway were experiencing grave difficulties (see sections below on the shoe and glove factories and the tannery), and the researcher felt it incumbent upon himself to immediately assist where he could both because he felt himself accountable to the 'subjects' of his research and in order to establish a secure position, or profile, for himself in the eyes of the community, for without the confidence of the community he would have achieved nothing. He found himself, then, not merely in the role of researcher but also in the role of 'agent-for-change'. However, having stated this, the basic sequence and delineation of the aims remain true to the research as conducted, and stand as follows:

1.3.1 Research and Analysis

The first aim of this work was to thoroughly research the problems of the Wupperthal community and to ascertain and analyse the causes of these problems. The problems which constituted the concern of this research were specifically those to do with poverty; breakdown of community cohesion, structure and integrity; lack of employment opportunities and work places; exodus of young people, or urban migration; and ecological degradation and agricultural stagnation.

In investigating the causes of these problems a "character profile" of the Wupperthal community had to be constructed, in accordance with the focus of this research being on the cultural, as opposed to the structural, aspects of rural poverty. Thus, for the purposes of this research, the broader sociological and psychological aspects of the community had to be delved into, and were considered more relevant than the political and physical parameters which also act as limitations to the growth potential of this rural area. However, the latter two parameters, being of obvious importance, are also discussed.

This analysis of problems and search for causes is done in the light of the Wupperthal situation and previous developmental work and research, and occurs in section 1 of this thesis.

1.3.2 Development of Strategy

The second aim of this research project was to develop strategies for combating these problems and for overcoming the causes on a practical level. This aim includes putting these proposed strategies into practice within the research community in order to ascertain what value they have on a practical level. Because this research was done, not in a laboratory, and not on non-human subjects, but rather in the field and in the context of real people's lives, it demanded the application of the utmost sensitivity and sympathy. Doing the research as outlined here implied effecting change in the life of a community and its members, and thus entailed a grave responsibility. This responsibility in turn implied a certain lack of freedom in the manipulation of variables. This obviously meant that certain constraints were placed upon the research. In setting up the development project itself, this researcher had to

steer a middle path between pure observation and direct experimentation; a form of 'action research' (Daphne, 1984). This aspect of the work is detailed partly in section 1 and mainly in section 2.

1.3.3. Critical Assessment

A third goal was to assess the results of the approach taken by this form of research and, more important, of the strategies employed in the execution of the development project. The aim here was not merely to investigate the validity of the original theoretical exposition of the causes of poverty and under-development in the Wupperthal community through the assessment of the efficacy of strategies developed in response to these alleged causes; but also to investigate the validity of the strategies as such - that is, do the strategies employed work towards the resolution of rural poverty problems regardless of the validity of this researcher's arguments with respect to causes? Thus it was deemed necessary to analyse the successes and failures of the development project, to extrapolate, regarding these, from the Wupperthal situation to other rural situations, and to provide projections with regard to future directions in development work on rural communities. This ground is covered indirectly, to a certain extent, in section 2, but is more comprehensively and conclusively dealt with in section 4.

It should be noted, with respect to this third aim, that development - particularly rural development - is an extremely long-term process, and that results cannot be gauged overnight (Collins & Collins, 1984). Not only are immediate effects often misleading, but the effects of a development project of the type portrayed herein on the psyche of a

community can often only be really assessed after many years. Hence the results tabulated in this thesis must be seen with this borne in mind; in fact the project with which this paper is concerned has been in operation for only two years, which is a comparatively short time. Whatever has been achieved; whatever results there are to assess, are dealt with in this thesis; but it must be remembered that a number of processes set in motion by this project have not yet borne fruit, and this is not because they are necessarily infertile. There is therefore a limitation to assessment which is, in a sense, built in to a re-search project of this kind.

1.3.4 Discourse on Dilemmas

The final intention of this paper was to use the practical experience gained by this researcher in the field, within the context of the development strategy actually employed - to be outlined below - in order to provide for other rural fieldworkers a working guide to the pitfalls and problems which are inherent in the activity of rural development - to emphasize the extreme sensitivity and paradoxical nature of the task. Much has been written on development-planning - on the successes achieved and failures encountered. But it was felt necessary and relevant to address the potential fieldworker in terms of the dilemmas which will come his way in the daily course of his work - for it is the contention of this writer that the saying "riding the horns of a dilemma" was never more truly used than with regard to the field of rural development, as conceived within the framework of this re-search project. Because the nature of the task is fraught with much potential disillusionment, the writer deemed it worthwhile to present a 'mediational discourse', if the reader will permit the expression,

on rural development in order to prepare the uninitiated for an arduous task. This forms the content of section 3 of this thesis.

1.4 FORMULATION OF DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY



Figure 3: Poverty within and poverty without - an enervating state of inertia.

The following sections of this chapter deal with the rationale behind - and the basic structure of - the development strategy which was employed and tested in the course of this research. Both rationale and structure are dependent on insights gained through development

literature - "the state of the art", as it were - and the specific characteristics displayed by the Wupperthal situation. Wupperthal occupies a unique position with regard to poverty and development; not merely in terms of its relationship to the South African political situation - which will be dealt with below - but also with regard to the fact that it exists as a third world enclave within a first world context. Thus it finds itself in a position at a slight remove from the mainstream of development literature, and this must be remembered and accounted for in all discussions concerning it.

1.4.1. The Evolution of Development Theory

It is not the intention here to provide an extensive history of the development experience; this has been done in many publications already (for example, Richardson, 1978; Lehmann, 1979; Streeten, 1981). Rather, what shall be presented here are the salient features of the evolution of development theory as they pertain to the subject of this research project.

The initial problems one comes up against in any discussion of this issue are the definitions of poverty and of development. As concepts, one's perception of the one will often influence one's perception of the other, and this interdependence has given rise to much unclarity, confusion and ambiguity. Poverty, after all, can be defined in absolute terms by the - often relatively arbitrary - creation of a poverty datum line; but just as obviously poverty is an extremely relative concept, one which clearly rests heavily on initial assumptions, on axioms of choice (Beckerman, 1984).

Then development, too, has received many, often conflicting definitions (Pitt, 1976). Some theorists have seen development purely in economic terms; development for them has meant economic growth (e.g. Rostow, 1960; Lewis, 1977). Others have concentrated on the social, human and ecological aspects of development (e.g. Redclift, 1984). Streeten (1981) has noted that one can have economic growth without development as well as development without economic growth, depending on one's perspective. The point is, once again, that the development concept is a relative one - Pitt refers to the fact that "when village people in Samoa heard the international development agencies say they were poor and under-developed, they were quite annoyed and replied that they definitely were not." (Pitt, 1976, p 66).

For the purposes of this paper, the following is going to be accepted as a meaningful approach to the concept of development: that development reduces poverty, unemployment, and inequality (Seers, 1979) and that its objective "is to provide all human beings with the opportunity for a fuller life" (Streeten, 1981, p 331). Poverty, then is to be seen as those factors which inhibit the growth of this 'opportunity'.

Bearing this in mind, let us take a very brief look at development efforts and theories to date. At the beginning of the 1950's, when development became a field of endeavour in its own right, theorists were so convinced that economic growth was the engine which would power the development machine that the terms 'economic growth' and 'development' became almost synonymous. It was accepted that economic

growth would begin in the urban areas because it necessitated the use of a sophisticated technology and highly developed infrastructure. The rationale behind this capital-intensive industrialization was the benefits of agglomeration and the multiplier-effects that would be created. This approach promised spill-over effects to the rural economy and finally the modernization of the whole economy through the so-called "trickle-down" effect.

But the dream never materialized (Mishan, 1969). Specifically, poverty, unemployment and inequality have increased in the less developed countries during the last three decades, especially in the rural areas (Richardson, 1978). There are many reasons for this, too many to cover in this paper. It became clear, for example, that growth in many countries remained concentrated on a narrow enclave of modern, organized, urban industry; that governments often were unwilling or incapable of using taxes and social services to offset growing inequalities; and that the concentration of income in the hands of the rich was not the necessary condition for development which it had been assumed to be (there are many instances of small farmers farming more efficiently and profitably - proportionally - than large farmers). Then, the expected absorption of the rapidly growing labour force from the subsistence sector into the modern, industrial sector was much slower than expected (not least because the technology used for development was capital intensive and labour saving). Dualism in many countries was marked and prolonged. Rural areas were neglected and slid inexorably deeper into poverty.

This is not to say that economic growth is not an important aspect of development. Seers, however, has put his finger on the problem by pointing out that while economic growth is indeed a necessary condition for any possibility of development, it is however not a sufficient condition. In fact, too much focus on it often retards development, and thus a different emphasis is needed (Seers, 1979).

Awareness of these problems led to a new emphasis on rural development and 'employment'. It was soon seen, however, that the problem was not 'unemployment', which is a western concept often not applicable to Third World areas as it presupposes modern sector wage employment, labour markets and exchanges and social security payments in the form of unemployment benefits. As Streeten notes, "only those relatively well-off who had some other means of support can afford to be unemployed. The problem was rather unremunerative, unproductive work of the poor, particularly of the rural poor" (Streeten, 1981, p 109). This led to a new emphasis on the "working poor" which in turn led to a concern for the redistribution of productive assets as a path to reduced inequality. But the concern of equity on the one hand and economic growth on the other hand presented a dilemma. To quote Streeten once more: "on the one hand, it was accepted that in poor societies poverty can be eradicated only through increased production. On the other hand, the growth experiences in some countries had shown that growth had reinforced inequalities in income, asset and power distribution which made it more difficult or impossible, both economically and politically, for its benefits to spread widely." (Streeten, 1981, p 119).

So it was perceived that growth was needed as well as redistribution, but it was equally obvious that the desired results were not forthcoming. And further, that reductions in inequality do not necessarily reduce poverty. And it was thus realized that what was needed was a more effective and speedier attack on deprivation, and the objective narrowed down to "meeting basic human needs."

The phrase "narrowed down" is something of a misnomer, for it is not intended to imply that the 'basic needs' approach to development is in any way inferior, or more limited, approach than previous ones. It is rather a recognition that theorists have been too concerned with aggregates and impersonal statistics, whereas what is really important is the human potential involved - in fact this human potential is the only resource which the poor have in abundance. Thus the aim of the basic needs approach is to attack deprivation by concentrating on specific groups of people and areas (for example, rural areas) in order to break the cycle of enduring poverty so that the human potential might be released. Thus the process of meeting basic human needs may initially reduce growth in so far as resources are diverted from investment to consumption, but the achievement of massive investment in human capital will speed up growth because human capital has become more productive. This at least is the rationale for the basic needs approach.

Following on basic needs, it becomes apparent that measured income and its growth are only a part of basic needs. Other - and initially often more important - needs, are more and better food (adequate nutrition), safe water at hand, continuing employment and secure and

adequate livelihoods for the unemployed, health, sanitation, education, decent shelter, adequate transport and better preventative medical services. In addition, there are the 'non-material' needs which have increasingly been recognized as being not only important in their own right but may be the conditions for meeting 'material' needs: these include self-determination, self-reliance, dignity, capacity to make one's own decisions, participation in decision-making processes which affect one's life and work, and the development of a sense of purpose in one's life and work.

Basic Needs as a development strategy has as its aim the provision of all human beings with the opportunity for a fuller life, something which as noted above, is an intrinsic part of the development concept and which cannot be achieved without first meeting basic needs. The reduction of poverty, unemployment and inequality should arise as a consequence of the achievement of meeting basic needs. Basic Needs therefore is a far more positive approach to development than the negative concepts of eliminating unemployment or alleviating poverty, for it emphasizes the necessity for the development of human potential, human capital, as the means for ensuring a self-perpetuating developmental situation. It also moves from abstractions and aggregates like money, income, employment, to the concrete and the specific. It becomes therefore more real and relevant to the people it is intended to serve.

As a strategy it also embodies certain directives. For example, it emphasizes the need to develop efficient labour-intensive and appropriate technologies; priority to be given to production for local

markets and to local resource utilization. And it emphasizes the fact that the whole process should embrace human and social, as well as economic development.

This last point is perhaps the most important of all. Human and social development, in terms of the Basic Needs Strategy, implies development towards responsibility and self-sufficiency. Seers notes that true independence is not merely an intrinsic objective, but also a condition (albeit not a sufficient condition) for achieving meaningful development. He states that "the essential element is self-reliance" (Seers, 1979, p 27). Friedmann points out that "in referring to self-reliance, therefore, the intention is to stress self-generated efforts in carrying out a political will in whose formation people take an active part." (Friedmann, 1981, p 240). Modern development theorists then, have reacted against development being imposed from without by stressing development from within; endogenous or self-reliant development. It is perceived that it is only through emphasizing participation and local control that the development of the human potential which constitutes the major resource available to the third world may be achieved. For the Basic Needs Strategy must have as its aim the concept of self-generating development; without this it can only degenerate into initiative-sapping charity - this constitutes its danger.

Streeten refers to the fact that as yet there is nothing that could be described as a fully articulated basic needs strategy - the concept encompasses a great deal and there is much which therefore remains vague and unformulated. He goes on to say that "experimentation with a wide variety of approaches in the initial stages (is necessary) so

that experience from pilot projects is gathered for replication." (Streeten, 1981, p 343). The present research concerns one such pilot project.

1.4.2 Profile of Wuppertal



Figure 4: Section of Wuppertal - close proximity of the houses emphasizes the character of the community.

The following description of Wuppertal focuses on a characterization of the area and its people in an attempt to convey to the reader those aspects of the Wuppertal situation which are of particular relevance to the development strategy finally employed, as outlined in section

1.4.3. Consequently there will be no detailed exposition in these pages of various parameters such as geographical location, topography, climate, geology, history or population structure. For details the reader is referred to Granger (1982), Strassberger (1969), and Heyns (1980). However, in the character sketch which follows, use will be made of this data where pertinent.

Wupperthal was founded in 1830 as a mission station for "coloured" people by the Rhenish Mission Society. It is still inhabited exclusively by "coloureds", but in 1965 was transferred to the Moravian Church of SA, which has achieved its independence from the Moravian Mission Society and is now run, in the Western Cape, by and for "coloured" people. This Church now owns the Wupperthal station and is ultimately the controlling body in the area, although certain aspects of control are in the hands of the Opsienersraad (the elected Village Management Council) and the Kerkraad (the elected Church Council). The Moravian Church remains dominant in Wupperthal, however, and the Chairman's post of both aforementioned Councils is always held by the incumbent Moravian minister.

Wupperthal is situated some 200 km NNE of Cape Town in the isolated, remote and arid - 200 mm of rain per annum - Cedarberg mountains. The closest town is Clanwilliam, which is 80 km away over rough mountain road. Wupperthal as a whole occupies 38 000 ha of mountain land, and COMPRISES nine villages, of which eight are truly isolated "outstations", and one is the village of Wupperthal itself, which is the largest settlement and is to Wupperthal as a whole what the hub is to the wheel. Wupperthal, the village, has a population of 660

(1981 figure) living in 103 houses; it has the only bus service, higher primary school and post office, and the only factories (a shoe factory, a glove factory and a tannery). It has the only shop, the only clinic and the Church's activities are centred here.

The Wupperthal farm as a whole has a population of over 2 000 people scattered over the eight outstations of varying size which nestle in hidden valleys and perch on rocky ridges. Work opportunities in these villages are purely agricultural - cash crops include beans and potatoes, although the main and most lucrative crop is rooibos tea, for which the area is well-known. Home gardens, both in the Wupperthal village and in the outstations, are a source of pride as well as of self-sufficiency with regard to vegetables. Small stock farming - mainly goats - is also practised on a subsistence basis, although there are a small number of inhabitants who farm goats on an economic basis as well.

All the villages are well watered by perennial rivers, and therefore form oases in the midst of the brown rock and scorched veld. The flood plains are thus used for agriculture while the mountain slopes are utilized for grazing by the sheep and goats, as well as by the over 2 000 donkeys which roam the mountains. Some donkeys are used for ploughing and for pulling the donkey carts which are the main form of transport in the area, but the vast majority are not utilized at all, and no harvest of donkeys takes place. The result of this lack of systematic stock management (both with regard to the donkeys and the goats - there is no control over the numbers of the latter) in an area of fynbos which is relatively unsuited to stock farming is that the land is being badly over-grazed - the low species diversity

of many slopes bears evidence to this.

When Wupperthal was founded in 1830 it was intended to function as a self-sufficient brotherhood of Christians. Missionaries were sent out to run the station, and under their control it became financially self-supporting by 1848 - later it even managed to fund the Rhenish Mission Society's activities elsewhere in South and South-West Africa. Its main activities in those days - i.e. the last half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries - were the tanning of leather, the manufacture of shoes, the growing of plug tobacco ('roltabak'), calabashes, wheat and rye, and the milling of the latter. Rooibos tea was also sold - at first being picked wild from the veld, and only more recently being cultivated.

In 1965 the Rhenish Mission Society curtailed its activities in South Africa and Wupperthal was passed into the keeping of the Moravian Church of SA. No longer a missionary church, it was soon apparent that ministers had largely lost the resourceful economic lifestyle of the early missionaries and that nothing had arisen to replace this role; ministers were simply not economically competent enough to deal with the secular and financial aspects of the Wupperthal situation. So control of all the economic aspects of Wupperthal was handed over to a "White" private entrepreneur. This entrepreneur's activities were originally funded by the Church; however he proceeded to exploit the situation until he left 17 years later, in 1982. A certain amount of development did take place during his time; a glove factory was started and rapidly expanded, and electricity was supplied for the factories, the shop, the school and the church.

However, the financial profit generated during his years there was never seen by the Wupperthal community, and his exploitation of a largely captive workforce resulted in an embittered and confused community. (This became apparent through the present researcher's initial take-over of many of the management functions in the factories; also through knowledge of the entrepreneur's estate at the time of his death in 1983; but most important of all, through extensive interviews held with many Wupperthalers. A typical story had one man - from the village of Beukerskraal, 5 km away - working in the glove factory for 10 months without receiving any pay, due to a misunderstanding between himself and the entrepreneur. When asked why he carried on working without being paid, he replied that he couldn't afford to lose his job).

The entrepreneur's leaving left the Moravian Church with the problem of Wupperthal once again. For with his leaving, as with the leaving of the missionaries, the true colours of the Wupperthal situation showed themselves once again.

Wupperthal is a dying, disintegrating community. Why? It is not poverty stricken in the ways that many other rural areas are. There is no starvation here; no malnutrition. The land is capable of supporting the people on a subsistence level at the very least - in fact Wupperthal is rich in land and natural resources. There is a cash flow, even if much of the money comes in the form of pensions (R32 000,00 per month) and remittances from family working in the city. There is an extremely small degree of illiteracy, and this only amongst the older inhabitants.

Yet the people are poor, and the land is hard. In the outstations many are simply subsisting. Many men and women have to leave to do seasonal work on neighbouring 'White'-owned farms. The land is becoming impoverished through over-grazing and indiscriminate tree felling. (Rules and regulations governing these aspects of village life - as well as many others - have been drawn up for the Wupperthal community, see Appendix 1). However, the authority of the Church, and order in general, has waned in recent years, and today there is hardly even a pretence at fulfilling these regulations. There is a severe lack of work places, of work opportunities. (In 1982, only 37% of the total working population were formally employed in the village - data obtained from 1982 School of Environmental Studies at UCT field trip report). Indeed, there is about the place an air of gloom, of despair. There is no sense of a future, of the possibility of creating one. People lack initiative and responsibility; there is a stagnant feel to the place. Urban migration increases each year (see, for example, The School of Environmental Studies report mentioned above), and thus the talent and youth so necessary for the revitalization of the area is drained away, leaving the situation more desperate than ever, with a bias in population structure towards the very old and very young, an unhealthy situation. Far from being self-sufficient, as it once was, Wupperthal is now bankrupt and relies on the Central Board of the Moravian Church for its continued existence. This is essentially what makes it of so much importance to discussions on poverty and development for we have here a situation which we find throughout this country; namely, the degradation of a rural area to the point of non-viability, leading to increasing poverty of land and people, urban migration and consequent pressure on urban

areas, and a sapping of the strength needed to put up a fight against poverty.

Wupperthal is important to any discussion on development for two reasons. First, it is owned by the Moravian Church and consequently falls outside of the strict limits of the Group Areas Act. It is obviously not that independent that one could build a casino there, but it does allow for a unique opportunity to develop models and demonstrations of success outside of the stringent laws which this Act embodies. Access to land and to markets, participation in group endeavours and co-operative services and the chance to play economic leadership roles are the peculiar, if still limited, opportunities open to members of Moravian villages.

Second, the land and the people are not yet that poverty stricken that a development project would be obliged to make use of all its resources simply to attain, for the villagers, a level of subsistence; on the contrary, the area has reached that point in its existence where it stands balanced precariously, stands before a crossroads, as it were, and can thus provide an example and pilot study for other rural areas either in its rise to a measure of self-sustaining development or in its fall towards disintegration.

It is in fact disintegrating - what with urban migration, destruction of community cohesion, lack of ability and inclination to provide the input which missionaries and entrepreneurs have provided over the years - yet it has inherent in its circumstances the possibility of renewal, of revitalization.

Wupperthal has led a protected and, to a certain extent, a privileged life over the years. The missionaries guided, supported and sheltered the people for almost one and a half centuries. It is only in the last twenty years that it has been exploited and embittered. The area has never been politically assaulted or economically drained - at least not until recently. Yet it is dying, disintegrating. Where does the essence of the problem lie?

The missionaries carried out an admirable work, in their own way. Yet they were never able to move out of a paternalistic and colonial role. And so the people, essentially peasant folk, remained in the role of children, for they always had a father figure to rule them, and that father figure determined their own image of themselves. The coming of the white entrepreneur - and in fact his leaving as well - conformed for them their own helplessness, their lack of internal leadership.

In Friere's work "Pedagogy of the Oppressed" he describes the culture of silence of the dispossessed which he discovered through his work with poor people in South America; a state of lethargy (Friere, 1972). This is in essence what we find in Wupperthal itself. It is true that Wupperthal is isolated, that much knowledge is lacking, contact with modernity, with 'progress', with finance. Yet the real problem, whether it results partly from these things or not, is the apathy, the silence, the sense of helplessness, the feeling of inferiority. This appears to be due partly to the place in which the "coloured" finds himself in South Africa's socio-political history and present socio-political dispensations, and partly also to the over protective

and imposing role which the missionary church has played over the years.

But whatever the reasons, the facts remain. Wupperthal has a primary school; it has two factories and a tannery; its lands are mountainous and rocky but sufficient nevertheless; it has adequate water, if not rainfall, in the rivers which flow down from the mountains. Most important of all, Wupperthal belongs to the Wupperthalers, in the sense at least that they are all members of the Moravian Church and community. This represents a privileged situation in the South African context, and should provoke a feeling of independence. In spite of all this, however, independence, self-reliance, is precisely what is lacking.

1.4.3 The Co-operative Development Strategy



Figure 5: Glove factory workers participating in the running of their factory.

It is recognised that there are certain basic needs for which the Wupperthal situation cries out (in spite of the fact that subsistence is not a problem here). In the first place, increase in number of work places and employment opportunities. This includes small-scale industry and appropriate technology. Then, the regeneration of agricultural practices, marketing systems, and ecological awareness. Also such things as adequate sewage disposal and water purification systems. (That sewage disposal is inadequate and constitutes a health hazard has been ascertained from Mr de Witt, Health Inspector for the Cedarberg Divisional Council; the same source was used for confirming the dangers to health inherent in the present untreated water supply).

Further, it is also recognized that there are many problems implicit in attempting to rejuvenate an isolated rural area such as Wupperthal; problems such as distance from markets and supplies, inadequacy and cost of transport, competition with urban manufacturing concerns and capital intensive agricultural concerns; indeed, these aspects have always been problems for Wupperthal, even in the time of the missionaries (see, for example, Granger, 1982, p 20).

However, it was decided that while all these problems and needs were legitimate concerns which had to be tackled in order to allow for any kind of relevant economic development to take place, the priority for a development project in Wupperthal lay, at least initially, elsewhere. If we bear in mind that the ultimate aim of the Basic Needs development strategy is some form of self-sustaining development, and we couple this with the profile on Wupperthal which was elucidated above, then the desired direction of development becomes more clear. Streeten has

said that basic needs "focuses on the end of mobilizing particular resources for particular groups, identified as deficient in these resources" (Streeten, 1981, p 335). Also that basic needs encompasses "non-material" needs and resources, often as prerequisites for meeting "material" needs. In the light of this it becomes all too apparent that where the deficiency lies in the Wuppertal situation is in the people's lack of self-reliance, sense of responsibility, creativity, entrepreneurial ability; in their apathy and lack of ability or inclination to articulate their problems.

"Self-sustenance means involving, as distinct from simply reaching, the subsistence populations through development programs." (Lele, 1975, p 20). Thus relevant development must engage the people concerned, and not simply provide a service from without. In the case of Wuppertal, an educational and re-socializing process is necessary to equip people to face the realities of their situation, to be able to appraise it critically and to respond to it adequately. Education and socialization are needed for independence (Friere, 1972). Silent apathy must needs be changed into vocal action.

Only in this fashion, it is contended, will a self-perpetuating process be able to take shape which might halt the seemingly inexorable movement towards the disintegration and ~~non~~viability of this community. Somehow, personal independence and self-reliance must be achieved without destroying the unity and coherence of the community which still exists. A sense of individual pride must be developed which will serve to upgrade and emphasize, and not destroy, community development and pride.

This was felt, by the researcher, to be the significance which a development project in Wupperthal could hold for rural and Third World poverty in general. For while it is true that many communities lack the basics even for subsistence; while it is true that political dispensations in this country are considered a major cause of rural poverty (e.g. Chaskalson and Duncan, 1984); yet it is suggested here that, whatever the reasons for it happen to be, the essential dilemma remains that of consciousness. It is not here being suggested that this is the only problem; that people must learn to accept their situation and make the best of it, make do with what they have. On the contrary, it is here proposed that only through the development of an active and aware consciousness can changes in political dispensations be achieved and, perhaps more important, have any lasting significance. "... what matters is liberation ... and the assertion of genuine independence. Unless this is done, all the other reforms will come to nought; if it is done, the rest will follow." (Streeten, 1981, p 144).

In the light of the above analysis of the Wupperthal situation, it was decided that the best means of achieving the change of consciousness which has been posited as being central to both the problem and the solution, was in the promotion of the growth of co-operative ventures and enterprises in Wupperthal.

Co-operative structures and organizations embody three primary concepts: those of participation, control and education. In a co-operative enterprise, all workers are members and co-owners as well. This principle ensures that by becoming members of co-operatives, and

by starting new co-operative ventures, members of this community might gradually begin to perceive themselves as masters of their own situations, of their assets and their community - and hopefully would result too in the sense of responsibility that goes with control. This in turn entails the necessity for participation with respect to all workers - co-operatives and democratic institutions which require active participation for them to work. Co-operatives cannot function as such without full participation in their affairs; and participation should result in a changing of consciousness from helplessness to a recognition of the possibility and necessity of critical action (Walford, 1977). Education too is double-edged. Participation and control must have educative effects, and education is necessary in itself to prepare workers for collective ownership if the co-operative ventures are not to collapse on the road to independence.

