

RETURN TO NKANDLA

**The third survey in a longitudinal study of a rural
community in KwaZulu Natal**

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CSDS Research Report No 7

**CENTRE FOR SOCIAL AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
DURBAN**

DECEMBER 1995

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Acknowledgements

This report followed a slow and tortuous route and as a consequence there are many to thank for their patience and support. First thanks are due to the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, the Rural Foundation and the University of Natal Research Fund without whose support the project could not have been undertaken. The Kellogg Foundation was particularly generous and patient. It would not have been possible to conduct a third survey were it not for the generous spirit and support of the people of Sibudeni who took us into their homesteads and opened up their lifestyles. We trust they found it worthwhile and thank them most sincerely. Vusi Camane provided assistance in numerous areas and Mr D. Dlamini the transport to enable Peter Zulu to move easily through the area. The staff of Nkandla Hospital, and especially those at Sibudeni Clinic, provided unending hospitality, advice and companionship which made the task that much easier. The consistency and quality of Peter Zulu's fieldwork underpins the entire report. Richard Devey in addition to handling the third survey, did an incredible job linking the three surveys household by household and individual by individual. My thanks to Dulcie Krige for reading the draft and making many substantial and useful suggestions and to all my colleagues at CSDS, particularly Frances Lund and Mary Smith, who gave frequent support and advice.

ISBN No: 1-86840-177-4

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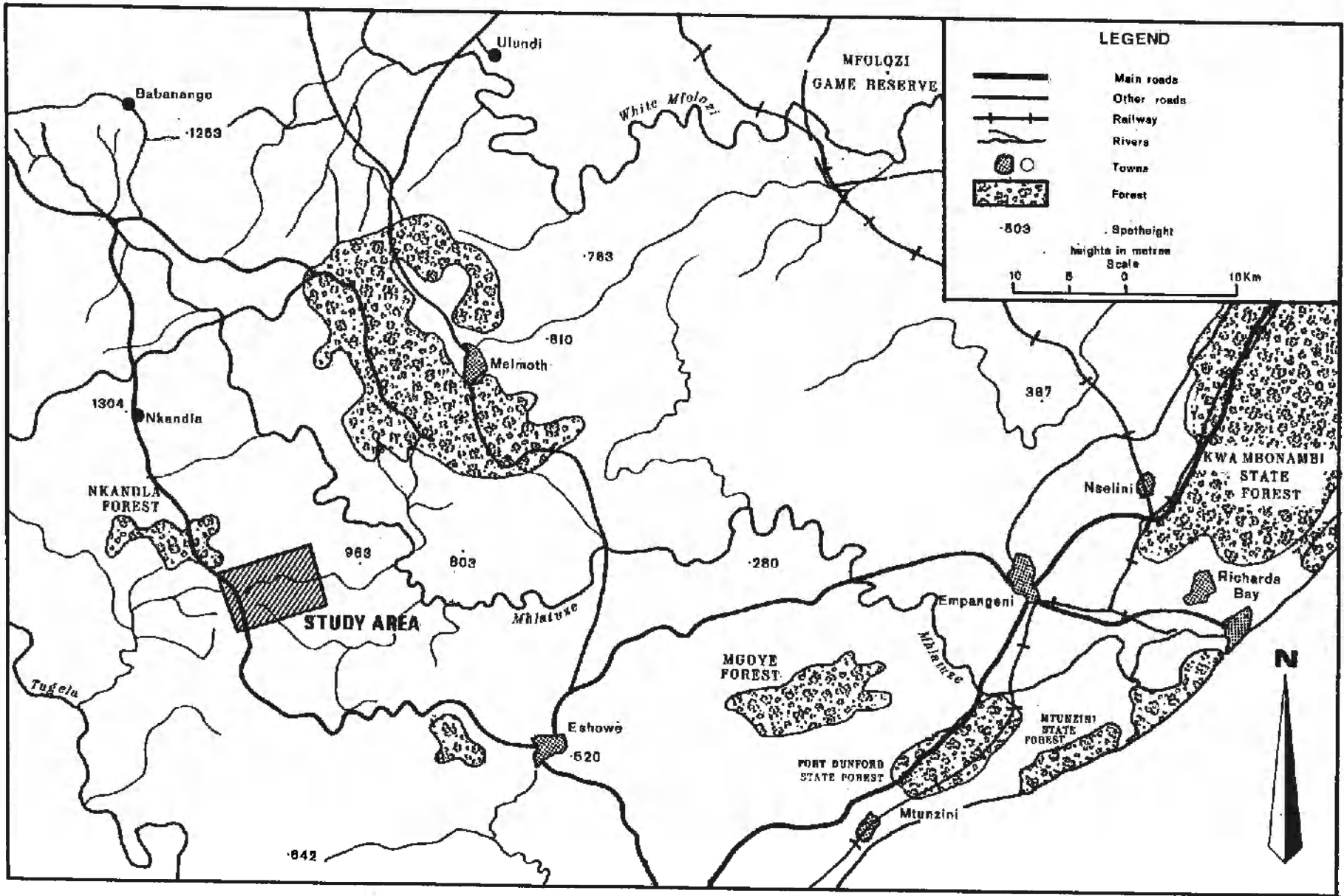
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MAP OF SURVEY AREA - Sibhudeneni, Nkandla, KwaZulu Natal.

PART I - THE PEOPLE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

This paper reports the findings of the third survey of selected households in a rural area of KwaZulu-Natal. The original study was conducted in 1982 as part of the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development (Ardington, 1984). It showed how the fortunes of this peripheral rural area were governed by the way in which the meagre resources (chiefly pensions and remittances) allocated it by the core industrial economy were distributed. A resurvey of the area was conducted in 1985 to establish what strategies those same households had adopted in reaction to the changing social and economic circumstances in which they found themselves (Ardington, 1988). In 1986 influx control legislation (of great significance to an area of high out-migration) was repealed. The early nineties brought a number of consecutive years of drought and continuing economic decline accompanied, however, by the prospect of a transformed and democratic South Africa. In late 1993 a third survey was conducted with the aim of determining whether this remote rural community had been swept along by these momentous events or simply further marginalised. At the time of the third survey a number of surveys, both large and small scale, were being conducted throughout the country, and it was felt that valuable insights might be gained through placing the information obtained from this small qualitative study in the context of the large quantitative studies¹. It was hoped that the data collected on three occasions from the same households over a period of eleven years of dramatically changing conditions might indicate leads that could be pursued elsewhere. In particular it was hoped that the longitudinal data on employment, unemployment and migrancy might allow for some measurement of urbanisation and employment rates. The third investigation of selected households was further intended to reveal changes in household structure and determine whether these were 'natural' or strategies adopted to combat poverty or other hardships.

1.2 Sampling methodology

The households are situated to the east of the road linking Eshowe and Nkandla and were originally a random sampling technique. The area, though well watered and wooded, has extremely rugged terrain which, with its poor communication links and remoteness, places constraints on economic opportunities. In 1982 seventy of the 480 households in the area were surveyed. 764 individuals lived in those households. The households were surveyed again in 1985. At the time four of the original households no longer existed and another four had split up. Three new households were added to replace those no longer in existence so that in 1985, seventy five households with 831 members were surveyed. In August and

¹ Two recently conducted surveys include data of a nature very similar to that in this survey. Both are very large studies (approximately 5000 and 9000 households) - one being countrywide and the other restricted to KwaZulu. The comparison of some of the data obtained from these quantitative surveys with that of a qualitative study such as the 1993 Nkandla study, enables the latter to be placed in a regional and national context. In this paper frequent reference is made to these surveys. The Income and Expenditure Study conducted in 5293 Households in KwaZulu in 1992 by Data Research Africa is referred to as the KFC Study and the Project for Statistics on Living Standards and Development which was conducted nationwide in 1993 under the auspices of the World Bank and SALDRU at the University of Cape Town is referred to as the SALDRU Study.

September 1993, seventy two of the 1985 households with 811 members were surveyed.

The unique value of a time series or longitudinal study has to be measured against the declining validity of its sampling technique. The original households were randomly selected from all the households in a particular area at a particular time. Although the changes that occurred in that area over the years between the surveys were in this particular case minimal, certain households ceased to exist and new ones came into existence. With a predetermined sample it was not possible to take these changes into account, and the sample accordingly could not be said to be truly random at the time of the later surveys. The data on household heads illustrates the problem. The increasing percentage of households with female heads which was discovered did not necessarily reflect an overall trend during the eleven years between the first and third surveys, but simply illustrated the fact that the households being investigated were 'eleven years older' than when they were first surveyed and that the common practice in the area was for widows to replace their husbands as head of household on their death. (See Section 3.2)

1.3 Location

Thirty of the 72 households surveyed in 1993 fell within the Nkandla magisterial district and 42 within the Inkanyezi district. They were distributed between the three tribal wards of Mfonyo Biyela, Bhekabelungu Biyela and Busangelakhe Khanyile.

1.4 Respondents

The survey was conducted by means of a structured questionnaire. The respondent was generally the most senior person present in the house at the time of the interview. In almost forty percent of the interviews the respondent was the male head of household. Female heads or the spouses of male heads were the respondents in another 40% of the surveys. The surprisingly high percentage of male heads who were respondents is probably indicative of the high levels of unemployment prevailing at the time, and the fact that more members, particularly male members, of the economically active age group were resident (as opposed to being migrant) at the time of the 1993 survey than was the case in 1982 and 1985. (See Section 9.3).

1.5 Origins and movements of the population

All the households in the area are discrete traditional homesteads. All of the male heads surveyed were born in the area, and only ten of the central females (female heads or spouses of male heads) were born elsewhere - one in the Cape, one in Swaziland, one in Ndwedwe and the balance in Northern KwaZulu. The population appeared very stable with virtually no influx into the area and very little out on a permanent basis.

Only 1.8% of the original surveyed population were recorded as having moved to an area which might be termed urban or at least peri-urban and might therefore be said to have urbanised. Some of the 37 individuals from the deserted households may have urbanised, but even allowing for that there was little evidence of permanent urbanisation amongst the surveyed population. In 1982 141 individuals were

recorded as currently being migrants out of the area - the majority of whom were migrant workers. In 1993 78 of these people were still members of the original households; 63 had either belonged to households which were not surveyed, had died, left or joined other households, but only 14 (or less than 10% of the 1982 migrants) were recorded as having made a move that might be termed urbanisation.

1.6 Urban bases

Eleven of the households surveyed had another house or 'base' elsewhere where various members of the household resided. In addition one household had access to a house in Umlazi which actually belonged to the brother of the head, and the head of another household had passed on his house in KwaMashu to his son. One head had recently given up a house in Umlazi, and another the house he used to have in Inanda on account of the violence there. Two of these 'houses elsewhere' were in the Transvaal, one in Empangeni and the balance in the Durban area (Lamontville, Umlazi, KwaMashu and Inanda.) Thus 18% of the 72 households surveyed had recently had a 'base' elsewhere.

1.7 Outside dependents

Only 19 of the 811 individuals surveyed claimed to have dependents elsewhere than in the surveyed homestead. They amounted to 46 people of whom 15 were described as children, 14 as grandchildren, 13 as relatives and 4 as non-relatives². This low rate of outside dependents implies that the surveyed households were on the whole the base households, with absent members remitting money to them rather than vice versa.

1.8 Changes in the survey population

Of the 765 individuals originally surveyed in 1982:

- 442 or 58% were found still to be present in their homes when they were surveyed for the third time in 1993.
- Fourteen percent had died;
- 11.5% came from households which had been deserted subsequent to the 1982 survey and 8% from households which were not surveyed in 1993.

The remainder, who were recorded as having left the 1982 households, may be divided into three groups:

- Firstly those from households which split - usually on the death of the head - where sons or wives of the deceased head set up their own households.
- Secondly there were cases where sons (or brothers) and their wives and children left an existing household and set up their own households.
- Finally there were 53 individuals (the majority of whom were women and children) who were shown to have married out, joined another household in the area, returned home or accompanied their mothers on marriage.

Sixty six persons were involved in households which split; 22 of these were surveyed in their 'new' or 'split' household in 1993.

² The average annual amount remitted to dependents was R650 and the total remitted over the year by all surveyed R7319.

2.0 DEMOGRAPHY

2.1 HOUSEHOLD SIZE AND STRUCTURE

Households in the survey area generally consisted of multi-generational extended families. In 85% of the surveyed households members were drawn from three or more generations and 75% of the individuals surveyed were either the head or his/her spouse, their children or grandchildren. A mere 1.2% of household members were not related to the household head. The balance were the parents of the head, the spouses of his children or other relatives. There was one household where a person lived alone, one shared by two individuals, one lived in by a couple and six which consisted of the nuclear family (parents and children) only.

Half the households contained persons who were, or had been, parties to polygamous unions.

There were 811 individuals in the 72 surveyed households which ranged in size from 1 to 35. Mean household size was 11.2. This figure fell to 9.3 when all those who do not live permanently at home were excluded. Unless otherwise stated 'household size' in this report refers to resident members only. Household size appeared to have altered little over the years. Mean household size in 1982 was 10.9 and 11.1 in 1985. The figures fell to 9.1 and 8.7 respectively when non-resident or non-permanent members were excluded.³

Female headed households were slightly smaller (8.7) than the average and those with old age pensioners slightly larger (10.6). Households in which there were unemployed people were relatively large with 11 members. Household size declined sharply across income quintiles with households in the bottom quintile averaging 14.5 members and those in the top quintile 6.7 members. (See Section 13.5) .

2.2 AGE AND GENDER

Almost an eighth (11.7%) of those surveyed were under the age of five and 52% under the age of 20.⁴ When only the resident population is taken into account 60.2% were under the age of twenty.

Pensionable people - that is women aged 60 or older and men aged 65 or older - made up 7.4% of the population. Over half the households (59.7%) contained pensionable people - 36.1% one pensioner and 23.6% two. Only one household consisted of aged people alone. Three quarters (76.5%) of female headed households contained aged people which was to be expected as the majority of female heads were themselves aged.⁵

If all those younger than 15 or aged 65 or older are considered dependent 45.4% of the population was dependent.

³ Average household size was larger than the means reported by similar surveys regardless of whether migrants were considered as members or not. In Nkandla only one household was found where an individual lived alone whereas the SALDRU study reports significant percentages of single person households. Included amongst rural households in the SALDRU survey was a large number of compound and hostel dwellers and domestic workers who lived alone.

⁴ According to the 1991 Population Census 55.6% of the population of KwaZulu (Regions 91 & 92) was under the age of 20 - 58.8% in rural areas and 44.8% in urban areas

⁵ The KFC study similarly showed the percentage of households containing aged people to be higher amongst female headed households (41.3%) than that for all households (26.7%).

Reflecting the position in rural areas elsewhere 51.3% of the total surveyed population and 56.6% of the resident population was found to be female. When disaggregated into age groups, however, the gender imbalances were seen to be much greater, with the percentage female rising in the economically active age group (persons aged 20-59 or EAA) particularly for the resident population (Table 2).⁶ The concentration of male migrants or non-residents in the ten year age cohort 30 - 39 resulted in 81.7% of the residents in that age group being female. Women dominated the pensionable age groups as is generally the case.⁷

The significant impact of migrancy on age and gender is seen in Tables 1 and 2. The tables compare the figures from the 1991 Population Census for KwaZulu (Regions 91 & 92) and the Census district of Nkandla with those of the survey area, and indicate that on a permanent basis the survey area contains an above average share of the young, the aged and women.

A comparison with figures from the survey area for 1982 and 1985 indicates a fall off in the migrancy rate. The resident economically active age group constitutes a larger percentage (30.7%) of the resident population than it did in 1982 (29.7%) or 1985 (26.5%) and it is less predominantly female (71.4%) than it was in 1982 (83%) or 1985 (81.4%)

Table 1: Distribution of Age Groups

Age Group	1991 Census*		Survey	
	KwaZulu	Nkandla	Total Population	Resident Population
0 - 20	55.6	62.1	52.0	60.2
20 - 59	38.7	30.0	39.8	30.7
60+	5.7	7.9	8.1	9.1

*1991 Population Census: CSS Report No 03-01-03 (1991)

Table 2: Gender by Age Group

Age Group	Percentage Population Female			
	1991 Census*		Survey	
	KwaZulu	Nkandla	Total Population	Resident Population
0 - 20	49.9	50.3	46.7	47.5
20 - 59	55.6	69.2	54.5	71.4
60+	63.4	69.3	65.2	67.2

*1991 Population Census: CSS Report No 03-01-03 (1991)

⁶ According to the 1991 Population Survey, 56.9% (57.3% in rural areas) of the population of the Nkandla Magisterial District was female as was 53.8% of the population of KwaZulu (55.2% in rural areas).

⁷ The South African Health Review 1995 puts life expectancy at birth for Africans in KwaZulu Natal at 61 for men and 66 for women.

2.3 HOUSEHOLD HEADS

2.3.1 Concepts of headship

'Household headship' is frequently used as a variable in social and economic analysis. Indeed assumptions arising from the particular definition of headship used are often considered the critical factors in analysis. However, apart from the fact that there is no universally accepted definition of headship, the significance of a particular type of household head can only be understood in the context of the household itself and the wider society in which it exists. To analyse households in terms of the gender, presence or activities of the head alone denies their complex and changing structure and assigns to the head attributes which may not be justified. Such analysis usually implies a hierarchical structure where the head is the most important individual in the household both in terms of authority and economic support. It generally implies a household in which there is one main source of economic support - the head - whereas reality is more likely to be a household which is extended with crosscutting lines of authority and multiple lines of support, with the possibility of the head playing a relatively minor role (Walker 1994).

The substitution of the more widely accepted definition of head by 'working head' as proposed by Sandra Rosenhouse (1994) may get closer to the truth, but it too places undue emphasis upon the 'main or chief source of economic support' in situations where multiple strategies are the norm.

Even if a definition of head better suited to the analysis on hand were developed, it would be necessary to establish whether 'headship' was relevant to the analysis, or any particular aspect thereof. In addition to establishing the relevance of headship in general, it would be necessary to determine which characteristics of the head should be taken into account in a particular situation. For example both the general question whether female headed households are an homogenous group, and the more specific one as to when there might be validity in grouping households according to the gender of their head, need to be answered.

Analysis in the current survey illustrated well the limitations of analysis by gender of the head alone (See Table 4). In this instance female headed households were not the larger poorer households they are generally assumed to be. Such households certainly existed, but their plight was better explained in terms of dependency and migrancy ratios than by the gender of their heads. Even where the de facto, as opposed to the de iure, situation is taken into account, the gender of the head may prove to be an inadequate tool of analysis where the context of the de facto headship is not further explored. Thus what is important in determining the status of a household where a female assumes the de facto headship in the absence of the de iure male head, is not the gender of the de facto head but the employment status and remittance behaviour of the absent or de iure head.