It was envisaged that all ventures should have a place in their structures for community ownership as well, for this is essentially a community project, and co-operatives have as two of their principles the concepts of the importance of working both with and to the benefit of the community and other co-operatives as well. The concern of this project is, after all, the fostering of community self-help. To put projects under the control of members of the community and of the community as a whole is to increase the chance of the eventual emergence of local solutions to the problems of poverty and employment.

The fostering of co-operatives entails two further points. First, it entails participatory democracy as opposed to representative democracy; that is, direct as opposed to indirect participation. In practice,

most democratic organizations are forced through circumstances to use a combination of representative and participatory democracy (Democratic Processes Working Group, 1983). Individual projects need to be kept small to ensure the practicality of participatory democracy so that the members' (and the community's) sense of involvement may be encouraged, since it is involvement which is posited as providing the stimulation for the evolution from apathy to action.

Second, to facilitate psychological involvement it is important that a situation be intelligible. To quote E F Schumacher, "When a thing is intelligible you have a sense of involvement." (Schumacher, 1974). It is precisely this transfer from estrangement to involvement which we are looking for. To achieve intelligibility it is essential that projects start as much as possible from the level of local inhabitants understanding. It is essential that resources be used as far as possible in the locations where they are available and understood, and that local, comprehensible solutions be sought to the problems of rural under-development. Any other form of attempted aid could have negative, possibly alienating results.

Accordingly the Wupperthal project was organized around the following co-operative principles, with two added principles particularly relevant to rural development.

1. Any economic activity or venture should be owned by its members and have a place in its structure for community - and, in the case of Wupperthal, church - ownership as well.

2. The project should be run democratically giving each member an equal say in the decision making process and again allowing for community - and church - representation.
3. Where feasible members should contribute share capital to the project and receive limited interest on that share capital.
4. Whatever net profit is distributed should be on a basis proportional to business or work done by members of the particular project.
5. Whatever profit is not distributed could be utilized in three possible ways: first, it can be put into a reserve fund; second, it can be contributed to the community or to other similar projects; third, it can be used to pay back outside capital grants. Ultimately it is up to members to decide what proportion of profits should be funnelled into each channel.
6. All ventures should work to the benefit of each other as well as the community.
7. The promotion of education must be a priority - both in terms of members learning to run the activities and in terms of resultant growth in participation and general awareness.
8. The economic viability of each proposed venture must be considered a priority.
9. The local resources of Wupperthal should be carefully gauged and

utilized before considering any projects which are not 'indigenous' to the area.

These are the principles on which this project was based. How was the project structured?

A number of factors in the Wupperthal scenario were recognised early on. First, that it would take a long time, probably a number of years, before any of the projects reached a semblance of self-reliance and independence. Second, that much education would be required in order to achieve this end. Third, that provision of management and technical services, at least in the beginning, would be necessary for the adequate functioning of the projects, because the inadequacy of such expertise in many co-operatives has been identified as a prime reason for failure (Abell & Mahoney, 1982). Thus, and also in terms of raising finance, co-operatives need the services of a "shelter organization" or support body, for they need a rather protective environment if they are to prosper (Vanek, 1975).)

So it was decided in the first place to establish a central project office which could service all of the individual enterprises and around which they could revolve. This office would undertake to fulfil all the tasks mentioned above: education, research, technical services, financing and the like. The further advantage of this office was envisaged to be that this kind of centralization would cut down costs and so make more projects viable. Not only would the cost of technical services be shared by enterprises, but where, for example, an enterprise needed the use of a vehicle but could not afford to own

one, the central office could ensure that this vehicle was shared amongst the various activities, with each venture contributing towards cost in proportion to use.

The individual enterprises would be structured as co-operatives, and would operate independently but always to the advantage of the other co-operatives and of the community as a whole.

The central office would initially be in a position of leadership, and, apart from the advantages - the necessity - of this situation in getting the project off the ground, this could, if unchecked, lead to the destructive and negative application of power. Therefore monthly meetings would be held. As the individual projects progressed, they would be eligible to send an elected delegate to sit in on these meetings, and to have a say in any decisions taken. It would also be necessary to have delegates from the community and from the church taking part in this decision-making process, out of which the direction of development would evolve.

It was thus envisaged that the central office too would be run on democratic, co-operative lines, that it would evolve into a support organization structured as a secondary co-operative (see Wright, 1979), with each individual enterprise, the community and the church being considered members, as well as the office workers themselves. To as great an extent as possible, the emphasis was to be on local control.

To sum up: After researching the area and its people, it was decided

that the correct strategy to adopt would be that of helping people to form themselves into co-operative enterprises, for co-operatives embody the concepts of participation, control and responsibility, which are tools for the development of self-reliance. The long-term goal of the project, apart from the revitalization of Wupperthal itself, is contained in the following words by D H Wright: "Since our long-term goal is to prove that locally controlled co-operative enterprises provide a more permanent solution to employment problems than other proposals, it needs to be shown by direct action, that such a proposition is practical" (Wright, 1979, p 8). Perhaps we might translate "employment problems" into "development problems" in order to put this quote into the desired context.

CHAPTER 2

ACTION

"For our purposes, this (direct action) strategy means people being helped to form themselves into new co-operative enterprises."

Wright, 1979



*Figure 6 : Donkey-cart at rest - still the main mode of transport
in Wupperthal.*

2.1 INTRODUCTION

According to the development strategy arrived at, as outlined in section 1.4.3, this researcher set about putting into action, so far as he was able, the principles upon which the co-operative development strategy was based. However, this work took place within the context of certain constraints and while these constraints will receive their full treatment over the next three chapters, it has been decided to mention them here briefly first.

In the first place, the nature of the relationship between Wupperthal and the Moravian Church of SA constituted a serious constraint. As mentioned previously, the Moravian Church, centred in Cape Town, ultimately controls all major policy decisions concerning Wupperthal. It was the Moravian Board which initially made it possible for this research to be undertaken, and therefore presumably saw the necessity for a development project in Wupperthal. However, subsequent to their instrumentality in assisting the initiation of the project, very little help was gained from this quarter; indeed, there was much which emanated from the Moravian Board which served to hinder the project. Much of this will be outlined below, in its rightful context; it remains here simply to say that the major problems which this researcher encountered with the Church were those of finance (very little finance was provided, and none was permitted to be sought independently by this researcher) and the question of ownership and decision-making powers (it is extremely difficult to argue the need for people's participation in decision-making processes when there remains an outside body able to veto or change any

decision so reached).

The problem of finance is relevant in its own right, as no project of this nature can get off the ground without this type of aid. Apart from the purchase of a bakkie and the use of three and a half thousand rand squeezed from various sources mainly for research purposes, no financial aid has been provided for these initial two years of the project.

Third, the problem of promoting participation and responsibility amongst people who do not see the need for these and have never been encouraged to do so constitutes a grave impediment to the formation of co-operatives; this will be discussed throughout this chapter and particularly in Chapter 3.

Last, the methodology employed in this research was very much a combination of two distinct approaches, and as such tended at times to cloud issues somewhat. The one approach was that of pure sociological observation; the other was of manipulation of variables in order to prove or disprove insights gained through observation. Due to the fact that these two activities took place simultaneously, their effects were often difficult to isolate. Further, this researcher, due to the nature of the project (i.e. direct action strategy) had of necessity to maintain a high profile in Wuppertal, and consequently inevitably affected all interactions while he was observing them simply by his mere presence. Every attempt has been made, however, to objectively observe, record and analyse all relevant aspects of the Wuppertal situation and of the effects of

the development strategy upon it.

2.2 THE CENTRAL PROJECT OFFICE



Figure 7 : The Central Project Office.

The Central Project Office formed the pivot upon which the entire project depended, and around which it revolved - consequently the description of this office finds its place here at the beginning of the report on the action which constitutes the development of this project. However, the evaluation of this Office's efficacy in terms of development depends on the effect it had on those ventures to be outlined below. Consequently, the evaluation of this aspect of the project will take place at the end of this chapter rather than at the end of this section.

2.2.1 Rationale

At the start of this project certain enterprises were already extant

in Wuppertal, notably a shoe factory, a glove factory, a tannery, a general dealer, and rooibos tea farming. These will be approached in this chapter, in their own places. However, it was quite apparent to this researcher that, due to the way in which these projects had been structured in the past - to be outlined below - there had evolved extremely little management capacity amongst the people of Wuppertal over the years. Now, lack of competence in the area of management, including workflow organization, technical services such as book-keeping, and entrepreneurial ability, has been identified as a prime cause for failure in many co-operative ventures (see Wright, 1979 & Alchian & Demetz, 1972). It was thus seen, on the one hand, that efficient management would be absolutely necessary for the correct functioning and ultimate revitalization and development of the Wuppertal projects; while on the other hand it was obvious that much time would be required before the individual projects would be able to accomplish management tasks from their internal resources. Consequently, the Central Office was set up as a support body to enable management tasks to be fulfilled whilst providing the various projects with the time and guidance needed (education was seen as a prime function of this body) to develop on the path of self-sufficiency. This management function was seen as the most important reason for the establishment of this Office, apart from the necessity of having a central organizing body in a project such as this. Other tasks will be outlined below.

2.2.2 Structure

The Central Office, in this first phase of development, comprises three workers, with two further workers being attached to

the workforce in the roles of driver/dispatch worker (see section 2.1.3 and consumer's co-operative co-ordinator part time, see section 2.4.2). The first post concerned is that of fieldworker, which has been occupied until now by the author of this paper. The task of this fieldworker generally speaking is that of project facilitator. He is responsible for research into structures and new enterprise and work opportunities; for education of members of projects; for fund raising, marketing and procurement of supplies; for legal advice and for project co-ordination. This post is seen as vitally necessary for the successful development of the project, and will need to be occupied by an outside agent (such as the present researcher) for some time to come.

The second post is that of book-keeper/clerk. This post has been occupied by a Wupperthaler who worked for many years in this capacity under the white private entrepreneur mentioned in section 1.4.2. He is self-taught (having had no high school education whatsoever) and has proved invaluable to the project. He is gradually learning all of the necessary book-keeping skills from the fieldworker, and is efficient in his TASKS.

The third post is that of 'understudy' to the fieldworker. For this purpose a promising worker from the glove factory, who had in the first year of this project worked himself up into the position of floor manager, has been brought into the Central Office in order to learn as much from the fieldworker as he can, for skills must be transferred to the indigenous population if this project is to bear fruit. The man concerned has had little formal education but is

endowed with an extremely acute intelligence, and is capable of communicating with all members of the community whilst seeing further than them - beyond the present - at the same time. (This in itself causes problems - see Chapter 3). He is immersing himself in the direction, spirit and principles of the project, as well as in its practical details.

This Central Office, of necessity, has played a leading role up till now and will do so in the future. However, it is envisaged that the office becomes a secondary co-operative. A secondary co-operative is a body formed by a number of primary co-operatives, each primary co-operative being considered a member with full member's rights. The workers in this secondary co-operative are also members, and in Wupperthal the idea has been to extend member rights (and thus control rights) to the church and the community as well. Thus, while initially leading the project, the aim is to turn this body into a 'service centre' for the various projects, a co-ordinating body ultimately controlled by the projects, the community and the church which it serves, through the mechanism of monthly meetings of all members. In other words, it would also ultimately be run on democratic, co-operative lines. The extent to which this ideal has been attained will be discussed at the end of this chapter and in Chapter 4.

2.2.3 Tasks

The tasks of this Office have mostly been outlined above. They include education, research, technical services, financing and legal advice. Also project co-ordination and facilitation. An advantage of this Office was envisaged to be that this kind of centralization would

cut down costs and so make more projects viable. For example, the Office has facilitated the sharing of a vehicle among a number of projects which could not otherwise afford to own or maintain such a vehicle. This, as well as a centralized dispatch department, has been extremely helpful to the development of the projects.

2.3 INDUSTRY

So far as the individual projects themselves are concerned, they have been divided into the categories of 'industry', 'agriculture' and 'services' and are discussed under these headings.

2.3.1 The Shoe Factory



Figure 8 : The shoe factory. One of the last sources of genuinely hand-crafted and indigeneous South African boots and veldskoene.

The shoe factory is well-known throughout South Africa for its

hand-made, tyre-soled boots and shoes. The shoe factory was the original industry - or craft - started in Wupperthal by the missionaries in order that the village might become self-sufficient. During the first half of this century it was providing work for thirty-five to forty men. Since the 1950's it has declined steadily, actually reaching a state of bankruptcy three times until it was finally declared bankrupt in 1981, one year before the start of the present project.

What were the factors which led to this decline in economic viability? In the first place, distance from markets and market influence; also source of supplies, repairs and maintenance. Second, the rise of the modern shoe industry which has been able through the introduction of increasingly advanced technology to produce shoes as reliable as those made by hand yet at a considerably higher level of productivity and therefore economic viability. In other words, competition from the modern urban sector has been extremely harmful to this rural industry. The third factor was the take-over, in 1965, of all the economic aspects of the village by the private entrepreneur who, as noted in section 1.4.2, leased the rights to all business ventures in the village from the Moravian Church when the latter took over from the Rhenish Mission Society. This entrepreneur put considerable energy into developing the glove factory - see section 2.2.2 - to the detriment of the shoe factory which finally collapsed in 1981.

At this stage there were only four workers still working in the factory. The church, in order to save this traditional Wupperthal activity from becoming altogether extinct, formed a partnership between

all four workers and the church itself. Finance was obtained from Moravian communities in Europe to allow the workers to pay in their share of the capital requirements necessary to get the factory started again. The rationale behind the partnership was to avoid having to pay the minimum salaries laid down by the Industrial Council for leather workers, for the hand-made shoe is a slower item to produce and therefore less economic than its technological counterpart. As a partnership, however, no salaries were drawn - at least officially. Members were entitled to their share of the profits and were not allowed to employ outside labour.

At the start of the present project this arrangement had been in operation for one year, and was proving unsuccessful. The church in Cape Town, responsible for technical services, was totally inactive. Floor management was non-existent, production low; the factory was losing R300,00 per month, which was being covered by the church.

The partnership so formed was called the "Wupperthal Self-Help Development Project". Unfortunately the workers were not up to self-help without a certain amount of development taking place first, and this was never attempted. Thus at the start of this project the shoe factory was sliding backwards fast.

The Central Office has managed to halt that backwards slide. The attention which has now been provided to the shoe factory has served to make it economically viable once more, if not particularly profitable. (At the time of writing the shoe factory is showing a monthly

profit margin of R500,00). The original work-force of four has now been increased to nine, the five new workers being full partners under the terms of the agreement. Gratifying to note is that all five new workers are under 30 years of age.

New markets have been probed, a diversified range of footwear produced, and a welcome new spirit of enthusiasm has entered the factory. The factory is now fully operational once more and could in the near future plan further expansion.

However, all that which has been achieved thus far has been due to the Central Office. The shoe factory leans heavily on this Office for all its needs, from technical services through to floor management. All efforts at education towards self-reliance, towards responsibility have made no impression up till now. The concept of a partnership between themselves and the church was always alien to the shoemakers; efforts to educate towards the attainment of a functioning co-operative structure is even more strange to them. They are convinced that there is little they can do to help themselves and that the shoe factory must be controlled and managed by an authority from outside of it.

This factory thus has a long way to go before any semblance of self-reliance and co-operative structuring can be realized, or even expected.

Two of the younger new members of the partnership show much promise in this respect, but Wupperthal is a patriarchal society and the youth find it extremely difficult to educate or criticize their

elders; it is regarded as showing a lack of respect.

2.3.2 The Glove Factory and Tannery



Figure 9: Small corner of the glove factory - a modern production process.

For the purposes of this report I include the tannery with the glove factory, although in fact they are separate activities. The tannery was started by the missionaries at the same time as the shoe factory, in order to supply it with leather. Over the years it became more economical for the shoe factory to import its leather from the large urban tanneries, and the emphasis of the tannery shifted, until now it produces leather exclusively for the glove factory, which in this instance works out far more economically than importing leather. Since the tannery now operates exclusively for the glove factory the

two enterprises have amalgamated and shall be treated here as one.

The glove factory was begun seventeen years ago by the private entrepreneur using church finance. It manufactures leather gloves for industry, and at the time of the entrepreneur's departure formed the major work-source in Wupperthal, employing thirty-six workers. This was always a well-organized factory and realized a substantial profit, at least from the entrepreneur's point of view, although the exact extent of the profit cannot be ascertained owing to the entrepreneur's reluctance to disclose information. However, it was also the most exploited work-place in Wupperthal, paying piece wages at a very low rate and being under the domination of the entrepreneur. A story related by one of the workers provides an illustration of this dominance and exploitation. This worker relates that he once worked for eight months without receiving any remuneration whatsoever, due to a misunderstanding between himself and the entrepreneur. When asked why he continued working under such circumstances, his reply was that he could not afford to lose his job! When the businessman left at the start of the present project, the workers felt on the one hand an exuberant freedom at his leaving, having had a hand themselves in persuading the church not to renew his contract - "ons sal dood daar in ons huise voordat ons weer vir 'n baas sal werk" - while on the other hand gloom and despair washed over them as they realized that they needed him. This is the real tragedy of oppression; the sense of helpless inferiority bred in the oppressed. They were left with no organization, no markets, no supplies, and no resources to find any.

The Central Office initiated a relationship with a businessman in

Cape Town, under the terms of which agreement he is obliged to supply all raw materials and to purchase and market all gloves manufactured at prices to be agreed upon. Having taken care of the market and supply problem, the factory could begin functioning once more, and has been doing so for the last two years, increasing its membership at the same time to a current work-force of sixty.

The nature and principles of co-operative organizations were then explained to the workers, who were enthusiastic about the possibilities of self-reliance, having recognized their own servile role in the exploitation which they had undergone and in their hopelessness at its termination. Classes were held to aid the workers in understanding their new responsibilities within the framework of member participation, control and education. A works committee has been elected, which works in close liason with the Central Office, meets once a week, and controls all policy decisions. This committee in turn appoints floor management, which is responsible to the committee. General meetings of all workers take place every two months, and special meetings may be called (and often are) if the circumstances warrant.

However, in spite of these achievements and the efficient running of the factory, the situation remains far from ideal. A number of people have, by way of the present structure, realized capabilities in themselves which they did not believe to be present at the start of the project, particularly committee members and floor management. Further, the atmosphere in the factory is generally recognized as being far more relaxed and productive than in the past. Yet there

is much which is lacking.

Participation by the ordinary worker is very limited indeed. The worker is concerned with his pay packet at the end of each week, and little else. He has a history of non-participation, of subservience, of living under supervision, and it is difficult indeed to break through this tradition. Education, and creating the structures for participation, have helped somewhat, but in the majority of cases have had little effect thus far; although, as will be seen below - section 2.4 - the co-operative format of the glove factory has provided the impetus for certain other successful ventures. Much time will be necessary before the concepts of participation and responsibility spread throughout the factory. The fact that the committee is elected afresh each year will hopefully speed this process up as more members become involved in the decision-making process. The dilemma of 'forced participation' is discussed in Chapter 3. The problem of participation is compounded by the fact that an average weekly wage in the glove factory - and in the shoe factory, for that matter - is R30,00 and has not risen appreciably over the last five years. This is due mainly to the fact that the gloves are under-priced, as the factory's main competitors are border-industry factories operating out of the Ciskei and Transkei and thus recipients of major government subsidies. The result, however, is that concern and attention is focused on weekly wage packets, on personal concerns, and not on the factory as a whole, in spite of the fact that improvement of the factory itself will lead to improved pay.

An insurmountable problem thus far with the development of the glove

factory into a co-operative has been its relationship with the Church. The Church remains the legal owner of the glove factory, and may (and in fact do) take decisions concerning it without considering it necessary to discuss the issues with the members of the factory. They have, in fact, taken decisions in Cape Town (for example, with regard to the factory's agent) which would have resulted in bankruptcy for the factory had not the Central Office pointed this out to them in time. On other occasions, they have neglected/refused even to reply to various workers' petitions. This in fact gives the lie to the Central Office's assertion that the workers of the factory control their own work-place; an assertion which is necessary if any degree of participation is to be achieved. The Church's role in this instance has hindered the growth of this co-operative considerably.

A further problem is the dependence of this factory for sales - and indeed also for leather supplies - on an urban non-co-operative organization. It is extremely difficult for members, at the stage which they have reached at present, to negotiate adequately with this type of organization, and so this task is left largely to the Central Office, although this Office is now insisting that the factory (or committee) take more responsibility. Further, sales and procurement of supplies is no longer the factory's problem, which means that there is little room for the development of skills in these areas, which are necessary if the factory is one day going to reach true independence. At present the urban organization is necessary, but dependence on it must slowly be phased out, if only because it is entirely concerned with profit, whereas the project is concerned also

with consciousness, and the two priorities often come into conflict. This aspect will be discussed more fully in Chapter 4.

To sum up: this enterprise has been structured as a co-operative within the limitation of the fact that it is owned by the Church, who refuse to consider transferring this right to the workers themselves. It is running efficiently and smoothly and has progressed on the road to self-management. Even technical services are increasingly coming under its control as the understudy to the field-worker - mentioned in section 2.2.2 - learns the necessary skills. The problems for this factory remain the internal resistance to participation and responsibility, and the dependence on the church and the urban sales organization. This appears unavoidable at present, but it does leave the factory at the mercy of factors outside of its own control.

2.4 SERVICES

Under 'services' are included those projects which are designed to provide services internal to the village itself as opposed to those which produce items for outside consumption. These projects, or co-operative services, are extremely important blocks in the building up of a community; not least, they ultimately allow for full community participation, as opposed to, for example, the production co-operatives mentioned above, which allow only for the involvement of their members/workers.

2.4.1 The Credit Union



Figure 10 : Saving money with the credit union.

There is no history of saving in Wuppertal, and there is no consciousness of the need to do so. If one is paid on a Friday there is no money whatsoever left in the house the following Thursday. This results in a community which is unable to build itself up financially. There is nowhere to go if a loan is needed, and loans are always needed; they become a way of life in a hand-to-mouth situation such as this. A further result of the lack of savings is the over-use of hire purchase facilities provided by shops in Clanwilliam. The exorbitant interest charged under these hire purchase agreements tend to result in further impoverishment. Then too, buying over the Christmas period is considerable, and often purchases only finish being paid for in April of the following year.

Now a credit union is a co-operative which does not handle any goods, but which deals only with money. It is in fact a people's

savings club and loan fund. It is required by co-operative law that members have something in common - for example, they may be workers in the same factory, members of the same church or residents of one neighbourhood. Deposits are made by members into the credit union at whatever rate they may wish. Members then have the right to borrow money from the credit union at an extremely low rate of interest. A committee is elected to decide on whether a loan shall be made or not - generally, loans are only approved for 'constructive' purposes, or for emergencies; i.e. not for the throwing of a party. Thus members learn to save and also have access to loans at low interest. This is especially important and valuable to poorer people who do not have access to regular banking services and benefits. A treasurer is generally appointed to oversee the affairs of the credit union.

The co-operative structure and organization of the glove factory provided the key with which the door to savings was opened in Wuppertal, for it was through this factory that the Central Office managed to convince members of the Wuppertal community of the benefit and necessity of such a financial society. The format was already there, education was continuing anyway, and the credit union formed a logical next step in the development of the workers.

This credit union is operating very smoothly now. It comprises members of the glove and shoe factories, but as yet has not been opened to the community as a whole, which will be the next developmental step. For convenience, the treasurer is the book-keeper/ clerk from the Central Office, as he is in any case concerned with all banking matters. A committee of four has been elected to

approve loans. An account was opened in Clanwilliam and deposits and withdrawals are done once a week. In addition, over the last year one thousand rand was saved which was not needed for current lending purposes, and was thus put on a fixed deposit, the resulting increase in interest received being extremely educative for members of the society. Loans are made at a nominal 1% interest rate, but members' savings increase through interest paid out by the commercial bank.

This experience has proved extremely beneficial to the people whom it involves; it has not only helped them to save and to break the dependency on the hire purchase system, but has also been a most important educational experience both with regard to financial matters and with regard to the amount to be gained through working together co-operatively. It is interesting to see how much a structure can assist people to break out of a seemingly unavoidable cycle of poverty. Those people who originally told this researcher that they did not save because their wage packet did not permit it, now save substantial amounts every week in spite of the fact that the wage packet has not grown appreciably.

2.4.2 The General Dealer and the Consumers' Co-operative



Figure 11 : The general dealer - only shop in the entire Wuppertal area.

The general dealer, which includes a café and butchery, employs ten people and has been demonstrated through investigation to present the biggest profit potential in Wuppertal. (see Appendix 2) It serves not only the Wuppertal village itself but the surrounding out-stations as well, being the only shop on the Wuppertal property. This general dealer was also run by and for the private entrepreneur mentioned earlier, for the eighteen years which he spent at Wuppertal. When he left, it was recommended to the Church that this enterprise also fall under the auspices of the co-operative development project. The Church decided, however, to lease the shop to a new entrepreneur, also someone from outside of the community. Control of, and profit derived from, the shop was to be his alone. Clanwilliam being so far away, and little transport available,

the general dealer enjoys a monopoly situation in Wupperthal, and the incumbent lessee has exploited this situation to the full. This alone would have been enough to antagonize the community; as it is, his very presence in such a capacity caused antagonism from the start due to the fact that the people themselves wanted the shop to be run as a community venture. The least that the community expected when the original entrepreneur's lease expired was that rights would be given for the development of a second shop - albeit privately run - which could at least generate competition and act as a brake on the original general dealer. But the Church has refused permission for a second shop.

Members of the glove factory having been rendered more articulate and critical of their situation than other members of the community by the co-operative and participatory structure which they had adopted, eventually joined up with the Central Office in discussion groups concerning this situation. These discussion groups ended with a petition being sent to the Church Board in Cape Town. ,

This researcher had already raised the issue several times with the church board, but was met on each occasion with stony faces. It was hoped that a petition from the affected people themselves would have a more noteworthy effect. The petition noted the following points, amongst other (see Appendix 3):

- (i) that the incumbent shopkeeper was charging exorbitant prices;
- (ii) that he was in control of a monopolistic, exploitative situation and the people were suffering;

- (iii) that even if the business was being run fairly, there was no reason why one man - and an outsider at that - should profit instead of the community as a whole;
- (vi) that Wupperthal was bankrupt - it cannot even pay its own taxes, which must be done by the Church in Cape Town, let alone do maintenance work - and here was money being taken out which should be used for Wupperthal's survival;
- (v) that a development project had been started which required funds, and they could be obtained here;
- (vi) that a consumers' co-operative would not only help the individuals of the community financially - by sharing a portion of profits amongst its members - but would act as a central educational experience into the principles of the project, for the community as a whole. There is no doubt that a consumers' co-operative constitutes an efficient attack on poverty and under-development, bringing people together in an activity which affects every household.

The Church Board refused even to answer this petition. This intensely angered the members of the glove factory, who decided - after having been presented by the Central Office with several alternative courses of action - to boycott the shop in the hope that this would prove to the Church the seriousness of their request; either the Church must be provoked into action or the shopkeeper must be rendered bankrupt.

To effect the boycott, a consumer's co-operative was started, run by an elected committee and organized by a co-ordinator working part-time from the Central Office. Weekly orders are placed with

with the co-ordinator, who travels into Clanwilliam on Thursdays to place the full order with a sympathetic supermarket there. The full order is sent out by bus the following day, where volunteers divide and pack and deliver the goods. Members have to pay when handing in their orders for the following week. This co-operative is open to the entire community, and at the time of writing approximately 30 families have joined it.

Apart from the fact that the price of groceries, for members, is now far lower than it used to be buying in Wupperthal, this co-operative has helped to bring people and forces together as nothing else thus far has done. The sense of 'samewarking' has been gratifying and contagious. It has generated a feeling of independence, of freedom. The shopkeeper resisted the boycott by obtaining the help of local government authorities in Clanwilliam - notably the health inspector - to declare the project unlawful. Advice was sought by the Central Office from the Legal Resources Centre in Cape Town, which managed to prove that the project was in fact perfectly lawful, and to put the shopkeeper in a worse light than he had been in before.

This consumers' co-operative grew out of a boycott which, in turn, grew out of a 'political' need in the community. It stands as an illustration of how important political events can be in motivating and moving a stagnant community. Without this impetus it is unlikely that a consumers' co-operative would have been started in this fashion.

The boycott itself has not achieved its stated aims. The shopkeeper has not been brought anywhere near bankruptcy as there are many

families which still buy from him, particularly those which rely on the credit facilities he offers and including all families living in the outlying villages. These latter simply cannot be accommodated in the co-operative due to logistic problems. Further, the Church has refused to react to the boycott, and has never granted the consumers' co-operative a hearing.

Thus the situation in Wupperthal with regard to the shop remains far from ideal; nevertheless, the formation of the consumers' co-operative in itself has been a major achievement for both the project and the people of Wupperthal. It certainly constitutes a gratifying move out of a state of silent apathy.

2.5 AGRICULTURE

There are many different tasks which need to be undertaken in Wupperthal with regard to agriculture, or, to put it more broadly, with regard to use of land. There is small-stock farming (mainly goats), which is largely uncontrolled, as is the felling of trees and the destruction of the veld by large roaming herds of underutilized donkeys. There is wheat and rye farming, a traditional activity which has now all but disappeared. There are potatoes and beans farmed on an economic basis in the outlying villages, but markets are hard to come by due to the isolation factor. However, it was decided in terms of this project, to concentrate on the farming of rooibos tea, as this activity represented the best possibility for the economic development of the agricultural sector; it involves a product unique to the Cedarberg area; and it presented as

the best starting point for co-operative development within this sector.

2.5.1 The Rooibos Farmers' Association



Figure 12 : Harvesting Rooibos tea - a job for the whole family.

Rooibos tea (*Aspacathus Lingaris*) is unique to the Clanwilliam district, and although now cultivated by many farmers on the plains west of the Olifants River, it was originally picked wild in the Cedarberg mountains, and the best quality tea still comes from the Wupperthal area (Van Putten, 1984) where it is cultivated on the highest ground available to the farmers. Rooibos tea has come a long way since those days when it was picked wild. A majority of farmers in the Clanwilliam district now cultivate it; the market has grown to the extent that it now accounts for 18% of the domestic tea market and has made remarkable inroads in tea markets overseas;

and it is regarded by many as not only a good tasting tea but as a health drink as well (Van Putten, 1984).

Wupperthalers were among the first people to utilize this mountain herb and among the first to sell it, but were among the last to cultivate it. In fact, the first recorded bulk delivery of cultivated tea by Wupperthal to the Rooibos Control Board took place just four years ago. Since then, the cultivation of rooitea, and the number of farmers cultivating it, has grown in Wupperthal, but it is a slow growth process due to a number of limiting factors, which will be the more readily appreciated if one first understands the processes involved in rooitea cultivation.

It takes three years of work before the farmer's first crop can be harvested. In the first year the ground is cleared and ploughed and sown with oats. In the second year these oats are ploughed back into the soil and the rooibos plant is then either planted (being obtained from nurseries in Clanwilliam) or the seed is sown, after the first winter rains. A first harvest can take place the following year, in summer, and once a year thereafter. At the beginning of this process, fences must be erected to protect the growing plants from baboon, buck and donkey.

The rooibos leaf is thin and needle-like, being encased in a hard outer surface. Harvesting entails cutting off the top third of the bush, treating branches and leaves as one.



Figure 13 : Cultivated rows of rooibos tea bushes.

The tea is then processed by first chopping up - these days by machine - this mixture of branch and leaf, which is then put through a seive where the leaf is separated from the woody branches, which latter are thrown away. The chopped leaves are then wet and strewn over a large unroofed concrete floor, where they are ridden over by tractors, in order to crush the outer shells and so allow the 'fermenting' process to begin, which requires a combination of sun and water and which can last from three to twelve hours, depending on the quality of the tea. When the tea has reached the desired colour it is ready to be packed.

While each farmer is free to do his own processing - the Clanwilliam Rooitea Co-operative provides this service as well - he is then required by law to sell his tea to the Rooitea Control Board which

then mixes teas to obtain specific standards and then resells to registered marketing agents.

Now consideration of this picture will lead to an understanding of the limiting factors which provide constraints to the expansion of rooibos farming in Wupperthal. First, it should be understood that most farmers come from the villages surrounding Wupperthal - particularly from Eselbank and Heuningvlei - while few come from the Wupperthal village itself. This is due to the fact that the former two villages lie in close proximity to their lands, being situated at higher altitudes than Wupperthal village itself, some of whose farmers must walk for four hours before reaching their land. Then too, the outlying villages rely on agriculture for their inhabitants' livelihood; they have not the industrial projects of Wupperthal to provide them with work places.

These farmers are poor, and thus experience extreme difficulty in obtaining the resources necessary for the three year period which must be invested prior to obtaining any return. Fencing is an added expense, as is the improvement of the mountain roads. Thus the amount of land put under cultivation increases very slowly indeed.

Then, there are no processing facilities available to the farmers at Wupperthal, which means that the raw tea must be transported to the plant at Clanwilliam in order to be processed. This results in a double loss to the farmers: first, 20% of the price obtained for the tea must be paid out for processing; and second, because the raw tea transported to Clanwilliam includes branches as well as leaves, only one third of each truckload sent is worth money to the farmer, and

transport is expensive indeed.

Thus, because farmers are poor and farm on an individual basis - or in small family groups - and so have no recourse to capital finance, it is difficult to get started or to keep going. Further, farmers have little access to the knowledge which has accumulated with regard to the cultivation of this crop, being isolated and insufficiently educated.

However, there are positive aspects to the picture. It has been estimated that one thousand hectares of Wupperthal's land is suitable for the growing of rooitea, and at a potential annual net profit of six hundred rand (R600,00) per hectare, a potential profit of six hundred thousand rand (R600 000,00) is available to Wupperthal as a whole, making this an extremely worthwhile project. At present it is estimated that under 5% of the available land is being utilized (Van Putten, 1984). In addition, it is to be noted that certain farmers realized a R2 000 gross profit for the 1983 harvest. It has proved impossible to elicit from these farmers a cost analysis with regard to this crop, as no-one keeps any records, but even at R1 200 net profit for the year this represents a valuable form of income. Lastly, while it has been noted that increase in production is slow, the records obtained from the Rooibos Control Board for the past three years prove interesting reading:

In 1981, 24 farmers delivered 25 000kg of tea

In 1982, 31 farmers delivered 53 000kg of tea

In 1983, 42 farmers delivered 83 000kg of tea (Van Putten, 1984).

We see from these figures that not only is the number of farmers producing rooibos tea increasing, but the amount of tea harvested by each individual farmer is increasing as well. And when we realize that, for example, in the year 1983 there must have been a substantial number of new producers whose output was minimal, we can see how well the original farmers are developing. Thus, in spite of the odds against them, certain inhabitants are attempting efficiently to utilize an important natural resource.

Bearing all this in mind, and having spoken to many individual farmers, the fieldworker came up with the following project structure. That an association of farmers be formed and run on co-operative lines. That each farmer should continue farming individually - or in his small family group - if he wishes (for farmers were adamant in their need for independence on this issue), but that the association be formed in the hope that the group as a whole would be able to achieve more than the individual farmers would achieve separately.

Thus the association would elect a managing committee (two members each from Eselbank and Heuningvlei and one from Wupperthal) and would work closely with the Central Project Office. Its aims would be primarily to generate a reserve fund from which members would be able to draw loans at a nominal rate of interest, as capital is not available to the individual farmer; to build up a store of technical knowledge; and to purchase materials necessary for rooibos cultivation - from tractors to fencing to insecticides - collectively, as these are often too expensive for the individual farmer to buy. Certain items - e.g. tractors - could be owned by the association and loaned to farmers in need.

This plan was put into effect in June 1983, and for more detailed information concerning the constitution and preamble to the constitution for the Association, the reader is referred to Appendix 4.

Immediately the association was formed it became apparent that the initial activity which needed to be carried out concerned the construction of a processing barn at Wupperthal. The processing barn is necessary for the following reasons. First, it would form the central activity of the association - for with farmers operating individually, the association needs an activity in which everyone can be involved collectively. Second, it would save the individual farmers money with respect to transport and with respect to the processing itself. Third, there are times when, due to market fluctuations, the Rooibos Control Board issues quotas on the amount of tea it can buy in from farmers. Since by law one is not entitled to sell elsewhere, a farmer can lose a substantial portion of his crop in such circumstances unless he has processing facilities, in which case he can then process the tea and store the dry tea until the market recovers. But storage of tea is not possible if it is not first processed. Fourth, a processing barn would provide work for people in Wupperthal. This work would be seasonal and would involve approximately eight people. Fifth, and most important, the processing barn would be a way of raising funds for the much needed loan fund of the association. Farmers would pay for the processing of the tea - albeit less than they do at Clanwilliam - and the profits realized through this arrangement would constitute the funding necessary for the expansion of Rooibos cultivation in Wupperthal.

Before the Association was officially formed and recognized by the Moravian Church, the fieldworker, together with many individual farmers, tried to raise money for rooibos farming through overseas donors, via the Church. This did not succeed and farmers had almost resigned themselves once more to perpetual poverty when the idea of the association sparked their interest and after much work they were prepared to provide finance from their own meagre resources in order to get the project started. In this case then lack of financial aid had beneficial results. For it galvanised into action people who had been consumed by lethargy and who would probably not have changed at all had aid been forthcoming. The fact that it was not forthcoming resulted, with the fieldworker's aid, in an enthusiastic commitment to go it alone - albeit in a collective sense - and to make a success of the venture. In terms of the fieldworker himself, the outcome at this stage was most welcome and refreshing.

However, it was understood that, so far as the actual construction of the barn was concerned, no finance would be necessary for there exists a barn in Wupperthal which was originally built for just this purpose and which would perform the required functions perfectly. Unfortunately this barn falls within the lease-holding contract which the shopkeeper has with the church. (Under this contract he presently leases the general dealer, cafe, butchery, private house, petrol selling facilities and fifteen acres of prime agricultural land - including the barn). The shopkeeper uses a section of the barn for milling grain and the rest stands empty. Therefore - and in any case resenting, as do most Wupperthalers, the shopkeeper's

stranglehold on the community - the Rooibos Association applied for the use of this barn in August 1983, hoping to be able to repair it and to obtain and install the machinery necessary in time for the 1983/84 summer harvest. Vain hopes! At the time of writing this report (October 1984) the barn is still in the hands of the shop-keeper. Numerous applications have gone to the Church Board; letters of assent have been obtained from the Wheat Board - with respect to milling grain and processing tea on the same premises - and from the Rooibos Control Board, and have been extremely positive; yet the Church Board has avoided taking an official decision for the last one and a half years. Now, finally, it looks as if the Association might obtain the use of the barn this year, although it is late now to begin organizing for the 1984/85 harvest. The Association has decided however, that if permission does not come through, it will use its own scanty funds and labour to build a new barn during the winter of 1985.

The Rooibos Association, due to the tardiness of the Church Board, has not been able to develop thus far in a manner sufficient to instill the confidence needed in other villagers to increase the production of rooibos tea and thus lead to a more efficient utilization of the land resources of Wupperthal. This is a pity, as Wupperthal desperately needs economically viable projects which can serve not only to maintain themselves in the sense of providing for more workplaces but which can also generate enough reserve finance to allow for the initiation and facilitation of other projects which could serve Wupperthal in both economic and social ways. Self-reliance can only be achieved through the working experience; the

more projects there are, the more people will be involved.

However, the Association has demonstrated a certain resilience in maintaining itself intact during the last eighteen months when the initial enthusiasm was dampened and nothing was able to proceed. It is also at present demonstrating a desire to move forward in spite of the slights and insults which it has incurred from those people to whom the members owe their respect and allegiance. Thus the Rooibos Farmers' Association experience as a whole, while it might not have manifested that much progress on a material level, has certainly shown that the will for self-development exists even in the most isolated and remote areas of Wupperthal, and has sown a seed which has already taken root and will hopefully bear fruit soon.

2.6 BRIEF SYNOPSIS - THE CENTRAL PROJECT OFFICE REVISITED AND EVALUATED



Figure 14 : Central Project Office : Understudy on telephone with fieldworker in background.

What has the Central Project Office achieved in the time since its inception, how close has it come to the ideal of a secondary co-operative?

In answer to the first half of this question, it can be seen from the preceding sections that in fact an extensive amount has been achieved, given the stagnant nature of the community and the relatively short duration of the project thus far. It is true that a certain amount could have been achieved by the fieldworker working without such an office, but certainly far less than has been achieved.

An important aspect of the Central Office is the fact that its running costs - wages, equipment, transport, research - have not been provided from outside of the community but have been borne by those individual projects which could afford it; thus the shoe factory to a limited extent, and the glove factory to a large extent, have supported this office and its work. Initially, there was much misunderstanding and antagonism towards this concept of having projects which are financially able to provide for and contribute to aspects of the development of Wupperthal which were in need of funds. There was much (understandable) selfishness involved in the attitudes of the workers; much short-sightedness. A slight reduction in salary for the sake of the greater good of Wupperthal was alien and infuriating to them. Community cohesion does still exist in Wupperthal, but it is riddled with the often detrimental factors of self-gain and self-preservation. It took much persuasion, involved many fiery meetings, before workers conceded to alter their stand slightly. The fieldworker eventually had to

explain that if the development of Wupperthal as a whole was not the aim, then there was no point in him personally carrying on working for the development of one or two projects. This coercion on the part of the fieldworker - throwing down the gauntlet, as it were - paid off in the end. Today, workers accept that the Central Office is necessary for the co-ordination of the development of Wupperthal, and understand that its only source of finance is the projects themselves. However, while understanding in principle, there is still much opposition in practice. But co-operation between community members has definitely been advanced.

Then, the Central Office has brought costs down. Technical services for the various projects are centralized, the Office controls the use of a vehicle for all projects, which latter contribute towards the vehicle's running costs, and the Office has facilitated the growth and co-ordination of the project, as well as research into new areas. With regard to the latter point, much research has been done into the setting up of a clay-tile workshop in Wupperthal. There is abundant clay in the valley surrounding the outstation of Kleinvei, due west of Wupperthal. A feasibility study was carried out, and the project has been approved by the Church Board, but to date no money has been raised for this project. Details concerning this research are to be found in Appendix 5. Initial investigations have also been conducted into land use patterns and the possibility of revitalizing the traditional wheat and rye agricultural activities of Wupperthal.

Possibly the most important aspect of the Central Office is the

opportunity it has provided to bring in an understudy to the fieldworker, a trainee project co-ordinator. This man is still concerned with floor management in the glove factory, but occupies too a permanent position in the Central Office. He helps to co-ordinate the Consumers' Co-operative and Credit Union; he is studying the problems of the shoe factory and Roooibos Association; and he is learning the theory behind a development project such as this and the practical problems which it faces. Most important, he is being brought out of the community womb into a state of wakefulness and individuality - and due to the fact that he helps co-ordinate the Central Office he has a high profile in Wupperthal and the community as a whole is beginning to learn from his example. Certain problems are associated with this advance however, and will be dealt with in Chapter 3.

With regard to the second aspect of the original question posed - how close has the Office become to the ideal of a secondary co-operative - the answer must be put in the negative: not close at all apart from certain representatives of the glove factory - and even here not often - the running of the Central Office is entirely under the control of the three full-time workers; i.e. the fieldworker, book-keeper and understudy. Decisions generally are taken within the confines of this group, and the impetus which the project as a whole needs to carry it forward emanates largely from this group.

The reasons for this situation are not hard to find. The Church, for example, while expressing its wholehearted support for the concept, is not interested in exercising its right of participation. This

is a pity, as apart from being a valuable educational experience for the church in terms of coming into closer contact with Wupperthal - for the Church Board is, at its offices in Cape Town, very distanced at present - it would bring it into a relationship of familiarity with the project which it, in fact, initiated. However, these considerations do not appear to warrant the time which participation would require.

Community representation poses a bigger problem. Who does one co-opt in order to represent the community? There are two bodies which serve to 'govern' the community, or at least to co-ordinate its activities - the 'Opsienersraad' (Village Council) and the 'Kerkraad' (Church Council). The problem here is firstly that neither of these bodies today are very highly regarded by the community as a whole - there is much dissention within the community and antagonism with regard to the ineffectual nature of these bodies - and secondly, that they do not comprise people who understand the nature of Wupperthal's problems or the necessary direction which development should take. These bodies are staffed mainly by people who have already retired and consequently are not that interested in development. For these reasons, community representation in the Central Office has not yet been achieved.

Apart from certain members of the glove factory there is no-one involved in other projects who has the necessary enthusiasm or knowledge to contribute substantially to the direction of the Central Office or to the project as a whole. Consequently the Central Office remains in a position of leadership, of control.

This runs contrary to the democratic nature of this development project; yet, as will be seen in Chapters 3 and 4, a development project, whatever its nature, must start with a strong emphasis on guidance; on, you may say, imposition. To a certain extent issues must be forced and controlled; if not, then where is the necessity for a development project in the first place? It should be noted, however, that the Central Office tries at every turn to expand its decision-making base, and although it has not yet met with much success here, it has certainly advanced from the early days when the fieldworker took all decisions on his own. It is envisaged and hoped that this expansion process will continue, however slowly.

CHAPTER 3

THE DILEMMAS OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

"..... there is a problem to every solution."

Streeten, 1981



Figure 15 : A meeting with members of the shoe factory.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

What follows in this chapter is an essay, not on the practical aspects of the Development Project which has been described up till now - although certain of these aspects will be brought forth in the current chapter to be used as illustrative examples - but rather an essay on the many dilemmas and contradictions which are involved in the field of rural development.

It is taken as given that when speaking of rural development in these pages it is the type of rural development as outlined and described in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 with which we are here concerned; i.e. we are concerned with a democratic, co-operative style of development which has as its goal the fostering of responsibility and initiative within the community concerned. Other types of development - for example, the provision for a community with a hydro-electric scheme - might not encounter many of the dilemmas to be discussed below.

What precisely is meant by 'dilemmas of development'? The following quotation from Streeten will serve to illuminate certain aspects of the problem:

"The solution of one problem creates a series of new ones. Success in manufacturing industry has brought out the lag in agriculture. The need to expand the production of food for domestic consumption became so acute partly because of the remarkable growth of industrial output. The seed-fertilizer revolution has spawned a collection of new

problems about plant diseases, inequality, unemployment and the other so-called second-generation problems. The need for population control arose from the successful attack on mortality and the resulting extension of life expectancy through cheap and efficient methods of disease eradication. Growing unemployment is (partly) the result of high productivity and growth of manufacturing investment. Education raises excessive aspirations and contributes to the movement to the cities and the consequent unemployment of the educated. The success and the attractions of urban development have shown up the need to accelerate rural development, which by the turmoil it creates may further accelerate the migration to the cities."

Streeten, 1981, p 126)

The problem, then, is that while action must be taken, it is not only often the case that as a result of that action an undesired and unexpected outcome ensues, but also that this outcome is contrary to that which was aimed at by taking the action in the first place; in other words, the situation has, in fact, worsened since action was taken to improve it. This is a very serious issue and needs to be dealt with at length for two reasons.

In the first place, it serves as a demonstration, an illumination, of the methodology which was applied in the carrying out of this research; i.e. the necessity for taking action, for stirring up the stagnant waters of community life in Wupperthal, prior to being able to correctly analyse the problems of the community (see section 1.3.2). It was stated previously that adequate analysis and subsequent proposals for action could not be achieved in strictly following this time sequence because certain actions need to be taken in the first place in order to conduct the necessary analysis.

(This, it will be noted, already presents as a dilemma). This is the problem with a stagnant community: how does one analyse purely through observation when there is little to observe prior to action resulting in movement, in change? If Wupperthal is taken as an example of rural communities in the Third World, even in a very limited sense, then it will be seen that the major problem with which we are concerned in rural development is lack of movement, lack of initiative, apathy, stagnation. It is therefore difficult to extrapolate from the observations available just how the community will react to change, and particularly to change directed at an increase in personal motivation, initiative and responsibility. It is often the case that the changes promoted by the fieldworker end up by defeating his very aims, and a new strategy is called for which will (hopefully) make good the error.

Thus pointing out the dilemmas which one faces in the task of co-operative rural development should illustrate some of the difficulties, the confusions and ambiguities, inherent in research of this nature.

The second reason for including this chapter in the present work is that it is intended to serve as a practical guide to workers in the field; i.e. to all those engaged in the kind of rural development fieldwork which aims at the raising of consciousness, of personal responsibility and accountability. Because one never knows just what type of result will be attained as the consequence of a chosen

approach, because the field is littered with mistaken strategies and failed projects, the fieldworker is often faced with a traumatic feeling of worthlessness, of pointlessness; despair is all too regularly the fieldworker's lot when well-intentioned action turns out to have been worse than no action at all. The task and duration of this style of rural development is of necessity so long and drawn out, so devoid of easily recognizable successes, and so sensitive, at each and every stage, to the potential for backfiring, that the lot of the fieldworker in attempting to motivate the apathetic, to enforce change upon people - "for their own good" - who do not see the necessity for it and indeed all too often resent the intrusion, is unenviable, to say the least. One needs a great deal of personal motivation oneself in order to battle through these seemingly interminable and unavoidable setbacks, not least because the spirit of ethos, of an unmotivated community eventually tends to drag the fieldworker down by the sheer weight of its inertia.

For the sake of the community which he is serving as well as for the success of the project - and not least for personal survival as well - the fieldworker must come to his work well-prepared; armed against the pitfalls of disillusionment. For it is the disillusion which often sets in which exacts such a heavy toll. The fieldworker must be aware of what he is facing, what he is up against; although each developmental situation will be unique, the fieldworker must guard against naivety; he must accept, and even expect, setbacks as an integral part of the work; the time-span which is encompassed by his vision must be long; and he must above all realize that what he is

proposing to a community might be so strange and alien a concept that any expectations at all are unfounded in reality. Indeed, hope and dedication are required; the ultimate fruits of one's labours often do not bear thinking about.

Thus the present chapter, with its description of the pitfalls which can trap the unwary fieldworker - the dilemmas which beset the field of co-operative rural development - is intended as a practical guide for prospective fieldworkers, and it is hoped that it will prove useful as well as informative.

The dilemmas have been compartmentalized under various headings. Their sequence is arbitrary and does not follow any particular order of importance. They also often tend to overlap, one with the other, thus making it difficult to conceptually disentangle certain interwoven aspects. This has, however, been attempted so far as was possible.

3.2 DILEMMAS OF THE PROJECT ITSELF

We start from the most general aspect of the problem; without specifically concerning ourselves with the type of development envisaged, the following two dilemmas concern rural development work as such.

3.2.1 The Dilemma of Aid



Figure 16 : The Unimog - workhorse of the mountains - standing in an unused state of disrepair.

The provision of financial and technological aid to underdeveloped communities gives rise to the first, and possibly the most obvious and widespread, dilemma in the field of rural development. There seems to be no doubt that aid, in some form is necessary for the process of development; indeed, development itself would seem to permit of definition as aid. (Wherever the term 'aid' is referred to in these pages, it is recognized that the giver of aid is external to the underdeveloped community itself). Yet Hardin (1981) notes that whereas India and China both started off at the same level of underdevelopment, and whereas India received much external financial and technological aid where China received none at all, yet China has

developed itself, out of its own internal resources, at a far greater rate and in a more satisfactory manner than has India. Hardin infers from this and other instances that aid, far from assisting a community along the path of development, actually induces a state of dependence in the affected community which leads to the opposite result from that which was intended, i.e. a community provided with aid will never develop the internal resources necessary for meaningful and self-perpetuating development. He goes on to say that fertilizers and factories are all very well, but far more important than technology is what is inside the heads of men and women; that to ascribe China's development to its own internal resources is to commend the endeavour and initiative of the Chinese people, for the people constituted China's primary resource. And it is precisely this initiative which is dulled through the inducement of dependence via the granting of aid.

Streeten (1981) notes that self-reliant development has to get rid of aid, and says further that the purpose of aid is, in fact, to be rid of aid. This is a statement of the dilemma. Aid is required in order to develop an impoverished community and to lead it along the road to self-reliance; yet, at the same time, aid creates dependence and thus minimizes the chances of the emergence of self-reliance.

There are at least three instances in the Wupperthal experience which can serve to illustrate this point; the first is negative and the following two positive.

The first instance concerns the shoe factory, and can be described briefly. The shoe factory is the one enterprise in Wupperthal which has been given the most economic support; in fact, the true extent of the shoe factory's economic degeneration before the start of the present project was never made apparent to the shoemakers because it was always covered up by Church grants (section 2.3.1). The result is that today the shoe factory contains the most dependent workers in Wupperthal - there is a lack of initiative and sense of responsibility here which is appalling.

The second instance concerns the Rooibos Farmers' Association. Here an opposite process has taken place. It will be recalled (section 2.5.1) that the Rooibos Association's requests for financial aid were never met - in fact, no money whatsoever has been received for fencing, equipment and land preparation. Further, the request to use the rooibos barn for the purpose for which it was intended - that is, for the barn to be placed under the jurisdiction of the Rooibos Association so that farming tea in Wupperthal may become more viable - has never been acceded to by the Church. The result is that a group of farmers, previously resigned to perpetual poverty, have now been motivated to take action for themselves through the fact of not receiving any outside aid. Thus the Association has collected membership fees - and collects share money every month - and has opened a bank account with which it can begin to take action. It has also been decided to build a new processing barn out of the Association's own resources, and for each member to contribute

labour, over and above the financial contributions which they are making.