Frequently the circumstances of households are explained in terms of the attributes of their heads, when more correctly such analysis should occur at household membership level where the attributes of all members can be taken into account simultaneously, as opposed to viewing those of the head in isolation. Thus to attribute, for example, the economic status of a household to the employment status,

pension status, educational level or gender of the head when he or she is not the only worker or member of that sex in the household will result in incomplete (and possibly inaccurate) analysis⁸. Similarly much commentary on and justification for the singling out of female headed households in fact relates to women in general, and not to female heads or their households. Reference, for example, to the discrimination female heads experience both with regard to access to employment and wage levels, often relates this to their headship whereas it would be more correctly explained in terms of their gender. Any analysis of the economic status of households in terms of headship will be weak in a study such as this, where heads constituted only 12% of the economically active age group and where less than half of household heads fell within this age group. Attributing household circumstances to the pension status of the head begs the question as to whether it is the headship or the pension status of the individual which is relevant, and whether it matters if there are other pensioners or other sources of income.

The household or rural homestead surveyed in this study is well described by Margo Russell (1993) drawing on her work in Swaziland: *'The homestead is an enduring unit. ... It does not come into and go out of existence with the death, marriage or birth of particular individuals; it precedes and succeeds the particular members extant at any time. When a head dies a surviving widow assumes the headship until a male heir is in a position to assume full responsibility. There is seldom any dramatic change of homestead membership.'* This quotation puts the institution of headship in rural areas in context. Headship alone will not enable the accurate prediction of household structure, intra-household relations, levels of income etc. At best it will be one determinant of such matters.

Where, however, headship is being used as a classifier the question as to which characteristics should be taken into account remains. The age rather than the gender of a head may be the more revealing indicator of the circumstances of a household. Similarly the residential status, rather than the employment status, of the head may be the relevant factor, in that whether the head works from home or as a migrant will affect his or her level of contribution to the household from employment.

The commentary on household heads in the survey area which follows should be read in the light of the preceding cautionary remarks to ensure that undue emphasis is not placed on headship. Concentration on headship tends to underrate the importance of gender, age and economic status as factors determining intra-household relations.

2.3.2 Headship in the survey area

The 1993 survey revealed a situation with regard to headship not unlike that in other rural areas of the country. A comparison with the data from the two earlier surveys illustrated well the changes in headship which might be expected over time.

The majority of households were found still to be headed by males, but the percentage headed by females (23.6% or seventeen households) had risen considerably since the 1982 and 1985 surveys when it was only 15.7% and 13.5%

⁸The average black rural household in the SALDRU study had 2.4 members in the economically active age group.

respectively. The increase did not indicate a behavioural change in the community but merely reflected 'a normal moment in the experience of most homesteads' (Russell 1993) where the headship passed on the death of the male head to his widow.

As 35.7% of male heads were non-resident or migrant in 1993 this probably meant that over half of household heads were de facto female. Although the percentage of female headed households may be similar to that in other rural areas⁹ and in fact not dissimilar from the rest of the country in general, a closer look at the characteristics of male and female headed households in the survey reveals that they are significantly spatially influenced, and that female headed households in the survey area may have less in common with female headed households elsewhere than they do with the other households in their area.

2.3.3 Demographics of surveyed heads

- The average age of all heads was 59, but female heads were considerably older (66) than male heads (57) reflecting the natural cycle of rural households.
- All the female heads were widows. Four households had two female heads - co-widows of the deceased male head. Seven male headed households were headed by single males who were either unmarried (3 - 1 had 2 heads) or widowed (4), but the overwhelming majority (87.3%) were headed by married men. Nine male heads had two wives living, and two had three wives.
- Over a third of male heads (35.7%) were non-resident - all were migrants. The only absent female head was in hospital. The percentage of non-resident male heads had fallen since 1982 (40%) and 1985 (49%) reflecting, no doubt, unemployment levels amongst heads. Over half (58.3%) of resident male heads were younger than 65 and accordingly could not be assumed to have retired.
- Those households in which the male head was absent as a migrant effectively became female headed households for most of the year. The spouses who became de facto heads were on average 42 years of age - considerably younger than the de jure female heads. They were all either married or intended marrying the absent head in the future. Four fifths (81.8%) of them had children.

Table 3: Characteristics of Head by Gender

	Male Headed Households	Female Headed Households
Number	55	17
Household Size	9.3	8.7
Average Age of Head	57	66
% Married	87.3	0.0
% Widowed	7.2	100.0
% Resident	64.3	100.0

⁹ The SALDRU Study shows 29.7% of black rural households to be female headed.

2.3.4 Income generating activities of household heads

As Table 4 indicates over eighty percent of both male and female heads made a contribution to their households through formal employment, informal sector activity or through performing household or agricultural duties. There were, however, considerable differences between the men and women as to how they did so.

While a third of male heads were employed and 23.2% unemployed, it is interesting that none of the de jure female heads was employed. Nor did any report that they were looking for employment. The de facto female heads were similarly not employed although two reported themselves as unemployed.

Almost a quarter of male heads and half of female heads were involved in informal sector activities.

Women heads were similarly far more involved with activities around the home and on the land, with three quarters of female heads compared to only a quarter of male heads performing duties in the home.

Two fifths of male heads and three fifths of female heads participated in agricultural activities.

The much higher receipt of pensions by female heads compared to male heads means that the inclusion of transfer income in household cash income results in female heads contributing significantly more than do male heads. The percentage of female heads contributing rises to 95.2% and that of male heads falls to 78.6%. This is accounted for by the fact that 76.2% of female heads and only 33.9% of male heads were in receipt of pensions. With no female heads being employed the cash contribution of female heads consisted almost entirely of pension monies.

90% of the heads who were employed (all males) remitted money to their households. Their average annual remittance was R1848, considerably less than the annual contribution of R3500 of old age pensioners.

Table 4: Contribution to Household by Head

	Male Headed Households	Female Headed Households
Number	55	17
% Contributors	80.4	81.0
% Employed	33.9	0.0
% Unemployed	23.2	0.0
% Household Duties	26.8	76.2
% Agricultural Duties	39.3	61.9
% Informal Sector	21.4	47.6
% Pensioner	33.9	76.2
% Cash Contribution to HH	78.6	95.2

2.3.5 Households and headship

Table 5: Household Heads

	Male Head	Resident Male Head	Non-resident Male Head	Female Head	All Heads
Average Age of Head	57	61	49*	66	59
% HH with res males in EAA	52.7	90.9	25.0	41.2	50.0
% HH with males in EAA	90.9	91.4	90.0	76.5	87.5
% HH with res females in EAA	90.9	92.7	95.0	76.5	87.5
HH Income p.c. Rands p.a.	R972	R979	R958	R1175	R1030
% Head Employed	33.9	0.0	95.0	0.0	24.7
% Head Unemployed	23.2	30.6	10.0	0.0	16.9
% Head Migrant	35.7	0.0	100.0	0.0	26.0
% Head with OAP	33.9	50.0	0.0	76.2	45.4
% HH with Employed	70.9	57.1	95.0	52.9	66.6
% HH with Unemployed	58.2	65.7	45.0	35.3	52.8
% HH with OAP	58.2	65.7	45.0	82.4	63.9
% HH with migrant	78.2	65.7	100.0	52.9	72.2
% HH with remittance	61.8	45.7	90.0	41.2	56.9
Number Heads	56	36	20	21	77#
Percentage Households	76.3	48.6	27.7	23.6	100.0
Number Households	55	35	20	17	72

*The average age of the de facto female heads in these households was 42.

Certain households had more than one head.

Table 5 indicates certain variations in household structure which emerge when households are viewed according to the gender and residence of the head. Female headed households, being slightly smaller and in general older than the average household,¹⁰ had a smaller percentage of their members, both male and female, in the economically active age group (EAA). Nevertheless over three quarters of female

¹⁰Female headed households had 8.7 permanent members compared with the average for all households of 9.3

headed households had male members in the EAA, although only 41.2% had male members who were resident. This compares with the 87.5% of all households which had male members in the EAA, and the 50% which had resident males in the EAA.

It is interesting that a far higher percentage of female headed households had resident males in the EAA than did the households of non-resident male heads. Very few of these households which had de facto female heads, who tended to be younger than de iure female heads, were without male members of the EAA but the majority of them were migrants.

The percentage of female headed households which had members who were migrants was similarly lower than for all households.

Ninety percent of the males in the EAA in these households were the sons of the female head and three quarters of them were unmarried. Over half (57.1%) were employed migrants and a further 25% were actively seeking employment. Forty percent made a financial contribution to the household.

Where the head was absent (all males) almost all households had a member in employment, whereas only just over half of female headed households had someone in employment. Although levels of employment were low in female headed households so were unemployment levels. These households had relatively few members in the EAA and the heads who were older tended to be in receipt of old age pensions and accordingly not looking for employment.

Female headed households are traditionally considered economically disadvantaged. Table 5 below shows that this was not the case in the survey area. The heads, who were all widows, tended to be older than the male heads and the majority of them were in receipt of pensions. In an environment where women are unlikely to have ever had the opportunity to be in wage employment they will achieve their income peak as a pensioner.

2.3.6 Changes in Headship

Since 1985 the head of household had changed in twenty of the 72 households surveyed.¹¹ Half of the new heads were the widows of the 1985 heads they replaced. In three cases the head was replaced by two widows (co-wives). In eight households sons replaced the previous head. Six of these sons were migrant workers and accordingly non-resident heads. Three sons replaced mothers rather than fathers as heads. In one case the son had previously been replaced by the mother when his household was dissatisfied with him as head because he was remitting nothing to the household. One head was replaced by a brother who returned to the household when the previous head died. A household which consisted of a widow and her disabled son recorded a change in heads, in that the son was shown to be the head in 1985 but the mother was accorded that position in 1993.

¹¹ 32 of the 70 household heads surveyed in 1982 were still in position in 1993 (Four of these were female heads). 3 households fell out of the 1985 survey and 5 out of the 1993 survey. Between 1982 and 1985 there were ten changes in headship. In three cases a son replaced his father, in three a son his mother, in two a widow her husband and in another two a mother her son.

Whether a male head would be replaced by his son or widow appeared to be determined by the structure of the household on his death. Where there were married sons in the household they usually, but not necessarily, replaced their fathers. Where there were no married sons it appeared usual for the widow to replace the head. There were only thirteen individuals surveyed who had their relationship to the head recorded as 'mother'¹². They were all widows. In every case except one the head or son in such households was or had been married. On the other hand three quarters of the sons (of marriageable age) of female heads (all widows) were unmarried. Whether the son was employed or a migrant, and accordingly not resident, did not appear to influence whether the widow or son assumed the headship.

The gender or presence/absence of a head may indicate a particular structure or 'stage' in the life cycle of the house which he or she heads, but cannot in isolation be considered pointers to the welfare of the household. For meaningful analysis to be made the household's access to employment, remittances, transfers and other forms of income, its dependency ratios and general composition all need to be taken into account, in addition to the gender, age and location of the head.

2.4 MARRIAGE, FERTILITY AND FAMILY LIFE

2.4.1 Marriage

Households in the survey area were discrete units which consisted of members of extended families. The usual practice on marriage was for women to relocate to their husbands' homesteads, where the husband might or might not be the head depending on his position in the household. Tables 6 and 7, containing selected statistics on the marital status of the survey population, reveal that:

- Marriage was the norm in the community but it appeared to take place relatively late in life with a majority of individuals only achieving marriage in the 30 - 39 year age group. Only 1.5% of the population aged 60 or older was not married. Men married later than women with a third of males between the ages of 40 and 49 being unmarried compared with 22.6% of women.
- Of the 811 individuals surveyed 215 were either married, cohabiting, 'to marry', separated or widowed - in other words 'non-single'. Ninety percent of those who were or had been married had married according to traditional rites. Fourteen individuals were party to a Christian marriage and two to a civil marriage.
- Over three quarters of the traditional marriages had been registered. Only 29 out of the 142 individuals involved in traditional marriages had not registered them.
- Of the 215 who were or had at any time been married 91 (32 males and 59 females) or 42% (39.5% of the men and 43.7% of the women) were or had been involved in polygamous unions. Six polygamists had married by Christian rites. The majority (79.8%) of polygamous unions involved two wives, but in sixteen unions there were three wives, and in three there were four wives. Table 6 shows

¹² All were found in male headed households. Their sons'/heads' ages ranged from 36 to 61 and averaged 49.

that the percentage of people involved in polygamous unions increases with age. There were polygamous unions in over half the households surveyed.

- Only just over a third (36.6%) of the non-singles actually lived with their spouses; 23.6% although married lived apart from their spouses who were absent as migrants; 6.9% cohabited; 11.1% said they were to marry, 21.3% were widowed and one individual had separated from his spouse. There was only one couple who were both migrants and who therefore could live together although away from home.
- The marital status of men and women differed markedly in certain respects as Tables 6 and 7 indicate.

Table 6: Marital status of 20+, 25+ and 30+ Age Groups

	Single	'Married'	Widowed	Polygamous
20 years & older				
All	45.0	43.2	11.8	23.4
Males	53.0	44.1	2.9	18.8
Females	38.8	65.7	18.7	26.9
25 years & older				
All	32.8	52.1	15.1	29.5
Males	42.5	53.7	3.8	24.2
Females	25.5	50.8	23.7	33.5
30 years & older				
All	25.7	56.5	17.8	33.6
Males	33.9	61.5	4.6	28.4
Females	19.5	52.7	27.8	37.5

Table 7: Selected Statistics on Marital Status of 'Non-singles' Aged 20+.

	All	Males	Females
Live with spouse	36.6	44.4	31.9
Live apart from spouse	23.6	27.2	21.5
Cohabit	6.9	7.4	6.7
'To marry'	11.1	13.6	9.6
Widowed	21.3	6.2	30.4
Separated	5	1.2	0
Average Age	50	50	50
Polygamous	42.5	39.5	43.7
Non-resident	21.3	49.4	4.4

2.4.2 Fertility

The number of births and deaths per mother amongst the surveyed population increased with age. Only two of the mothers recorded were under the age of twenty. Almost a third (31.7%) of women between the ages of 20 and 24 had given birth. By the next age cohort (25 - 29) the percentage had risen to 54.2%, while 71% of the women in the 40 - 49 age group were mothers.

Table 8: Mean infant births and deaths by mother

Mothers	Live Births	Infant Deaths
Aged 20 - 29 years	1.9	.1
Aged 30 - 39 years	3.6	.4
Aged 40 - 49 years	5.7	1.4
Aged 50 - 59 years	5.7	1.2
Older than 59 years	6.2	1.7

The figures in Table 8 may be considered to indicate a decline in fertility and mortality rates but cannot be used to establish this trend, as the younger mothers (and those who had not yet given birth) may yet have more children and those already born may die before they achieve maturity. A decline in the fertility rate would be expected as a result of the higher levels of education of the younger mothers, the perceived need to educate and care for children and the costs associated therewith, the increased entry of women into the wage labour market and the general improvement in the status of women in response to cultural, economic and legislative changes.

Women who had given birth were more likely to be married than those who had not. Whereas only 20% of women aged 20 - 29 were married, 42% of those in this age group who were mothers were married.

It appeared to be a widespread practice for women who were yet 'to marry' to give birth in the homestead of their own parents rather than the child's father.

2.4.3 Family Status

Data was recorded for all persons under the age of sixteen which reflected the marital status of their parents, the physical location of their parents and the person(s) who exercised guardianship over the child in the absence of both parents¹³. Where one or both parents were present in the home it was presumed that they were the guardians of the child.

The data reveals the picture one has come to expect as a consequence of the destruction of family life wrought by apartheid. Only a fifth of all the children surveyed lived with both their parents. Although over half the parents of the children surveyed

¹³ The location of parents and guardianship of children were closely linked but were considered separately.

were either married or intended marrying¹⁴ the majority of children lived only with their mothers. This was generally because their fathers were migrants,¹⁵ but other fathers had died, deserted or never lived at the home. A mere 3.1% of children lived with their father only.

Close to one in five of the children surveyed lived with neither parent. Almost all of them lived with their grandparents. In some cases the parent(s) were migrants who returned home from time to time, but in others they were never present.

Table 9 indicates that marriage improved the likelihood of a child living with its parents although even amongst the children with married parents the majority lived with the mother alone.

Table 9: Guardianship and Parenthood

Children	Married Parents	All Parents
Lives with both parents	33.1	19.4
Under guardianship of both parents	35.1	22.2
Lives with neither parent	10.6	18.5
Lives with grandparent(s)	9.9	17.9
Lives with mother alone	52.3	58.9

Despite the large numbers of children who did not live with even one of their parents, payment of maintenance money was only recorded in five cases.¹⁶ Two of those paying maintenance money (each of whom had two children) were women who had left their children in the care of grandparents when they married. The fifth maintenance payment (and the only one paid by a father rather than the mother) was sent by the father to the child's mother to whom he was not married.

¹⁴ The parents of 46.2% of the children surveyed were married and those of 12.5% said they intended marrying in the future.

¹⁵ 58.9% lived with their mothers only, 35.2% because their fathers were migrants.

¹⁶ The average maintenance payment recorded was R850 per annum.

3.0 PERSONAL IDENTIFICATION

It was not surprising to find that, with the state being without any representative or office in the area, the level of registration of births, deaths, marriages etc. was low.

At the time of the survey and for some months before it, a registration drive had been conducted with a view to ensuring that all adults had the necessary documentation to enable them to vote in the 1994 election. The response had been good and at the time of the 1993 survey thousands of new Identity documents were being distributed throughout the magisterial district. The problems experienced in obtaining identity documents without a birth certificate did not, however, appear to have led to an increase in the registration of current births, so that the newborns looked set to experience similar problems when they applied for identity documents in sixteen years time. Only 10.4% of all those surveyed under the age of 16 had birth certificates, despite the fact that in theory children could not enter school without a birth certificate.

The registration drive notwithstanding, almost a quarter (22.2%) of those over the age of 15 had no identity documents. Three fifths of those without documents were between the ages of 15 and 20 and 90% were under the age of 45. The implication was that people apply for documents when they perceive a need to do so. Knowing that they will be unable to obtain an old age pension without identity documents few people reach the qualifying age without the necessary documentation, and similarly those who know it will be required at the workplace register themselves. Although there were employed and unemployed migrants amongst those without documents a large percentage were still scholars.

Many of the pension problems experienced by old people and disabled people in the survey area were related to difficulties with identity documents. Not only were some without any documents, but there were those who complained that the details, particularly age, in their documents were incorrect and that they were unable to correct them (Section 5.3).

In contrast to the low level of birth and death registration, over three quarters of traditional marriages had been registered. As in the case of births, these can only be registered at the magistrate's court at Nkandla and the presence of a number of witnesses is required. No explanation was offered as to why the registration of marriages was taken more seriously.

4.0 EDUCATION

4.1 Background

Notwithstanding the undoubted educational inadequacies of the area, the state is probably more evident in this sphere of public activity than any other in the survey area. It takes no initiative in the provision of education, formal or informal, but provides certain resources and input where requested by the community. Thus the state has not built any schools in the area but where the community or churches have done so, it has provided teachers and more recently has subsidised the building of new classrooms¹⁷. Recently the state began to supply textbooks and stationery but this has been both erratic and inadequate. Inspection and support in the area was minimal. The Circuit Office in Nkandla claimed to inspect half of the 150+ schools on their circuit each year. Some of the schools in the survey area had never had a physical on-site inspection - what passed for an inspection was the principal and her records being examined at some nearby school that the inspector had managed to reach or at the circuit office. None of the schools had a local postal address or telephone so that the department could not communicate with or support schools in this way. Nevertheless education was the most common contact point with the state for individuals and households in the survey area. Although a higher percentage of pensioners received state old age pensions than children of school going age were at school, many individuals did not live to pensionable age and few received pensions for as long as scholars were at school. Other services supplied by the department of welfare, and services supplied by the departments of health, works, water, agriculture etc. were, if they were available at all, not nearly as widely available as schooling.

4.2 Education issues raised in the survey

Despite, or because of, the relatively widespread but haphazard and unsatisfactory activity of the state in this area, educational issues continued to dominate community concern in the survey area. A number of changes in the educational arena were recorded between 1985 and 1993, and although they might be said to reflect 'improvements', these tended to be 'internal' rather than 'structural'. No new schools, or even classrooms, were erected in the area during the period, although all existing schools had made applications for extensions and collected funds and paid 'deposits' towards them to an NGO involved in school building in northern KwaZulu¹⁸. In answer to a general question put to survey respondents about the satisfaction of basic needs, many spoke of the educational inadequacies of the area. The most general complaint was that schools in the area were too far away from scholars' and potential scholars' households. One respondent stated that children from her area did not start school until they were ten or twelve years old as the distance they had to walk was too great for six year olds. Distance and the non-availability of transport were the problems most often mentioned with regard to education, but many comments were also made relating to the financing of schools. There was considerable indignation that, despite the collection of monies and the request for additional classrooms and standards, nothing had happened in the area for almost a

¹⁷ In the Nkandla district in 1993 claims by 12 schools for 62 classrooms amounting to R 465000 were awarded.

¹⁸ KwaBiyele School deposited R4800 for 4 classrooms on 14.10.91; Sibhudeni R8400 for 7 classrooms on 2.2.93; Bhilihhana R1200 on 2.4.90 and R9600 for 9 classrooms in 1993; Izinyozi R2400 for 2 classrooms on 11.3.93; Enhlababo R10800 from 1.3.93 to 19.3.93 and Enyawoshana R3600 on 11.3.93.

decade. People commented that 'the money from Ulundi just disappeared'. They complained that the chiefs built schools near their houses rather than where they were most accessible or needed, and in particular complained that the only secondary school in the area was not centrally positioned. There was an appreciation that more was required to improve education than merely building additional classrooms. On the physical level a need for teachers' cottages was expressed. Furniture and textbooks were found to be in extremely short supply and the pupil teacher ratios were poor. One school did not have a single Zulu, English or Afrikaans text book for Standard Three - its top standard. Indeed the physical conditions in the schools in the area were so poor, and the conditions under which pupils had to access them so difficult, that it was hard to imagine that any advances were being made.

4.3 Schools in the survey area

As in 1982 and 1985 there were six schools in the survey area - five primary schools and one junior secondary offering education to Standard 8 level. Details of the six schools are given in Table 10 below. There was still no high school in the area - the nearest one being in Nkandla, 30 kms away. There were no centres of adult education, and as there were no agricultural extension officers or dipping inspectors based in the area, the community received no educational input in this way either.

Table 10: Selected Statistics on Surveyed Schools

School	Number of Class-rooms	Number of Teachers	Number of Pupils	Boy/Girl Ratio	Range of Standards
Kwa Biyela	4	5	214	105/109	Sub A - Std 3
Sibhudeni	7	14	619	325/294	Sub A - Std 5
Bhilibhana	3	7	189	105/84	Std 6 - Std 8
Izinyozi	3	4	248	151/97	Sub A - Std 2
Enhlababo	5	6	516	261/255	Sub A - Std 3
Enyawoshana	3	6	249	126/123	Sub A - Std 5
Total	25	42	2035	1073/962	Sub A - 8

4.4 Education levels of the surveyed population

Just under half (49.1%) of the individuals surveyed had no education. Of those over the age of 20, 56.8% had no education, but of those aged 20-24 (the age cohort most likely to have recently completed their schooling and accordingly to reflect the current educational situation) only 25% were in this position. Educational levels for those under the age of twenty tend to be meaningless in that some individuals have not commenced their education and others not yet completed it. The predominance of the lower age cohorts, where children will not have commenced their education, amongst the under twenties further distorts any statistics for that age group.

There are a number of difficulties associated with selecting an age group to represent potential scholars. Pupils attend school for different lengths of time and start and complete their education at different ages. Scholars in the survey ranged in age from 4 to 24 years. Officially children were required to turn seven in the year they started

school. They should therefore complete the twelve possible years of schooling by the time they turn nineteen. However the fact that 8.2% of scholars surveyed in 1993 were outside of the age range 7-19 indicates that some are starting their education before they turn seven and others continuing after they have turned nineteen. In the KFC Study the percentage outside of the 7 - 19 age group was much larger - 21.1%. The relatively easy access to schools in areas less remote than the survey area, and the availability of education to higher levels would explain why more pupils started school younger and continued longer in these areas. As the majority of pupils are at school between the ages of 7 and 19 this is the age group that is most often taken as the school-going age group.

However use is also made in this study of the 5 to 19 age group so that comparisons can be made with studies where the age cohorts of the Census are used. This age cohort included all but two of the 98 scholars recorded in the 1982 survey, four of the 121 scholars in the 1985 survey and 27 of the 219 scholars in the 1993 survey.

Table 11 below illustrating pupils' age by standard reflects the very wide range. It indicates that many children are not able to start school at the prescribed age; that many children repeat standards, some a number of times; and that many leave school for a number of years before continuing at a later stage. The difficulties faced by, for example, the pupils and teachers in Standard 8 as a consequence of its age range of 14 to 22 do not need to be described.

Table 11: Age and Distribution of Pupils by Standard.

Standard	No Pupils	% in Std	Cum % in Std	Age Range
Sub A	42	19.3	19.3	4-18
Sub B	23	10.6	29.9	6-15
Standard 1	28	12.8	42.7	9-15
Standard 2	39	17.9	60.6	8-18
Standard 3	21	9.6	70.2	11-17
Standard 4	11	5.0	75.2	9-17
Standard 5	12	5.5	80.7	12-17
Standard 6	8	3.7	84.4	14-19
Standard 7	15	6.9	91.3	16-21
Standard 8	13	6.0	97.3	14-22
Standard 9	3	1.4	98.7	18-24
Standard 10	3	1.4	100.0	18-24

The table indicates further that the distribution of pupils across standards was uneven with there being fourteen times as many pupils in Sub A as there were in Std 10. The very high percentage in Sub A probably indicates a high repeat rate which is common throughout the RSA. However, in general, the distribution of pupils across standards in the survey is very much worse than in the country as a whole. Ideally, if all pupils were to complete twelve years schooling, one quarter of enrolled pupils should be in the top three standards. In the survey area less than 10% were. Over two thirds of pupils were in Standard Three or below. In the KFC Study two thirds of pupils were in Standard 5 or below. In 1993 80.4% of the pupils (43993 out of 54741)

in the Nkandla Education Circuit (KDEC) were in Standard 5 or below - a figure almost identical to that (80.7%) for the survey area.

The average level of education achieved in the survey area, although improving, was still comparatively low. The average number of years spent at school for those aged twenty or older was 2.7, and for those between the ages of 20 and 24, 5.7 years. Those currently at school averaged 4.5 years of schooling, with a sub-grouping of scholars aged 15 - 19 averaging 5.5 years.¹⁹

Only three individuals with any post school education were recorded - one in nursing, one technical and one in an unknown discipline. Two persons had some adult education - one as a sangoma.

Scholars constituted 26.9% of the surveyed population. - a substantially smaller percentage than in Nkandla or KwaZulu. However as Table 9 indicates, the percentage had increased substantially - from 12.8% in 1982 to 14.6% in 1985 to 26.9% in 1993. These figures need to be viewed against those giving the percentage of the population of school-going age - those between the ages of 5 and 19 - where the percentage for the survey area is close to those for Nkandla and KwaZulu.

Table12: Selected Educational Statistics for Specific Age Groups

	KwaZulu	Nkandla	KFC Study	1982 Survey	1985 Survey	1993 Survey
% Total Population 5-14	28.3	32.3	25.2	27.1	27.1	27.7
% Total Population 5-19	39.7	44.4	37.3	35.7	37.1	40.3
% Total Population at school	31.9	41.3	35.7	12.8	14.6	26.9
% 5-14 at school	112.7	128.0	141.5	47.3	49.4	89.3
% 5-19 at school	80.3	93.2	95.7	35.8	39.2	61.4
% 7-16 at school				46.0	50.7	77.7
% 7-19 at school			86.6	41.5	43.9	69.0
% 5-14 at school				37.7	40.4	68.7
% 5-19 at school				35.2	38.0	64.7

Kwa Zulu & Nkandla Magistracy statistics from 1991 Population Census and KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture.

The percentage of those surveyed in 1993 in the 7 - 19 age group which was at school was 69%, and that of the 5 -19 age group 64.7%. The percentage varied considerably over age groups. In the 5 - 9 group 56% of children were at school; in the 10 -14 group 79%, and in the 15 -19 group the percentage fell back to 55.9%. The percentages for boys and girls were similar for the lower age groups, but in the 15 -19 age group the percentage of girls at school fell to 44.4% while that for boys was 64.9%. The lack of secondary school facilities, the distance of many households from schools and the perceived greater need of males for higher education are all reflected in the table below. Overall 45.4% of scholars were female.

As indicated by Table 12, the percentage of individuals in the school going age groups in the survey area who were at school was considerably lower than that for

¹⁹ In the KFC study persons aged twenty or older averaged 6.7 years of education and those between the ages of 20 and 24 8.8 years.

KwaZulu as indicated by the KFC study, the Population Census and statistics of the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture. This reflects the relatively poor access to education in the survey area. 69% of those aged 7 - 19 in the survey area were at school whereas 86.6% of those in the KFC study were.

Table 13: Percentage of Selected Age Groups at School

Age Group	Boys	Girls	Total
5 - 9 years	55.4	54.3	56.0
10 -14 years	79.3	78.9	79.0
15 -19 years	64.9	44.4	55.9
5 - 19 years	66.3	62.9	64.7

The percentage of 15 - 19 year olds (those who might be expected to be in secondary school) who were at school was naturally somewhat lower (55.9%) than the figure for the broader age group, and again significantly lower than that (73.2%) found in the KFC Study.

Persons falling within the age group five to nineteen who were neither at school (or studying elsewhere) or working were classified 'not at school'. They constituted 10.9% of the surveyed population and 35.7% of the 5-19 age group. Only four persons below the age of 20 were working so it could not be said that the need to find employment was driving people out of school early. These four workers represented a mere 1.3% of the 5-19 age group.

Persons classified 'not at school' were found in 62.5% of surveyed households. If the school going age group is narrowed to 7 - 19 years the percentage falls to 55.6% of households and if to 7 - 16 to 38.9%. In 1982 the percentage of households with members between the ages of 7 and 16 who were not at school was 58.6% and in 1985 60%.

Amongst the seventy two households surveyed in 1993 there were seven households which contained four or more children who were 'not at school'. No immediate explanation of these high levels of 'non-attendance' was apparent. They appeared randomly distributed throughout the area and were not especially poorly situated in regard to the schools. They were very large households - averaging 23 members but five of the seven households had members who were employed.

Despite the relatively poor attendance figures of the school going age groups in the survey area as compared with the magistracy or the country as a whole, comparisons with the figures for the 1982 and 1985 surveys indicate a consistent improvement in the area. In 1982 only 41.5% of those aged 7 - 19 were at school. The percentage increased to 43.9% in 1985 and by 1993 had risen to 69% (Table 12). The fact that the percentage of scholars falling outside of the 5 - 19 age cohort increased from 2% in 1982 to 13% in 1993 indicates that not only were more pupils at school, but that they were remaining there longer and completing higher standards, and that an increasing number were attending school out of the area.

Although the majority of people over the age of 20 surveyed in 1993 still (as in 1982 and 1985) had no education, the picture was clearly changing as Table 14 below which relates to the 20 - 24 age group indicates. Over the nine year period between the first and the third surveys the percentage with no education had fallen from 58% to 25%, and that with some form of post primary education had risen from 5.7% to 40.3%.

Table 14: Educational Levels of Persons Aged 20 to 24

Level of Education	1982		1985		1993	
	Cum %	%	Cum %	%	Cum %	%
None	58.0	58.0	43.5	43.5	25.0	25.0
SSA - Std 3	87.0	29.0	77.4	33.9	50.0	25.0
Std 4 - Std 5	94.2	7.2	83.9	6.5	59.7	9.7
Std 6 - Std 8	98.6	4.3	93.5	9.7	83.3	23.6
Std 9 +	100.0	1.4	100.0	6.5	100.0	16.7

Table 15 below, which gives pupil and school numbers for Nkandla and the three surveys, illustrates the changing statistics over the years.

Table 15: Educational Statistics for Nkandla Magistracy and Survey Area

Area and Year	Number of Pupils	Primary Schools	Junior Secondary	High Schools	Annual % increase
Nkandla					
1982	28349	100	15	3	
1985	38147	130	21	6	8.6
1993	54741	133		31	3.8
Survey Area					
1982	781	4	1		
1985	1407	6	1		14.8
1993	2035	6	1		3.9

Whereas the growth in pupil and school numbers in the survey area exceeded that for the magistracy of Nkandla (and indeed the whole of KwaZulu) between 1982 and 1985, between 1985 and 1993 with regard to pupil numbers it fell to the average level, and with regard to schools fell below the level as no schools were built. The growth in pupil numbers is mirrored in the continually falling percentage of children of school going age who were not attending school. (Table 12 above)

4.5 Teachers and classrooms

Table 16 indicates that although the number of teachers in the surveyed schools increased over the years, it did not keep pace with the increase in pupil numbers and

as a result the pupil/teacher ratio worsened. Similarly the pupil/classroom ratio deteriorated. It was stated in the circuit office that one teacher was provided for 35 pupils, but it was admitted that the circuit was allocated insufficient posts, and it was suggested that only when the ratio was 1:75 was it likely that an additional teacher would be allocated.

The table indicates further that majority of teachers continued to be unqualified while the percentage with some qualification increased from 24% to 35.8%. One of the 42 teachers had a degree, one a diploma and one a JSTC. The balance of the qualified teachers were classified "10 + 3".

Table 16: Selected Statistics on Pupils Teachers and Classrooms

Area and Year	Number of Teachers	Pupil Teacher Ratio	Number Class-rooms	Pupil Classroom Ratio	% Teachers Qualified	% 7-16 Not at School
Survey Area						
1982	25	31.2:1	11	71:1	24.0	54.0
1993	42	48.5:1	25	81:1	35.8	22.3
Nkandla						
1993	1294	42.3:1				

Figures for Nkandla obtained from KDEC.

4.6 Problems experienced by surveyed schools

All the problems generally associated with education (particularly rural education) in South Africa, were found in especial abundance in the survey area.

Rural teachers everywhere work under difficult conditions and the circumstances under which teachers were posted to schools in the survey area were not easy. The worst positioned school was 12 km or two hours walk from the nearest public transport. Having made his or her way to the school, the teacher (who is not likely to be expected owing to the absence of any form of communication) will find herself without accommodation. There are no houses or rooms in the area which are available for renting, and although accommodation may be negotiated with the local homesteads, this will be without the water, light, security or privacy to which the teacher may be accustomed. It is unlikely that it will be practical for the teacher to bring his or her family to the area, and yet it will be difficult or impossible, because of the distance and poor transport networks, for that teacher to return home regularly. The lack of telephones and postal services limit the ability of immigrant teachers to maintain that form of communication with their families.

The situation with regard to textbooks illustrates another problem the local schools experienced. Nationally there are inadequate funds to supply the textbooks and stationery pupils are supposed to be provided with. (This quite apart from the fact that a monopolistic, corrupt and inefficient system means that books are seldom available on time and that when they do finally arrive the quantity is inadequate.) The KDEC requires principals to complete textbook requisitions each September for the following year. At that time they have little idea of their pupil numbers for the

following year. This is particularly the case in an area where many children of school going age are not at school and where numbers increase each year. There is 'an agreement' that requisitions will not be increased by more than 10% per annum. All these factors conspire towards under-ordering.

In following the required procedures for ordering textbooks, rural schools experience the same difficulty they have obtaining any of the official forms they are required to complete during the course of the year. They are not serviced by a postal service and have to collect post from the nearest post office which may be up to 100 km away - very often no closer or easier to contact than the local circuit office. Principals have to make use of their own transport (if they have any) at their own expense in order to interact with the post office or circuit office and, because of the time and expense involved, many only do so once a month. They have no means of knowing that there is correspondence waiting for them - none of the schools in the circuit had a telephone.

The school in the survey area which had no textbooks at all for standard 3 had six teachers none of whom had a car. It was situated 12 km down an appalling road along which no public transport travelled. In order to get to the circuit office the principal had to walk the 12 km and then catch a bus 30 km to Nkandla. It is supposed to be the responsibility of the publisher to deliver textbooks directly to each school, but particularly where roads are poor or non-existent, this often does not happen, and books, where they are delivered, are left in circuit offices or rural stores. The principal of this school picked up a number of books in Nkandla on one of her monthly visits, loaded them onto the bus and then off-loaded and left them at a store at the start of her 12 km walk. Whenever she, her teachers or pupils passed that way they would bring as many as they could carry. (The few desks and benches which the school has reached it in the same way.)

On one occasion when the principal was in Nkandla she noticed boxes and boxes of blackboard chalk stacked unprotected on the verandah at the circuit office. Seeing someone from her area in Nkandla in a bakkie she persuaded her to come to the circuit office and load up some boxes of chalk. This hopelessly under-resourced school may have no books or desks, but owing to the chance arrival of a 'mobile' community member has enough chalk for ten years.

Pupils in the survey area do not have the alternative of buying books locally when they are not provided by the state - there are no shops which sell them. Each pupil or parent has to travel a considerable distance at considerable cost in order to obtain textbooks and stationery.

Another general area of concern is finance - there were no financial services in the survey area and indeed none in Nkandla. The closest savings or bank facilities available to the schools were in Eshowe, 50 km away. This made it impossible for them to withdraw or deposit funds regularly or with ease. The difficulties associated with the payment of teachers' salaries regularly drew attention to the problem. There being no postal service in the area, the principals at their own expense went to the circuit office once a month to collect staff salary cheques. After the principal returned with the cheques, each teacher had to be given a day off so that he or she could go to Eshowe, where the nearest bank was, to cash the cheque. This meant each teacher

needed at least one day off per month - a very disrupting factor in schools which were already understaffed.