Now it is quite probable that, had their request for a barn been acceded to, and had they in addition received financial aid from outside, the above demonstration of initiative, resourcefulness and co-operation might have taken far longer to develop; in fact, these attributes might have received a setback. Thus we have here a situation which is comparable to Hardin's analysis of China - that having to fall back on one's own resources promotes the development of these resources. It is true that what has been achieved would never have occurred without the psychological and organizational aid provided by the Central Project Office, but this is precisely the point of the dilemma: aid is necessary as a spur to development but it can also serve to hinder that development. The line between the former and the latter is fine indeed.

The example of the Consumers' Co-operative is a further case in point (section 2.4.2). The Church's refusal to transfer the General Dealer into the hands of the community prompted independent action to be taken by certain members of the community, and the result is a well-organized and independent Consumers' Co-operative which has displayed, once again, a resourcefulness and degree of co-operation amongst the people which would have been difficult to engender and maintain in any other fashion. Here it is the case that a politically adverse situation resulted in people coming together and acting resourcefully

out of a common need, and against a common foe. If the situation had been orchestrated and contrived, it could hardly have done more to engender independence. A politically adverse situation (or lack of aid, for that matter) often serves as an admirable source of initiative.

As far as the fieldworker is concerned, the above is not meant to imply that aid is unimportant or unbeneficial; on the contrary, little development will take place without it. But it is important to note that one is playing with fire; that aid has its negative side as well; and that if one's aim is self-reliance in any given community one must tread a very sensitive line indeed.

3.2.2 The Community vs. Project Dilemma

It is not always easy to ascertain which of the problems mentioned here are specific to the Wupperthal situation and which are generally applicable. It has been assumed throughout this work that what is applicable to the Wupperthal situation is extremely likely to be pertinent to most other rural situations, for what is being discussed here is not so much physical parameters and resources - which would differ from community to community - but a form of consciousness which is here posited as common to most rural communities. Thus, while it has not proved possible to find reference to the following dilemma in the literature, it is considered by this writer to be a problem which any fieldworker is likely to come up against.

The dilemma here will be illustrated with the following example: the

glove factory in Wupperthal constitutes, as has been stated, the biggest source of work opportunity, and thus is extremely important for this community. Now following the re-organization of this factory as a co-operative, a committee was established - elected - which has the portfolio for, to all intents and purposes, running the factory. One of the first problems with which it was faced was employment; i.e. how to choose between two different applicants for the same job where both applicants had no experience as yet, and where the committee ^{risks antagonising the community} through displays of 'favouritism', or arbitrary choices based on personal likes and dislikes; in other words, the committee needed a principle.

The same problem occurred in another fashion some time later. For some months during 1983 the factory had to reduce its workforce due to a temporary slump in the market. The question here was who to lay off, if the choice was between two equally competent workers in a particular department?

The committee thus adopted the following principle of selection: that where there was a choice between two equally competent - or incompetent workers, he would be given preference whose need was the greater. Therefore, for instance, if the choice was between a single man on the one hand and a father on the other, the father would be given preference. The committee decided to adopt this principle because it was recognized that the entire feeling behind the project was that it should serve the community, and thus should always be

responsive to the needs of members of the community; in other words, the factory did not stand alone or separate.

This decision was recognized by the fieldworker as an admirable one, and it certainly served to legitimize the factory - and the project - in the eyes of a community which had long hated this workplace, even while needing it, because of the dictatorial and arbitrary way in which it had been run. But the decision led to a dilemma.

There was no real problem when it came to selecting from people without experience, but where experience was involved, things began to backfire. For example, when the factory had to lay workers off, it naturally laid off those with the fewest responsibilities; i.e. single people, for the most part. But it turned out that those people who had been laid off were the most competent members of the workforce, and that with their leaving, the factory degenerated in terms of productivity, discipline and organization.

And thus the committee was faced with the following dilemma - for it should be realized that this state of affairs actually brought the factory to the brink of bankruptcy - the factory co-operative is a community project and must serve the community, but does it best serve the community by taking into account the needs of individual members and thereby risking bankruptcy, or does it ride roughshod over the community and thereby maintain its viability as a factory and therefore as a work source?

The committee recognized that the factory best fulfilled the aim of serving the community by maintaining its viability as a factory - after all, everyone stood to lose their jobs if the factory went under. Thus, while for people of equal experience the choice remained preferential to the one most in need, for the rest issues would be decided on merit, on competence in the workplace, and not on needs emanating from outside the workplace.

This was a severe test for the committee's independence and self-reliance, for it met with much opposition from within the community, from community and family members who did not understand the problems involved in running a successful factory, and who only saw the issue in terms of personal gain or loss. The committee held firm, however, and today the viability of the factory as a business is of prime importance.

Put in more general terms, the dilemma then runs as follows: the project is intended to serve the community, but there are times when it best serves the long-term needs of the community by acting contrary to the immediate wishes of the community, by not directly serving the community. The task for the fieldworker is to maintain a balanced and rational perspective on the issue in the face of individual and community antagonism.

3.3 DILEMMAS FOR THE FIELDWORKER

The following set of dilemmas concern the fieldworker himself and the problems which are inherent in the very nature of his role. The fieldworker in the context of rural development has been described as an "agent-for-change" (Daphne, 1984) and it is in terms of this definition that the following problems occur. The difficulties which will here be outlined, and which lie in wait to trap the unwary fieldworker, however long they might take to impinge upon his consciousness, are very inter-related and are thus often resistant to attempts at subdivision. This attempt has been made here, however, in order to clarify and separate the pertinent issues.

3.3.1 The Dilemma of Consciousness



Figure 17 : The author as fieldworker with old Wupperthaler at a long-abandoned village high in the mountains - meeting of First and Third Worlds.

The dilemma of consciousness affects every fieldworker working in this context, and can be described as follows. It is more than likely that the fieldworker himself comes from a First World context, and his approach to the world will likely be dominated by those concerns and goals which are prevalent in the First World. He departs to do development work in the Third World because it is assumed that there is something lacking in the latter, that this lack is the cause of underdevelopment, and that therefore his (the fieldworker's) aim is to supply the Third World with what it is lacking. To assume that the fieldworker can supply what is lacking is to assume that the First World, from which he draws his inspiration, can stand as a model for the Third World. Drawing from his knowledge of life, and particularly of successful development, which he gains from his First World perspective, the fieldworker tries, quite rightly, to transfer these ideas to the underdeveloped rural context within which he finds himself.

I say "quite rightly" because if this was not the case then there would be no point to the fieldworker going out to do development work in the first place. He must assume that he, coming from a more 'successful' society, has something to teach.

However, to anyone with the least degree of sensitivity, the situational dilemma in which he finds himself sooner or later begins to make itself felt. Streeten has stated:

"The search for alternatives may ultimately teach us to mend our own ways. It has been said that the study of history is not a way to help us understand the present, but our knowledge of the present helps us to understand history. In studying underdeveloped societies the reverse is true: self-knowledge is not a way to understand societies with different attitudes and institutions but the study of alternatives for them helps us to understand and reform ourselves."

(Streeten, 1981 p 143)

It becomes apparent then, that the world from which the fieldworker emanates is not perfect, and that there are aspects to the world which he enters as 'agent-for-change' which can teach him much about the ills of his own society. And this is the crux of the dilemma, which calls to mind a sentence from the anthropologist Turnbull's work "The Mountain People":

"I had the distinct feeling that Gabriel felt great regret for all that progress had taken away from him, and would have given much to be less prosperous, less educated and more Dodos (the name of Gabriel's tribe)."

(Turnbull, 1973 p 44)

We can take, for example, the problem of alienation, of estrangement, of loneliness, which is so prevalent in the developed cities of the First World. These problems simply do not exist in a village like Wupperthal. There is a form of community cohesion here which can hardly fail to impress. Members of the Wupperthal community simply cannot be lonely - they partake too deeply of the community life which is their lot. This observation is not offered simply as my

opinion; it is an observation grounded in lengthy experience of the community and many interviews with the inhabitants. Development efforts tend to disturb the warm cocoon of community life. This dominance of community over individual gives rise to its own problems, which are closely related to underdevelopment (see section 3.6.2). These aspects thus need to be disturbed. But this is precisely the dilemma for the fieldworker: in order to promote development (a 'good') one must at one and the same time promote an aspect of First World life which is negative in its ultimate outcome (a 'bad').

The problem of pollution is also one which comes to mind (there are in fact many). Development, or 'success', for the First World has brought in its wake increasing pollution; in other words, development is not without side-effects. In going out to the Third World, a fieldworker might well be confronted with a situation which is in need of development, but might also display a certain amount of sensitivity in his hesitancy to impose the negative, necessary side-effects onto the community in question.

There is a very real possibility that the fieldworker be seduced by those aspects of the underdeveloped community which he lacks in his own First World home. This dilemma with which he will sooner or later be confronted requires sensitive handling. The fieldworker will need to do some serious self-questioning in order to discover just where exactly his own consciousness lies, he who is assuming the ability and prerogative of changing that of other people. A balance is ultimately required, wherein the success of the First World may

be transferred to the Third World with the least amount of disadvantage to the latter. This is no easy task, and there is little doubt that the fieldworker will emerge from the work as changed as the community with which he has been working.

3.3.2 The Dilemma of Paternalism/Colonialism



Figure 18 : Fieldworker chatting with two leading members of the glove factory.

For one hundred and thirty years Wupperthal was run by German missionaries. The aim in founding and perpetuating the settlement was the creation of a self-sufficient community of brothers living in the name of Christ. As noted in section 1.4.2, to a certain extent this was achieved. But self-sufficiency was only maintained while

the missionaries remained in charge, and thus the term is something of a misnomer, for so far as the villagers themselves are concerned they have always relied on an outside organization or person. The missionaries assisted the people's development up to a point, but stopped short of attempting to teach true independence, with the result that these missionaries always maintained complete control of Wupperthal, and in fact never relinquished their paternalistic attitude or colonial role. The question might well be asked: what then did the missionaries achieve? Or, to put it another way: did the missionaries attain to the goal they set themselves?

The question is here used rhetorically, and this is not the place to go into the intricacies of missionary work. Rather, the question is asked because it reflects on the role of the fieldworker; it is a question which in some form or other pertains to him as well, and can give rise to grave disquiet.

For consider: the fieldworker enters the field in order to do a job of work and to achieve some form of goal. In his case the goal is the successful development of an underdeveloped community, or at least helping the community to make a start on the road to development. Now, in the context of the present work, development means attaining a certain degree of self-reliance. In other words, the fieldworker is going out to assist a community in moving towards self-reliance.

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obstacle to the development of self-reliance. For as long as he is there, leading the project, acting as a spur, providing the incentives to go further, doing much of the ground work and providing the philosophy to go with it; so long as this is the case, the progress towards self-reliance must of necessity be hindered and, in fact, retarded. Another way of expressing this dilemma would be to say that the fieldworker goes out into the field because he is needed, but once there he must devote all his energies into making himself redundant. This is a strange position in which to find oneself, and it creates a finely sensitive line on which to tread.

This dilemma has cropped up frequently in the Wuppertal project. For example, we can take the committee meetings of the glove factory. For a long time, try as he would to have it otherwise, these meetings were dominated by the fieldworker. As much as he talked about the development of self-reliance, he negated the content of his words by the fact of his continually using them. Why should members of the committee bother to develop self-reliance when it was quite obvious that the fieldworker was capable of handling things and that he was there to handle them. Committee members could not be convinced to throw off their aura of silence and begin to act. It was only when the fieldworker actively refrained from participating, first in every second meeting, and then for sets of two meetings in succession, that the committee realized that the ball was in its court and that unless it began to take responsible action things at the factory would begin to slide. This was a situation which was relatively simple to resolve, but this particular dilemma reaches its tentacles down into

all levels of the project and, in fact, operates on levels which are so subtle that they do not permit of easy or direct resolution.

To take the case of Wupperthal specifically: it is an unfortunate aspect of the evolution of the people of Wupperthal that they consider themselves inferior to the white man. This is stated by all - with the exception of some of the school teachers - in so many words. Thus, if the fieldworker be white, his very presence in the community confirms for the inhabitants the fact that they are not self-reliant, that they are, in fact, dependent on outside help, and no words which the fieldworker may utter in negation of this contention can change the inhabitants' recognition that he need be there in the first place to say them.

Thus, ultimately, the fieldworker, at least in this example, is always deferred to, and there is no way in which he can relinquish the role of leader without actually moving out of the community. This is an extremely serious dilemma in which the fieldworker finds himself, and one which has received all too little attention.

3.3.3 The Dilemma of Integration

It has already been stated that all of these dilemmas are ultimately interrelated, and this will be borne out as we proceed. The particular dilemma with which we are here concerned, for example, has much to do with the previous problem.

The fieldworker entering an area such as Wupperthal often does so, as was the case with this researcher, for two reasons, or in two capacities. The first capacity is as a facilitator of change or development; the second is in the role of researcher. And these two roles often conflict. As researcher, the aim of the exercise would be to maintain as low a profile as possible, to become as insignificant, as effectively integrated as possible, so that one's effect on that which one was studying would be minimized. Any influence made by the observer on the observed would bias the validity of the researcher's findings.

A facilitator of change, on the other hand, would need to involve himself in an entirely contrary fashion. He would need to maintain a high profile; he would need to be seen setting an example of something other than the prevailing behaviour patterns in order precisely to achieve that influence over the community which the researcher is at pains to avoid. He is there to stimulate action and, as such, must show himself as a leader and mover.

This dilemma, the conflicting needs of two distinct roles, confronted the present researcher in the accomplishment of his task in Wupperthal, which involved both research and action. This added a dimension of ambiguity to the work which was difficult to eradicate. However, it is not all fieldworkers who will be faced with a dual role such as this one, and it is really to the fieldworker as facilitator of change/development to which this section attempts to address itself. Let us then ignore the dilemma arising from conflicting roles; let us rather

look simply at the role of 'agent-for-change', for herein lies a far more subtle dilemma.

It has been stated that the fieldworker - for the duration of this section defined as 'agent-for-change' - needs to develop a high profile; he must be effective and must be seen to be effective if he is going to have any influence over the community and situation in which he finds himself. But we have already seen from the preceding section (3.3.2) that too high a profile, too much leadership, leads to paternalism, a modern and unconscious form of colonialism.

In order to be effective in his chosen work, the fieldworker must integrate thoroughly with the members of the community upon which he wishes to have an effect. He must become familiar with them and they with him, for without this familiarity he will never be able to penetrate the community in a manner which is necessitated by his desire to mobilize the community's resources. To remain always as an outsider, to hold oneself apart, is to invite suspicion and distrust. The fieldworker must move with the flow of village life. Yet, at one and the same time, he is there to mobilize, to lead; he is there to influence the flow of village life in a particular direction. Consequently, he must remain apart, he must be seen as the representative of an alternative mode of being to that of apathy; he must impress himself upon the situation and not merely merge with it. Hence the fieldworker's dilemma. At which point does he achieve the correct balance?

An example taken from the Wupperthal situation is one of alcohol

consumption. This is not an excessive problem in Wupperthal - there being no bottle store in the village - except on Saturdays, when drink is procured from Clanwilliam. Consumption of alcohol on Saturdays by the majority of villagers - men, at any rate - is excessive, and normally responsible individuals are rendered helpless. The present researcher had no inclination or desire to partake in this ritual whatsoever, but there were two factors which contested his convictions and led to ambivalence. In the first place, drink loosens tongues, and much could be learned of the inner nature of this community when the distinction between outsider and inhabitant was blurred by liquor. And second, this was a social activity amongst the men-folk, and consequently one to be indulged in if one was attempting to integrate oneself.

On the other hand, apart from an innate prejudice against alcohol consumption, the present researcher felt that this consumption, albeit only one day a week, played a large role in the dearth of leadership, responsibility and initiative amongst the inhabitants of Wupperthal. How then could he partake of so debilitating a social ritual? How could he be seen indulging in precisely that against which he had taken a stand?

Yet, how could he not, if he wished to integrate himself into the fabric of life which presents itself as a unified whole, however many individual aspects he might disagree with? This dilemma was never entirely resolved, although over the months a balance of sorts was struck. But this dilemma crops up often and in many subtle forms,

and the extent of the fieldworker's achievement in the field is often dependent on his handling of this problem. Being conscious of the problem can help to avoid many mistakes.

3.3.4 The Dilemma of Intellectual Analysis

This point will be dealt with as briefly as possible, although it is an aspect of development work which gives this researcher much pain. The fieldworker, as has been stated, comes to the Third World from the First. And he brings with him a certain intellectual framework - an intellectual apparatus or infrastructure - which he uses as a tool to analyse community life and hence to propose changes. His work is often done within this intellectual, or scientific atmosphere. And indeed it is fitting that this should be so; intellectual analysis is necessary to the task of development - it is perhaps precisely the element which has been lacking in the village concerned.

But it can also be extremely destructive, for it tends to concentrate - to focus - on specifics, and often loses sight of the poetry, the wonder, the symmetry of the whole. These aspects of the life of a particular area or village can only be recorded through some art form, be it literature, poetry or painting. Perhaps this approach has no place in development work, but this researcher feels that this is a contentious attitude to take. For one is in danger of missing the essence, of allowing the life-force of the village to elude one, if respect is given only to cold observation which has as its aim analysis and action. The people themselves, after all, are not intellectual beings - they live within the pulse of their environment

and community, and thus do not step outside of these to analyse them. The latter implies an element of alienation, separation, which they do not have.

The only method which this researcher has of putting his finger on the point at issue here, is to say that when one looks at the community out of the corner of one's eye, as it were, as opposed to under the spotlight of an intellectual focus, one picks up nuances, shades, textures of meaning which elude one when looked at directly. And these elements of village life are important for any consideration of development, for they are the first to suffer if development is undertaken too quickly or too insensitively.

3.3.5 The Dilemma of Education

The following dilemma is peculiar to co-operative enterprise although it has especial relevance to a rural, peasant community.

Let us assume that the fieldworker has set up a new co-operative project, or has reorganized along co-operative lines an existing enterprise; and let us assume for the sake of the discussion here that this co-operative falls under the category of 'industry' mentioned in section 2.3 - in other words, it is a producer co-operative. The dilemma itself applies throughout all the various types of co-operative projects, but is brought out most clearly by situating it within the context of a producer co-operative.

Once the enterprise has been set up - and we can assume that it is now

running efficiently, at least in economic terms, under the guidance of the fieldworker - the task which is now of the utmost importance is the education of the members of the co-operative (or at the very least, initially, the members of the elected committee responsible for the task) in the running of their own business. In other words, the worker/members of the co-operative are now co-owners of the enterprise and thus in control - but this is a purely nominal state of affairs so long as they do not understand enough about business, management, marketing, production and so forth to actualize the potential of their situation. The fieldworker must therefore educate them in this task. But the question is: how?

The dilemma consists of the following: that the fieldworker has two responsibilities here, and they may conflict with each other. The one responsibility is to the project, or enterprise, as such; that is, the viability of the enterprise as a business must be maintained, for if this is lost then the point of the exercise is missing - creation and maintenance of new workplaces and employment opportunities is an integral part of the work. The other responsibility is the education of workers, for without this education any talk of co-operatives must remain but a farce. But education in this context can only be really effective, if it is done through experience, for lessons in theory are all very well but work to an extremely limited extent with regard to peasants who are not, on the whole, abstract thinkers and who need to see things before they can truly conceive of them or believe in them. We will not delve any further into this

particular aspect of the problem at this point, as it will crop up again in section 3.4.2, but the point has relevance for the field-worker himself.

How must he organize his time? Must he concentrate on building the project up as a viable business, or must he concentrate on the consciousness, the education, of the workers? If the workers learn best - or purely - through practical experience, then the fieldworker must see that this experience is attained. But experience is gained through mistakes - the workers must be free to make these if they are to learn what to do and what not to do. However, mistakes are not allowed in business, particularly marginal, rural businesses operating in a harsh economic climate and in competition with highly competent and versatile urban enterprises.

So the fieldworker has to manage the situation very carefully. Mistakes must be made, there are harsh lessons to be learned; but simultaneously the enterprise itself must maintain a high level of competence in order to achieve a competitive edge within the market place itself. The fieldworker cannot afford to sacrifice either one of these goals to the other. Ultimately, where he puts his emphasis will depend on circumstances and need, and to a certain extent, on his own particular bias. But he should always bear in mind that until the business is truly running as a co-operative he has not achieved his goal of raising self-reliance; and unless the co-operative functions as a successful, or at least, viable business he has achieved nothing at all.

3.4 DILEMMAS OF DEMOCRACY

The essence of the co-operative endeavour is the promotion of democratic institutions and organizations, for it is through responsible participation in democratic structures that the human resources of a community may be built up in terms of responsibility and self-reliance. However, the introduction of democratic concepts - notions of independence - into a rural peasant community can often be fraught with difficulties; difficulties which are far greater with respect to rural co-operatives than they are in terms of urban co-operatives. These difficulties encountered are obviously part of the work involved and cannot be avoided, but they do lead to seemingly insoluble dilemmas.

The dilemmas of democracy have been chosen to follow on directly from the dilemmas of the fieldworker because the two problems mentioned in this section are directly related to problems discussed previously in section 3.3 concerning the fieldworker.

3.4.1 The Dictatorship Dilemma

This dilemma is very closely linked to the dilemma of paternalism (section 3.3.2), but we are here concerned with the development of democratic structures themselves, and not with the fieldworker in his own right.

The reasons for the initiation of co-operative, democratic structures in the field of rural development have been outlined before (section

1.4.3) and do not need to be gone into in detail here; briefly, they rest on the need for increasing participation, responsibility and control. However, the very fact that they are necessary in order to bring forth these latter aspects of self-reliance is an indication that these aspects are, to begin with, absent. Yet they are necessary for the adequate functioning of democratic co-operatives, and herein lies the dilemma.

Communism, as envisaged by Karl Marx, insisted early on the necessity for a dictatorship of the proletariat prior to - or as a step on the road towards - the emergence of a society beyond the need for centralized government, the latter being the true communist state. In other words, things must get worse before they get better. (Of course, a dictatorship of the proletariat, in the eyes of the communists, is certainly not 'worse' than dictatorship by a minority class, but it is 'worse' than the final state towards which communism was originally claimed to be headed). The contradiction involved in the necessity for a dictatorship as a structure in the process of getting of government as such is obvious and readily apparent, and has been made more than manifest by the record of the communist countries to date; the contradiction in fact is so great that it has merely resulted in the strengthening of dictatorship.

In Wuppertal there was no involvement with communism or dictatorship, but certain aspects underlying the contradiction referred to above were very apparent. The people were not ready for the type of

democracy required by co-operative structures; they were not ready for participation, control, responsibility, ownership; they were not ready for the rigours involved in working together. All these concepts were largely alien, foreign to them, and their reactions to the introduction of these principles ranged from suspicion and distrust in those who did not fully understand them to concern for the fieldworker's naivety in those who did. It would be safe to say that no-one, even amongst those who grasped the principles quickly, was prepared to whole-heartedly go ahead with implementing, or learning to implement, the strategies involved. The people were simply not ready for democracy.

The fieldworker is then put into the unenviable position of having to enforce democratic structures onto the workers. (This was not the case with certain of the projects - for example, the Rooibos Association, Consumers' Co-operative and Credit Union. It seemed to affect more those enterprises which were restructured, as opposed to being newly started - for example, the glove factory, shoe factory and tannery). This enforcement of democracy is what this particular dilemma consists of.

For example, after certain disagreements had occurred between the elected committee of the tannery and glove factory - operating as one co-operative - four tanners brought the dispute before the fieldworker. They claimed that they could no longer work under the jurisdiction of the committee, they they could no longer accept decisions laid down by the committee concerning themselves, and that they therefore were

approaching the fieldworker as the final arbiter. When questioned as to why they could not accept the decisions of a committee which they themselves had participated in electing, the answer was that a decision of the committee - consisting of five members - could not be pinned onto any one person, and that if that decision was disadvantageous to a worker there was no one person towards whom that worker could direct his anger. In other words, the decision was impersonal; purposely so, in order precisely to avoid the contingency of any one person being blamed for a joint decision. On being questioned further, it became apparent that, at least as far as these four tanners were concerned, they would rather have had one person in control, making arbitrary decisions, than a committee committed to rational discussion and consensus - or at least a two-thirds majority vote - prior to the taking of any decisions. For it was not the decision itself which concerned them; it was the fact that they had no-one to blame, no-one to curse, no-one to protest against if the decision went against them! To interpret their attitude slightly differently, it was apparent that, having freely elected people to represent them, they could not accept the responsibility of what they had done by recognizing adverse decisions not only as necessary in the larger context of the enterprise as a whole but also as being indirectly their own decisions made by proxy.

Later, when the entire workforce of the glove factory was questioned on this issue, all - including the four tanners - accepted the democratic structure which had evolved as being far superior to that which went

before (and indeed, there has been a marked improvement in atmosphere) but privately, and behind backs, there is still much grumbling, discontent and misunderstanding; and it requires more than simple persuasion, it often requires insistence by the fieldworker, for the democratic nature of the factory to continue operating successfully. And any insistence on the part of the fieldworker is a demonstration of his power in the situation; hence it smacks of dictatorship. This is a sticky dilemma and will take much time to sort out; it is necessary, however, not to err too much on either side while the situation is still fluid.

3.4.2 The Dilemma of Participation



Figure 19 : A works-committee participating in the decision-making process.

The problem of participation is very bound up with what has been discussed in the preceding section.

A cornerstone of the co-operative organization - and of the democratic experience in general - is participation. Participation is important from two points of view. First, it adds to people's sense of importance, of meaning. Along with this feeling of worth arises a sense of responsibility, both personal and social (see, for example, Blauner, 1964). It is also an admirable educative process, for it brings people out of themselves and encourages them to take an interest in issues outside of their personal domain. Thus participation is the foundation-stone for any possibility of community self-reliance; it is the key for unlocking the door to initiative and creativity.

Second, it is of the utmost importance to the democratic, co-operative process, which cannot stand without it.

But what if people do not wish to participate? Friere (see section 1.4.2) has noted that the language of the dispossessed is silence (Friere, 1972); and while Wupperthal is not a dispossessed community, the same problem of silence and apathy exists. Indeed, it is this very problem which calls forth the need for co-operative enterprises. And herein lies the dilemma: participation is necessary for the adequate functioning of co-operative ventures, but until those co-operatives are functioning adequately participation will remain a myth. How to resolve the quandary? Put another way, Wright (1979)

states that the Yugoslav co-operative experience shows that the more articulate a person, the more likely he is to participate. But, with a silent people, one needs to achieve a certain amount of participation in order to develop the ability to be articulate.

Wright goes on to say:

"It is of vital importance that participation remains voluntary, because to compel people to take part against their wishes would be to add rather than overcome their alienating experiences."

(Wright, 1979, p 14)

Indeed, to enforce participation hardly seems to resolve anything - rather it adds to the people's sense of inferiority and lack of control.