The deficiencies in the 'system' for providing education in rural areas had over the years lead to an increasing involvement of NGO's in school building. In the past, schools applied for permission to build, built the school completely at their own expense, and then applied for a refund or subsidy from the department. The initial application to build should have been followed by a number of inspections and/or evaluations by the departments of works, the interior, agriculture, education etc., and no refund or subsidy should have been paid without it having been determined by inspection that the building had been completed according to departmental requirements. In practice constraints on the ground often meant that none of these inspections took place, and that in a few cases money was paid out before a school was built.²⁰ In most cases however, communities not only completed and paid in full for the schools that were built, but had to wait a considerable time before receiving the refund or 'rand for rand subsidy'.

As costs escalated and demands for education increased in an environment of decreasing employment opportunities, this became an increasingly impossible route to travel. The local community simply could not raise adequate funds or make arrangements with builders and suppliers who could produce classrooms to the department's specifications. Communities and schools were forced increasingly to rely on NGO's to fund the full building costs (less some relatively small deposit they were required to make), and had to cede the refund to the NGO if and when they received it from the education department.

Enhlababo school, the school without textbooks, illustrates well the problems associated with building (or in this case extending) schools in rural areas. In 1976 the community started collecting money. They made blocks, fenced and leveled the site and began building in 1978. The community were subsequently devastated when in 1979 the builder ran off with the balance of the money when the building had only reached window height. The local chief died in the early 1980's and organisation 'fell apart'. The builder had left the windows, but when the community tried to complete the building, they found the blocks had disintegrated as they had not been properly made. A committee member in 1993 estimated that they had spent about R7000 at this stage and were without any further funds. A representative of an NGO offered in 1988 to contribute R10000 and arrange for the classrooms to be completed through another NGO based in Eshowe which was involved in school building. Nothing came of these undertakings and the community was not in a position to do anything themselves. After a new chief was appointed the parents started collecting funds again, and by 1991 had R6000 which they deposited with the Eshowe NGO via the Circuit Inspector in Nkandla. In 1993 they deposited a further R5000 with the NGO. By this stage the area had a representative on the NGO committee - the principal of another school in the area - and he was used as the go-between.

²⁰ This usually occurred where a school didn't have adequate funds and the 'refund' was used to pay for the building rather than refund expenditure incurred.

At the time of the third survey all the six schools in the area had made deposits with the Eshowe NGO²¹ - these generally were R1200 per classroom required. The earliest deposit had been made in 1990, but in late 1993 no classrooms had been built at any of the six schools and nor was there any prospect of this happening in the near future. The NGO had hundreds of schools on its list and virtually no funds. The KDEC had not paid any of the refunds due for some time and the organization was struggling to get funds out of the IDT and other education funders. There was no system for evaluating and assessing need or creating a priority list for building based on need. Schools are inspected by Circuit Inspectors from the Department and reports filed but there is no follow up by the state, and the reports on the conditions found at the school are in no way linked to requests for new classrooms, whether to the Department or an NGO or other organisation. There is no provision for any analysis of the reports or the redress of any problems or prioritising of action. Thus an awareness of a glaring lack of resources at a particular school would not necessarily lead to limited funds being directed to that school.

The Eshowe NGO, in order to save costs, tried to work in one area at a time. Its decisions as to where to build were based on practicalities, not the date on which a deposit had been made, or the extent of the need at the particular school. Meetings were arranged by the NGO which all could attend and at which particular proposals could be made, but it was extremely difficult for remote and poor schools to draw attention to themselves, even if they were able to get to the meeting. The meetings were held on Monday evenings in Eshowe. The Enhlababo principal, for example, was approximately 67 kms away and without transport or funds. One principal from a school adjoining the survey area was on the Board of the NGO and was meant to represent all the local schools. He said it was difficult even to get the schools in the area together, and that he found it increasingly burdensome to find the funds and time to travel 62 km to the general meetings. His school had had a number of classrooms built, which might be attributed to the fact that he attended the meetings and was able to put the case for his school in an environment where numerous 'deserving causes' were competing for very limited funds.

²¹ The educational NGO operating out of Eshowe is the Eshowe Christian Action Group. In 1993 it completed its 1000th classroom. It had also erected over 10 laboratories and approximately 300 water tanks and 600 toilets. It requires a deposit of R1500 from each school (the deposit for a laboratory is R4800) and attempts to meet the balance through reclaiming the subsidy from the KDEC and raising the balance from the IDT, Ithuba, Commercial concerns such as Richards Bay Minerals and finally local fundraising. In 1993 ECAG said they would like to raise the deposit to R2500. Classrooms were realistically costing R25000 at that stage. They considered that the subsidy should be raised to R10000; that R10000 should be obtained from the IDT or other funding source and that the outstanding R2500 should be raised locally. Having raised the deposit the school is required to level and fence the site. ECAG takes full responsibility for the contractor and building. It builds a minimum of two classrooms and generally provides a water tank and two toilets for each block.

5.0 THE AGED, DISABLED AND SOCIAL TRANSFERS

The growing significance of social transfers to household income in the survey area is discussed in greater detail in Section 13. The successive droughts experienced in the 1980's and 1990's, the economic recession and the ever expanding tentacles of poverty have placed increasing emphasis on social transfers. The state, and in particular the department of welfare, is not generally evident in the survey area. Many of the welfare services and safety nets operating elsewhere in the country (however inadequate they might be) are not found in rural areas. When social pensions were extended to blacks, this initially only occurred in urban areas and the amount paid was very low. Subsequently certain pensions were extended to all race groups everywhere, although racial differentiation in the amounts paid prevailed. In 1993 all state pensions were equalised across race groups. At this time high levels of coverage had been achieved for black old age pensioners in rural areas. The impact of equalisation on rural incomes was accordingly significant.

Securing a disability grant in a rural area continues to present more hurdles than elsewhere so that coverage is uneven and relatively low. However the impact of equalisation was also significant for disability grantees.

Outside of these two areas welfare support in rural areas remains scant. There are few state social workers and only isolated NGO's supplying welfare services. Black rural populations have failed to successfully access maintenance grants for children which have played a significant role in some other poor communities. The result is an unnatural dependence amongst the poor in general on the support of old age pensions, and to a far lesser extent disability grants.

5.1 The old age pension

5.1.1 Definition of old age

There are no universally accepted definitions of persons according to age. The cut off point for youth or children varies between 15 and 20. The boundaries of the economically active age group fluctuate from 15 to 25 at the lower end to 50 to 65 at the higher. Aged persons are similarly defined in a number of ways. Gender may or may not be taken into account, as may eligibility for state or occupational pensions. The decision as to which definition is the most useful will depend on the issue under consideration. The relevant age will vary according to whether, for example, issues of employment, health or access to resources are under consideration. In the survey area the role played by state old age pensions (OAP) is so important that the most suitable definition of the aged is that which defines individuals in terms of eligibility for the pension. Thus the aged and/or pensioners are defined in this survey as women over the age of 59 and men over the age of 64 - the ages at which they respectively qualify for old age pensions.

5.1.2 The OAP in the survey area

The percentage of the population which was pensionable was in 1993 virtually unchanged from that in 1985, being 7.4% as opposed to 7.7%. Almost three quarters (72.9%) of the pensionable were women. The distribution of the aged

amongst households altered marginally from 61.4% in 1985 to 59.7% in 1993.²² Over a third (36.1%) of households contained one pensionable person and 23.6% two.²³

Pensioner or aged households tended to be slightly larger, at 10.6 and 9.7 members respectively, than all households surveyed (9.3). There was only one household²⁴ in which all the members were aged. The KFC study reflected a similar position with 'aged households' being somewhat larger than the mean and only .8% of households consisting solely of aged persons. Where households were headed by women a higher percentage contained aged persons - 76.5% - which was to be expected as many female heads were themselves aged.²⁵

The percentage of households containing aged persons increased sharply from the bottom income quintile to the top with 85.7% of households in the top quintile having aged members as compared with only 35.7% in the bottom quintile. In a community where incomes are as low as they were in the surveyed community, the receipt of an old age pension in a household will be enough to move that household into the higher income brackets. This outcome is markedly different from that where 'aged households' are viewed in a regional or national context, where they are found to predominate the lower income deciles. (KFC & SALDRU)

Of those of pensionable age 86.4% received OAP's at the time of the survey. The percentage in receipt of pensions had remained high since 1985 when it had reached 82.8% after increasing dramatically from 66.7% in 1982. Table 14 below indicates the growth in the number of pensions paid in the magisterial district of Nkandla between 1983 and 1993 which reflects a similar trend. The 1991 Census indicates there were 9632 persons of pensionable age in the Nkandla district. This implies that coverage was higher than 100%. However the boundaries were not identical and the census undercount in black rural areas tended to be higher than elsewhere.

All the pensionable individuals surveyed were aware of their right to a pension whether they received one or not, and very few reported experiencing any problems with the pension system.²⁶ Most of those eligible but without a pension were about to procure one. Three of the eight 'non-recipients' were female and five male. One male hadn't applied as he was still an employed migrant. One male simply refused to apply, another would not as he was convinced he would be penalised for not paying poll tax and another had lost his ID. One woman of 61 had been rejected as underage - she had since acquired a new ID and had applied again. Another had first been rejected as too young and then because her photos were too dark. The third woman had arrived in the household where she was encountered unknown and without

²² Persons in receipt of old age pensions were found in 63.8% of households as, although only 86.4% of the aged received OAP's, there were a number of apparently underage persons who were receiving pensions.

²³ In the KFC study only 5.1% of the population was found to be pensionable and aged persons were found in 26.7% of all households and 31.7% of deep rural households.

²⁴ It consisted of a husband and wife. The wife was in receipt of an old age pension. The husband had been promised a pension on retirement from the formal sector, but at the time of the survey enquiries at the magistrates court yielded nothing.

²⁵ Similar trends have been found in other studies though the percentage is clearly influenced by the age of the head herself. Thus whereas 46.6% of all female headed rural black households had aged members (actually old age pensioners) as compared with 28.1% of all rural households, 100% of those headed by aged women did.

²⁶ During the time of the survey the area was in the process of changeover to a privatised system for the actual payment of pensions. Owing to poor communication and administration this changeover resulted in large numbers of pensioners being suspended or refused payment. Many of the problems were subsequently resolved and arrears paid but there was considerable disruption for some months.

documents. Her hosts had recently obtained new documents for her and were in the process of helping her apply for a pension.

There were seven individuals who were in receipt of pensions who appeared to be under pensionable age - four men and three women. All were in their late fifties or early sixties. The presence of such persons amongst old age pensioners will affect calculation of the take up rate, and should be borne in mind when calculating such rates based on Census and other data.

Table 17: Social Pensions paid in Nkandla District - 1983 to 1993.

Year	OAP	Blind	DG	War
1983	7342	92	1098	6
1984	8426	88	1103	5
1985	8982	85	1332	5
1986	9852	68	1621	4
1987	9557	61	1694	3
1988	9891	70	1902	4
1989	10062	69	1933	4
1990	10731	69	1969	4
1991	12049	69	2178	13
1992	11229	56	2229	9
1993	11537	61	2473	9

Information obtained from KwaZulu Department of Welfare Ulundi. All information relates to the January/February pay period except for 1992 where it relates to March/April.

There were four males surveyed who were in receipt of private or occupational pensions. Three were not eligible for OAP's on account of their age but one who was eligible was receiving both an OAP and a private pension. Another person with a private pension was still working as a migrant and remitting to his rural home. One person was receiving an OAP and workmen's compensation at the same time.

5.2 Disability grants

The survey reported 12.3% of the population to be suffering from some disability. These disabilities were self defined and there was a wide range of degree and variety. The most common disabilities mentioned were high blood pressure (27%), TB (21%) and heart problems (10%). Others were mental (6%), asthma (5%), respiratory disease (4%), epilepsy (4%), blindness (4%), dumb (4%), deaf (3%), paralysed (3%), crippled (3%) and arthritis (3%).

Of the 99 individuals who were disabled only 11 or 1.4% of the population were receiving disability grants (DG's). Twenty two were, however, OAP's and two had private pensions.²⁷

The average age of those in receipt of disability grants was 39 and ranged from 25 to 53. Two thirds were females. Of the eleven individuals in receipt of DG's three

²⁷ One of the disabled received both a DG and a private pension.

suffered from mental disabilities, two from epilepsy, one from arthritis, one from TB, one was crippled, one paralysed, one had lost a finger and the eleventh had had a heart attack.

A number of the grantees had access to income other than the transfer. Two of the women were involved in informal sector activities and four in agricultural activities. The only male grantee who had any other source of income was the same person who had a private pension in addition to his grant. He was involved both in agriculture and informal sector activities.

5.3 Access difficulties

A large number of the reasons for the non receipt of pensions by persons who felt they were entitled to old age pensions or disability grants related to identity documents. A number of persons claimed that their ID's reflected an incorrect age and accordingly disqualified them. None appeared to know how to get their age corrected in their ID's. Others simply had no ID. There had been a recent campaign to issue identity documents related to the forthcoming election in 1994, and a number of people who had only recently received ID's were in the process of applying for pensions. A number of respondents reported both disabled and aged persons who refused to obtain ID's and accordingly could not apply for pensions.²⁸ There were a number of people who were disabled who said they were uncertain how to go about applying for a grant. Others were encountered whose disability grants had been discontinued. They suffered from TB or epilepsy. They appeared uncertain as to why the grants had been stopped or what they could do about it.

5.4 The role of social transfers in the survey area

Social transfers were seen to play an increasingly important role in the survey area, not only because coverage had improved (or remained high in the case of OAP's), but because of the increase in the pension amount in the face of a generally declining economy. Pension payments were increased from R40 in 1982 to R65 in 1985 and R295 in 1993²⁹. The initial increases were made to keep pace with inflation but the later ones were made to equalise pension payments across race groups. Equalisation was finally achieved in late 1993 when a second increase for the year equalised black pensions with those for other race groups at R370 per month. Translated into 1990 terms according to the Consumer Price Index (CPI) state pensions were R119 in 1982, R132 in 1985 and R206 in 1993³⁰.

In 1982, 5.4% of the surveyed population contributed 29% of total household income in the form of pensions and grants; in 1985 the respective figures were 7.5% and 39% and in 1993, 8.6% and 49.8%.

The change in the role of pensions as a source of household income should be viewed in the context of conditions affecting other sources of income at the time. The economic recession and consequent loss of employment opportunities,

²⁸ A mother reported that she was unable to apply for a grant for her mentally disturbed son as he hated cars and they had no other means of getting him to Nkandla to apply for an ID.

²⁹ In September 1995 social pensions were increased to R410 per month.

³⁰ The second increase in late 1993 to R370 was equivalent to R259 in 1990 prices according to the CPI.

accompanied by the fact that the increase in the value of remittances did not keep pace with the increase in the value of pension transfers, explains the exchange in positions as sources of income of pensions and remittances. In 1982 remittances constituted 38.1% of household income and in 1985 38.2%. By 1993 remittances contributed only 20% of household income. This period of growth in the importance of pensions as a source of income was one during which there were severe droughts for half of the time. This seriously affected the contribution of subsistence agriculture to income.

Pensions are not only the major source of income in the survey area - they are the only source of cash. Pensions were paid out at two different points within the survey area. Paydays were the only time at which cash was available locally. The nearest post offices were 30 km from the survey area and the nearest banks or building societies almost 50 km. Despite the unique service offered by the pension team, local indunas complained that there were insufficient points in the area, and that in particular a paypoint was required at Enhlababo - at the end of a 12 km secondary road of extremely poor quality. One household was encountered where the pensioners collected their pensions in Durban as they had done when interviewed in 1982 and 1985. In the light of the cost and inconvenience this must have caused them, it must be presumed that difficulties and uncertainties were experienced in transferring pensions from one paypoint to another.

The surveyed households received just over a quarter of a million rand in pension monies during the twelve months preceding the survey. The implication is that the community in which the survey took place (being roughly eight times the size of that actually surveyed) receives close to two million rand per annum in pension money. This raises important considerations both as to the method of payment and the development potential of transfer payments.

Various alternative methods of payment have been proposed. The alternatives are constrained by the absence of financial services in many rural areas. One proposal has been for payment by cheque. It was suggested that local stores would be happy to cash the cheques and that they would do so without deducting undue commission. Apart from security and fraud considerations, the magnitude of the amounts involved raises questions as to what size store would be able to handle such sums, and what this would do to the relationship between large chain stores and small locally based stores.

The suggestion for payment by cheque would further do nothing to decrease the general inconveniences and constraints experienced by pensioners (and of course the wider community) as a result of the absence of financial services. These persist despite the undoubted (and much improved) service offered by the current cash payment system. Pensioners (who constitute only a very small section of the community) may indeed be able to obtain cash in the area, but they may only do so once a month for a very short period and the pension may only be drawn in full, increasing the security risk for the pensioner and preventing budgeting or saving by the pensioner. No general banking or saving facilities are offered by the service even to the pensioner.



6.0 HEALTH

Although there were still no permanent health facilities within the survey area, the clinic immediately to the north of the survey area had been completely rebuilt with greatly improved facilities and had an increased staff. It offered a twenty four hour service and had six maternity beds. Mobile clinics continued to operate in the area on a monthly basis - one from Nkandla hospital and the other from Mbongolwana Hospital. People from the area continued to make use of Eshowe Hospital (50 km) and Nkandla Hospital (30 km) - perhaps on an increased basis as a consequence of the improvement in public transport in the area. Although the improved facilities at the clinic had led to an increase in numbers making use of the clinic and the purposes for which it was used, it did not appear to have brought health benefits as close to the local population as might have been expected. Very few clinic based deliveries occurred. Security and the lack of facilities for 'waiting mothers' were offered as causes of this less than optimal use.

Little information was obtained on the health of the surveyed community. An eighth (12.3%) of those surveyed reported suffering from some disability. Only 1.4% reported receiving a Disability Grant. The disabilities mentioned were varied but many related to respiratory diseases, TB and asthma. These were also mentioned frequently by respondents in regard to illnesses suffered by children. The emphasis was such to suggest some relation to local or living conditions.

Only 25 people (3%) claimed to have used either of the mobile clinics over the previous year. Eight persons claimed to have made use of the clinic monthly, presumably for post natal purposes. Ten percent of the surveyed population had attended the permanent clinic during the previous twelve months - a quarter of them monthly. However over half had only attended the clinic once or twice. Six percent had been to one of the hospitals and less than one percent had made use of the ambulance service.

Despite the number of traditional healers present in the area only 3.6% had seen a traditional healer. This compares with 1.4% who had seen a medical doctor.

7.0 MIGRANCY:

Increasing levels of urbanisation nationally, the repeal of influx control legislation in 1986, and the economic recession being experienced at the time of the 1993 survey would have been expected to result in a decrease in the migration rate out of the survey community. Although it had declined somewhat since the earlier surveys, the 1993 survey found a substantial proportion (17.1%)³¹ of the surveyed community were not permanently resident in their homesteads. A quarter (26.3%) of the men and 8.4% of the women surveyed lived away from home most of the year. Of those over the age of 15, 27.7% were non-resident as were 36.2% of those aged between 20 and 59 years - the economically active age group (EAA).

Over eighty percent (80.1%) of the 139 non-resident individuals were migrant workers (employed and unemployed); 9.5%³² were scholars and the balance spouses, children (pre-school or not in school) or other relatives of the migrant workers. Two women were in hospital and two males in gaol.

In this paper the term migrant is used to describe those non-residents who were absent from home for employment purposes, regardless of whether they were employed or unemployed. Viewed separately from other non-residents migrants constituted 13.4% of the surveyed population.³³ At the time of the survey 19.2% of these migrants were unemployed - 16.1% of the males and 27.3% of the females. The 6% of the surveyed population who were unemployed but at home or resident could be viewed as potential migrants, as the likelihood of their finding employment in the survey area was minimal. Half of them had previously been migrants. Considering them as migrants would have meant that a fifth of the surveyed community was normally non-resident.

7.1 Place of residence

Half the migrants lived, when away from home, in the Durban Metropolitan Region - the majority in KwaMashu or adjoining Inanda. A third (34.5%) of them lived at their place of work; 30.9% in informal settlements; and 27.4% in formal townships. Two thirds resided in hostels or shared accommodation. 18% lived in shacks and 15.5% in houses. Half claimed they paid no rent for accommodation. 11% owned their houses and 4.5% paid rent for their house, shack or room.

Two thirds of the migrants who supplied information about where they both currently and initially worked and lived, indicated that they had continuously lived and worked within one magisterial district.

There was no discernable pattern or direction in the residential movements of those who had moved either within or between districts. Some moved from informal to formal accommodation and from peri-urban to urban situations and others in the opposite direction.

³¹ 13.7% of the population in deep rural areas of the KFC study were non-resident.

³² 18% of non-residents in the KFC study were scholars.

³³ 11.7% of people in deep rural areas in the KFC study were migrants.

7.2 Distribution of Migrants

Migrants were found in 72.2% of surveyed households. The number per household ranged from one to five with an average of 1.5. Migrants were found in only 52% of female headed households.

7.3 Demographic profile of migrants

The average age of migrants was 33 (men 35 and women 29). Woman migrants were on average younger than males, with two thirds of women migrants being under the age of thirty while only 39.1% of the men were. The oldest woman migrant was 44 while the oldest male migrant was 70. Of the male migrants 23% were heads of their households. None of the female migrants was head of her household. Only one woman migrant was married (she lived with her migrant husband at their place of work). Just over half the male migrants were single with the balance being either married, 'to marry' or widowed. Over half (54.5%) of female migrants had children. This figure is very similar to that for all women (52.2%) between the ages of 20 and 44 (the age range for migrant women). Migrants constituted 15.2% of this age group for women.

The average migrant had 4.1 years of education. Male migrants averaged only 3.7 years compared with women migrants who averaged 5.5 years.

Table 18: Migrancy and Unemployment: Comparative percentages

	1982 %	1985 %	1993 %
<i>Non-resident Population</i>	18.5	22.0	17.1
<i>Migrant Population</i>	16.5	17.9	13.4
<i>% Migrants unemployed</i>	8.0	19.5	19.2
<i>% resident pop. unemployed</i>		6.7	6.0

Table 19: Age Distribution of Migrants

Migrants						
Age Groups	Males			Females		
	1982 Cum %	1985 Cum %	1993 Cum %	1982 Cum %	1985 Cum %	1993 Cum %
>20	12.4	11.8	3.4	31.8	18.1	4.5
20-29	48.6	51.9	39.1	81.8	77.2	63.6
30-39	74.2	77.9	73.6	90.9	95.3	86.4
40-49	87.5	88.9	89.7	95.5	95.3	100.0
50-59	97.0	99.1	96.6	100.0	100.1	
60+	100.0	100.0	100.0			

Table 20: Age Specific Migration Rates

Age Groups	Migrants					
	Males			Females		
	1982 %	1985 %	1993 %	1982 %	1985 %	1993 %
> 20	6.6	6.8	1.4	3.6	1.8	5
20-29	84.0	78.5	51.7	14.5	19.9	20.0
30-39	77.5	86.9	71.4	4.7	8.9	6.9
40-49	58.4	60.8	50.0	3.1		9.7
50-59	66.7	50.0	35.3	6.7	4.8	
60+	14.8	24.1	13.0			
20-59	76.0	77.1	59.9	9.0	10.6	11.9
N	115	127	87	22	22	22
% pop	31.8	32.5	22.0	5.5	5.0	5.3

As demonstrated by the tables migrancy patterns, despite variations, continued over the years to be strongly age related. The major outflow of migrants in 1993, as in 1982 and 1985, began in people's early twenties, although the percentage of males who were migrant in the 20 - 29 age group declined markedly from 84% in 1982 to 51.7% in 1993. There was also an absolute decline in the number of migrants under the age of 20. Women migrants continued to be younger than male migrants but the percentage of them who were under the age of thirty also declined.

Although the percentage of males who were migrants in 1993 rose to 71.4% in the 30-39 age cohort it never reached earlier levels. This is a reflection of the increasing difficulties of finding migrant employment, particularly for younger people. Nevertheless the majority of males between the ages of 20 and 49 were still away as migrants in 1993. The percentage of women who were migrants never rose above 20% for any age cohort - the figure it reached for the 20-29 age cohort.

The number of migrants who were women remained static over the survey period, but the percentage of migrants who were female increased in the face of a decline in the number of male migrants. It increased from 16% in 1982 and 15% in 1985 to 20.2% in 1993. The percentage of women in the EAA who were migrants increased from 9.0% in 1982 to 11.9% in 1993.

Table 18 indicates that although the percentages of the population which were non-resident and/or migrant fell between 1985 and 1993, the percentage of migrants who were unemployed and the percentage of the population who were unemployed but at home remained static. The increase was thus in people who were at home and not working but who did not report themselves as unemployed. The implication is an acceptance of a situation of reduced employment opportunities resulting in fewer people without employment classifying themselves as unemployed. In spite of the

removal of influx control regulations, these people (the majority of whom were not involved in subsistence agriculture or informal sector activities at home - See Section 12.1) have not relocated to urban areas. There appears to have been no increase in local employment opportunities.

The migrant status of certain household members may be contested in that they may be considered to be no longer *members* of the households but ex-members who have permanently *urbanised*. Respondents in the survey seem, however, over the years to have been largely correct in their classification with regard to migration. Among the older age groups they classified only two household members as migrants - a male who was still employed and a woman who was hospitalised. Those among the aged who might at a younger age have been considered urbanised in that they had been living in an urban area (possibly in a house which they owned) for many years, had indicated by their return to their rural homes in their retirement that they had not urbanised, regardless of the length of time for which they were in fact migrants.

7.4 Comparison with earlier surveys

Over half (55.3%) of those classified as migrants in 1982 were picked up in the 1993 survey. The balance came from households which were not resurveyed in 1993³⁴ or had died or left their previous households. Some households had split up and not all the previous members were located. Other individuals had left the household in which they were originally surveyed and set up their own households, and yet others had married out or returned 'home'. However of the 141 migrants recorded in 1982 only 13 (9.2%) were reported to have urbanised. It is possible that some of those from the deserted or split households had also urbanised which would make this percentage somewhat higher. Of the 1982 migrants who were resurveyed in 1993, 20.5% were unemployed, 53.8% employed and 10.3% receiving pensions.

In the earlier surveys only the frequency of remittances, as opposed to the frequency of return of the migrants themselves to the area, was recorded. In 1993 migrants were in addition asked how often they returned home. Over half (53%) returned monthly. A small percentage returned weekly or fortnightly while ten percent returned only once a year. Although no data was available to make hard comparisons, the information gathered in 1993 suggests that migrants were returning far more frequently than in the past when, according to information acquired in the survey area, the majority returned only once a year, with a smaller percentage returning both at Easter and Christmas time. A number of new internal roads had been built in the survey area; the district road had been upgraded; the bus service had improved and the number of taxis and the service they provided had increased markedly. These changes have enabled migrants to return home from the work place more regularly than was the case in the past. This must impact on the role they play in the area and their remittance behaviour.

Although the real value of the remittance remained fairly constant over the years, its importance and reliability as a source of income declined. The number of migrants in the community declined, a fifth of them were unemployed, and a lower percentage of migrants remitted than was the case previously.

³⁴ The households were either totally deserted or no one was present at the time of the survey.

PART II

THE ECONOMY

8.0 AGRICULTURE AND SUBSISTENCE

8.1. Homesteads and land

Homesteads in the survey area are individually situated and widely dispersed. There were no villages or settlements. Generally homesteads consisted of a number of separate buildings and a cattle kraal. The arrangement was usually the traditional circle within a circle - the cattle kraal surrounded by buildings in a circular arrangement which were in turn surrounded by the outer fence or hedge. A few households were accommodated in a single building. Most buildings were wattle and daub. There were some brick and corrugated iron houses. These were generally built with locally made blocks. All homesteads were held under traditional tenure. Associated with the various households were fields or gardens. These might adjoin the homestead or be located some distance from it. Access to fields and gardens was controlled traditionally and no evidence of any adjustments or modernisation of the traditional law were reported.

8.2 Access and utilisation

Only one of the surveyed households did not have access to fields. Less than 40% of households had gardens. However every household had either fields or a garden. The majority of fields adjoined the homestead. A fifth had fields both adjoining the house and distant, and 12.5% had distant fields only.

A number of explanations were offered by those who either did not claim access to gardens or had not made use of their gardens or fields. A labour shortage lay behind comments such as "the garden has not been used since my wife died", or "since 1960 we have had no fields" and poor productivity behind those such as that the garden was "too far from the stream".

The mean size of the fields held by surveyed households was 1.5H and the mean size of gardens .1H. None of the fields was fenced. Approximately one third of the gardens were fenced. Just over a quarter of households had a member who belonged to a community garden. Two thirds of those who were members of community gardens did not have their own gardens.

The position and productivity of community gardens was not clear. Most community gardens appeared to be in early stages of development and even the members appeared confused as to how they were to operate. Some respondents commented that they were still to join a community garden, others that theirs was about to start up or that they hadn't harvested anything yet.

It seems that a number of authorities and institutions had been active in the area in connection with drought relief and nutritional support programmes, and that certain proposals had been made concerning community gardens by these organisations.

Respondents were not clear about whether the officials they had dealt with were from the Red Cross or the Department of Agriculture. As the personnel were different on each visit they were not even sure if they came from the same organisation as those on the previous visit. Respondents reported that the Red Cross had taken the names of those requiring relief and had told them they wouldn't get any drought or nutrition relief until they had started a garden. Some reported having ploughed the land three times in anticipation of the seeds, watering cans, fertiliser, fencing etc. promised them by the Red Cross, but that nothing had materialised and nothing had been planted. Others reported that the Department of Agriculture had undertaken to supply these things and likewise had failed to do so. Some respondents said that their chief or induna had initiated the idea of a community garden. In one case an induna's initiative was said to have failed as his wife opposed it on the grounds that he had suggested using his (their) land for the community garden.

Although all households had access to fields or gardens, only a quarter of households had planted all of their land the previous summer. Half had planted less than half and 12% nothing. The overwhelming reason given for not planting or planting less than half was drought. Almost half (42.2%) of respondents blamed the drought for the low levels of agricultural activity. Thereafter the most common reason given for not planting was the absence of suitable labour followed by likely damage to production by pests - chiefly wild pigs. Those respondents whose fields were far from the homestead experienced the greatest problems with wild pigs. Households with distant fields also suffered theft of their crops. Other reasons given for a failure to plant were that the respondent had no oxen, could not obtain access to oxen at the appropriate time or lacked the funds to hire oxen or purchase seed. One respondent stated that he had had a large family but that when his wife and two sons had died and other members of his family left the homestead, he had been forced to call his youngest son back from his job to help him with the ploughing. Others stated that their poor health prevented their continued involvement in agriculture and that there was no one in their households to take their place.

The drought was similarly the most commonly given reason for non-optimal utilisation of gardens. Conversely most of the people who had made use of their gardens said they had been able to do so because they were able to irrigate them. The lack of capital for seed was also reported to have prevented full use of gardens in some cases.

8.3 Crops

8.3.1. Maize

Maize was almost always planted in fields but four households reported that they also planted maize in their gardens. Almost a third of those who planted maize reported that they had harvested nothing. A quarter of households claimed to have had good harvests, with the balance reporting fair (13.8%) or poor (29.3%) harvests. There were some complaints that cattle and goats had destroyed the crop, and the comment was made that with all the children in school no one herded or controlled the cattle any longer¹.

¹ Two thirds of children of schoolgoing age were at school. The figure rose to almost 80% when only those between the ages of 10 and 14 were considered.

All households which had planted maize had taken green maize from the field before harvesting. On average they had done this for nine weeks - some claiming to have done so for as little as one week and others for as long as 16 weeks. The average dry harvest was two bags per household - with the largest being 10 bags and the smallest merely a kilo. Only two households had sold any maize - one realising R60 and the other R100.

The value of the maize production for the twelve months preceding the survey was extremely low - being only R2883 for the entire community². This figure needs to be viewed in the light of the drought conditions prevailing at the time of the survey. Although all households bar one had land and normally planted maize, in that particular year 12% had not planted any maize and half the households had only planted half of their fields, largely on account of the drought conditions. One third of households reported harvesting nothing at all. Households had incurred expenditure for seed, ploughing, fertiliser and labour for weeding with the result that 29% of households recorded negative incomes with regard to maize production, and 22% of households no income at all. The value of the maize harvest to households varied from a negative of R488 to a positive of R552 with an overall positive value of only R2883 for all households surveyed.

8.3.2 Vegetables

Over ninety percent of the households surveyed had planted vegetables during the twelve months preceding the survey. However, owing to the drought conditions, the harvest had been exceedingly poor and in many cases non-existent. Half of those who had planted vegetables reported that they had harvested nothing at all. A quarter reported a fair harvest with the balance reporting a poor yield. The majority (three quarters) of households had planted their vegetables in their fields with their maize. The balance (16 households - four of whom also planted vegetables in fields) planted in gardens adjoining their homesteads.

The most commonly grown vegetable was pumpkin which was grown by seventy percent of those growing vegetables. The next most commonly grown vegetables were beans and madumbes. Other vegetables grown were potatoes, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, cabbages, onions, spinach, corn and carrots. Relatively few households reported growing fruit, but there were those with bananas, oranges, mangoes, avocados and peaches.

The reported yields of vegetables were pitiful. The average value of the previous twelve months harvest was R37 per household. If all households who planted vegetables are included in calculating the average (as opposed to those who actually harvested) the yield was worth a mere R17.³

² In order to place a value on maize production certain assumptions had to be made where the actual data was not available. A value of R60 was placed upon a bag of dry maize and the average yield was considered to be six bags per hectare. The cost of ploughing with oxen was estimated at R160 per hectare (see below). Households had been asked whether they had fields, what size their fields were, what percentage of their fields they had planted, how they had ploughed their land, what yield they had achieved, for how long they had taken green mealies from the field, how many bags of dry mealies they had stored and whether they had made any sales. They were also asked what expenditure they had incurred on seed, fertiliser, labour, and ploughing with a tractor or oxen. On the basis of the available data and the assumptions made, the value of maize production was calculated by multiplying the amount of land available to the household (hectares), by the percentage actually ploughed, by the nature of the yield (excellent, good, fair, poor and non-existent represented by 1.1, 1, .8, .4, and 0 respectively), by R360 (6 bags per hectare at R60 each), less the value (see below) of ploughing for self, less any actual costs incurred hiring oxen, tractors, or labour or buying seed or fertiliser.

³ Vegetables were valued at the current local price.

Almost all households reported picking wild spinach or umfino when it was available. Over two thirds of respondents said they picked plants for medicinal purposes.

8.3.3 Timber

Close to half of the households reported growing timber. Thirty percent of households had simply planted trees close to the homestead whereas 12.5% had actually planted a woodlot. The majority of growers grew timber for fuel and building purposes. Only three did so on a commercial basis. The income from commercial production was minimal, particularly as the one grower who had sold a substantial amount (two tons) of timber had not been paid. The other two had realised less than R160 for their timber over the previous year.

It is difficult to attribute value to timber. Ninety six percent of households used timber for cooking, heating and lighting and none reported incurring any expense in this regard. Half obtained the timber from their own woodlots with the balance obtaining fuel chiefly from the indigenous forests in the area. Those who had their own woodlots used this timber not only for fuel but also for building and fencing.

Where households had their own woodlot, R520, or R10 per week, was added to their annual income received from subsistence sources. This was considered to be the value of timber taken for fuel or building. Nothing was added to the income of those who obtained their timber from indigenous forests. It was no doubt of an equivalent value to the households to that obtained from woodlots, although they may have had to work harder and longer in order to obtain it. However, just as no value was placed upon the water taken from streams and springs, none was placed upon timber taken from indigenous forests.

8.4 Stock holding

8.4.1 Cattle

Two thirds of the households surveyed had cattle. The average herd consisted of 7 head, and herd size ranged from 1 to 16 head. The entire herd surveyed consisted of 49 oxen, 25 bulls, 149 cows, 37 young bulls, 33 heifers and 42 calves (335 head). The value of the herd according to prices⁴ prevailing in the area at the time was R280,480.

Twelve months before the herd had consisted of 59 oxen, 37 bulls, 175 cows, 44 young bulls, 38 heifers and 26 calves. Despite the fact that the herd had decreased in size from 379 to 335 head, owing to the significant increase in the price of cattle over the period the value of the herd rose from R266,200⁵ to R280,480 during the year preceding the survey. Although the percentage of households holding cattle had not declined from 1985, the size of the average herd had declined from 7.9 head to 7.

During the year preceding the survey 21 calves were born to the 149 cows - giving a calving percentage of only 14.1 percent. Ten of the calves died during the course of the year so that ultimately herd value only increased by R4,290 as a consequence of the births.

⁴ Cattle were valued as follows: oxen R1100; bulls R1430; cows R900; young bulls R600; heifers R550; calves R390.

⁵ 1992 cattle prices were estimated to be 80% of 1993 prices.

Twenty eight head of cattle valued at R21,360 were acquired through lobola during the year. Seven head valued at R5,200 were paid out as lobola.

Four head of cattle were purchased during the twelve months preceding the survey. One household bought three bulls (all of which were subsequently slaughtered and were presumably bought for that purpose) and another a young bull. The total value of purchased animals was R4,890.

During the survey year one bull and one cow were sold for R1000 each.

Twenty five animals (or 6.6% of the herd) were slaughtered during the year - 7 oxen, 11 bulls, 3 cows, 1 young bull, 2 heifers and 1 calf. They came from 14 of the 48 herds or 29.2% of the herds. Where animals were slaughtered the full value of that animal was attributed to household income obtained from subsistence. The total value attributed to slaughter was R28420.

The takeoff rate for the year was 7.1% - consisting of slaughter at 6.6% and sales at .5%.

Fifty seven animals (valued at R41,400) died during the course of the year - 4 bulls, 30 cows, 2 oxen, 4 young bulls, 7 heifers and 10 calves. This gives a death rate of 15%.