In one instance during the Wupperthal experience, a man elected to a committee refused to accept the position. The fieldworker was put into an uncomfortable position: the man obviously had the right to refuse; one could not enforce participation. But no-one on the committee really wanted to be there; all would rather not have accepted the responsibility. So if this man declined, everyone would feel free to do so. This particular man was of a highly critical disposition and had caused many difficulties in the past. When it was pointed out to him that the right to criticize entailed a certain responsibility, and that if he was not prepared to accept that responsibility then he would be forced to refrain from any form of criticism,

he decided to accept his nomination onto the committee. This incident turned into a salutary lesson for everyone, and a great deal was learned from it. Nevertheless, the majority of Wupperthalers prefer to refrain both from criticism and participation, and the dilemma remains.

Obviously, the process of education is the answer to this problem, but it is extremely slow. The problem here, as noted in section 3.3.5, is that if the learning process does not take place through experience - which means through participation - then what is learned is always abstract, and peasants (or at least those people living in Wupperthal) are not abstract thinkers. Therefore it is very difficult for theoretical education to make an impression on the people. Thus, once again, we are confronted with a different face of the same dilemma: education is necessary for participation, and participation is necessary for education. That an increase in one leads to an increase in the other is fine; but that an increase in one is necessary for any increase in the other can get one stuck in the mire of contradiction. Success in this area often depends on the fieldworker's technique and the gentle art of persuasion.

3.5 THE DILEMMAS OF CO-OPERATIVES

This particular section will be extremely brief, as the points to be raised are not as important as those which have gone before or those to come.

3.5.1 The Dilemma of Committees

This is simply a matter of secrecy as opposed to openness. Given the close nature of the community, the fact that a sentence spoken on one side of the village is acted upon on the other side almost before completion, it is essential that the members of a committee of a co-operative be extremely circumspect in their handling of committee affairs outside of their meetings, because obviously, as in any business, there are sensitive details - often involving personal information about worker/members - which should not become community knowledge. This commitment to secrecy is important because only under such circumstances do committee members - for whom this type of participation is something new - feel free to talk openly about items on the agenda. The knowledge that there can be no personal repercussions for what is said leads to an honest approach to problems; it loosens tongues much as alcohol might, but without the side-effects.

However, the committee should not be working in secrecy, because they are the freely elected representatives of the worker/members. These members, if they are cut off from the process of control and management, not only learn nothing but come in time to resent what appears to be a hoax perpetrated upon them: they are asked to participate but are cut off from understanding - and having information about - issues in enough detail to permit of effective, as opposed to merely nominal, participation.

This problem has been addressed by insisting on monthly meetings of

the general assembly - i.e. all the workers or members together - of all co-operatives, in order that participation may be encouraged. Further, the committee is bound to relate to the co-operative as a whole all those issues which are not secret, immediately subsequent to any meeting.

But the issue of secrecy remains, for there is much that cannot be relayed to the co-operative as a whole. However, the minutes are always open to be read and discussed by anyone provided the committee is present to avoid any misunderstandings which might arise; further, this information is only available to the person who comes to seek it. It must thus represent the result of conscious effort and some degree of responsibility towards one's co-operative. Hopefully, those who go to this trouble will not be the spreaders of rumours.

It is quite possible, though, that the problem mentioned here is peculiar to the Wupperthal situation only - no reference to anything like it has been discovered elsewhere.

3.5.2 The Dilemma of Management

The problem here is possibly more relevant and pertinent than the problem mentioned above; it certainly applies to co-operatives in general and not simply to the Wupperthal situation, as is arguably the case with the latter problem.

The problem concerns the conjunction - or lack of conjunction -

between effective management, or decision making, on the one hand, and the democratic principle on the other. Webb (1920) has suggested that the co-operative principle of one man one vote comes into conflict with effective management. Managers in co-operatives, he claims, will be unduly encumbered by the democratic principle, and poor management will show up in slow and indecisive decision making, lack of clear accountability, poor appreciation of market conditions and so on. This is precisely the dilemma which we find in the Wuppertal experience, and it is most apparent when looking at the glove factory.

There are two situations where this problem comes up with regularity. The first involves the internal functioning of the factory, and the second its external relations. In the first instance, management consists of the committee elected by the workers, and thus has jurisdiction over the internal affairs of the factory. However, the committee members are themselves workers, and are thus largely influenced by workers' feelings and attitudes. As a consequence, while the committee is free to make any decision it may choose, it is in practice constrained by what the workers themselves regard as acceptable. This is not in itself a bad thing, for we are looking for worker participation and practical democracy. However, the dilemma consists of the fact that the workers often think predominantly in the short term, while it is the task of management to plan ahead, to think in the long term. Decisions which may be disadvantageous to workers in the short term may be extremely advantageous in the long. However, it is often difficult to get the workers to see this, as they are not party to

the information and skills with which the committee is continually being supplied. And the result is conflict between the principle of democracy and effective management.

The second problem concerns external relations. The world of business is a fast moving one where immediate decisions are often required in order to maintain a competitive edge. But it is extremely difficult to obtain speedy decisions when meetings must be convened, backgrounds to problems sketched, discussions held, and consensus attempted.

Indeed, there have been instances during the course of this project where the fieldworker has had to bypass the committee and take decisions on his own for purely logistic reasons - the time involved in convening and obtaining results from a committee meeting simply was not acceptable within the framework of the decision to be made.

Another aspect of the problem also intrudes. Alchian and Demsetz (1972) as well as Knight (1957) have pointed to the importance of entrepreneurship and management in effective economic development. Now, not only is the democratic method of the election of management committee not always an insurance that the most effective people will be chosen - in fact the opposite is often the case - but in a rural co-operative it is often the case that effective entrepreneurs simply do not exist, or if they do are more likely to operate on their own than as part of a co-operative group (see Wright, 1979, in this regard). And the problem is further complicated by noting that if management is brought in from outside, superior knowledge and experience amongst this group is likely to alienate the workers and create grave inroads

into the democratic ideal.

Thus in a rural venture of this nature we have a conflict between the project as business and the project as co-operative. This is not an insoluble dilemma, and progress made in Wupperthal, both with respect to the resolution of the problem and with respect to increasing workers' awareness and understanding of the difficulties involved, has been most gratifying. However, it is useful to bear in mind the debilitating effect which this dilemma can have on the co-operative endeavour.

3.6 THE DILEMMAS OF EVOLUTION

The final three dilemmas to be dealt with in this paper concern the sociological aspects of co-operative rural development work. There is no doubt that this kind of work can change the internal functioning of a community; indeed, this is its very purpose. The attempt is being made to raise the consciousness of the community and its members, to change it from one of subservience to the whims of fate to the perception that one can control one's destiny; or at least that there is a point to trying. To convince people of their own responsibility for the situation in which they find themselves is difficult enough even within the context of the First World; it is far easier - indeed at times it seems more logical - to lay the blame on factors external to one's control. The development of self-reliance, however, implies the growth of responsibility - one must begin to see oneself as effective. To do this work within a community which, largely, accepts

its ineffectuality as given is a task fraught with difficulty. Dilemmas abound - three are chosen for inclusion in this paper.

3.6.1 The Dilemma of Civilization



Figure 20 : Leaders of the glove factory involved in confrontation with members.

The heading above is possibly an inaccurate attempt at labelling the problem to be discussed here, but if so, it is a reflection of the difficulty entailed in describing this dilemma.

The development of civilization has taken mankind on a path away from 'collective consciousness' towards the growth of the individual, of the individual ego. We can trace a path which leads from times when all men formed an integral part of what might be called a tribal

consciousness, through increasing differentiation, to a freer, more individual possibility of expression (see, for example, Jung, 1981 and Bronowski, 1976) and the development of individuality has led to the concept of individual responsibility - responsibility becomes one's own task and not something to be projected onto one's gods or community (Steiner, 1977). It appears also, when looking at modern civilization, that the atmosphere of brotherhood which pervaded the tribal consciousness - take the San, or Bushmen, of South Africa as an example (van der Post, 1965) - has given over to a spirit of competition, of selfishness, with the development of the individual ego. And it thus appears to be the case that the co-operative endeavour would work more successfully in a traditional community than in one which displays the differentiation of modern civilization. Thus co-operatives should work very well in Wupperthal.

For the problem of Wupperthal is that, while it is not a tribal society, neither an uncivilized society - it is made up of 'coloured' people who are descendants of a Bushman/European/African mix - it nevertheless displays certain characteristics which are more indicative of an undeveloped society (in the sociological and psychological senses) than of a developed society. Lévy-Bruhl (1926) has stated that in a traditional society joint perception, indefiniteness and vagueness come into play, resulting in confused and diffused thought processes and consequently collective images. He further maintains that it is virtually impossible to draw a distinct line between individual and collective images. "The entire spiritual life of the individual in the traditional culture is totally socialized." (Lévy-Bruhl, 1926 p 106).

This is precisely the situation as we find it in Wupperthal. What most astonished this researcher, and what was most difficult for him to comprehend for, coming as he did from the First World he had no framework within which to comprehend it, was the fact that in this isolated and relatively closed society not only was every person related to every other person in the physical sense - i.e. through family ties - but each person partook of the consciousness, of the thought processes, of the entire community to such an extent that it was difficult to know, in any particular situation, whether one was talking to the person whom one knew or whether that person had slipped into an alternative aspect of the consciousness of the community and was now relating from this new place. The thought processes of each person had the consciousness of the community flowing through it. The entire community had a type of 'group soul' within which each person displayed his or her personalized aspect. To put it briefly, it was difficult to find individuals with enough of a sense of self-identity to allow for the potential of leadership. (But more on this last point later).

Surely the co-operative endeavour, with its emphasis on community and equality, fits such a consciousness? In fact it does not, and herein lies the dilemma. If it is permissible to refer to the traditional society as a child-like society, and to the modern community as an adult one, recognizing that this characterization is made purely from a developmental viewpoint and with no hint or intention of prejudice, then Wupperthal must be described as a child-like society. But the co-operative endeavour in fact requires an extremely civilized bearing in which to thrive. The paradox is that if we equate development of

civilization with development of the ego, it would appear from what has been said above that this negates the possibility of co-operation, whereas in fact the opposite is true. Development of ego, of self-identity, of an adult bearing is necessary for the evolution of responsibility which alone can allow a co-operative endeavour to work. The squabbling of children gives way to the maturity, self-restraint and recognition of interdependence of the adult. It is true that in the First World, or modern civilization, the development of the ego has often not led to the maturity and restraint of the adult but rather to excessive selfishness and individualism; nevertheless, it is claimed by this researcher that through his observations of the co-operative endeavour in Wupperthal it is apparent that the development of ego, of individuality, is essential. It must, however, go further than individuality for individuality's sake; it must develop to the point where it can once again see that its roots lie in society - that it is society, and not simply the individual, which must benefit through the growth of personal responsibility.

Thus, to take a rural, traditional society and attempt to develop co-operatives involves doing two seemingly opposing things at once. It involves the development of ego, of individuality, while at the same time emphasizing co-operation, the value of society. The latter, it has been claimed above, is an outcome of the adequate development of the former; yet the development of the former often frustrates those elements of the latter already present in the traditional society to a greater degree than they are in the developed society. (These elements have already been referred to in section 3.3.1). The

fieldworker is thus required to nurture individualism and collectivism simultaneously. And it is no wonder if the people with whom he is working are often nonplussed at his contradictory statements and attitudes. (X)

3.6.2 The Dilemma of the Community vs. the Individual

This dilemma is in a sense a continuation of the theme developed in the previous section, and is an extremely relevant and important problem. We are concerned, ultimately, with the development of the community; in order to achieve this we must look to the development of the individual. So much has been stated above. What was further pointed out above is the extremely collective, cohesive nature of the community of Wupperthal; the fact that each individual not only forms an integral part of the society but also partakes of the 'group soul' of the community; his consciousness is undifferentiated from that of the community. The only way in which this researcher could come close to understanding the phenomenon was to the use analogy of the bee colony, where the entire population forms one organism, individual bees behaving almost as 'cells' within this organism. If not taken too literally but merely used as an illustrative tool, this analogy assists in understanding the phenomenon.

Now, our problem here is that we have to break into this organism in order to develop individual 'cells' into self-regulating organisms in their own right. It has been noted that "an effective co-operative development requires organization, leadership and entrepreneurial capability developing such a capability is a difficult and

long-term task". (Lele, 1975, p 109). It is not only difficult; it can also be very painful. We have noted already the need for effective management, and the problems this can create. Just as no business is likely to succeed without effective management, so there is little point to an enterprise entering the competitive realm of business without an entrepreneur - or a group of entrepreneurs - at its helm. And the qualities which go to make up the successful entrepreneur - creativity, practical imagination, resourcefulness, self-reliance, forward vision, capacity for long-term thinking - are precisely those qualities which are needed (and which are at present lacking) in Wuppertal itself in order to revitalize the community and set it on the path towards development. Thus are co-operatives necessary to Wuppertal - and by extension to rural areas generally -; for the qualities necessary for both are identical, and the development of these qualities in the one area will assist the other.

But this task has been characterized above as being a painful one, and this brings us to the realm of dilemma. For the development of leadership and entrepreneurial ability in individuals of the community must, of necessity, set these chosen few apart from their fellows, and heralds thus not only the breakdown of the 'group soul' as it has been characterized above but also the breakaway of those individuals destined for development prior to their brothers; indeed, as a prerequisite for the development of their brothers.

In other words, in order to progress we must develop alienation, for blind cohesion - at least so far as Wuppertal has demonstrated -

leads to stagnation. In order to develop the community we must look to the individual, for the prosaic dullness of undiluted community continuity must be offset by the entrepreneurial ability of individual sparks. For the fire must be lit, but in the process of burning it will consume a lot of wood.

The pain in the process comes to those chosen as leaders when they are torn out of the cocoon-like warmth of collective ignorance and bliss. Immediately they set out on the path of development their thinking changes, becomes more independent, individual, self-reliant; and as a direct result they are looked at askance by their community. One incident in particular will serve to illustrate this point, although many could be found. The understudy to the fieldworker, mentioned in section 2.2.2, has displayed admirable entrepreneurial and leadership qualities, while, at the same time, maintaining strong ties with the community. Yet, try as he will, the development of the former attributes conflicts with the latter ties, and the result of his new style of thinking antagonizes certain members of the community, who complain that "hy raak wit" (translated as: "he is becoming white"). So far as this researcher, in his role as fieldworker, is concerned, there are no problems with the community; the fieldworker is white, and an outsider, and his presence is therefore tolerated. But that a member of the community begins to act like a white man - for this is the only way in which they can, at this stage, characterize independent thinking - and like an outsider! This the community finds difficult to accept. And for the individual involved the process of

emancipation is thus rendered very lonely and painful indeed.

However, freedom must be earned, and fought for; there is no question of abandoning these tactics in order to save individuals pain, for these are, after all, growing pains, and necessary to development. But it is important to realize that community and individual must be developed simultaneously and at the same time separately; and that this intensely contradictory process often turns like a corkscrew in the mind of the fieldworker.

3.6.3 The 'Catch-22' Dilemma



Figure 21 : The future lies with the coming generation.

This final dilemma poses possibly the largest and least surmountable problem of all; it is not as amenable as certain others to the

fieldworker's diplomacy.

In order to present this problem a Biblical story may be used as an illustration. This story concerns the Jews and their flight from Egypt. When the Jews departed from Egypt they had to cross the Sinai Desert in order to reach the Promised Land of Palestine. This journey should have lasted three months, being the length of time it takes the Arab Bedouin to cross the desert. The Jews had the advantages of being both fed and led by their God. Yet the journey lasted for forty years! Why? Because Jehovah decreed that no member of the generation born in Egypt would enter the Promised Land, the land of freedom. Only those born in freedom in the desert would be able to enter into the Promised Land. This ruling extended even to their leader Moses. Thus it was acknowledged that there is a slave mentality which is so pervasive in its effects that it would compromise the achievements which needed to be attained in the new land; those born in slavery would never be able to free their thinking enough to cope with the independence which the Jews were to attain in Palestine. Thus is the real iniquity of oppression revealed; the permanently debilitating effect it has on the humanity of the oppressed.

The Wupperthalers have never seen slaves, but they have been - as can be seen from section 1.4.2 - rendered so subservient that the end result is very similar. The helplessness, the feeling of inferiority, the apathy and lack of confidence - these characteristics are shared by slaves and Wupperthalers alike. And from the story used as an

illustration, it appears that, no matter how much democratic, co-operative development work is done, only a limited amount will be achieved with the present working-age generation, and that the real work must be done on the children, that they may grow up in freedom and so be prepared for independence when their generation comes of age.

The problem is, firstly, that there is no secondary school in Wupperthal, with the result that pupils must board away from the village; and second, that because there are few job opportunities available to school-leavers, the very people who should be working within the project are forced to live away from Wupperthal in the city. Thus we are faced with the Catch-22 situation: the development project must progress in order to create more job opportunities, and more workplaces are needed in order to truly allow for the development of the people and the project. The youth constitute the primary resource of Wupperthal, but they are slipping away from the village because of a lack of work opportunity which, in turn, is ultimately dependent on their very presence.

Thus must intensive efforts be made to make sure that as many young people as possible remain in the village. This is an area which, apart from policy directives in the co-operatives themselves, has not really been tackled by this project; it is indeed a long-term proposition.

3.7 THE SIMILE OF THE CLIMBER

In conclusion, a short word to the prospective fieldworker. The above description of problems might seem confusing and insurmountable - yet this is not so. Let us look at the problems faced by the mountaineer.

A man engaged in rock-climbing - particularly difficult rock-climbing - must often make decisions without knowing whether they are right or wrong, and the penalty for failure can be very harsh indeed. Consider a climber clinging to a rock wall, having to decide on his next hold. He can cast about, but eventually he must reach out and entrust himself to the hold of his choice, even when he knows that the efficacy of that hold will only be known once he entrusts himself to it, at which stage - if the choice he made was incorrect - it might already be too late. He must therefore always maintain a sensitive balance between caution on the one hand and rashness on the other; between refraining from committing oneself to a course of action and acting impulsively; between intellectual doubt and intuitive hope.

And this is precisely the attitude which the fieldworker must adopt; never to be over-hasty but at the same time to act positively on his perceptions. With whatever solutions one proposes one is going to be faced with resultant problems; bearing this in mind, the fieldworker need never be too despondent, for each new problem should present itself as an obstacle on the path of development which would not have been encountered had the path not yet been trodden so far as it had.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION AND EVALUATION

TOWARDS THE FACILITATION OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT



*Figure 22 : Kouberg - outstation of Wupperthal - perched high
in the light of early morning.*

4.1 EVALUATION

In this final chapter the intention will be to evaluate the project as whole with respect to its original problem statements and objectives. An attempt will also be made to expand on and to extrapolate from the findings to be recorded here, in order to contribute towards future strategies with regard to the alleviation of rural poverty. It was always the intention that the Wupperthal project would serve as a pilot study for rural development in general (section 1.2), and it is thus an important aspect of this work that the findings it results in remain not simply the property of the Wupperthal experience but that they be used in the service of the eradication of rural underdevelopment generally, wherever possible.

4.1.1 Resumé of Objectives

For the sake of clarity in the discussion which follows, let us take a brief look once again at the problems with which this work is concerned, at the method(s) employed in order to overcome these problems, and thus at the questions which need to be asked in order to evaluate the success or failure of these methods.

We are concerned primarily with the alleviation of poverty and the promotion of development. Specifically, we are interested in three aspects of poverty: first, rural poverty; second, the fact that development efforts thus far have failed in upgrading rural areas and thus in eradicating - or significantly lessening - poverty; and third, we are interested in the cultural, as opposed to the

structural components of poverty (section 1.1). In the light of these problems, and following a study of the Wupperthal situation and an analysis of the 'state of the art' with regard to development theory, it was decided that the 'basic need' of Wupperthal which most needed to be met was that of self-reliance, and the best method for achieving, or inculcating this self-reliance was that of the co-operative enterprise. Because the co-operative method stresses control, participation and responsibility, it was hoped that the method would lead to an increase in awareness and self-reliance, and that this increase in self-reliance would assist in the alleviation of poverty and the stimulation of development from within, as it were. For the search for a self-perpetuating solution must lead into the dynamics of the community itself, and cannot depend simply on outside forces and sources.

Thus we see that the methodology employed in this project - or experiment - was intended to work only indirectly on the problems of poverty and underdevelopment, through the development of self-reliance. So a direct outcome of the co-operative methodology should be self-reliance and, in turn, a direct outcome of self-reliance should be the alleviation of poverty and underdevelopment. Primarily then, self-reliance as a 'basic need' was the essential requirement to be met or generated.

So in the course of this evaluation of the project to date, there are certain basic questions which should be answered. First, how - if at all - has the formation of co-operative enterprises helped to

eradicate or alleviate poverty and underdevelopment; and if it has not, why not? And second, how - if at all - has the formation of co-operative enterprises led to an increase in self-reliance, and if it has not, why not? This second question is perhaps the primary one, as we have noted that: co-operatives = self-reliance = reduction of poverty. However, during the course of the project the facilitation of co-operatives through incoming finance and technical advice might have had a bearing, say, on the work opportunity situation - and thus on poverty - without having effectively influenced the level of self-reliance. Thus it is very important that both these questions be answered, as well as the obvious third one, which states: presuming the co-operative methodology did, in fact, have an influence on the level of self-reliance, how did the latter effect the diminution of poverty?

Thus we will concern ourselves in the next few sections with answering whether self-reliance has been achieved in any degree, and with whether, where poverty has been alleviated somewhat, this has been due to the increase in self-reliance or simply to the fact that a development project was initiated at all.

4.1.2 Answers in Specific Projects



Figure 23 : Rooibos tea : the importance of the land.

It is not the intention in this particular section to delve into reasons for success or failure with regard to the various issues in question. Rather will answers be briefly stated here in order to provide the raw material to be used in the discussion of reasons and causes to follow (section 4.1.4).

Shoe factory: Certainly over the two years duration of the project the shoe factory, from an economic standpoint, has much improved. It has diversified its products, found new markets, and shaken off the spectre of bankruptcy. In the sense that it has more than doubled its workforce and been able to realize numerous increases in wages, it has definitely alleviated poverty to a certain extent in Wupperthal.

However, little if any ground has been gained with respect to self-reliance. The shoe factory and its workers are still totally dependent on the fieldworker and the Central Project Office for all managerial, technical and organizational aspects of the factory. Thus while poverty has been relieved, and development achieved, to a certain extent, this has been as a result of the actual presence of a development project, and not as a result of the development of self-reliance, which has not been achieved.

Glove factory: Once again, this project has definitely made a marked contribution over the last two years to the lessening of poverty in Wupperthal. While it has not been able to increase the wages realized by specific workers, it has certainly been functional in substantially increasing the number of workers, and thus in addressing the problem of insufficient workplaces in Wupperthal. But has poverty been reduced as a result of increasing self-reliance among the workers? Has self-reliance increased appreciably at all? The answer to the former question must be an emphatic no! The Central Office has, as in the case of the shoe factory, been the prime - indeed the only - factor instrumental in increasing the number of workplaces and generally setting the factory on a sound financial footing. But this does not mean that self-reliance has not increased at all. In fact, the answer to the second question posed above must be a qualified 'somewhat'. The factory and its workers have not achieved any meaningful degree of self-reliance, not at least to an extent which would allow the factory to continue functioning without the continuous input of the Central Office. However, certain individuals - notably

the understudy to the fieldworker, the foremen and a limited number of the committee - have advanced considerably, and this, it is proposed, has occurred as a direct result of the co-operative structure of the glove factory, which allowed promising workers to come to the fore and which provided the education and opportunity necessary for their development. Thus, while participation as envisaged in the original project conception has not been particularly successful, the co-operative structure has nevertheless been instrumental in increasing the overall extent of self-reliance to a certain degree. Perhaps, after no more than two years, this has been an adequate advance.

Credit Union: The Credit Union too has contributed towards a lessening of poverty in Wupperthal. One of the reasons for financial stress in the village is the fact that people simply do not understand the value of saving, or believe that on the amount they are earning, it is impossible. Yet those people who have joined the Credit Union, who have a certain amount deducted from their wages every week to be put into the savings account - an amount decided on by each individual - have realized that however little one earns one can always afford to put something away and still survive. And for these people - who comprise 90% of the glove and shoe factories - the advantages of saving and of being part of a loan club and partaking of its advantages has become manifest. The Credit Union has grown appreciably over the last year and thus the benefits which it can provide - in terms of bigger loans, high interest rates, etc - have increased.

Members themselves, however, have little contact with this project

apart from financial, which, except in the case of loans, is largely taken care of for them. Thus, for example, once a member has stated how much he would like to put away each week, this is done for him by the office. But if asked himself to take this same money out of his wage envelope and hand it in at the office he will not be able to do it, and before the following wage packet has arrived, all the money will be quite spent. Thus, while the concept of the Credit Union has impressed villagers to the extent that they make use of it to their advantage, it has not yet penetrated far enough to be able to rely on the self-reliance of the individual to fulfil the function which the office is fulfilling at present. This is one of the reasons why membership has not been opened to the villagers as a whole, but only to project members.

Members of the Credit Union committee, on the other hand, have increased their understanding of financial matters considerably, and can act almost as public relations officers. Between them and the office this project is being run efficiently. The fieldworker has little to do with this project now that it is in relatively smooth operation.

Consumers' Co-operative (Buying Club): This project has demonstrated, both to the fieldworker and to the villagers themselves, how much can be achieved by people who had never believed it possible of themselves, when the need is great enough. The Consumers' Co-operative has not managed to change the status quo in Wupperthal with regard to the general dealer, and thus cannot be said to have effectively

reduced poverty to any noteworthy extent. Yet it has increased the level of self-reliance appreciably, to the extent that, were the general dealer to be transferred by the Church to community ownership, there now exists people and an organization within the community which would be capable of handling the responsibilities. However, what must once again be stated is that the development which has taken place amongst the members of this project has been largely confined to the organizing committee and particularly to the person actually running the society's affairs on a part-time basis from the Central Office, as well as the understudy to the fieldworker. These people have learned management and organizational skills, and most important of all, have acquired a certain amount of negotiating skill. Thus, self-reliance has been fostered, but only within a limited group of members.

Rooibos Farmers' Association: This association, in the initial stages, demonstrated a marked swing from feelings of complete dependence and helplessness to perceptions of what could be achieved through the growth of initiative, co-operation, independence and a positive, self-reliant attitude. A cycle of enduring poverty was broken into and a ray of hope allowed to shine through. Unfortunately, due to the church board's tardiness in replying to the stated needs of this association, it was not possible to capitalize truly on the initial achievements. It is to be hoped that the seeds which have been sown will eventually prove fruitful, but at the time of writing this association has done little to reduce poverty in the area, and the extent to which self-reliance has been increased is

difficult to gauge.