Respondents were asked whether they ate the meat of animals which died. Almost all did. Where an animal died and the household had confirmed that they ate meat from dead animals, the value placed upon the meat consumed was as follows: Bulls R500; oxen R400; cows R300; heifers R200; young bulls R200 and calves R200. It was not considered appropriate to attribute the full value of an animal which had died to household income, as most of the animals which died would have been extremely thin as a result of the drought; parts may have been inedible as a consequence of disease and, owing to the absence of refrigeration or storage, there may have been considerable wastage. The total value of the dead meat consumed by the surveyed households was R14,200.

One young bull valued at R600 was stolen during the course of the year.

During the twelve months preceding the survey the only cattle sales which occurred emanated from the same household, where a cow and a bull were sold for R1000 each in order to settle a claim for damages against a family member who had been involved in an accident in KwaMashu. Two households reported obtaining money from the sale of hides - they reported receiving R16 and R20 respectively.

Only one household reported any income from ploughing for others - but didn't know how much had been realised. All cattle holders who said they ploughed their fields with their own cattle were credited with the value of this service determined according to the amount of land ploughed and whether all the animals used belonged to the household or not. (In the long term this did not affect household, income as an equal amount was deducted from the value of maize production as a cost.)

Only ten households reported obtaining milk from their cows. Two households said only the children drank the milk. Some of the households which said they drank milk did not report any calves being born during the preceding twelve months, and are therefore unlikely to have had access to milk throughout the year. The annual value of milk taken from a cow was calculated by multiplying the amount consumed (presumed to average 750ml per day during a 220 day lactation period) by R1.50 per litre which amounted to R247 per annum. The total value of milk consumed to the surveyed households was only R2470.

Few households incurred costs caring for cattle. One household reported having spent R1 on veterinary medicines, another R100 on food and a third R900 on labour over the previous twelve months. The funds were sourced in pensions and savings.

8.4.1.1 Disposable income obtained from cattle

Using the above figures (both actual amounts and estimates) a current disposable income from stockholding was calculated and attributed to agricultural/subsistence income. It consisted of the value of slaughtered animals (R28,420), meat from dead animals (R14,200), sales (R2,000), sale of hides (R36), milk (R2,470), income from ploughing for others (R100), value of ploughing for self (R2,488), less the costs incurred with regard to stock care or feeding (R1,001). Appreciation in the value of individual animals held over the year or the loss/gain in value incurred as a result of births, deaths, lobola transfers, thefts or purchases was not taken into account as, although these transactions would have increased/decreased the cash flow in the households concerned in the same way as disposable income, they essentially reflect changes in the asset value or wealth of the household. The same might be said of sales and slaughtered animals, but for the purposes of calculating subsistence/agricultural incomes they were included. The average annual disposable income of cattleholders was R973.18. One household experienced a loss (R900) while at the other end of the scale a household achieved a disposable income of R4,690 based on cattle holding.

Over the year the entire herd increased in value by R14,280, but the herds of almost half of the cattle holding households decreased in value. Overall the percentage increase in value was 4.7%. By individual herds it ranged from a decrease of 71.2% in herd value to an increase of 104.9%.

A percentage return on cattle holding was calculated by deducting the cost of cattle purchases from the sum of the appreciation in herd value over the survey year, the income from sales and current disposable income from cattle, and relating this figure to the value of the herd twelve months before the survey. One fifth (19%) of households showed negative returns. The average return was 21.7% and a return as high as 110% was recorded. The average return to a household was R1,231 with the highest being R7,920 and the lowest a loss of R4,236.

When reference is made to the rate of return on stockholding and the percentage change in herd value in those households which achieved the highest current disposable incomes from stockholding in the twelve months preceding the survey, it becomes clear that much of current income is being achieved at the price of a capital loss (i.e. most of disposable income is sourced in sales and meat from dead or slaughtered animals.). Table 21 gives details for those households which achieved

above average disposable incomes from cattle. A third of cattleholders achieved such incomes and their incomes accounted for 86.1% of all income from this source.

These stockholders achieved an average percentage return on stockholding of 31.95% and an average percentage change in herd value of -10.8%. In order to achieve above average current incomes from stockholding, they were consuming capital and consuming it faster than the average herd owner who achieved a percentage return of 21.7 % and whose herd increased in value by 4.7%. Two thirds (66%) of the herds which produced above average current disposable incomes decreased in value whereas only 46% of all herds did.

Table 21: Returns to Stockholding.

Households with above average Current Disposable Incomes from Stockholding		
Current Disposable Income p.a. (Rands)	Net Rate of Return (%)	Percentage Change in Herd Values
R4690	96.1	39.2
R3774	37.3	5.9
R3598	31.2	-37.0
R2924	13.0	-12.5
R2627	38.9	-60.5
R2550	-15.8	-65.2
R2520	46.4	13.1
R2447	17.1	-17.0
R2330	25.0	-16.7
R2267	38.9	-60.5
R1932	36.9	9.3
R1701	33.1	12.3
R1443	7.6	-9.6
R1380	14.4	-1.4
R1350	24.7	-11.9
R1100	64.0	46.1
R1100	-16.4	-25.8
R1060	8.27	-2.4
N =	Mean	Mean
18	31.95	-10.8

8.4.2 Poultry

Although a high percentage (82%) of households kept chickens, relatively few (25%) reported consuming chickens on a regular basis and only one that they were specifically raised for the market. This household reported an income of R1000 from the sale of chickens over the year.

Households had between 2 and 30 chickens with an average of 13. Only two households reported buying chicken food during the year, one spending R30 and the other R198. An income based on chicken holding was calculated on the basis that during the course of the year a household would either consume or sell forty percent of their chickens. These chickens were valued at R12 and income from chicken holding was calculated as follows: number of chickens * 40% * R12 less the cost of food.

Six households reported eating eggs; one saying only children ate eggs and two that they were eaten by everyone except the women. Where households kept chickens and said they ate eggs, it was presumed that they took one dozen per month or 144 over the year and R50 per annum was added to household income obtained from subsistence. The total value to the surveyed community was R300.

8.4.3 Small stock

Two fifths (41.7%) of households had goats with herd size ranging from 2 to 20 and averaging seven. The number of goats held over the year declined from 355 to 203 - presumably as a result of the drought and the significant number that were slaughtered, as few sales were reported. Only 7% of households had sheep. Here again the numbers had fallen over the year from 72 to 35. The average flock consisted of 7 sheep. Three households had one pig each.

Despite the increase in value of small stock over the year, the value of the small stock herd fell due to declining numbers⁶. At household level 56 percent of small stock herds decreased in value over the twelve months preceding the survey.

In order to place a value on small stock holding and to calculate returns goats, sheep and pigs were all valued at R120 a head. Only one household reported the sale of any small stock. This household sold two goats because they were starving. They received R250 for the goats.

Respondents reported slaughtering 48 goats during the twelve months preceding the survey. Many of the goats were slaughtered following the death of a household member. On such occasions a large number of goats was usually slaughtered - one household slaughtered twelve and another ten. Another household slaughtered four on the initiation of a daughter who was training to be a sangoma. One household slaughtered five sheep and another one, while one had slaughtered a pig. Where small stock were slaughtered the value to household income was calculated by valuing each animal slaughtered at R120.

⁶The number of pigs remained constant at three and their value increased accordingly.

8.5 Agricultural Activity

All households surveyed had either gardens or fields and only 8.3% of households reported having no members who undertook agricultural responsibilities. However in only one third of the surveyed households were there men who were so involved. On average three persons in each household undertook some agricultural chore. Five householders reported the assistance of outsiders in their agricultural work.

Agricultural work is not only seasonal but is further affected by factors such as drought and fertility rates. It is exceedingly difficult for people to estimate the time spent on specific activities. Responsibilities such as cattle care may only take up a small part of the day but, apart from duties such as dipping and seasonal herding, require some attention every day. Ploughing and planting on the other hand only take place for limited periods but may temporarily occupy the individuals involved from dawn to dusk.

Responsibilities for caring for animals appear not to have been as well recorded as in the case of field work. Only three quarters of the households with cattle reported individuals who cared for these animals. Fifty six individuals recorded general responsibilities with regard to cattle care, forty for dipping and ten for milking. Just under a quarter of those responsible for caring for cattle were women. Two fifths were under the age of 16, most of them boys. Twenty individuals in 10 households were recorded as caring for small stock.

Care of poultry was also poorly recorded, with only two men reporting that they cared for chickens although 82% of households had chickens.

One hundred and eighty three individuals, of whom 42 or 23% were males, were involved in agricultural activities. The largest numbers were involved in planting and weeding (136) and hoeing (106). Smaller numbers reported ploughing with oxen, harvesting, fertilising or irrigating. Men were far more evident ploughing than in any other activity. 54% of those who ploughed were males. However with the exception of two males, ploughing was the only agricultural activity in which men participated. The limited irrigation (three households irrigated their gardens with buckets) and fertilisation that was done was done exclusively by females.

Time spent on agricultural activities is difficult to estimate and varies with seasons. The year of the survey experienced a very severe drought and was atypical for this reason. 70% of those who hoed spent four or less weeks on that activity. More than half of those who ploughed were busy for a maximum of two weeks. Planting occupied most people for between two and four weeks and weeding for two or less weeks.

8.6 Agricultural expenditure

Expenditure on agricultural production appeared very limited. There seemed little notion of its being an investment requiring capital. The attitude was no doubt influenced by lack of resources but it was not verbalised in this way. The costs of agricultural production were also very difficult to estimate in that producers generally used their own labour, ploughed with their own cattle, planted with their own seed, put

manure, if anything, on their fields, and finally consumed the bulk of their produce themselves and thus never placed a monetary value upon it.

Very few costs were reported. Half the surveyed households reported incurring costs buying seed and thirty percent costs for ploughing. Labour costs appeared to be negligible. One household reported employing two people to weed at R3 per day from October to January at a total cost of R480.

No expenditure on fertiliser was recorded. Two thirds of households made use of manure which they carted into their fields.

Twelve percent of households had not ploughed any land. Of those who had, a third prepared their lands solely by hand and half by a combination of hand hoeing and the use of oxen. Only one household reported making use of a tractor - hired at a cost of R100. The majority of the two thirds who ploughed with oxen, hired oxen. Eighteen households did their own ploughing. Twelve of them used oxen although only six had four oxen and two only had one ox in the team. Four households used a combination of their own and others' animals.

Only one household reported any income from ploughing for others - but did not know how much had been realised. One third of households reported expenditure on ploughing ranging from R30 to R600 and averaging R135. Prices charged for ploughing were not easily established. R20 per day was one figure quoted. The funds used to pay for ploughing by tractor or oxen were chiefly obtained from pensions with remittances supplying about a third, and one household reporting selling grass to fund the costs of hiring oxen.

On the basis that an isikofu (the area ploughed in a day) in the area was approximately .12 H, the average cost of hiring oxen to plough was estimated at R160 per hectare (8 days @ R20 per day). This value was attributed to the disposable income of cattle owners who reported that they did their own ploughing by calculating as follows:

Land area x percentage ploughed x how ploughed (by oxen⁷ = 1; partially by oxen = .5; by hand or tractor = 0;) x own oxen (1) /partially own oxen(.5) /others or no oxen (0) x R160

The most widely grown crops were maize and pumpkins and few farmers used any thing other than their own seed. Some bought small quantities of seed from neighbours and a very small number seed from commercial sources. Vegetable seeds were more widely purchased but in minute quantities. The price of maize seed at the time was approximately R5 per kg although it appears that the local price was considerably lower. Vegetable seeds bought were cabbages, potatoes, sweet potatoes, madumbes, onions, tomatoes and beans. The amount spent on seeds ranged from R1 to R170 and averaged less than R40 amongst those who bought seed, and most of the expenditure was on maize seed. Respondents reported that the money for seed came from a number of sources - over half (58%) from pensions

⁷ Oxen here does not exclusively refer to oxen but includes any animals used for ploughing

with the balance from remittances, and one household from savings and another from selling mats.

The poor harvests of previous years constitute a particular problem for people who are accustomed to using their own seed - there isn't any and if they are going to plant they will have to buy seed in order to re-establish themselves as farmers.

8.7 Agricultural income

Table 22: Income - Current Disposable, Agricultural and Household

Item	Value for all Households (Rands)	Percentage Income from Cattle	Percentage Agricultural Income	Percentage Household Income
Milk	R2470	5.1	3.6	.5
Slaughter	R28420	58.3	14.6	5.6
Dead Meat	R14200	29.2	14.0	2.8
Hides	R36	.1	.1	0.0
Sales	R2000	4.1	1.1	.4
Ploughing	R100	.2	.1	0.0
Self-ploughing	R2488	5.1	1.7	.5
Costs Cattle	-R1001	-2.1		
CDI from Cattle	R48713	100.0	59.0	9.6
Consumption Small Stock	R6600		10.0	1.3
SStock Sales	R500		.3	.1
Timber	R17160		24.6	3.4
Maize	R2883		9.6	.1
Vegetables	R452		.7	.1
TMV sales	R523		1.7	.1
Eggs	R300		.5	.1
Chickens con	R3352		9.9	.7
Chicken sales	R1000		.6	.2
Subsistence	R78325			15.5
Agriculture/ Subsistence	R82485		100.0	16.3
Total Household Income	R506106			100.0

Table 22 relates the relative importance of field crops and stock as sources of household income. The contribution in 1993 of maize to both total household income (.1%) and more particularly subsistence income (9.6%) cannot be considered typical. However even if more favourable climatic conditions had prevailed, the dominant role played by cattle, small stock and poultry in the generation of agricultural income is unlikely to have been challenged. As stated earlier, the majority of the



income from cattle is frequently being realised at the cost of a reduction in assets or the productive base. Overall the returns to agriculture are dismal. In the light of the almost universal involvement in the survey area of households (and a large percentage of their resident adult members) in agricultural activities, the need for reform and development of the sector merits urgent attention.

9.0 WAGE EMPLOYMENT

The survey area is situated 30 km from Nkandla and 50 km from Eshowe. The public transport available in the area does not enable local residents to commute to work in either of these centres on a daily basis. There are very few opportunities for local wage employment and, outside of employment in local stores, those that there are tend to be restricted to people with higher educational levels than are generally found in rural areas. The result is that, as in many other rural areas, the teachers, nurses, priests, extension officers and others working in the area tend to be immigrants to the area rather than local people.

In 1993 only one of those surveyed who was employed lived at home - the balance were all migrants working out of the area. Employment and migrancy were accordingly virtually synonymous and in this analysis are treated as such. As only one of the employed was not a migrant they are generally referred to as migrants. Almost half (43.3%) of the employed worked in the Durban area. A quarter worked in and around Eshowe - approximately 50 kms from the survey area. 7.8% worked in the Transvaal and a similar number at the industrial decentralisation area of Isithebe.

9.1 Local employment

Local employment opportunities were restricted to the schools, clinic and stores. There was no dipping inspector or extension officer based in the area, although some jobs were available with the KwaZulu Department of Nature Conservation in the nearby Nkandla Forest. Employment in local agriculture was restricted to a small number of jobs of a casual nature available on a seasonal basis. From time to time a few jobs became available through the tribal authorities under a public works or drought relief program. An incipient community based organisation was trying to get established which would have resulted in the creation of employment opportunities, not only in the organisation, but in addition in the programs they wished to establish.

9.2 Employment trends

Table 23 below which illustrates employment trends over the years covered by the survey indicates little change. The economic recession being experienced countrywide in 1993 is reflected in the lower percentage of households with members in employment. The number performing agricultural duties in 1993 appears to have risen markedly. However, the previous surveys had only recorded people as being involved in agriculture where it was their main activity, while in 1993 agricultural duties were broken down and each individual activity recorded. Although 91.7% of households had members who performed agricultural duties, only 36% of households reported having adult men involved in such activities.

9.3 Demographic profile of the employed

Just over one tenth (11%) of the surveyed population was employed. The ages of the employed ranged from 16 to 70 and averaged 34. A mere 4% were younger than 20 or older than 59 - or in other words were not drawn from the Economically Active Age Group (EAA). 80.9% of the employed were male, and 21.3% were heads of their households.

Table 23: Employment Opportunities

Category	Percentage of Households with Member in Category		
	1982	1985	1993
Migrant Employment	75.7	73.3	66.6
Local Employment	1.4	8.1	1.4
Casual Employment	13.0	6.7	15.3
Informal Sector	71.4	67.0	66.6
Unemployment	45.7	61.3	52.8
Agricultural Duties	26.0	16.0	91.7
Domestic Duties	NA	97.1	92.0

A third (36%) of the employed had no education; 25.8% had education beyond primary school. They had on average achieved higher levels of education than the general population, where 56.8% over the age of twenty had no education and only 12.1% had education beyond primary school.

None of the employed were professionals or skilled persons. One third were employed in the domestic or service sector, one fifth in agriculture and 12% in construction.

9.4 Salaries and remittances

As the employed were generally absent from home at the time of the survey it was not often possible to obtain information on their salaries. Details were recorded of only eight salaries which ranged from R100 to R1,200 per month and averaged R405. This translates to R4,860 per annum. The average annual remittance of those migrant workers who sent money home was R1,530. The SALDRU survey records an average remittance for rural blacks which was somewhat higher at R200+ per month or R2,500 per annum. In those cases in the Nkandla survey where the salary and remittance were known it was possible to calculate the percentage of salary remitted. The average percentage was 20%.

Over half (56%) of migrants had remitted money to their homes over the twelve months preceding the survey- 58.6% of the men and 45.5% of the women. The mean annual remittance of women was R1,076 and that of men R1,629 (overall R1,530). The percentage remitting rose to 64.9% when only those migrants who were employed were considered. A quarter of unemployed migrants had remitted money over the past twelve months. These figures suggest a decline in remittance behaviour as in 1985 76% of employed migrants and 62.1% of unemployed migrants had remitted money in the twelve months preceding the survey.

The distribution of remitters across industries was somewhat different from the distribution of jobs. Only 12.3% were in agriculture whereas 15.8% were in manufacturing. The corresponding figures for employment were 20% and 9.6%. The percentage in construction dropped from 12.0% of the employed to 8.8% of the

remitters but the percentages in other areas remained similar. Put differently two thirds of the employed remitted - the best remitters were in the mining and manufacturing sectors while only half of those in agriculture and construction remitted.

Just under a tenth (9.7%) of those who had remitted money during the previous twelve months were no longer employed. This has serious implications for future income. The fact that only 25% of the unemployed had remitted money during the twelve months preceding the survey suggests that the majority of the unemployed have been so for longer than a year. All except one of the unemployed who had remitted were non-resident at the time of the survey and were presumably away seeking work.

Marriage or family relationships tended to increase the remittance rate - 90.3% of married migrants remitted and 87% of non-single migrants. The percentage of women migrants who remitted rose to two thirds when women who had children were viewed separately. The mean amount remitted was also slightly higher - R1,240 as opposed to R1,076.