Central Project Office: This project can be dealt with very briefly because it has, in fact, been evaluated in Chapter 2. In the sense that it has been a pivotal structure in facilitating and maintaining the other projects, then yes, it has been instrumental in combatting poverty. It can also be said to have been instrumental in fostering self-reliance in the sense that it has provided a training ground for the bookkeeper/clerk and understudy to the fieldworker. However, only in this limited sense. In any wider sense, in terms of affecting the community as a whole, it has provided limited impetus towards self-reliance apart from the educational base with which it provided the fieldworker. The reason for its extremely limited effectiveness in the realm of social change is that it has not yet developed into the secondary co-operative which was originally envisaged - the reasons for which are provided in section 2.6. Because of this it has not involved either the community or the other projects in a joint co-operative experience, with the result that the increase in self-reliance, dependent on participation, ownership and control, has not been attained by this office, except in the limited sense mentioned above.

4.1.3 Answers in Project as a Whole



Figure 24 : The rainbow as the symbol of renewal and promise.

Has any impression been made on Wupperthal as such, as opposed to in specific projects? Has self-reliance been increased and poverty decreased in general? The answers here must be in the negative. The specific projects undertaken, and the Central Project Office in particular, have had extensive exposure within the entire Wupperthal area, and the project has come to be regarded as a centre and as an alternative to the otherwise bleak future which lies ahead. However, the principles for which the project stands have not made any impression on the population as a whole, nor have they spread through the community via members of specific projects. This is not for lack of exposure, nor for lack of attempted education. But the co-operative ideas have not fallen on fertile ground.

Certain members of each project, specifically those in leadership positions, have done their best to disseminate information, but generally they are not understood or believed. Thus it can safely be said that, thus far, in its attempt to increase self-reliance in Wupperthal as a whole, the project has not met with much success.

Certainly poverty has, in certain areas, been reduced - see section 4.1.2 - not as a result of increasing responsibility and independence but rather simply because of the very presence of a development project. But, once again, the project has not really made many inroads into the poverty situation in Wupperthal generally. The area still depends for its existence on subsidies from the Moravian Church's central office in Cape Town. The people are poor and many depend on receiving money from relatives living and working in Cape Town. The steady, if gradual, drift of people to the urban areas has not been halted. There remains an ineffectual usage of resources; little initiative amongst the people themselves, and the process of disintegration mentioned in section 1.4.2 continues. As opposed to the survey conducted in 1982 - see section 1.4.2 - 60% of the working population in the Wupperthal village itself is now employed, but this still leaves the unemployment rate unacceptably high.

In general, the villagers remain unconvinced of the possibility of a future, or of the fact that that future lies squarely in their own hands. The atmosphere of gloom which pervaded the village at the start of the project has not been lessened appreciably, in spite of successes in certain areas.

4.1.4 Why?

Having reviewed the successes and failures encountered by this development project, the time has now come to analyse the causes of these and to try to understand the reasons for the comparative lack of success encountered by the co-operative methodology in the face of rural poverty. In order to elucidate fully the various considerations involved, it will be necessary to divide the question relating to the causes of results obtained into two components: that component which relates to the external causes and that which relates to the internal. The point here is that there are certain factors involved, extrinsic to the real issues under consideration here, which have put constraints on the efficacy of the methodology employed in the attempt to overcome rural poverty. Thus these aspects will be dealt with first in order to free the reader for objective contemplation of the advantages and disadvantages of the co-operative method of diminishing rural poverty.

4.1.4.1 External Factors



Figure 25 : The Wuppertal church building, built in 1834.

The first factor which has acted as a constraint on this project from its inception to the time of writing, is, strange as it may seem, the Moravian Church itself, or rather the Regional Board of the Moravian Church, which ultimately controls Wupperthal and appoints ministers there as its representatives. The Regional Board was responsible for employing this researcher and fieldworker in the first place; therefore responsible, in an indirect fashion, for approving the direction and indeed the fact of the development project itself. In fact, this was not an indirect endorsement; the Board, while not understanding the situation as it existed (and exists) in Wupperthal in its entirety, recognised that something had to be done to halt the disintegration of its community, that a development project had to proceed which would both alleviate poverty and generate independence amongst the villagers so that a self-perpetuating, forward moving system could be attained. This was viewed as a necessity and priority, and the coming of this fieldworker was seen by the Board as a most opportune event.

Unfortunately, the fieldworker did not understand at the time exactly in what sense his coming was so appreciated. In fact, the reason was that it let the Board off the hook. With a fieldworker conducting research and facilitating a development project, the Board appeared to feel that its responsibilities for Wupperthal were fulfilled, and nothing

more need be done from their side. The result was that requests for finance, for permission for various things - detailed elsewhere in this paper - for assistance in dealing with people and situations where the Board would have more clout, were either ignored or refused. Worse, the Board refused to treat Wupperthal according to the co-operative and democratic principles upon which the project was founded, so that the project's image and direction was doomed to be looked at askance by the Wupperthalers themselves. Finally, and worst of all, recommendations for the restructuring of certain activities - for example the general dealer - along co-operative, communitarian lines were continually rejected. The question thus arose: what were the Board's intentions in employing a development officer? The answer which this fieldworker, after two years involvement, is constrained to give is that he (the fieldworker) was used to fulfil other people's obligations and responsibilities, and that the Board does not have the commitment to development for Wupperthal which it once confessed to. To give the Wupperthalers themselves credit, they realized this all along, with the result that they never fully believed in the viability of the project. Thus the fieldworker's credibility was suspect from the start, for reasons beyond his control. This has done untold damage to the development of the project.

Then, the question of lack of funding for a development

project of this nature is also relevant in its own right. This lack of finance resulted in many of the fieldworker's pronouncements being held suspect, and allowed him to achieve very few of his aims. In retrospect, it appears laughable to have attempted to run a development project of this scale with absolutely no financial backing.

The time factor, too, must be regarded as a constraining influence. This issue will be returned to later, but suffice it to say here that for a development project of this nature to be judged truly, two years is far too short a time. The project tried to instill self-reliance into a people who, for 150 years, had had instilled into them precisely the opposite feeling - it had been assured to them that they, in fact, were definitely not capable of organizing themselves or their affairs. To attempt to reverse this process in two years is impossible - in fact, the project still has a long way to run, and the two year cut-off point is simply for the sake of assessment thus far. The fact that certain people have grasped certain of the principles involved might be regarded as success enough - at least enough to allow the project to continue functioning while waiting for and working towards the hoped for 'snowball' effect.

The depressed economic situation facing South Africa as a whole at present must also be taken into account, for the

project had to battle against factors outside of its control in order to pursue its goal of development. To mention just two of these: the shoe trade has been experiencing grave difficulties over the last year and a half, with many factories having to retrench. This has not allowed the Wupperthal shoe factory the time, space and profits necessary to allow it to adequately reorganize. Then, the low wages paid in the glove factory has provided little incentive or encouragement to workers to look beyond their own immediate needs.

4.1.4.2 Internal Factors

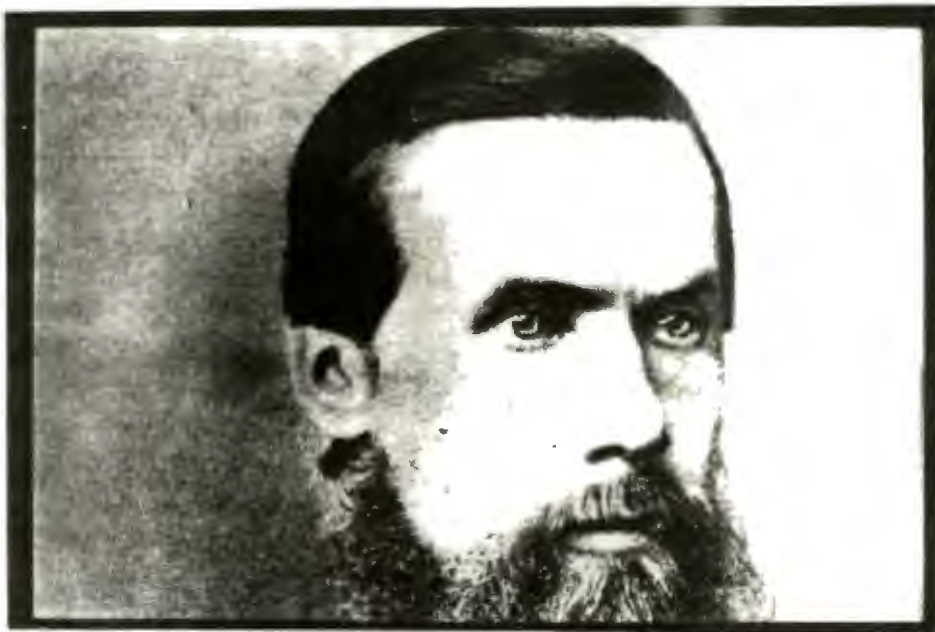


Figure 26 : One of the early missionaries - an imposing presence continuing through to the present day.

If we now go beyond the external limiting factors, what

are the factors intrinsic to the rural situation itself which have mitigated against the success of the project? And what are the factors intrinsic to the methodology employed which have compounded the difficulties encountered within the rural situation?

It should be borne in mind throughout the discussion which follows that we are here concerned with the development of self-reliance as a tool for rejuvenating rural areas. The actual reduction of poverty itself is in a sense a secondary aim, at least as regards the present discussion. For it is relatively easy to envisage a situation wherein an outside entrepreneur comes in and rejuvenates the situation for his own benefit. From the point of view of the present project, however, this would leave Wupperthal little better off than before if the entrepreneur decided to leave. This project has concerned itself with the development of self-reliance as a method of achieving a self-perpetuating system for the reduction of poverty and the restoration of the viability of a rural area so that the environmental problems associated with urban drift and rural disintegration are adequately addressed. Thus, the present project aimed at a change of consciousness, at increasing responsibility and critical awareness, motivation and initiative, in the attempt to achieve a lasting solution to the problems of poverty and underdevelopment. It has been seen that only in limited cases did it meet

with quantifiable success, and in the two years since its inception it has not adequately reduced the need for outside intervention. What then are the reasons for this state of affairs?

The first point which much be confronted - which has, in fact, been touched on before and which will be dealt with again - is time. Time remains of the utmost importance. Time and history.

The history of the people of Wupperthal is one of subservience, of dependence and of security in the knowledge that there was always someone to rely on, either missionary or entrepreneur. This period of dependence has stretched over one hundred and fifty years, and it was a period when the inferiority and dependence of the Wupperthalers was continually emphasised and brought home not simply through the efficiency of the missionaries but also through their very philosophy, which emphasized their paternal role. In retrospect, it was naïve to expect that the people's image of themselves could change drastically over a short period of two years. Development is a long-term process, particularly that type of development which seeks to change the people concerning themselves and not simply to alter their external circumstances. The co-operative process, too, is a long-term one; it requires a certain aptitude for participation as a prerequisite for learning the art

of participation, and this dilemma means that incremental gains are slow and piece-meal. Frere (1972) has stated that in order to change ingrained silence and apathy into the ability to vocalize and participate, a long and intensive period of resocialization is necessary. This period, in the case of Wupperthal, has only just begun with the advent of the present development project, and the co-operative methodology embodies the process of resocialization. So that one should not expect miracles, but should rather attempt to view the situation in perspective. If viewed in this light, then in fact the successes which have been achieved assume more significant proportions. Those project members who have changed, who have developed, have done so largely as a result of the co-operative methodology employed, which has allowed the most responsible people to rise to the surface, as it were; has provided them with the education and inspiration necessary for advance; and has shown them that the process of development is not only necessary but also worthwhile in an individual or personal sense. People who thrive on challenges, on the dangers of stretching their abilities beyond current capacity, are few and far between in Wupperthal; but those that there are, the co-operative method has sought out and nurtured.

Then too, certain projects, such as the Consumers' Co-operative and the Credit Union, as well, to a certain

extent, as the Rooibos Association, have drawn extensively on co-operative principles and in fact would have been impossible to facilitate and organize without use of these principles. And these projects, while not fulfilling all of their aims and while not yet self-supporting, certainly represent an important advance over the previous status quo in Wupperthal.

The second problem with which one is faced in Wupperthal is lack of willpower or, to put it another way, lack of desire for self-reliance in the first place. This in fact follows on from the previous problem. Because the people had always been secure in their dependency, they now resent the necessity for undergoing the stress and pain of having to develop independence, of attaining a state of adulthood, of maturity. Many feel strongly that this is not the only option open to them, that they would prefer to have an entrepreneur or organization continue to take care of them, as in the past. They resent the assumption of the field-worker that the future lies in their hands and their hands alone; simply put, they do not recognize the need for responsibility. Therefore the willpower needed to make participation work is lacking, and this makes the task of development all the more difficult and lengthy.

These difficulties can be elucidated and expanded upon by drawing upon the work of Rothman (1974, pp 417 - 483).

Rothman has studied the diffusion and adoption processes characteristic of innovation and has identified generalized social settings most conducive to innovative action. By contrasting these with the situation at Wupperthal a more insightful picture of the difficulties inherent in the innovations proposed by the current development project may be drawn. Certain of his most relevant findings follow:

- 1) The innovativeness of a social system is directly related to its level of educational attainment (the fact that there is no secondary education available in Wupperthal means that most workers have a relatively low level of educational achievement, for those who do go to secondary school have already weakened their ties with Wupperthal and begun their own process of urban drift).
- 2) The innovativeness of a social system is directly related to previous negative experience (the negative experiences with regard to the entrepreneur mentioned in the paper, and, in fact, with regard to the missionaries - who, in spite of the amount they achieved, must be viewed as negative influences in terms of the principles of this project - have mitigated against the innovations attempted by the project).
- 3) The innovativeness of a social system is directly related to the extent to which it feels a need for

change. (This has already been discussed in terms of Wupperthal - change is perceived as a threat rather than as a need).

- 4) The innovativeness of a social system is directly related to its acceptance of supportive value orientations. These include liberalism and non-authoritarianism. (It has already been noted that the missionaries' presence was characterized by conservative, authoritarian leadership).

It will readily be seen then that the social system met with in Wupperthal is not at all innovative, and that therefore innovative ideas need much groundwork and 'soil preparation' before there can be any possibility of their bearing fruit.

Rothman goes on to note that numerous factors affect the rate of adoption of an innovation. The rate of adoption of an innovation is:

- 1) related to the compatibility with existing values
- 2) varies proportionately with the possibility for incremental adoption
- 3) proportional to the ease of explanation and demonstration
- 4) related to the perceived complexity
- 5) related to the extent of support by society leaders, and

6) directly related to the extent to which community leaders promote it.

If we consider only the last two points mentioned above, the difficulties with which this project has been faced will readily be understood. For, at no time, apart from the initial appointment of the fieldworker, has the Moravian Church, who may be considered the leaders of this society, been supportive of the aims of this development project, and have certainly not promoted it. Within the society itself there are natural leaders who could have been used to this end.

Thus, in sum, we find that the principles of this project, which have been considered by most Wupperthalers to be extreme innovations and radical departures from their traditional modes of thought, actually appeared to have little chance of being accepted at the beginning of the project. The fact that these principles have been accepted by certain individuals, and have actually been successfully adopted by certain groups, points to movement and progress.

There are other problems that have had to be faced as well, chiefly having to do with co-operative methodology as such. Due to the fact that management and technical services were beyond the grasp of all work/members - and still are beyond the understanding of the vast majority - the fieldworker

has had to step in continually to control the functioning of all enterprises. This has served to lessen the autonomy of the workers, which, in turn, has meant that the learning process - assuming that one learns by one's mistakes - has been slow, and that workers have often resented, and very seldom understood, the conflict between the aims of the project and the apparent conduct of the facilitator of that project.

Then, Abell and Mahoney have noted that potential entrepreneurs will join or establish co-operative enterprises when they face (a) limited returns to their capital (b) no guarantee or control of the enterprise and (c) a situation where the benefits of their ideas become a bounded public good within the co-operative. They conclude that:

"... in an economic system where there is a choice between producer co-operatives and private firms, producer co-operatives will normally only be established by those with less entrepreneurial flair and of limited managerial skill."

(Abell and Mahoney, 1982, p 10)

This is a major problem confronting the efficacy of co-operative enterprises. While this argument does not entirely apply within the Wupperthal situation, yet the principle holds good. Those workers who have not been able to develop something of their own are the ones who face the problems of poverty and underdevelopment, and

they are the least equipped to make a success of the co-operative ventures initiated by the project in order to overcome poverty and underdevelopment. So that one is faced by problems which will only be surmounted by drawing the last ounce of potential out of the inhabitants of a rural area such as Wuppertal. And this takes time and effort.

Coupled to this problem is the fact that those individuals who display entrepreneurial flair and ability get singled out for attention, which lessens the force of the co-operative principles of equality and democracy, and thus lessens the acceptance and belief of the workers in what were in the first place difficult innovations.

Finally, and linked to these last points, the brightest individuals generally pack their bags and leave places like Wuppertal for the opportunities for work and advancement perceived to exist in the urban centres. Thus one begins work in such an area at a distinct disadvantage, with the less competent. The whole point of a development project such as this is to reverse this trend, but the task is made that much more difficult when faced with an initial disadvantage such as this.

In order finally to comprehend the difficulties which this project has faced, and at the same time, paradoxically,

the possibilities for renewal inherent in its principles, we will look in the next section at a few further points concerning the co-operative model as a tool for rural development.

4.1.5 The Co-operative Method and Time



Figure 27 : Old man gesticulating.

Co-operative organizations, as such, have a mixed record and are only marginal to most economies. Gelb (1984) points out that, while co-operatives do better in the distributive trades, producer co-operatives may still make a distinctive and important contribution to development programmes, acting as a spur to rapid regional development through promoting industrial growth poles. Thus, in

terms of increasing workplaces and productive efficiency and improving income distribution, co-operatives, while as Gelb points out, providing no ultimate panacea for all problems, may nevertheless provide one significant method of reducing rural poverty.

However, while this may be true, we have been interested in this paper in the question of whether co-operatives can make a significant contribution towards increasing the self-reliance of a community. Here the work of Collins and Collins (1984) becomes extremely relevant. Having worked with co-operatives in rural areas, they pose the question of whether producer co-operatives work as agents for social change in their community. They conclude their paper with the following statement:

"We now believe that co-ops should ideally develop in response to progressive initiative in the community, and not attempt to be that progressive initiative unless there is already a strong critical awareness in the group."

(Collins and Collins, 1984, p 29)

They state that in their experience co-operatives provide a valuable service to their members, and have been able to provide certain limited technical interventions within their communities to aid the latter, but that they are unable to provide the necessary stimulus for the change of consciousness which the growth of self-reliance and responsibility implies within the community as a whole. This point is well taken and the experience of the Wupperthal project bears testimony to it. However, this researcher contends that in

accepting this conclusion at face value not enough regard is being paid to the question of time. For it is logical to expect that time will rectify this situation. If the co-operative method does, in fact, prove beneficial to at least some of the workers within the enterprise, as both Collins and Collins and the present work have demonstrated, and if these workers are members of a larger community, then it seems logical to propose that with time the development of these workers will have a demonstrable effect on their communities, for with the increase in self-reliance, they must become pivotal figures in an otherwise stagnant, subservient and dependent community. In judging the efficacy of the co-operative model of development we should thus make allowances for the fact that little might be achieved, on the surface, within even the first generation after the commencement of a development project. We should recognize that the seed, once sown, will take time to germinate, to grow, to bear fruit. The analogy is, in fact, more correct when used, not in the context of fruit, but rather of nut trees, some of which require dedication, commitment to the future and extreme patience on the part of the farmer who sows the seed. And we should also recognize that this kind of development is far more suited to the temperament of the rural population, and likely to result in more durable, deep and lasting change than the type of development which demands quick returns in the fashion of First World economies. We are thus constrained, as First World proponents of development, to adjust our own thinking and expectations as much as we expect the recipients of development to adjust theirs. If we cannot achieve a healthy balance in this regard, our judgements will remain inconclusive and

our development attempts will be warped by the attempt to impose too harshly one world conception upon another.

The second problem which Collins and Collins raises with respect to the co-operative development methodology is that of the relationship of marginal rural co-operatives with the modern business sector. To quote:

"Internal production is finally controlled from outside by the changing patterns of supply and demand. The workers (in rural co-operatives) interact on unequal terms with suppliers and distributors. This is determined by their position in society, by the behaviour of others towards them, their own negotiating skills, their business and social connections, and the resources they command Co-op members are not part of that social network in which business and trading connections are made and maintained."

(Collins and Collins, 1984, p 13)

This is a very real problem which affects the efficacy of rural co-operatives as viable economic concerns; and if co-operatives do not achieve economic viability it is pointless and perhaps even indulgent to consider them as spurs to development. Economic independence is the only alternative to charity, which later serves to sap self-reliance rather than promote it.

This last problem has been very apparent throughout the Wuppertal experience, and is one of the reasons why the various enterprises remain so dependent on the Central Project Office, and particularly on the fieldworker, for technical services. For the fieldworker remains the only one capable of negotiating adequately with suppliers

and customers, and this is due not least to the fact that he is part of that "social network in which business and trading connections are made and maintained." There are certain project members who are attaining a degree of negotiating skill and confidence, but it is apparent that confidence must first be attained within the internal setting of the co-operative before it can stand up to the harsh glare of the outside world. Thus, once again, time is needed. But confidence is not enough. Skill must be learned through contact with the outside world, and while skill, confidence and knowledge are being built up - and considering the sophistication of the modern business sector this is a daunting task - the co-operative must survive. Thus are we led to conclude that, if the results of this project are viewed sympathetically and it is recognized that with time this method of development may well meet with success, yet there is an extra element which, in retrospect and looking towards the future of this methodology, needs to be added. This element forms the concluding section of this paper.

4.2 EMERGENT THOUGHTS AND PROJECTIONS : ON THE NEED FOR A SUPPORT ORGANIZATION



Figure 28 : Heuningvlei - outstation of Wuppertal : Rural development needs support and guidance from the outside.

Essentially, what has emerged from this project with regard to the role of co-operatives in the fostering of self-reliance in order to reduce rural poverty, aid development and address the problem of excessive urban migration, is the time factor and the need for new co-operatives to be supported on a technical level while the necessary educational and resocialization processes take place. With this support the co-operative methodology has a chance of contributing meaningfully to the development issue. Without it, the efficacy of this methodology is extremely questionable.

Now it has already been noted that the idea behind the Central Project Office was precisely to provide the support mentioned above. However, this Central Office, while at present leading the project, is, in fact, ultimately part of the project itself. It too needs to be developed into a proper secondary co-operative; it needs to be brought to a point of self-perpetuation, self-reliance. It exists at present as an effective unifying force and as a resource base, but its independence will also take time, and it is quite apparent that it will not survive without back-up, with a resource base of its own.

Thus the proposal which emanates from this research project and which this researcher feels is necessary for the future of the co-operative model as a rural development strategy is the formation of a regional support organization(s) which would be situated central to a number of different rural areas - thus probably in an urban setting - and which could act as a resource base for rural development projects by servicing them in the same way as the Central Project Office in Wupperthal presently services the individual ventures: by providing technical services, education, research facilities; by serving as a centre for the channelling of finance; and generally by keeping costs down and providing the protective environment necessary for the incubation of these rural co-operative projects. (See Vanek, 1971)

It is realized that there are contradictions here, seeming paradoxes. An urban office for rural development? Are we not centralizing in the effort to de-centralize, to provide local solutions? What of

the problem, for example, of communication between this office and its projects - meaningful human communication as opposed to bureaucratic? It is important to realize, however, the lessons learned and outlined in Chapter 3 - a sensitive eye is needed, a feel for balance. What is envisaged is not an imposing, centralized command; rather what is being sought is a unifying base, resource centre, umbrella body, around which all the decentralized projects, with their idiosyncracies and their peculiar needs, may revolve in a democratic fashion.

What is being proposed then, is precisely an extension of the Central Project Office as described, and the evolution of this support organization is perceived as being similar to the Project Office: it must be responsible for training and research (especially in terms of fieldworkers) and for technical services, but it must evolve into a secondary co-operative, a service co-operative, run on democratic lines, each separate project area being considered a member. The Moravian Church of S.A. needs such an organization for the development of its outstations, but more important, such an organization - and more than one - is needed for the fostering of rural development generally.

Much work has already been done on the concept and practice of support organizations (Vanek, 1971 and 1975; Royal Arsenal Co-op Society, 1979; Wright, 1979). It is recognized that co-operatives will not survive in inhospitable surroundings without the aid and protection of such organizations. If the present study has succeeded

in demonstrating, if not the ultimate efficacy of the co-operative model in combating poverty and underdevelopment, but at least the necessity for continuing research on these lines - considering the enormity of the rural poverty problems with which we in Southern Africa are faced - then the above proposal must be put into effect if future research in this field is to be considered valid.



Figure 29 : Wuppertal home gardens with mountain backdrop.

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A P P E N D I X I

RULES AND REGULATIONS

OF MORAVIAN

MISSION STATIONS

EVANGELIESE BROEDERKERK IN S.A. (W.K.P)

ORDENINGE VAN SENDINGSTASIE

REËLS EN WETTE AANGAANDE DIE PLAASLIKE ORDE

I. DIE BESTUUR

a) Algemeen

Art. 1: WUPPERTHAL is 'n gemeente van die Evangeliese Broederkerk in die Westelike Kaapprovinsie. Elke inwoner van die nedersetting, hierna genoem Sendingstasie, is 'n lid van 'n gemeente van die Broederkerk. Alle lede van die gemeente soos alle gemeentes van die Broederkerk is lede van die een liggaam waarvan Jesus Christus die Hoof is. Die orde van die Sendingstasie is dus 'n deel van die orde van die Kerk, soos neergelê in die Kerkorde van die Evangeliese Broederkerk.

Die lede van die gemeente staan onder die belofte en vermaning van ons Here Jesus: "Kyk, Ek is met julle al die dae tot aan die voleinding van die wêreld". Die lewe in die gemeente, die orde en toesig, die betrekking tot die Kerk as 'n geheel en tot die owerheid sowel as die Here, staan onder Sy oë.

b) Die Voorstaander

Art. 2: Die plaaslike bestuur berus by die Evangeliese Broederkerk in die Westelike Kaapprovinsie, en wel sy Sinode of Streekbestuur. Die bestuur word in opdrag van die Broederkerk deur die verantwoordelike leraar of ander amptenaar deur die S.B. aangestel as Voorstaander waargeneem. Hy tree in belang van die sendingstasie op, in die geval van onderhandeling met Regerings departemente, openbare liggame en bure na voorafgaande konsultasie met die Streek Bestuur.

c) Die Opsienersraad

Art. 3: Die Voorstaander word in die bestuur van die sendingstasie deur die Opsienersraad (O.R.) bygestaan. Hy is die voorsitter van die Raad en belê die vergaderinge.

Art. 4:

4. 1. Die ledetal van die Opsienersraad word deur die Streekbestuur bepaal.

4. 2. Die ampstyd van elke Opsiener duur 3 jaar. Elke jaar tree een derde van die goedgekeurde ledetal af. Aftredende lede kan weer as kandidate dien.

4. 3. VERKIESING

4.3.1 Die verkiesing vind nie later as 31 Mei van elke kalender jaar plaas nie.

Stemregtig is elker inwoner aan wie inwonerreg toegeken.

4.3.2. As lid van die Opsienersraad kan elke inwoner aan wie 'n beboude woonperseel toegeken is, wat sy volle kerklike en plaaslike regte besit en sy kerklike en plaaslike pligte vir die voorafgaande boekjaar nagekom het, wat oor 21 jaar oud is, en bereid is om sy werk in geestelike verantwoordelikheid te doen, gekies word.

- 4.3.4. Die lys van die kandidate vir die Opsienersraad verkiesing word deur die Opsienersraad opgestel. Hierdie lys moet twee name meer as die aantal vakatures wat gevul moet word, bevat.
 - 4.3.5. Die lys van kandidate, die plek en datum van die verkiesing soos deur die Opsienersraad besluit, moet by die erediens op drie agtereenvolgende Sondae voor die datum van verkiesing, bekend gemaak word.
 - 4.3.6. Die Voorstaander is die Verkiesingsbeampte.
 - 4.3.7. Oor die verrigtings van die kiesvergadering word notule gehou. Die notule word deur die voorsitter en twee stemopnemers onderteken.
 - 4.3.8. Alleen kiesers wat teenwoordig is, mag stem.
 - 4.3.9. Die stemming geskied skriftelik.
 - 4.3.10. Die stemme word getel deur twee stemopnemers wat deur die Opsienersraad benoem is. Indien die stemme gelykop is, moet weer gestem word.
 - 4.3.11. Na afloop van die verkiesing word die name van die kandidate gerangskik volgens die aantal stemme wat elke kandidaat verwerf het. Indien slegs een lid gekies moet word, word die een met die meeste stemme verkose verklaar. Indien daar twee gekies moet word, word die twee met die meeste stemme verkose verklaar, ens.
 - 4.3.12. Die uitslag van die verkiesing word dadelik aan die kiesvergadering bekend gemaak en daarna aan die gemeente by die eerste moontlike geleentheid.
 - 4.3.13. Die nuutgekose lede word aan die begin van hulle dienstyd in 'n kerkdiens aan die gemeentes voorgestel en die aftredende lede bedank.
 - 4.4. Vakatures word deur tussen-verkiesings gevul. Die proseduur van tussen-verkiesing sal geskied volgens Art. 4.3.
 - 4.5. Indien 'n Opsiener sonder skriftelike verskonings drie agtereenvolgende sittings afwesig is, verbeur hy die setel op die Opsienersraad.
- Art. 5: Die O.R. sal ten minste een keer elke twee maande ontmoet. Buitegewone sittings kan na gelang van behoefte te eniger tyd deur die Voorstaander byeengeroep word. Buitegewone vergaderinge kan ook deur skriftelike aansoek deur 2/3 van Raad aangevra word. Kworum is 1 meer as die helfte.
- Art. 6:
6. 1. Die Opsienersraad kies uit haar geledere een as Sekretaris. Hy is verantwoordelik vir die notule van vergaderinge, uitstuur van kennisgewings en alle take soos opgedra deur die Voorstaande of Opsienersraad.
 6. 4. Die Opsienersraad kies uit haar geledere een as Kassier. Hy is verantwoordelik, onder leiding en opdrag van die Voorstaander, vir die boekhouding en verslaggewings van finansiële sake sook opstel van begroting vir oorweging van die Opsienersraad, soos vervat in Art. 7 (6)
 6. 3. Die finansiële jaar eindig op die laaste dag van Februarie elke jaar.

6. 4. Elke jaar nie later as 90 dae na 'die laaste dag van Februarie word aan die inwoners tydens 'n openbare vergadering 'n skriftelike verslag van die plaaslike kas soos deur die Opsienersraad goedgekeur en lê terselfdertyd die begroting vir die volgende jaar, soos deur die Streekbestuur goedgekeur, aan die vergadering voor.

Art. 7: Aan die O.R. is o.a. opgedra.

7. 1. Toesig oor die uiterlike orde van die plaas. ✓
7. 2. Goedkeuring en herroeping van woonreg. ✓
7. 3. Indeling van erwe, kampe, saailande en tuine ✓
7. 4. Toesig oor algemene werk, en/of insameling van vergoeding daarvoor.
7. 5. In standhouding van "algemene" heinings en paaie.
7. 6. ✓ Toesig oor die water, leivore, bos, veld en grense.
7. 7. ✓ Bestuur van plaaslike kas.
7. 8. ✓ Plaaslike regulasies in verband met water., landbou bv. (Weiregte) en gesondheidsaangeleenthede bv. (sanitasie) op te stel.
7. 9. Die voorstaander in kennis te stel van enige onreëlmatighede of gevaar wat die Sendingstasie en sy bewoners benadeel.
7. 10. Om die voorstaander by te staan deur advies en die uitvoering van opdragte.
7. 11. ✓ Aanbevelings aan die Streekbestuur vir die kort termyn of langtermyn beplanning vir ontwikkeling voor te lê.

Art. 8: Die plaaslike kas ontvang alle heffings vir plaaslike regte van die inwoners en ander plaaslike inkomste en betaal alle plaaslike uitgawes, 'n bedrag aan A.K.K. volgens begroting. Alle uitbetalings geskied sover moontlik per tjek.

Art. 9: Die Opsienersraad behou die reg om sub-komitees (of Kommissies) aan te stel om spesifieke take namens die Opsienersraad of wanneer versoek

Art 10: OPENBARE VERGADERING

Die O.R. kan vergaderinge van volwasse inwoners byeenroep, om publiek aangeleenthede te bespreek. Die O.R. bepaal wie dit mag bywoon. Die Voorsitter van die O.R. tree op as Voorsitter en die Sekretaris van die O.R. neem notule en gee verslag van die besprekings aan 'n daaropvolgende vergadering van die O.R.

Art. 11: DIE GRONDBESIT

11. 1. ✓ Die grondbesit is op die Evangeliese Broederkerk in die Westelike Kaapprovinsie getransporteer. Die transportakte word deur die Streekbestuur bewaar.
11. 2. ✓ Die grond is ingedeel in erwe (wwonreg), kampe, weivelde, tuine.
11. 3. ✓ Die werf, die pastorie, die winkels, slaghuis, tuin en bos van die werf asook enige grond en/of gebou (bv Polisie, Poskantoor) wat volgens 'n ooreenkoms deur die Streekbestuur verhuur word (Sien K.O. art 77 (6) (4) staan direk onder die toesig van die Streekbestuur (Kerk, skool en begrafplaas staan onder toesig van Kerkraad).

Art. 12: Die Kerkraad en Streekbestuur betaal geen belasting vir eiendom wat deur die Kerkraad of Streekbestuur bestuur word en waarvoor die Afdelingsraad of ander owerheid geen belasting van die O.R. invorder nie.

Art. 13: Die Opsienersraad hersien jaarliks die heffings betaal moet word in die lig van die waarde van die erwe (wwoonreg), tuine, lande, kampe, weiveld soos bepaal deur die plaaslik owerheid (Afdelingsraad) en in die lig van ontwikkelingsbehoefte.

INWONERS: REGTE EN PLIGTE

a) INWONER

Art. 14: 'n Inwoner is 'n persoon oor 21 jaar aan wie die Opsienersdeur 'n formele besluit in 'n Opsienersvergadering, inwoonreg toegestaan is en wie die Ooreenkoms (Sien Art.44) onderteken het.

b) INWOONREG

Die O.R. bepaal die voorwaardes vir woonreg/inwoonreg met dien verstande dat slegs lidmate van die Evangeliese Broederkerk woonreg en inwoonreg toegestaan mag word.

Kinders van inwoners het aanspraak op die inwoonreg deur geboorte. Hulle aanvaar die regte en pligte wat daarmee verbonde is, deurdat hulle na hulle 21ste verjaarsdag die ordeninge onderteken. Hulle verbeur dit as hulle nie binne 1 jaar na bereiking van die 21ste verjaarsdag aansoek doen nie, of as dit vir hulle weens oortreding van die ordeninge deur O.R. ontsê word.

Minderjariges is onder die sorg en toesig van die ouers wat woonreg het, en woon op die sendingstasie onder die voorregte en verpligtinge van hul ouers slegs tot hul 21ste verjaarsdag. Indien minderjariges deur die O.R. van wangedrag beskuldig word, kan O.R. na waarskuwing aan ouers en minderjariges, dissiplinêre stappe teen ouers en/of minderjariges neem.

Inwoners wat voor 21ste lewensjaar in die huwelik tree, mag inwoonreg toegestaan word.

Die Opsienersraad behou die reg om tuine, lande, kampe, en of wiedzingsregte toe te ken aan persone bo 18 jaar ook as nog geen huisperseel vir woonreg toegeken is teen 'n heffing soos van tyd tot tyd bepaal.

* Sulke persone of gesinne moet vooraf van 'n woning verseker wees.

Persone van elders aan wie inwoonreg toegestaan word, betaal 'n inkomregfooie soos deur die Opsienersraad vasgestel waar van toepassing.

Art. 15: 'n Persoon van elders wat met 'n inwoner in die huwelik tree nadat hy/sy lid van die gemeente geword het, mag inwoonreg verkry indien sy/haar aansoek deur die O.R. toegestaan word, en die ordeninge onderteken is.

Art. 16: Persone en families van elders kan op dieselfde manier (sien Artiekl 15) inwoners word. Hulle onmondige kinders verkry daarmee aanspraak op die inwoonreg. Mondige persone moet apart daarvoor aansoek doen.

Art. 17: Die erwe vir woonhuise word deur O.R. aangewys. Slegs sulke huise wat deur die plaaslike owerheid (Afdelingsraad) goedgekeur is, word toegelaat. Bouplanne moet deur die inwoner voordat hy begin bou in drievoud aan di Voorstaander oorhandig word. Hy dien die planne by die plaaslike owerheid in. Binne 3 jaar toekenning van 'n erf moet 'n woonhuis daarop gebou word., anders verval die toekenning. Inwoners aan wie 'n woonperseel toegeken is, betaal heffing soos deur Opsienersraad bepaal.

Art. 18:

18. 1. Elke huisgesin moet 'n afsonderlike woning bewoon.
18. 2. In uitsonderlike gevalle kan skriftelike toestemming vir 'n bepaalde tyd deur die O.R. of deur die Voorstaande toegestaan word.

Art. 19:

19. 1. Wie permanent die sendingstasie verlaat, verkoop sy huis met toestemming van O.R. aan 'n inwoner mits hy die Ordeninge onderteken het en inwonreg deur die O.R. toegeken is.
19. 2. 'n Inwoner aan wie wwonreg met huis toegeken is, en tydelik elders woon, stel 'n goedgekeurde inwoner voorlopig as opsigter daarvoor aan wat in sy plek verantwoordelik is.

Art. 20: As 'n huisvader sterf, neem sy weduwee die regte en die pligte van die erf oor. Ouers kan die geboue aan een van hul kinders wat inwoonreg het, deur skriftelike testament bemaak.

Art. 21: Die huise en omheining van persele moet deur die eienaars in 'n goeie toestand van reparasie tot tevredenheid van die O.R. instand gebou word. Rondom die huise moet skoon gehou word.

Art. 22: TYDELIKE VERBLYFREG

22. 1. Die Voorstaander van O.R. mag 'n tydelike verblyfreg uitreik. Sulke toestemming word aan 'n volgende O.R. vergadering voorgelê vir goedkeuring, kanselering of verlenging. Die O.R. bepaal watter geldelike verpligtinge hulle het.
22. 2. Geen inwoner mag vreemdelinge (nie-inwoners) huisves sonder toestemming van die O.R. of Voorstaander nie.
22. 3. Hierdie Sendingstasie is nie 'n skuilplek vir wetsoortreders, leegleërs en werkskuwes nie.

Art. 23: KAMPE

23. 1. Kampe, tuine en saailande word deur die O.R. aan inwoners op jaarlikse basis verhuur.
23. 2. Landbougrond mag egter vir langer as 'n jaar op 'n kontrak verhuur word. 'n Huurder wat sy verpligtinge tot tevredenheid van die Opsienersraad nakom mag vernuwing of verlenging vir 'n verdere termyn verkry.

Art. 23 4. Inwoners moet hulle kampe omhein en die omheining tot tevredenheid van die O.R. in stand hou. Wie sy kamp se slote nie tot tevredenheid van die O.R. behou nie, verbeur sy reg daarvoor

Art. 24: TUINE

24. 1. Slote van tuine moet skoongemaak word tot tevredenheid van die O.R. Huurders van tuine wat 2 jaar die tuin onbewerk laat, verbeur dit. Die O.R. kan deur die Voorstaander huurders kennis gee om binne bepaalde tyd heinings, walle en slote in orde te bring. By versuim verbeur hul dit.

Art. 25: WEIVELDE

25. 1. Die O.R. bepaal in samewerking met die Departement van Landbou en Tegniese Dienste watter vee en hoeveel stuk op die algemene weiveld toegelaat word, asook watter dele van die veld daarvoor oopgestel word (wisselweiding)
25. 2. Elkeen moet sorg dat hekke behoorlik toegemaak word, en dat sy vee onder toesig is. Elkeen wat skuldig is om hek oop te laat mag beboet word. Elkeen is vir skade wat deur sy vee ontstaan, verantwoordelik. Skadevergoeding word deur die O.R. bepaal.
25. 3. Die vee word snags in veilige stalle, krale of kampe gehou. Varke word altyd ophok gehou. Huurders wat vee nie tot tevredenheid van die O.T. oppas nie, kan kort kennis gegee word om vee van grond te verwyder of kan weireg ontsê word.
25. 4. Niemand mag vreemde vee op die sendingstasie aanhou sonder toestemming van die O.R. nie.
25. 5. Die veld mag net met toestemming en onder toesig van die O.R. gebrand word.

Art. 26. DIERE, PLUIMVLEE EN VOËLS

26. 1. Honde mag net met 'n permit aangehou word. Hierdie permit kan deur die voorstaande met kennisgewing van 24 uur gekanselleer word.
26. 2. Die O.R. behou die mag om pluimvlee en duiwe te beperk.

Art. 27. BOME

27. 1. Die bos is 'n waardevolle aanwinst van die plaas. Dit is in die belang van almal dat dit bewaar en uitgebrei word. Droë vuurhout (op onverhuurder grond) is tot vrye gebruik vir almal, maar die kap of breek van groen hout word deur die O.R. kontroleer.
27. 2. Die reg om te jag en die aanhou van byeneste vereis die toestemming van O.R.
27. 3. Die liefde vir die natuur word aangemoedig.
27. 4. Veldblomme mag net met permit van die Voorstaander gepluk word.

Art. 28 WATER

28. 1. Die voorsiening van drinkwater en leiwatervoorraad word deur die O.R. beheer en gereël. Dit is in die besondere belang van die sendingstasie dat voorskrifte in verband daarmee deur almal stiptelik nagekom word. (sien regulasie oor landbou).

Art. 29: HEFFINGS

O.R. bepaal hoeveel vir die woonreg, die erf, die water, die huur van landbougrond, weiregte, die kap van hout, sanitasie-dienste ens. betaal word. Hierdie heffings moet stiptelik jaarliks betaal word voor 28 Februarie van die jaar tensy O.R. anders bepaal. Wie daarmee agter raak, kan sy regte as inwoner gedeeltelik of geheel deur O.R. ontnem word. Die O.R. behou die reg om rente te vra vir egterstallige bedrae.

Art. 30: HANDELSREGTE

30. 1. Slegs die Streekbestuur het die reg om handelsregte van enige soort toe te ken.

Art. 31: VOORSKRIFTE VAN STAATSDEPARTEMENTE

Elke huurde van grond is vir sy deel verantwoordelik om voorskrifte van staatsdepartemente, soos bv. aangaande sanitêre maatreëls, onkruidsbestryding en grondbewaring na te kom.

Art. 32: ALGEMENE WERKE

Sekere werke van algemene belang mag deur 'n gemeenskaplike poging van alle volwasse manlike inwoners verrig soos deur O.R. bepaal. Die O.R. behou die reg om heffings te maak vir die bevordering van die bestaan van die hele gemeenskap.

Art. 33: DIE SAMELWEING

Dit word van elkeen wat op die sendingstasie woon, verwag dat hy of sy na die woord van God lewe. Alle inwoners staan onder herderlike sorg van die Broederkerk en het hulle deur hulle handtekening vrywillig verplig om die plaaslike en kerklike orde na te kom.

Art. 34: DIE SONDAG

Die Sondag word as die dag van die Here, van die verkondiging van sy woord, en van rus, heilig gehou. Dit word van elke inwoner en sy/haar gesin verwag om die eredienste op Sondae, en sover moontlik die ander dienste by te woon.

Art. 35: DIE GEDRAG

35. 1. Elke inwoner is verplig om hom/haar ordelik te gedra en hom/haar van onsedelikheid, dronkenskap, vloek, laster, bygeloof, towery en ander aanstootlike gedrag te onthou.
35. 2. Die maak van enige sterk drank, en die verkoop van sterk drank op die nedersetting en dwelmiddels inbring na die nedersetting is ten minste belet. Daar sal beslag op gelê word sonder dat vergoeding geëis kan word

Art. 36: KINDERS

36. 1. Elke hoof van 'n huisgesin is verantwoordelik vir die orde in sy/haar huis. Hy/sy dra sorg dat die kinders in die tug en vermaning van die Here opgevoed word en tot volwaardige lede van die samelewing ontwikkel.

36. 2. Kinders van skoolgaande ouerdom is verplig om die skool by te woon totdat hul die staatsvoorgeskrewe ouerdom vir skoolplig bereik het of minstens die hoogste standerd in die plaaslike skool geslaag het.
36. 3. Jongmanne en jongdogters word aangemoedig om goeie geselskap en werksaamhede op te soek en slegte gesleskap en rondlopery te vermy. Onberhoorlike gedrag op die sendingstasie word bestraf.

Art. 37: GASTE

37. 1. Gaste wat oornag of vir 'n naweek bly, word by 'n Opsieners aangemeld.
37. 2. Inwoners wat gaste vir langer as 'n naweek huisves, moet van die Voorstaander 'n skriftelike toestemming verkry.

Art. 38: GESKILLE

Geskille tussen inwoners oor publieke sake word voor een of meer opsieners gebring en as hulle nie tot 'n vergelyk kom nie, voor die Voorstaander of O.R. Elkeen wat na die Voorstaander of 'n sitting van O.R. geroep word, moet verskyn. Sulke kennisgewings geskied skriftelik deur die Voorstaander. Indien 'n persoon versuim om op skriftelike kennisgewing te kom, word tot 'n maksimum drie maal skriftelik gegee, en by versuim van opdaging, kan O.R. besluit om sekere regte tydelik of permanent in te trek.

Art. 39: VERENIGINGS

39. 1. Verenigings wat die samelewing bevorder, word aangemoedig. Hul stigting en bestaan is egter van die goedkeuring deur die Kerkraad afhanklik..
39. 2. SPORT FASILITEITE: Die O.R. mag voorsiening maak vir sport fasiliteite en sal voorwaardes vir die gebruik daarvan skriftelik bepaal.

Art. 40: VERGADERINGS

'n Publieke vergadering kan slegs met toestemming van die O.R. plaasvind. In noodgevallen mag die Voorstaander toestemming daartoe verleen.

Art. 41: DIE LANDSWET

42. 1. Elke inwoner is verplig om die landswet te gehoorsaam. Die polisie het die plig om oortreders van die landswet te vervolg. Vir sekere oortredings sal die polisie deur die Bestuurder of sy gevolgmagtigde ingeroep word.
42. 2. Die uitspraak van die Streekbestuur is finaal en elke inwoner verpligom/haar om die Streekbestuur as hoogste gesag van Appel oor sake rakende die orde en bestuur van die Sendingstasie, te aanvaar.

Art. 43: UITVOERINGSBEPALINGS

43. 1. Hierdie ordening is deur die O.R. van alle Sendingstasies aangeneem en deur die Streekbestuur van die Evangeliese Broederkerk in die Westelike Kaapprovinsie goedgekeur, Enige wysigings daarvan moet deur die Streekbestuur goedgekeur word.
43. 2. Wanneer 'n inwoner sy/haar woonreg verloor en weie om die stasie te verlaat, kan na goedkeuring van die Streekbestuur wetlike stappe geneem word om hom/haar te verwyder.

Art. 44: OOREENKOMS

Elke inwoner is verplig om 'n OOREENKOMS te onderteken, (vir voorbeeld sien aangehegte vorm) om sodoende voorregte en soos vervat in hierdie Ordeninge te mag geniet.

OREENKOMS

Die Evangeliese Broederkerk in die Westelike Kaapprovinsie, wettige eienaar van hierdie Sendingstasie en daarby behorende buiteplekke en gronde verteenwoordig deur die Voorstaander as Uitvoerende Amptenaar van die Evangeliese Broederkerk, van hierdie Sendingstasie en opwie die take van Administrasie opgelê is, en deur die Opsienersraad bygestaan word, en behoorlik hiertoe gemagtig, kragtens 'n aanstelling gegee deur die Streekbestuur van die Evangeliese Broederkerk.

"Aangesien aan my as inwoner van hierdie Sendingstasie, die reg toegestaan word om in hierdie gemeente van die Evangeliese Broederkerk te lewe en nadat die ordeninge deeglik aan my verduidelik is, belowe ek deur my handtekening voor die Here om hierdie ordeninge stiptelik na te kom. Ek is bewus daarvan dat ek my regte op hierdie Sendingstasie en behorende buite-plekke, of my onbehoorlik gedra, of my aan die plaaslike gesag onderwerp nie, en dat ek dan geen reg het om enige vergoeding te eis nie, maar indien so versoek deur die eienaar die gronde moet verlaat.

Huurder: _____

Plek: _____

(Voorstaander (Namens Streekbestuur))

Getuies: 1. _____

2. _____

Datum: _____

APPENDIX 2

PROFIT POTENTIAL OF WUPPERTHAL SHOP

A. KAPLAN, Sept. 1983

At present, the Consumer's Co-operative has 30 families buying R2 600-00 worth of goods each week from Ramskop Supermarket in Clanwilliam.

According to Ramskop, the profit margin here is 10%; thus Ramskop is making R260-00 from 30 families each week.

This is R1105-00 per month.

Now the village of Wuppertal has approximately 110 families. This realizes a profit potential of R4051-00 per month from Wuppertal alone.

But the outstations of Wuppertal - including all villages and settlements which are dependent on the Wuppertal shop - has a further 330 families.

Now we have worked out - above - that one Wuppertal family exhibits a profit potential (to a shop) of R36-80 per month. Let us say that each outstation family exhibits a profit potential equal to only 2/3 of the Wuppertal families - this is a conservative estimate.

The leaves us with a profit potential from the outstations of R24-53 per family, and at 330 families, this equals R8094-00.

Thus we have a profit potential in total of R12 146-00 per month.

APPENDIX 2 (contd)

But it must be borne in mind that these figures are obtained using a 10% mark-up, which is very low. The average mark-up of the incumbent shop-keeper is 30%, thus realizing a correspondingly higher profit potential.

It should also be realized that these figures concern the general dealer alone and do not include the cafe, which is, in itself, a lucrative enterprise.

Considering the financial state of the Wupperthal station as a whole, and of the project in particular, it seems to me criminal that one man - and an outsider at that - is siphoning off the much needed funds which are being generated by Wupperthal and which could be used for the development of the community.

APPENDIX 3

Die Streek Bestuur
Evangeliese Broeder Kerk
Landsdown
KAAP

Geagte Voorsitter en lede van die Streekbestuur

Namens die ondergetekendes en lede van die gemeenskap, Wupperthal, wens ons hierdie uiters noodsaaklike skrywe aan u te rig.

Toe dit bekend geword het dat wyle Mnr. E. Stopka Wupperthal sou verlaat en dit bekend geword het dat die Kerkbestuur Wupperthal op die pad van selfstandigwording gaan plaas, het 'n aansienlike verteenwoordiging van werkers verstoë deur middel van one plaaslike bestuurder t.w. Eerw. Potberg tot u gerig i.v.m. die winkel en sy sakegebondenheid.

Die verteenwoordiging het 'n dringende pleidooi tot die Streekbestuur gerig om tog nie die winkel los te maak van die projekte wat die geldelike inkomste van 'n groot deel van die inwoners verseker nie.

One versoek egter, het blykbaar op dowe ore geval en was onsuksesvol met die gevolg dat geen hydrae deur die winkel gelewer is tot sover vir die suksesvolle ontwikkeling van die bestaande projekte nie.

Gebeure uit die verlede het onteenseglik bewys dat die winkel die belangrike onlosmaakbare hulpbron vir die bestaande projekte asook vir die wat nog beplan word, is. Dit na ondervinding van ongeveer tien maande in die handskoenbedryf vir veel langer in die Skoenbedryf baie duidelik voelbaar dat t.o.v. die winkel die verkeerde besluit geneem is. OMDAT:

- (1) Alles wat deur harde werk en inspanning deur projekte "anders as di'e van die winkel" verdien word in een privaat persoon se sak gaan en niks daarvan hoegenaamd terugvloei na enige besigheid nie. Hierdie feit stem die mense wat uiterste pogings aanwend vir 'n voortbestaan van die projekte tot mismeedigheid en ontevredenheid.

Die winkel kan die lewegewende inspuiting wees vir bestaande projekte met al sy voordele, mits hy net soos die ander ko-operatief in die gemeente funksioneer. Verder is die WINKEL die noodsaaklikste projek wat by alle projekte in die gemeente ingeskakel behoort te wees.

Laat ons dit aan u duidelik stel: Die gemeente is Moeg daarvan om een man se sak vol te maak terwyl ons moet swoeg en selfs soms ly.

Dit is onverstaanbaar en onaanvaarbaar dat ons deur ons Kerkleiers op die pad van selfstandigwording geplaas is sonder die noodsaaklikste hulpbron tot ons beskikking.

Die vorige besigheids eienaar het die by herhaling genoem dat hy sonder die hulp van die winkel nooit instaat sou gewees het om te bereik en te verrig wat hy wel bereik en verrig het nie.

Is ons as inwoners van Wupperthal dan op hierdie stadium nog nie geregtig om regmatig deel te hê aan dit wat ons Vaders 'en ons met sweet opgebou het nie?

Om ons lone in die hands te kry moet daar ten minste vier maal per maand na Clanwilliam gegaan word om geld uit die bank te trek wat jaarliks R2 400,00 aan vervoerkoste beloop. Hier kon die winkel die geld voorgeskiet het en dit sou ons baie uitgawes bespaar het.

Ons is reeds met projekte besig. Vir sulke pogings moet elke keer by die Kerk om geldelike hulp (wat nie altyd daar is nie) aangeklop word, terwyl die winkel daar kon gewees het om die nodige daar te voorsien.

'n Ander baie belangrike saak oor die winkel is: (en dit gaan die gemeente baie nadelig raak,) dat die huidige winkeleienaar al sy goedere of privaat of deur ander maatskappye laat vervoer en geen gebruik feitlik maak van die busdiens nie. Dit kan net een ding beteken: Dat ons die busdiens gaan verloor en dit gaan groot ongerlik en enorme uitgawes vir ons beteken.