Almost all who remitted claimed to do so monthly and two thirds stated that they themselves took their money home. 25% of remittances were taken home by friends or relatives and the balance sent by post or taxi or collected at the work place by one of the members of the rural household. Only 10% of the employed were reported as taking home goods in kind. This figure is surprisingly low. The migrant who worked as a herbalist in addition to his work in a mine hospital contributed R4,800 to household income. This contribution was not considered part of his remittance but as a direct contribution to household income.

9.5 Unemployment

At the time of the survey 70 people or 8.6% of the surveyed population⁸ were unemployed and wanting employment.⁹ Half of them had previously been employed and 5 had remitted money to their rural households during the twelve months preceding the survey. 27.1% had made some financial contribution to the household during the year. The average age of the unemployed was 32 (with 50% being under the age of 30). 30% were female. 24.4% were the heads of their households or their spouses. Close to three quarters of the male and half of the female unemployed were single. Half of the female unemployed had children. 30% of the unemployed were non-resident at the time of the survey - seeking work at the workplace. 34.3% had no education and 33% education beyond primary school. They were thus marginally better educated than the employed. They were also a little younger and more likely to be female.

Further differences in educational levels were revealed when the unemployed were viewed by sex and residence. Whereas 38.8% of the men had no education, this was the case for only 23.8% of the women who averaged 4.9 years of education as against the men's 4.1 years. 42.9% of the resident unemployed of both sexes were without any education and they averaged 3.5 years of education. There appeared to

⁸ The KFC study indicated that 12.5% of the population in 'deep rural areas' was unemployed.

⁹ People were recorded as unemployed only where they stated they were desirous of obtaining employment. They were otherwise classified as 'at home'. The definition was not tied to having actively sought work within a specified period.

be a link between levels of education and confidence or ability to seek work at the workplace.

Forty percent of unemployed migrants had never been employed. A quarter had remitted money during the previous twelve months and therefore must have lost their employment during that period.

The percentage of the population who were unemployed had remained static at 8.6% since 1985. In 1982 it had been only 5.8%. The percentage employed had however fallen from 16.7% in 1982, to 15.3% in 1985 and 11.1% in 1993. Unemployment figures when related to the EAA alone reflect the same trend.¹⁰ The percentage of males in the EAA who were unemployed varied from 22.6% in 1982 to 31.9% in 1985 and 27.9% in 1993. That for women was 7.7% in 1982, 10.4% in 1985 and 11.4% in 1993.

Of the individuals employed in 1985, 63.3% were recorded in the 1993 survey. The balance had either died, left the surveyed households, or came from households not covered by the 1993 survey. Of those who were recorded in 1993 only 54.3% were still employed. 8.6% were receiving pensions and 21% were unemployed. 16.1% were 'at home'. The comparative figures for the 1982 employed (of whom 55.2% were present in 1993) were 49.3% employed, 13% pensioned, 21.7% unemployed and 16% 'at home'. These figures reflect more starkly the decline in employment in the total surveyed population. The position of the unemployed over the three surveys is similar. Of those still present in 1993 a fifth of individuals unemployed in 1982 and a third of individuals unemployed in 1985 were still unemployed.

Where reasons for loss of employment were given they indicate that 42% lost their jobs for personal reasons such as illness or dissatisfaction with the work. The majority (58%) were dismissed, laid off or retrenched as a result of the closure of their firms.

¹⁰ The figures for 1982 and 1985 relate to the 15 - 60 and not the 20 - 59 age group.

10.0 INFORMAL SECTOR

Informal sector activity was found widely throughout the area with two thirds of the households surveyed deriving some of their income from this source. 9.9% of the population (80 individuals, 17 men and 63 women) were involved in such activities, 1.8% being involved in more than one informal sector activity at a time. This was clearly the area of income generation offering the greatest opportunities to women and older persons in that 78.8% of the actors were female and their average age was 43. Only two of those in the informal sector were not resident, one of them being a herbalist who worked in a mine hospital.

Informal sector activity was generally a part-time occupation and its actors were as involved in agriculture and household duties as other residents who did not participate in the informal sector.

Informal sector actors were chiefly involved in housebuilding and associated activities, traditional grasswork and pottery, trading and herbalism. Almost half (45%) were involved in handcrafts with 37% in grasswork and the balance in pottery, sewing, crochet, shoe repairs and hairdressing. A fifth (21%) built houses, thatched, cut thatching grass or felled timber for fuel, while 11.4% were involved in pottery, sewing, crochet, hairdressing or shoe repairs. A significant number (7.6%) were involved in herbalism and larger numbers (14.1%) in some trading activity - the majority selling beer, other drinks and foodstuffs, clothing or small stock from home. Five percent hawked their wares and one had a small shop.

Seventy of the 80 individuals involved in the informal sector reported an income from this source. The amounts earned from these activities tended to be small with the exception of those generated by the herbalists and some of the traders. One woman who made pots netted just under R2,000 per annum. A storeowner (who was also a herbalist) made R5,000, a woman selling beer R2,400 and another R1,200, but the balance of those earning over R1,000 were all herbalists. Their incomes ranged from R70 to R16,900 per annum and averaged R5,595. Only one of the herbalists was a woman - she claimed to make only R360 per annum. One of the herbalists practised chiefly in Randfontein where he worked in a mine hospital. Prices for consultations ranged from R20 to R300. It appeared less common for people to pay herbalists with goats or cattle than was the case in the past.

A total of R66,066 was earned during the year from informal sector activities. Two thirds of all households surveyed received some income from this source. The mean informal sector income of households which received income from this source was R1468 per annum.

The average annual income of individual informal sector actors was R944. Eighty percent of those making a contribution in this sector were women. The profile of women informal sector actors was markedly different from that of men. The average age of the women was 42 and that of the men 50. The women were all resident whereas 14% of the men were migrants. Less than 2% of the women were single as opposed to 35.7% of the men. Men and women's informal sector activities reflected different emphases, with the men chiefly involved in herbalism and trading and the women in housebuilding and craft work. These differences were reflected in their



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earnings with male informal sector actors realising a mean annual income of R3566 and women only R288. The two women who realised over R2000 per annum sold alcoholic beverages.

11.0 CASUAL EMPLOYMENT

A mere 1.6% of the population reported having obtained casual (daily or togt) employment from time to time over the preceding year. Almost half (46.2%) of them were women and 30% were under the age of twenty. Their average age was 38. The work they obtained ranged from agricultural, to roadbuilding (all women), timber cutting, security and housebuilding. Their earnings were low - ranging from R10 to R300 and averaging R122 over the previous year. The individuals concerned had worked for between one and 28 weeks during the year and 38.5% of them were looking for permanent jobs.



12.0 LIVELIHOOD OPPORTUNITIES

Poverty studies make frequent use of age, gender and the concept of household head as a means of identifying those most at risk. In this way children, women, the aged or female headed households¹¹ become the targets of poverty relief programs and policies.

Where attempts to address rural poverty are made through proposals to improve access to sources of income, more specifically through livelihood creation or development, problems may arise in that the proposed beneficiaries (the children, the women, the old persons) and the 'agent(s)' of the proposed livelihood are unlikely to be the same persons. Only personal transfers could result in such specific targeting.

Effective poverty relief proposals require that two questions be asked. Firstly upon whom is the welfare of the targeted individual dependent, and secondly what policy or program would enable that person/those persons to improve the welfare of their dependents?

In a rural community such as that surveyed, children make significant contributions towards income both in the home and on the land; and the aged, who may continue with household and agricultural responsibilities beyond the age of retirement, in addition make a significant financial contribution through the old age pension. Although the contribution of the young and old is undoubted, and the old age pension in general greater than mean per capita incomes in poor rural communities, it is usually only those in the economically active age group (EAA) who are able to respond to livelihood programs.

Attention therefore needs to be directed towards the EAA - and towards *all* in that age group. Households tend to increase in size as their 'ruralness' increases. In the survey the average household had 4.5 members in the EAA. The potential of all these members needs to be assessed in order to evaluate livelihood opportunities. It is inadequate to restrict analysis to one individual in the household, regardless of the status of that individual. Neither gender nor headship should result in attention being confined to an individual. It cannot be assumed that she or he are sole breadwinners or indeed even a *breadwinner*.

12.1 The economically active age group (EAA)

Statistics relating to livelihood opportunities are given a sharper perspective when related solely to the economically active age group - persons between the ages of 20 and 59 (EAA). Two fifths of the surveyed population fell within this age group. Slightly over half (54.5%) of them were female, and just over a quarter (27.8%) heads of their households or their spouses - the balance being 'children' or other relatives of the head. A mere 2.2% of the age group were still studying.

¹¹ The 1993 survey found that 23.7% of households had female heads and that just over one third of male household heads were non-resident. In their absence their spouses became the *de facto* head of the household and in that sense these households were 'female headed'. All the *de iure* female heads were widowed. They were older than the average male head and all, with the exception of one who was in hospital, were resident. The *de facto* female heads were resident by definition, but were considerably younger than the *de iure* female heads.

The fact that heads constituted a relatively small section (12%) of this group makes it important to consider the position of all individuals in this age group, and not merely heads (or even heads and their spouses) when analysing the income or livelihood generating potential of this group.

Table 24: Selected Statistics on the Economically Active Age Group

	All Males	All Females	Resident Males	Resident Females
% Non-resident	59.9	16.5	0.0	0.0
% Employed	46.9	9.1	0.0	0.5
% Unemployed	27.9	11.4	47.5	9.5
% in Informal Sector	6.8	26.7	26.7	32.0
% Household Duties	14.3	77.6	30.5	78.2
% Agricultural Duties	19.0	48.0	39.0	67.3

Table 24 shows a very much higher percentage of men than women in the EAA to be non-resident, employed or unemployed, with the opposite being the case with regard to involvement in the informal sector and household or agricultural duties.

If the characteristics of the EAA who were resident are viewed separately from those who were migrants or non-residents a very different picture emerges. The resident group was 71.4% female and 32.5% were heads or their spouses. Only one person was employed (at R2400 p.a.) whereas 20.4% were unemployed. However the resident EAA reflects many of the same gender differences seen for the total surveyed population - in unemployment, informal sector, household and agricultural duties.

There were additional gender differences in the levels of livelihood activity amongst the resident population. There were many more men than women amongst the 3.4% (6.8% of the men and 2.1% of women) who had casual employment roadbuilding (all women), housebuilding or as night-watchmen. A higher percentage (34%) of women than men (24.7%) made some financial contribution to the household. More (11.9%) of the men than the women (6.8%) were in receipt of pensions or disability grants.¹²

It is interesting that when resident men who are neither employed nor seeking employment are viewed separately, the percentage who are involved in agricultural duties (35.5%) is marginally lower than for all resident men - in other words it does not seem that these are people who have specifically decided to stay home to involve themselves in agriculture. Indeed a higher percentage (42.9%) was found to be involved in agriculture amongst those who reported themselves unemployed. The same trend was observed among the men participating in household duties. The level of involvement in both forms of activity was significantly higher (over 75%) amongst those resident men who were head of their households.

Although 85% of resident women in the EAA were involved in some productive activity - fifty percent being involved in some informal sector activity apart from any

¹² 3.9% of this group appear to have obtained OAP's while underage.

household or agricultural activities - only 34% made a financial contribution to the household.¹³

12.2 The adult population

The importance of the aged who are often not only heads of households but significant contributors both in terms of money (usually a pension) and activities is allowed for if, instead of confining analysis to the EAA, all those over the age of nineteen are taken into account. One quarter of those in this group in the survey area did not fall within the EAA.

Forty six percent of resident male adults were heads of their households and 40% made some financial contribution to the household. One quarter were in receipt of OAP's, private pensions or disability grants; 43% involved in agricultural duties and 54.4% in some form of activity - employment, informal sector, household or agricultural.

The percentages increased when resident male heads were viewed separately with 58.3% being involved in agriculture and 72.2% in some activity - whether agricultural, household or informal sector. Half of the resident male heads were in receipt of pensions.

Of the adult women 85% were involved in the informal sector, agriculture or household activities, but only 47% (including the quarter who received pensions or disability grants) made a financial contribution to the household. Ten percent were head of their households. Of those who were heads 95% made a financial contribution to the household.

12.3 The potential for livelihood creation

An evaluation of livelihood potential requires critical information as to the quantity and nature of labour available to households or communities if it is to be based on reality. The previous sections relating to the EAA and the adult population point to the type of information required. At household level data is required regarding the number of household members, their gender, age, education/skills, current occupation/activity and location.

Forty percent of those surveyed fell within the economically active age group. In terms of individuals this meant there were on average 4.5 persons in this age group in each household - two men and 2.5 women. The data in Sections 12.1. and 12.2 and Tables 25 and 26 indicate the necessity to consider livelihoods in relation to all these people and not just the heads or persons of one gender.

Table 25 indicates the mean number of persons in the EAA by gender and residence in various types of household, and Table 26 the percentage of households with members in the EAA by gender.

¹³ The percentage of women in the EAA making a contribution to household income rose to one hundred where they were household heads.

Table 25: Number of Members of EAA

Number in EAA	All Households	Male Headed Household	Non Resident Male Head	Resident Male Head	Female Headed Household
All Surveyed	4.5	4.7	3.8	5.1	3.9
All Males Surveyed	2.0	2.2	2.1	2.2	1.6
All Females Surveyed	2.5	2.5	1.7	2.9	2.2
All Residents Only	2.9	3.0	1.8	3.6	2.6
Resident Males	.9	.9	.4	1.1	.7
Resident Females	2.0	2.1	1.4	2.5	1.9
Number Households	72	55	20	35	17
HH Size - All	11.2	11.6	9.7	12.7	10.1
HH Size - Residents	9.3	9.5	7.1	8.7	8.7

Table 25 indicates that male headed households tended to have more members in the EAA than either de iure or de facto female headed households. This is a consequence of the average size and age structure of the different groups of household. Male headed households were larger than female headed households which were on average older and had a greater percentage of their membership in the elderly age group. Not only did the average male headed household have more members in the EAA, it also had more female members in the EAA than female headed households.

Table 25 further indicates that when only those who were resident were taken into account the number of members in the EAA declined, with the fall off in males being considerably more marked than that of females. This was explained almost entirely by the absence as migrants of the majority of males in the EAA. Thus whereas female headed households, where the head (and the household) was older than the average, had fewer people, and particularly males, in the EAA than the average when all those surveyed were taken into account, the same was true of de facto female headed households when residents only were taken into account.

Table 26 indicates the potential of households to respond to livelihood creation programs according to the percentage of households with members in the EAA (both male and female, resident and non-resident). The table indicates that 97% of households had members in the EAA and that, however households were subdivided, the percentage of households with males in the EAA never fell below 76%.

Where residents only were taken into account the percentage of households with members in the EAA fell to 93.1%. When viewed by gender the fall was marked for males in the EAA (from 87.5% to 50%) but only marginal for females. As was the case when all household members were considered, fewer female headed households had members of either sex in the EAA than did male headed households - a consequence of their the age structure and size.

Over three quarters of female headed households had male members in the EAA, although only 41.2% had male members who were resident. Ninety percent of these males were the sons of the female head and three quarters of them were unmarried. The majority were under 40 years of age. Over half (57.1%) were employed migrants

and a further 25% were actively seeking employment. Two fifths currently made a financial contribution to the household.

Table 26: Potential for Employment Creation

Percentage households without	All Households	Male Headed Household	Female Headed Household	Resident Male Head	Non-Resident Male Head
Person in EAA	97.2	98.2	94.1	97.1	100.0
Male in EAA	87.5	90.9	76.5	91.4	90.0
Female in EAA	88.9	92.7	76.5	91.4	95.0
Resident male in EAA	50.0	52.7	41.2	68.6	25.0
Resident female in EAA	87.5	90.9	76.5	88.6	95.0
Employed person	66.7	70.9	52.9	57.1	95.0
Employed male	61.1	63.5	52.9	45.7	95.0
Employed female	20.8	21.8	17.6	31.4	5.0
Unemployed	52.8	58.2	35.3	65.7	45.0
Number of Households	72	55	17	35	20
Household Size	11.2	11.6	10.1	12.7	9.7
Household size residents only	9.3	9.5	8.7	10.9	7.1

Although a larger percentage (90%) of *de facto* female headed households (those with non-resident male heads) had male members in the EAA than did *de iure* female headed household, far fewer (25%) had resident male members.

In contrast 95% of these *de facto* female headed households had a member in employment whereas only 52.9% of the *de iure* female headed households did.

Household heads constituted a mere 12%¹⁴ of the EAA and only half of household heads were drawn from the EAA. The development of an effective livelihood creation policy requires that more attention be paid to the structure of the EAA of the household than to its head. Only thus can the potential for livelihood creation and the determination of where it should be located be established.

¹⁴ Even when heads and their spouses are considered together they constitute only 28% of the EAA.

13.0 INCOME

Household incomes ranged from R182.40 to R22,106.40 per annum with a mean household income of R7,029 and a median of R6,700. A household per capita income was calculated by dividing household income by the number of household members who were permanently resident in the household. In other words, migrants - whether employed, unemployed, at school or some other institution, in hospital or away visiting - were not counted as household members for the purposes of calculating per capita incomes.¹⁵ The average household per capita income was R1,030 per annum and the median R774. This significantly larger difference between the mean and median indicates a more unequal distribution of per capita than household incomes. The range of per capita incomes was from R127.80 to R3,910.20 per annum.

In the calculation of household per capita incomes no allowance was made for household structure. The reasons for not adopting adult equivalents remain the same as they were in the earlier studies in the survey area (Ardington 1988: Appendix A).

A number of dependency ratios were calculated for the survey population. The first simply related persons younger than 15 and older than 64 to those between the ages of 15 and 64. The average ratio was .9:1 with the highest being 4:1. A second dependency ratio was calculated by relating those who made a financial contribution to household income to those who did not. A third was calculated by excluding pensioners when relating those who made a financial contribution to household income to non-contributing members. The rate including pensioners was 3.8:1 and excluding pensioners 4.2:1.

The near universal access of aged people to state old age pensions in a poor society where the value of a pension is greater than the per capita income required to ensure an adult a level of income above the Household Subsistence Level (HSL)¹⁶, makes the commonly used dependency ratio based on age alone (which would classify all pensioners as dependents rather than contributors) an inappropriate measure.

13.1 Sources of Income

The major sources of income in the survey community were social pensions, remittances, subsistence agriculture, small business and to a minute extent locally earned wages. Table 27 below indicates the total value of income from each source, the percentage of households receiving income from that source, the percentage of total income derived from that source and the percentage of household income received from a particular source in households which receive income from that source.

13.1.1 Transfer income

Pensions or social grants (of all types) constituted 49.8% of income and were received in 70.8% of households. The mean household income from pensions was

¹⁵ 17.4% of the surveyed community was classified as non-resident. Average household size fell from 11.2 to 9.3 members when non-residents were excluded.

¹⁶ See footnote for Section 13.5

R3,504 per annum in all households and R4,946 in those households which received pensions. In those households which received pensions or grants they constituted 64.2% of household income.

There was only one household whose sole source of income was transfers. It consisted of a woman who was an old age pensioner and her disabled son who had a disability grant. Twelve per cent of households sources more than 80% of their income in pensions. In all cases bar two the households either received two old age pensions or an old age pension and a disability grant. The majority of these households had unemployed members.

The majority of the transfers recorded were old age pensions (R217,152 p.a.). Disability grants contributed R30,600 or 12.1% of total transfer income, private pensions R1,800 and maintenance grants R2,718.

Table 27: Household Income

Source	Amount (Rands p.a.)	% HH Receiving	% Income from Source	% Income of Recipients
Remittances	R101,375	57.0	20.0	37.0
Pensions	R252,270	70.8	49.8	64.2
Subsistence	R82,485	97.0	16.3	22.4
Informal Sector	R66,066	61.0	13.1	17.0
Local Wage	R2,400	7	5	21.4
Other	R1,510	1.0	3	4.6
Total	506106	100.0	100.0	100.0

13.1.2 Subsistence income

Subsistence income was received in 97% of households¹⁷ and constituted 15.5% of total income. The mean annual household income from subsistence was R1088. During the year preceding the survey a total of R78326 was realised from this source by the households surveyed.

Agricultural income over and above subsistence was received from the sale of cattle, hides, small stock, chickens, timber, maize, vegetables and from ploughing for others. The total proceeds realised from these sources were R4160 making the total agricultural proceeds R82485, or 16.3% of all household income. In those households which realised agricultural income the mean percentage contribution to household income was 22.4%.

Two households relied solely on agricultural income. They both had unemployed members and neither had members who qualified for pensions.

¹⁷ In three households a negative income was recorded.

Eleven percent of household realised more than half their income from agriculture. The balance of their incomes was equally sourced in pensions and remittances. All except one of these households reported unemployed members. The incomes realised in households relying heavily on agriculture were very low with one exception. This was a household consisting of an old man with a young wife which achieved high incomes solely from agricultural production.

13.1.3 Remittances

Remittances were received in 57% of households and constituted 20.0% of income. The total realised from this source was R10,1375 with the average household receiving R1,408 per annum. The much lower median receipt of R600 reflects the large number of households receiving no remittances and the range in the size of remittance receipts which varied from R50 to R11,280 per annum. In those households which received remittance income it constituted 37% of household income.

13.1.4 Informal Sector

Sixty one percent of households received some income from the informal sector or small business. The incomes they realised were very low. The total amount received from this source by the households surveyed was R66,066 and the average amount per household per annum R916, or R 1,468 in those households which realised income from this source. Informal sector income constituted 13.1% of the total income of all households and 17% amongst those households which actually realised such income. Annual informal sector incomes among surveyed households ranged from R8 to R21,900.

13.1.5 Local earnings

Local wages, salaries and casual earnings made almost no contribution to income in the survey area. Over the year ten individuals together received R1,460 as casual wages in payments ranging from R10 to R336. One person was employed locally and received a salary of R1,240 over the year. Together these two sources of income constituted less than one percent of household income.

13.1.6 Savings

Savings were found to be an insignificant source of income in the survey. Only seven individuals reported having savings in a bank and two in stokvels. The amount of savings mentioned were R60, R360 and R600. Apart from an inability to save, the total absence of financial services either in or near the survey area would have discouraged saving.

13.2 The role of pensions

In order to evaluate the role played by pension income, household per capita incomes were recalculated having deducted all monies received from this source. The result was a fall in the mean household per capita income from R1,030 to R512 per annum. The median fell as low as R331. These recalculated incomes were 49.7% of the actual household per capita income. The effect of deducting pension income varied for different types of household, ranging from a marginal reduction in the households of non-resident heads to 75.7% of their actual income, to a major reduction in female headed households where the recalculated income was only 29.4% of actual income.

13.3 Economically active age group

With the exception of transfer income, a household's access to income was largely dependent upon the structure and resources of the economically active membership of the household. Almost all (97%) households had members who were between 20 and 59 years of age and might be considered members of the economically active age group. One household had 16 persons in this age group and the mean for all households was 5. Only marginally fewer (93%) households had resident members in the economically active age group but only half had resident males in this age group. Eighty seven percent of households had resident females in this age group with an average of two per household amongst all households surveyed.

Two thirds of households had someone who was employed, and one third more than one household member employed. 61% of households had an employed male and 21% of households an employed female.

More than half (53%) the surveyed households had members who were unemployed and seeking employment, but only 21% of households contained females who said they were unemployed. This is possibly explained by the fact that although only 10% of women in the economically active age group were employed, of the balance only 12% described themselves as 'unemployed', - no doubt because of the almost non-existent employment opportunities in the area.

13.4 Financial contributors

Two hundred and three of the 811 individuals surveyed, of whom over half (55.7%) were women, made some financial contribution to household income. The ages of contributors ranged from 2 to 88 with the average age being 46. Just under half were the head of household or their spouse. One third were migrants. Just over two thirds were married or widowed.

Table 28: Financial Contribution to Household Income by Age and Gender

Age Group	Mean Contribution of All (Rands p.a.)				Percentage Contributing			Mean Contribution of Contributors			
	All	M	F	No	All	M	F	No	All	M	F
0-9	R14	R15	R12	184	2.7	2.7	2.7	5	R544	R553	R530
10-19	R14	R13	R16	227	6.2	2.7	9.5	14	R231	R477	R164
20-29	R305	R393	R224	125	25.6	28.3	23.0	32	R1241	R1480	R970
30-39	R589	R970	R304	96	36.7	41.9	32.1	36	R1604	R2262	R947
40-49	R743	R1179	R350	59	47.5	65.1	41.9	28	R1566	R2201	R834
50-59	R1548	R2458	R903	41	68.3	70.6	66.6	26	R2267	R3483	R1354
60-69	R2752	R2502	R2877	33	81.8	81.8	81.8	27	R3363	R3058	R3516
70-79	R3359	R3078	R3527	24	95.8	81.8	100.0	23	R3505	R3462	R3527
80+	R3119	R2357	R3500	9	88.9	66.6	100.0	8	R3509	R3535	R3500

Contributions were sourced fairly evenly from pensions, the informal sector and remittances, with 34.5% coming from the informal sector, 37.9% from pensions or disability grants and 32% from remittances. A mere 6.4% of contributions came from casual work and .5% from wages. Although a similar percentage of the contributions came from three sources the average contribution from each source differed

significantly. Remittances ranged from R50 to R3,600 per annum and averaged R1,530; informal sector contributions ranged from R3 to R21,900 and averaged R944 per annum, while pension contributions ranged from R100 to R5,972 per annum and averaged R3,276.

13.5 Levels of Income

Table 29 below which illustrates income levels by quintile indicates the income inequalities in the survey community, with the bottom quintile of surveyed individuals receiving only 6.2% of total income while the top quintile received 41.9%, or almost seven times as much as the bottom quintile. The quintiles were calculated to contain a fifth of individuals as opposed to a fifth of households. Households in the bottom quintile were very much larger (with an average of 14.5 members) than those in the top quintile which averaged only 6.7 members. Calculating the quintiles by household rather than individual would have put 173 resident individuals in the bottom quintile and given them 8.9% of the total household income.

Those in the bottom quintile had a mean household per capita income of R212 per annum while that for those in the top quintile was R1,959. While these differences may be considered to indicate significant inequality, it should be pointed out that even in the top quintile the mean income fell below the Household Subsistence Level (HSL) for rural households. Indeed 95% of household per capita incomes for the individuals surveyed in 1993 were below the HSL¹⁸.

Table 29: Levels of Income by Quintile

Quintile	Households N	Individuals N	Resident Indivs N	Mean HHPC Income	Total Income (Rands)	% Share of Total Income
Bottom	11	161	134	R212	R31,399	6.2
Second	11	169	145	R431	R61,960	12.2
Middle	12	149	130	R658	R36,565	17.1
Fourth	14	171	133	R869	R114,175	22.6
Top	24	161	129	R1,959	R212,006	41.9
Total	72	811	671	R1,030	R506,106	100.0

Apart from being grouped by quintile, the surveyed households were categorised in additional ways in order to examine further levels of income in the survey community. Grouping households according to the gender of the head indicated that incomes in female headed households (R1,175) were marginally above the mean (R1,030); and that those in male headed households were below the mean and differed little

¹⁸ The Institute for Planning Research at the University of Port Elizabeth regularly estimates an expenditure level which represents the minimum level of expenditure required to allow a family to satisfy its basic needs. Amongst others it makes separate assessments for urban and rural areas. For rural areas for a family of two adults and four children it specified a minimum expenditure of R723.05 per month in 1993 (Potgieter 1993). This translates to a per capita expenditure of R2843.40 per annum. The HSL placed almost 60% of black rural households in the SALDRU study below the minimum expenditure level. The definition of rural used in the SALDRU survey included a significant percentage of households which were 'peri-urban' or 'informal urban' whose incomes tended to be higher than those of genuinely rural households. If the HSL is applied to income rather than expenditure, the percentage of black rural households which fell below the level rose to 71.7%. The application of the HSL to household per capita incomes for rural households in the KFC study found 82.9% of households below the minimum level. When applied to 'deep rural' households only in the KFC study, the percentage falling below the HSL was 68.3%.

according to whether the head was resident (R925) or a migrant (R968). The higher incomes in female headed households were largely explained by the fact that 82.4% of such households contained old age pensioners and sourced 64% of their incomes in transfers. The highest incomes (R1,204) were recorded for the group of households which had aged members - here again the explanation being the high level of pension income. The lowest incomes (R506) were recorded for the seven households which had no members who were aged and no members who were employed. With pensions and remittances being the main sources of income it was clearly access to these sources, rather than gender or headship, which affected levels of income.

The KFC study showed clearly the effect of levels of access to employment on income. In the bottom income decile where only 13.2% of the population were employed, monthly per capita incomes were only R18, while in the top income decile where 44.2% were employed, monthly per capita incomes were R920. In the metropolitan areas 28.5% were employed and monthly per capita incomes of R303 realised. In the deep rural areas only 17.4% were employed (two thirds as migrants) and monthly per capita incomes were R137. This effect is shown as strongly in the 1993 Nkandla study where only 11% of the surveyed population was employed - all except one as migrants - and monthly per capita incomes were R83.

Viewing household per capita incomes according to the age of individual household members showed income levels increasing with age. These incomes are of course mean *household* per capita incomes and merely indicate that the average person of a particular age lived in a household in which that income level was realised.

There were marked differences between the mean and median household incomes per capita achieved by different age groups reflecting the large variance within the age group. Thus individuals under the age of 20 realised mean household per capita incomes of R708 per annum and medians of R619; individuals between the ages of 20 and 59 means of R780 and medians of R672; and persons aged 60 and older mean incomes of R1,127 and medians of R862. In a society where incomes were as low as they were in the surveyed community and where pensions were the main source of household income, the expected income discrimination against the young and old were not found. Indeed the mean household per capita income in households with aged people was R1,204 (amongst the highest), and in households without any aged persons only R687 per annum (one of the lowest). The household per capita incomes of persons under the age of twenty were not markedly lower than those of persons between the ages of 20 and 59.

13.6 Changes over time

The Tables below indicate the changes that have taken place in income levels and sources in the survey area over the years from 1982 to 1993. Table 30 illustrates the percentage of total household income derived from a particular source and Table 31 the comparative real value of household incomes, household incomes per capita, social pensions and remittances over the period.

The value of the remittance over the survey period remained fairly constant. Translated into 1990 prices according to the CPI as supplied by Central Statistical

Services, the mean remittance in 1993 was R1069 which compares with those of 1982 and 1985 which were R973 (R328) and R1,087 (R533.77) respectively.

Table 30: Sources of Annual Household Income

Source	1982		1985		1993	
	Amount	Percent	Amount	Percent	Amount	Percent
Remittances	R34,453	38.1	R58,772	38.2	R101,375	20.0
Pensions	R21,160	23.4	R50,100	32.0	R252,270	49.8
Subsistence	R16,897	18.7	R28,180	18.0	R82,485	16.3
Informal Sect	R14,557	16.1	R6,959	4.5	R66,066	13.1
Local Wage	R1,984	2.2	R6,137	3.9	R2,400	5
Other	R1,292	1.4	R5,390	3.4	R1,510	3
TOTAL	R90,343		R155,538		R506,106	

Table 31: Comparison of Income: Real and according to CPI 1990

	1982		1985		1993	
	Actual Rands	1990 CPI	Actual Rands	1990 CPI	Actual Rands	1990 CPI
Household p.c. income	R183	R543	R315	R642	R1,030	R720
Household Income	R1,309	R4,411	R2,155	R4,389	R7,029	R4,912
State OAP or DG	R42	R119	R65	R132	R295	R206
Average Remittance	R328	R973	R534	R1,087	R1,530	R1,069

Table 31 indicates that real per capita income has grown by 33% over the eleven year period; that the real value of the remittance has remained fairly constant (showing a 10% increase) but that the real value of a pension (with an increase of 73%) has almost doubled. This explains the reversal in positions of pensions and remittances as the major and secondary sources of income. At the same time as the value of the pension increased so markedly, the percentage of households in receipt of pensions rose from 56% to 70.8%, while the percentage of households in receipt of remittances fell from 80% to 57%.

Despite the constancy in the real value of remittances, other data implies that they cannot be relied on to form a consistent share of income. The number of migrants in the community declined, a fifth of them were unemployed and a smaller percentage of the employed remitted than was the case previously. Remittances as a source of income had declined from being the major source at 38% in the 1980's to being no longer the major source at 20% in 1993.

PART III - SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The social structure and organisation of the survey community appeared to have changed little since 1982. Homesteads remained widely distributed and tenure traditional. Access to land continued to be universal. Households were large and over four fifths consisted of persons drawn from three or more generations. The young, women and the aged continued to be overrepresented in the community.

The increase in the number of female headed households did not reflect a structural change, but merely a natural stage in the life cycle of the households selected in the first survey. All female heads were widows.

Although access to land continued to be universal, use and production levels declined over the period covered by the surveys. Similarly while the incidence of stockholding was static, herd size decreased. Nevertheless fair returns on stockholding were realised. Recurring droughts to a large extent accounted for the deterioration in agricultural production, but other more enduring factors, such as inadequate infrastructure and labour and poor returns, also played an important part.

The number of persons from the survey community who had left the area permanently or urbanised since the previous surveys was surprisingly low, particularly in the light of the repeal of influx control legislation and the dearth of economic opportunities in the area.

Reflecting the recessionary nature of the national economy there was a sharp decline in the level of migrancy among young males although it remained almost the sole source of formal employment. Despite the decline, the majority of males in the economically active age group were migrants so that migrancy still had a significant impact upon family life. Only one fifth of children lived with both parents and a similar number lived with neither parent. Most of the latter group lived with their grandparents.

The considerable changes that had taken place in the area of education were uneven. Thus at the same time as the percentage of children of schoolgoing age who were in school almost doubled the pupil:classroom and pupil:teacher ratios deteriorated. Improved school attendance was reflected in the remarkably increased levels of education of the 20 to 24 year old age cohort, for whom, however, levels of employment had fallen dramatically.

Although at the lower levels girls appeared to enjoy equal access to education they began to experience discrimination at the secondary level which was continued at the post school level. Despite an increase in the number of women migrants, they appeared to find it more difficult than men to migrate; more difficult to obtain employment; to require higher levels of education to do so and to receive lower levels of pay when they did so.

In the face of successive droughts and economic recession the role of social transfers has become increasingly important in the area. The equalisation of state pensions across age groups had an enormous impact in this very poor community where the new pension was greater than the mean monthly income and where almost no other

forms of relief or support were available. It is illustrated by the predominance in the survey of households with pensioners in the top income quintile, whereas in most communities they dominate the bottom income quintile.

In the absence of other financial services in the area the delivery of pensions in the area by automatic cash machines had an impact far wider than merely putting cash in the hands of the pensioner. The possibility of improving the service to pensioners, and more importantly extending it to the wider community, need to be considered in view of the important impact this would have on rural development.

Informal sector activity, although widespread, contributed little to household income. The potential of the informal sector to augment incomes, especially those of women and elderly people, would appear to be sufficiently promising to merit attention being given to the creation of an environment in which it might flourish.

Although household income was fairly evenly and widely sourced the contributions from the different sources varied significantly and changed in importance over time. Although real per capita incomes grew by almost a third between 1982 and 1993, 95% of those surveyed continued to realise incomes below the household subsistence level. While the value of remittances remained fairly constant that of pensions almost doubled. At the same time pension coverage increased and the recession led to a decline in the number of households receiving remittance income. The result was the reversal in position of remittances and pensions as the major and secondary sources of income. There was little change with regard to the informal sector and agriculture as sources of income. While the percentage of households receiving income from these sources remained high the share of income they contributed remained relatively low.

The size and complexity of household membership and the multiple livelihood strategies adopted by households resulted in any analysis based on individual household members being inadequate. Neither the gender nor headship of individuals was found to be the determining indicator of household welfare. Indeed concentration on, for example, female headed households tended to obscure the extent and causes of poverty among women in general.

At a superficial level the survey community did not display many of the characteristics that have come to be expected of poor rural communities. Thus age did not have the expected correlation with income. Where incomes are as low as they were here and where the major source of income is pensions, aged persons will be found among the less poor rather than the poorest members of the community. This was also a large part of the explanation for female headed households not being found amongst the poorest households. Neither were they amongst the largest households. Three quarters of them had economically active male members, and almost all, being headed by elderly widows, received old age pensions.

The absence of the state continued to be a major constraint on the development of the area. Although improved transport and communication made the state marginally less remote or inaccessible than had been the case, it was still only permanently represented in the area by the departments of health and education, and then only by teachers and nurses. Forestry, veterinary and agricultural extension was provided on



a very erratic basis and 'works' (roads or water) were generally provided only on a 'special projects' basis.

The improvement in both the number and quality of roads in the survey area was probably the most significant change that had occurred between the surveys. The roads had been built under a program which allocated each tribal ward funds for three roads. At the time of the survey road repairs were taking place on a very limited basis through drought relief or employment creation programs.

Access to the services of the Department of Home Affairs remained as difficult as before. The nearest office for the registration of births, deaths, marriages, or application for social benefits or assistance was in town of Nkandla. Re-registration for the privatisation of social welfare transfer payments and the registration drive associated with the 1994 election temporarily brought state officials and services into the area, and, where the information about the registration was effectively communicated, this eased the situation for a number of individuals.

In general however local government remained inaccessible. The offices of the circuit inspector were as remote from the school principal or parents' committee as ever. The advent of mega-NGO's and the RDP has also distanced relief from communities without established connections with such organisations. The relatively simple liaison between a school committee and the circuit office has been replaced by more formal, transparent and accountable relations conducted through tribal authorities, JSB's, national NGO organisations and RDP offices. Such changes may lead to greater efficiencies and redress where the necessary local government or modern community organisations exist. Where these are non-existent or weak, in that they lack resources both human and technical, development is unlikely to take place and, such development that might have occurred, may slow down.

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