- (1) Ons sal alles na en van die Stad self moet vervoer teen enorme koste wat sekerlik ons ondergang sal beteken.
- (2) Mense wat gewoonlik met vry kaartjies van bus en treindienste hospitale in dit stad gebruik maak sal in vervolgn voertuig tot by die naaste train of busstasie moet huur teen onnodige koste.

Ons is onlangs nog deur die mense van die Spoorweë gevra om iets omtrent die vervoer van goedere te doen want die dreigement van die spoorweg owerheid is geen ydele nie.

Hierdie mense ken ons omstandighede en hulle is ons goedgesind daarom probeer hulle om die ding te verhoed maar, veel langer sal dit seker ook nie meer duur nie. Ons poging tot selfstandigwording word tans knouend gekortwiek weens gebrek aan die vernaamste helpbron n.l. DIE WINKEL.

One dringende versoek aan u sal wees: Skenk asb. aandag aan ons nood. Ons vra van u opregte samewerking en aandag aan hierdie saak. Laat die winkel by die plaaslike projekte ingeskakel word of verleen toestemming aan ons vir 'n tweede winkel.

Ons vra u, moet ons asseblief nie weer die voorreg om van ons kragtigste hulpbron gebruik te maak ontsê nie.

Ons maak staat op u begrip van ons probleme.

Met dank

Die uwe's

APPENDIX 4

PREAMBLE TO CONSTITUTION

ROOIBOS TEA MEETING 25/3/83

Proposal for the Formation of an Association of Rooibos Tea Farmers farming within the Borders of Wupperthal:

While Recognizing the fact that we are all independent farmers and wish to remain so, we realize that the problems with which we are faced are not going to be solved through individual effort, but rather require a united front and a co-operative framework and spirit for their solution. The development of the Rooitee Industry of Wupperthal, which means so much to this community both in terms of economic development and the growth of wise land management practices, needs to be fostered by an association of independent farmers committed to helping each other and the project grow towards self-sufficiency.

For the problems which face us are many:

1. Each farmer needs capital with which to develop his land, for land must be adequately prepared and fenced long before the farmer will see a financial return from his crop. Individually, this capital is not available. As an association we will be able to generate a reserve fund which will be available as loans to members.
2. Farmers are at present experiencing much opposition to expanding their lands due to the fact that most of Wupperthal's land is reserved for grazing. Yet land-use practices and the land itself have not been adequately studied in order to ascertain whether such land restrictions are merited. An association of farmers will constitute an official forum through which management and land-use practices can be investigated, so

that both small-stock farmers and Rooibos farmers can make the most out of the land while ensuring that the land is at the same time improved, and that friction does not arise between groups of farmers in future.

3. The processing of Rooibos tea at the co-op in Clanwilliam is entirely uneconomic. A processing barn needs to be erected in Wupperthal. This barn would form the centre of an association of farmers; would ensure lower transport costs for farmers; would generate more work in Wupperthal itself; would generate a reserve fund to be available to farmers; would ensure that farmers could harvest their tea when it suited them; and would ensure that during years of surplus when the Clanwilliam co-op reduces its purchase of wet tea, we could stockpile dry tea here in Wupperthal.
4. Farmers need to build up a store of technical knowledge about Rooibos cultivation. It is difficult for the individual farmer to reach the sources of expert advice. It will be far easier to collectively reach and make use of these resources.
5. Materials necessary for Rooibos cultivation (from tractors to fencing to insecticides) are often too expensive for the individual farmer to buy. Collective buying power will help immensely.

Therefore we have decided to form an association. This association will elect a managing committee - consisting of two farmers from Eselbank, two from Heuningulg, and one from Wupperthal - which will ensure that the aims of the association will be attained with the minimum of wasted effort. This committee will be elected for one year, at the end of which time new elections will be held. This committee will work closely with the central project office of Wupperthal, which will provide management service, research facilities, and has the right to apply for grants and loans, and to exert pressure on behalf of the association where

necessary. The association will thus become one of the projects for which the office is responsible, and will in time form a committee, together with the other projects, for the running of the central office.

This committee of the Rooibos Farmers Association, together with the central office, will commit itself to fulfilling the following tasks as soon as possible:

1. The collection of information as to the relationship, at present between land use and size of crop; between size of crop and profit; the difference between the selling price of wet and dry tea; the price of fencing, the price of land preparation, etc.
2. The presentation of an official request to the church board that the restriction on Rooibos land expansion be thoroughly investigated in order to ascertain whether it is justified or not, and whether land use practices generally can be improved. Thereafter, the central project office will undertake a thorough charting and mapping of the land in terms of its potential uses, its animal carrying capacity, its Rooibos producing capacity, etc. Such a land use map will help towards a more knowledgeable and efficient distribution of land.
3. To put into motion the plan of obtaining or building a processing barn, and to investigate the amount of machinery available and the amount that needs to be purchased or repaired. Also to investigate the technical know-how needed, and to make a start in acquiring that expertise.
4. To investigate means of raising the necessary capital for the project, both from within the association and from outside sources.

Needless to say, all these tasks of the committee - and there will be more than mentioned here - are the respon-

sibility also of the association as a whole and of the central project office. The committee will merely help to organize and facilitate the work.

The association of Rooibos farmers, as has been stated, will centre around the processing barn. It is envisaged that the organization will work as follows:

The association and the central project office will see to the building or obtaining of the barn, to the purchase and repair of necessary machinery, and to the acquisition of the necessary technical expertise and labour force.

At harvest time, farmers are free to deliver wet tea straight to the Clanwilliam co-op if they so choose, but will be encouraged to deliver to the association's own barn. They will be paid for the wet tea at the same rates as the Clanwilliam co-op. After the tea has been processed it will be transported to Clanwilliam and sold. Of the profit thus realized by the processing barn, a proportion will be retained to pay back capital grants; another proportion will be retained to serve as a reserve fund to assist farmers needing loans; and the rest will be divided among the members of the association according to the amount of business done by each member with the processing barn.

It is in this way that the project will begin to grow. Farmers will be free to operate independently but will be encouraged to utilize the services of the association and to aid the association wherever possible, as only thus will the association grow into an organization capable of assisting the individual farmer.

There are obviously many details which need to be sorted out. This proposal is to be seen as a declaration of intention, as a beginning. Without the formation of the association, without the election of the committee, the central project office will find it extremely difficult to do by itself all that needs to be done.

We as Rooibos farmers recognize one very important point: if we do not begin to help ourselves, and by working together help each other, then we can expect no help from outside. But if we band together we can generate enough energy, enough momentum, to achieve something worthwhile and to attract outside aid at the same time.

It is with these thoughts in mind that we today propose the founding of an asociation of Rooibos farmers.

Signed by: _____

WUPPERTHAL ROOIBOSTEE VERENIGING - GRONDWET

1. MIKPUNTE & DOELWITTE:

- 1.1 Om die Rooibosteeboere in een liggaam bymekaar te bring sodat elke enkeling en die Liggaam as 'n geheel, die Rooibostee boerdery in Wuppertal ekonomies en winsgewend te maak.
- 1.2 Om 'n skuur te bou vir die prosessering van die tee sodat boere se ekonomiese verantwoordelikheid kan groei om sodoende meer WERK op Wuppertal te verskaf.
- 1.3 Om as 'n ko-öperasio, ko-operatief saam te werk. Die vier basiese beginsels is:
 - 1.3.1 Bogenoemde is die eiendom van sy lode;
 - 1.3.2 Dit word demokraties bedryf;
 - 1.3.3 Ko-operatief beteken, samewerkend;
 - 1.3.4 Verder beteken dit; samewerksaamheid met die gemeenskap.
- 1.4 Om die lode van die Vereniging op te lei in:
 - 1.4.1 Die beginsels van die ko-op;
 - 1.4.2 Die rol van die lode;
 - 1.4.3 Alle aspekte van ekonomiese Rooibostee boerdery.
- 5 Om 'n monetêrefonds op te bou, beide deur aandole van lode, en die aansoek om toekennings en lenings, wat gebruik word om die Vereniging te steun en om individuele boere met geldelike behoeftes te help.
- 1.6 Om nou saam te werk met die SENTRALE PROJEK-KANTOOR en sy ander projekte, sodat Wuppertal as 'n geheel kan vooruitgaan en met selfstandigheid be=loon word.

2. VERGADERINGS:

- 2.1 Woens omstandighede van ons gebied en die afstande daarby betrokke, sal vergaderings so dikwels as moontlik gehou word, maar met geen vasgestelde tussenposes nie.
- 2.2 KOMITEE VERGADERINGS - 'n Komitee is deur die gesamentlike lode van die Vereniging gekies. Hierdie Komitee sal verander word na 'n tydperk waaroor nog besluit moet word.
 - 2.2.1 Die komitee sal byeenkom so dikwels as wat die werk dit sal vereis;
 - 2.2.2 Dit sal toegig hou oor die Vereniging en sy werksaamhede;
 - 2.2.3 Dit sal die mag hê om oor dinge buite die Grondwet, te besluit;
 - 2.2.4 Dit vereis twee DERDES van die lode in 'n vergadering teenwoordig om besluite te kan neem.
- 2.3 ALGEMENE VERGADERINGS - 'n Volledige vergadering sal gehou word soos dit nodig mag wees. Op hierdie vergaderings kan besluite ge=neem word soos dit nodig mag wees.
 - 2.3.1 Besluite kan hier geneem word met in agneming van Grondwetlike uit=gangspunte;
 - 2.3.2 Besluite mag geneem word met inaggenome punte, wat die Komitee be=langrik mag ag;
 - 2,3.3 Besluite kan alleem met 'n TWEE DERDE meerderheid van die ledetal, geneem word.
- 2.4 ALLE VERGADERINGS -
 - 2.4.1 Lode MOET 'n verskoningsbrief stuur indien hy nie instaat is om 'n vergadering by te woon nie;

2.4.2 Notule sal van alle vergaderings deur een van die Komiteede ge-
hou word, en sal vir enige lid beskikbaar wees op versoek.

3. FINANSIES (Geldelik)

- 3.1 Die boeke sal een maal per jaar deur iemand buite die Ko-op nagesien word (geouditeer).
- 3.2 Oor die verdeling van die rente wat deur beleggingskapitaal bekom word, sal op 'n latere vergadering besluit word.
- 3.3 Daar sal later oor die verdeling van surplusso besluit word.
- 3.4 As dividende uitbetaal moet word, sal dit in verhouding tot twee dinge geskied:

3.4.1 die hoeveelheid besigheid wat 'n lid deur die jaar met die Vereniging bedryf het;

3.4.2 die geldelike bedrag wat deur die lid bygedra is.

4. DIE ONTBINDING VAN DIE VERENIGING:

- 4.1 Die Vereniging kan op enige algemene vergadering ontbind word mits daar TWEE DERDES (2/3) van die lede teenwoordig is;
- 4.2 Die bates sal op die manier verdeel word soos deur die lede ooreengekom.

5. TOELAE & LENINGS:

- 5.1 Die Vereniging kan aansoek doen vir toelae of kan lenings uitneem vir die voortsetting van die mikpunte en doelwitte.
- 5.2 In die geval van lenings moet die lede ingelig word oor die uitneem van lenings alvorens die besluit geneem word.

6. LIDMAATSKAAP:

- 6.1 Lidmaatskap van die Vereniging is oop vir elke Rooitechoer van Wuppertal wat die Grondwet aanvaar, en wat sy deel van die verantwoordelijkheid wil bydra.
- 6.2 Lede sal 'n aansluitfooi van R gevra word.
- 6.3 Daarna moet lede een aandeel per maand koop. Een aandeel is R Hierdie aandeel moet ten volle inbetaal wees as 'n lid besluit om te onttrek.
- 6.4 Lede moet tenminste een maand (1 maand) vooruit kennis gee van hul voorneme om uit te tree, met dien verstande dat die Vereniging tot drie maande (3 mde) kans het om aandeel terug te betaal.
- 6.5 Surplusso sal soos volg aan die lede uitbetaal word:
 - 6.5.1 'n Sekere bedrag waaroor later besluit sal word sal deur die Vereniging teruggelê word vir werkende (opererende) doeleindes;
 - 6.5.2 'n Sekere bedrag waaroor later besluit sal word sal teruggelê word om lenings en toekennings terug te betaal;
 - 6.5.3 Die res van die surplus sal onder die lede verdeel word in verhouding met die getal aandeel wat hulle besit en in verhouding tot die aantal besigheid wat hulle met die Vereniging doen. (Sien van hierdie Grondwet vir verduideliking van die Rooitecbaan en die werking daarvan)

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

APPENDIX 5

ASSESSMENT OF THE VIABILITY OF WUPPERTHAL

TILE PRODUCTION

Report on Feasibility Study

Conducted March 1983

HENDRIK RABIE

The process involved in a tile production enterprise can be broken down into the following stages:

1. Digging of clay and transporting to site.
2. Grinding, sieving and mixing of clay.
3. Making of tiles.
4. Drying of tiles.
5. Firing of tiles.
6. Transporting of tiles.
7. Marketing of tiles.

This report will endeavour to study, in brief, each of these seven steps in succession as they apply to the existing situation at Wuppertal. (Costs are estimated in the conclusion.)

1. DIGGING OF CLAY AND TRANSPORTING TO SITE

A wide range of useable clays occur at Wuppertal, most deposits being situated in the Kleinvlei - Agtervlei area and up the valley to Brugkraal and Witwater. (This valley is separated from Wuppertal village by a single line of mountains.) These clays vary from highly refractory white stoneware clays (which would be suitable for table ware) to low firing terra cottas which are very suitable for tile production. The variety of clays is a most important point in favour of a clay project in this area as it enables the potter to blend different clays to get the required results. The deposits vary in size, but there is sufficient

clay present to warrant a big project being set up. Most of the deposits are easily accessible from the Kleinvlei-Kouberg road and digging should not present problems. Ordinary picks and shovels are required for digging, specialized tools not being necessary.

The location of the production site will, however, have to be carefully considered. The Kleinvlei-Kouberg road is in a bad state but will be usable as a road for transport of raw clay either by donkey cart or motor-vehicle. It would have been advantageous if the production site could have been situated in the Kleinvlei area as this is where the most useable clay deposits are situated. However, the transport of fired tiles (or any other pottery) over this road in its present state is out of the question.

If the clay only is to be transported on this road, this could open up employment opportunities for a number of people in the Kleinvlei-Brugkraal area as clay diggers and donkey-cart transport contractors. (Once the production process has been started, there is little need for speed in the delivery of the clay, provided this delivery is begun well in advance of the initial start of production.) Little skill is needed in these jobs and diggers should soon be able to know what to look for unaided.

2. GRINDING, SIEVING AND MIXING OF CLAY

After arrival on site, the clay needs to be ground. An ordinary second-hand corn mill such as farmers used in pre-tractor and electricity days can do the job very well. If this is difficult to obtain, a simple hand-driven roller mill can be constructed by any engineering works.

The clay powder now needs to be sieved through a stainless steel sieve, which sieves are readily available.

To mix the clay evenly with a fine spray of water a second-

hand cement mixer and an agricultural insecticide sprayer are needed. In fact, the entire project needs no specialized equipment at all, apart from the tile moulds and the kiln. Grinding, sieving and mixing of clay can also be done with unskilled labour without prior training.

3. MAKING OF TILES

Tiles as a product are recommended for Wupperthal (at least in the initial phase of the project) for the following reasons:

- (i) A tile needs very little skill to make if a mould is used.
- (ii) Relatively non-plastic low grade clays can be used.
- (iii) The market for terra cotta floor tiles has been extremely good in the Cape Town area since at least 1978 and most of the time they are virtually unobtainable despite public demand.

Metal moulds which can be made for R20 - R30 a piece at any engineering works are all that is needed for the forming of the tiles as well as some rubber hammers.

Workers would be able to do this job with a little training. It will be necessary to have at least one person on site most of the time who could keep an eye on the quality and finish of the tiles being hammered, so as to ensure a high standard of workmanship at all times. This person will be a tile-maker himself who has demonstrated that he has the qualities of a foreman and who has been trained by the potter in charge of setting up the project.

4. DRYING OF TILES

Tiles need a sheltered, windless and sunless place to dry in. Some sort of a waterproof, reasonably windproof shed

will be needed. Such a shed already exists at Wupperthal, situated on the far side of the glove factory in a place which is ideal for the building of the kiln. This area then would be the ideal production site, as it is unoccupied, and well positioned for transport.

Also necessary is a good and ample shelving system on which to pack the tiles, a system which gives good support to the tile and yet allows a degree of ventilation.

The shelving mentioned will require a good deal of timber and quite a bit of work to set up. But once again, the materials need not be first grade and large quantities of wood are readily obtainable from sawmills. Transport of the wood to Wupperthal will be necessary.

5. FIRING OF TILES

The kiln is the very heart of any pottery or ceramic enterprise. It is the most important and most costly piece of equipment necessary. Without it there can be no fired end product. Three things are of importance here:

- (i) The siting of the kiln.
- (ii) Fuel.
- (iii) Type of kiln.

(i) Siting

The siting of the kiln is logistically very important. To minimise carting large quantities of clay about, the kiln should ideally be situated as close to the clay source as possible. This does not appear possible at Kleinvlei because of the state of the road, and a compromise might be necessary here. To site the kiln at Kleinvlei would increase the capital cost of the project by the ±R3 000 necessary for improving the road. This appears unacceptable at present (unless

The Board thinks otherwise) and I therefore feel that the kiln should be sited at Wupperthal, in the place mentioned earlier. This would mean that the whole project would be centered in Wupperthal - which would have advantages as far as availability of fuel is concerned, and also as regards transport of building materials and the end product. It would also make management of the project by the Central Project Office far more effectual. One point should be noted here: The people of the Kleinvlei area have been most closely concerned with the feasibility study and have demonstrated the best knowledge of the clays available. There is no work available in Kleinvlei at present and it seems fair to offer workers from Kleinvlei first choice in becoming members of the project. A number of Kleinvlei residents already work by day in Wupperthal.

(ii) Fuel

A test kiln was fired at Wupperthal during the assessment. This kiln was built out of ordinary red brick and fired on leather scraps from the tannery. The leather burnt well and gave a good, hot flame. It did however create a lot of smoke which could possibly affect the colour of the ware being fired. There is a good chance though that this problem will be alleviated with the construction of the project kiln itself, which is far superior in design to the test kiln. It would be an ideal situation if both basic raw materials for tile production - namely clay and fuel - could be locally obtained. If the smoke problems prove unbeatable the kiln can be converted to fire on old motorcar oil which is easily obtainable from Clanwilliam.

(iii) Type of Kiln

The design of the kiln is of vital importance as well as the materials used. For 500 tiles in a firing -

which is the amount needed to make the project economically viable - a kiln should have a capacity of at least 120 cubic feet. Such a kiln will need 2 500 high quality insulating refractory fire-bricks and 1 000 ordinary fire-bricks to build.

The design and size of the kiln depends on the size of the project envisaged. Furthermore, it must be decided at what temperature the kiln is to be fired at. The higher the temperature, the wider the range of products which will ultimately be able to be produced. At the same time, the higher the temperature the more expensive the type of fire-bricks required.

It is strongly recommended to use good quality fire-bricks whenever possible as this always pays in the long run - although the initial cost is higher. Kilns built this way last longer and also fire better, saving many hours of stoking.

The costing of the kiln in the capital costs section (see below) is thus a ceiling estimate for a high-quality kiln which will allow for the production of a variety of products.

The building and firing of the kiln will need the presence of a qualified or experienced potter at least initially. The firing and stacking of a kiln is a job requiring skill and experience and training of kiln stackers and firemen will be necessary if they are to take over these jobs from the potter eventually, as is envisaged. From my experience during the feasibility study the manpower available appears sufficiently capable of acquiring these skills.

6. TRANSPORTING OF TILES TO MARKET

Fired floor tiles are heavy. To transport them in economic quantities from Wupperthal to Cape Town a good truck capable of carrying a three ton load over the Koeberg pass will be needed.

Without sufficient transport, a project such as this will not be possible. It might be possible to compromise by smaller scale production of lighter articles such as oven dishes, etc., but this will provide work for fewer people, requires a higher level of initial skill and expertise (which should be a result of the project and not a prerequisite) and will only postpone the transport problem for a while and not solve it.

Careful packing of the tiles will be necessary and for this re-useable cases will have to be constructed to ensure that the tiles reach their destination in good order. Old sacking will also be necessary for extra padding.

7. MARKETING OF TILES

Marketing of tiles will best be approached through hardware stores, building contractors and architects in Cape Town. These people are best informed as to the architectural beauty of floors laid with these tiles and are aware of their good properties of insulation, durability and general aesthetic appeal. Compared to carpets and other flooring systems these tiles compete very well in price, especially as they require very little maintenance once lain.

As has been mentioned earlier, the market has been very good for some years now and supply can simply not keep up with demand.

CONCLUSION AND COSTING

In determining the minimum requirements for a Wupperthal clay project the cost of acquiring a lorry for tile transport has not been included in the final costing, as such a truck will most likely not be used exclusively by the clay project.

It has been taken for granted that a small enclosed store-

room and open roof ("afdak") would be available should be the project be sited at Wupperthal and the cost of these buildings have thus not been included. (As mentioned earlier, the site on the far side of the glove factory appears ideal.) Should the project be sited elsewhere, this cost would have to be included in the final estimate.

May I mention in conclusion that there seems to be a healthy pride in their village and their work on the part of the people of Wupperthal and if the great interest and enthusiasm displayed during the test project continues into the project itself, the many hurdles that still lie ahead are capable of being cleared successfully.

Capital costs for the setting-up of the clay project:

1. 120 cubic foot downdraught kiln capable of stoneware temperatures and capable of firing \pm 500 tiles per firing = R7 000
2. 8 metal moulds for tile production = R 200
3. Wood for pellets for drying of tiles as well as extensive shelving and packing cases = R2 300
4. Wages for 10 new for 3 months prior to production at R5.00 per day = R3 000
5. Salary for potter for seven month period at R500 per month = R3 500
6. Sundry: (hammers, plastic, shovels, tools, etc.) = R 500
7. Sieves, 20 Mesh stainless stell^e = R 200
8. Second-hand cement mixer and grinder (latter hand operated) = R 600

Total Cost

R17 300

Running costs of project once set up:

Production is estimated at 500 tiles per firing and 2 firings per month minimum:

Cost per tile is consequently estimated as follows:

1. Fuel for kiln (if leather scraps, this falls away)	= R0-05
2. Fuel for cement mixer	= R0-03
3. Transport of clay to site	= R0-20
4. Labour	= R0-50
5. Transport to Cape Town (R200 per 500 tiles)	= R0-50
6. Sundry	= R0-12
<u>Total Cost of Tile</u>	<u>R1-50</u>

Tiles sell for a minimum of R2.50 per tile and should thus theoretically yeild a profit at R1.00 per tile (I have generally overestimated costs rather than underestimating).

Tiles are by no means the only products such a project would be capable of producing and many possibilities exist. Tiles would, however, form the most viable basis from which to grow.

WUPPERTHAL TILE PRODUCTION

Covering Letter to Report
on Feasibility Study

ALLAN KAPLAN

April 1983

I will be brief. I have already introduced the concept of a clay project in a number of reports; the feasibility study requested by The Board has now been completed; the report on this study, written by the potter who undertook it, is enclosed with this covering letter. The report is as short and non-technical as possible, making easy reading. The more technical information has been retained by the potter for use by whomever actually sets up the project. Before assessing the report, however, I would like to raise a few points from the viewpoint of the Central Project Office.

I have stated, in the slide-show "Wuppertal - Proposal for Revitalization", that the development of Wuppertal, if it is to be worth anything at all either to Wuppertal itself or as a pilot study for other stations, must concentrate on two things: the development of the the people to self-reliance through control over their workplaces and land, and the utilization of local resources. The envisaged clay project is proposed as fulfilling both of these aspects of the work of The Central Project Office, as well as that other most important aspect, the provision and expansion of workplaces. With regard to the latter, it must be emphasized here that the clay tile project as envisaged is merely a foundation, an economic foundation, for an increasing utilization of Wuppertal's clay resources. That is, given the infrastructure necessary for tile production, variation of product and increase of workplaces can occur as skills grow and the tile project

finds it feet. As stated in the potter's report, many different kinds of clay are available for many different kinds of product.

I would also like to say a few words about the potter himself. As a potter, he lives and works with his family on a farm outside of Stanford. He is a professional and successful potter and has had extensive experience in kiln building and tile production, as well as the production of stoneware (mainly tableware) upon which he normally concentrates. As a person, he is entirely in sympathy with the work that I am doing in Wupperthal and would very much like to offer his services within the framework which I have set up: that is, to establish a clay project with the aim of its reaching self-sufficiency within Wupperthal itself. In other words, his aim would be, as is mine, to make himself redundant by way of ensuring that the project can stand on its own feet, as he is convinced of the importance of the work within the South African context, and would in any case like to return to his own work whenever possible. A salary cost for him has been included in the capital costing of the project, but he has asked me to convey the following to The Board: that if he can bring his potter's wheel to Wupperthal, and utilize a section of the kiln for his own ware while he is working here, then he will accept a salary lower than that requested, to the extent that he can cover his own costs. He has in any case a commitment to supply his regular outlets with at least some ware during the time which he spends in Wupperthal. His point is that he views a salary as merely compensation for loss of production time. I would also like to add here that accommodation must be found for him while he and his family (wife and child) are here. I suggest the guest-house as the only viable possibility at present. Finally, it is important that the decision on this project be taken as soon as possible, for he has his own immediate future to plan for, and cannot wait indefinitely for our decision.

I must also stress another extremely important point with regard to the clay project, a point made in the potter's report. This is the necessity for a vehicle capable of carrying a 3-ton load. This vehicle can be used outside of the clay project itself, but is a necessary part of the infrastructure of the project. Without this vehicle, the entire project is pointless.

In conclusion, I would say something of the envisaged organizational set-up of the proposed tile workshop. I do not propose a legally sanctioned co-operative to start with, but rather a workshop which is run according to co-operative principles. That is, the capital costs of the project should be regarded as a loan. Workers in the project will become members of the project by buying shares (say one share at R1-00 per week per member), and as the project grows, the profit can be utilized as follows: A section to be ploughed back into the project; a section to be used for paying back the loan or for putting into a development fund for Wupperthal, whichever arrangement suits The Board best; and a section to be divided amongst the worker/members as profit. This latter section will, initially, not go into the members pockets, but will be utilized for the former sections until such time as the loan has been repaid and the project is standing on its own feet. Once this stage is reached, the worker/members will in reality, together with the Central Project Office which will continue to supply technical services, be in control of their own workplace. They will work together with the Central Project Office in much the same way as does the shoe factory, glove factory, and Rooibos association. Further, it is envisaged that a works committee be set up to supervise the project, on the same lines as is proving successful in the glove factory already.

If the capital funds can be made available, I am sure that this project will be a success.