



UNIVERSITY
OF NATAL
CASS
DURBAN

MSINGA PROGRESS REPORT

J Zingel

DOCUMENT AND MEMORANDUM SERIES

Centre for Applied Social Sciences

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**UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
DURBAN**

CASS/20. ZIN

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CAS / Community development

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PROGRESS REPORT

INTRODUCTION

Perhaps more than any other rural district in South Africa, the Msinga district of KwaZulu has developed a notoriety which extends far beyond its boundaries.

Three principal reasons for this are apparent. The first is the recurring violent deaths arising from what are popularly called 'faction fights' between groups of men both in Msinga and in hostels, factories and flats on the Witwatersrand. Secondly, the area has reached, in places, a level of environmental depletion conjuring images normally associated with the encroaching Sahel desert in North West Africa. Thirdly, district inhabitants have persistently and strongly reacted to the activities of neighbouring white farmers in the Weenen district, leading to levels of border tension, deaths and mistrust associated with an ongoing minor 'civil war'.

Two more sociologically informed concerns promote an interest in the special circumstances of the district. The first is that 'tribal' structures are extremely entrenched, pervasively dominating ordinary interaction and day to day life. Coupled with this is the related autonomy, and the distance, the different tribes have maintained from the Zulu nation this last century, a process which is only more

recently changing with the development of the KwaZulu administration. Secondly, living levels in such an environment appear so low and the prospects for effective and appropriate improvements in the quality of life, opportunity and service provision appear so difficult to achieve under the circumstances, that particular forms of a development related intervention are important.

In the absence of any clear rural development policy programme for KwaZulu districts, the Centre for Applied Social Sciences in conjunction with the Inkatha Institute began an applied research and development programme in late 1982.

This report is intended to serve as;

- o a brief recap of the baseline survey results and proposals;
- o comment on a second phase investigation undertaken; the procedures, resulting needs, the approach developed, and the implications;
- o an explication of some important social and political issues arising from the work, which have an impact on any development programme;
- o a consideration of the administrative, procedural and personnel framework for a development programme, as mooted in the budgeted project proposals presented to the Msinga Steering Committee,

bearing in mind the need to involve government and parastatal agencies in rural development programmes;

- o the long term prospects, possibilities and limitations in adopting such an approach in Msinga district, considering the initial objectives established;

- o a consideration of a more restricted and focussed approach to a development programme in the area.

Note on the form of reporting/analysis used in this report

While an effort has been made to separate out the various issues and features under consideration, in the comment which follows some conclusions will be stated in the running analysis where they arise.

Some repetition may appear since the same observations are made more than once where they emerge from different kinds of issues. Such repetitions, however, represent an accumulation of evidence on a topic or issue, strengthening particular points or conclusions.

1. THE BACKGROUND TO THE MSINGA DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

The initial investigation of the situation in Msinga was undertaken, as one input among many other attempts, in order to explore possibilities of restoring social stability in the area. A specific goal was to assess whether a development programme could be mounted which might alleviate the basic conditions responsible for tensions in the area. Quoting the preface of that report, two major motivations were stated. Firstly "a challenge for development lies in attempting to encourage involvement by the private sector" and secondly, "a permanent solution to the problems of Msinga will never be found until people from all clans are drawn together in forms of development which emphasise and make attractive community cooperation for progress and prosperity. The divisions and conflicts in the area are still along strongly traditional group lines. New forms of integration, new types of leadership and new rewards for the people must cut across these older group lines and create a sense of identity and a new basis of interests. The challenge is one of modern development".

These broad concerns reveal the initial scope and objectives of the 1983 investigation. It is pertinent then to review some of the important points arising in that report, by way of background information to readers not familiar with the findings of the baseline study.

1.1 REVIEW OF THE 1983 REPORT, "MSINGA, A CHALLENGE TO DEVELOPMENT IN KWAZULU", AND FURTHER OBSERVATIONS.

In this section initial attention is given to those features of the report which are considered as acting as constraints or potentials for the mounting of an effective rural development programme. The practical and policy proposals which emerged from the study are then outlined.

The available census figures (1980) indicate a population of well over 110 000 men, women and children belonging to the six major tribal groupings, the Mchunu, Mthembu, Majozi, Bomvu, Mabaso and Zondi. Considerable under-remuneration is thought likely to have occurred during this and previous censuses, and this should be verified by the recent 1985 National Census Survey. The major feature emerging, namely the ratio of males to females at 64:100, indicates both the high proportion of males absent from the district, in jobs elsewhere, due to the migrant labour system and, when compared to similar surrounding districts, show an average of seven males less per 100 women. This is probably due to the long record of male deaths from faction fighting and confirmed by a highly visible community of widows.

The past ten years have seen an influx of well over 1 000 households into Msinga from the adjacent Weenen district, most locating adjacent Tugela Estates, at Sahlumbe, and at Keates Drift, downstream. This has occurred since the abolition of the labour tenancy system, whereby blacks had been allowed to reside,

cultivate and graze livestock on white owned farms, in exchange for six months labour. Many of these new residents still lay strong claim to the farmlands, which they see as an historical right stemming from original occupation by their geneological forbears. Similarly, the large cattle ranches on the Umvoti (Greytown) side of the district are also claimed by people of the Mchunu and Zondi tribes, as population growth increases pressure on available resources.

Overall, the demographic profile of the district is over-represented by old people, women and children, although men presently returning from the Reef after retrenchment, and a growing body of unemployable school leavers are altering this hour-glass profile.

Some 77 schools accomodate 23 000 pupils, a significant proportion leaving having obtained below functional levels of literacy in order to seek casual work on nearby farms, or to help at home and herd livestock while parents work.

Local administration, with some departments staffed by men of exceptional calibre, is continually strained in attempting to deal with the difficult circumstances. The Defence Force 'Gun-Unit' presently operating has added to the levels of tension and mistrust by taking sides with factions or groups, in order to apprehend gun owners. One result is the apprehension of innocent people and inadvertently, victimisation of certain factions' opponents. More attention will be given to issues of administration further in this

report.

Four main features characterise the local economy. Firstly, the continuation of the household is dependent largely on sources of employment located outside the district, and the remittance money (generally about one quarter of the wage or salary earned) sent home. The other major source of survival, particularly for the growing number of female headed homes, is state pensions and welfare payments.

Secondly, very little effective subsistence cropping takes place and no cash cropping occurs outside the formal irrigation schemes. Cattle ownership, with official statistics showing an average household herd size of 8 animals, contributes overall to the levels of environmental depletion.

The some 100 000 goats in the district are evidence of this strain on grazing resources, since high goat ownership is usually evidence of poor returns from owning cattle.

Thirdly the commercial sector is large and spread out across the district, with some 184 licensed shops and enterprises (a figure boosted somewhat by a concentration of shops and garages at Pomeroy). However, the present tendency to view these features as an indication of considerable wealth is wrong. While there may be a lot of money in circulation, this is only due to a large population. Actual levels of individual wealth are low and the

continual activity around many shops is more often a social gathering, with most shoppers buying only one or two small essential items per trip, spending around 50 to 80 cents per day. The proliferation of stores contributes to low levels of profit, and their dispersal across the mountainous district shows the spatial inaccessibility of most people to essential basic items. Most storekeepers are returned migrant workers who have come home in mid-career with some savings to establish themselves as small entrepreneurs near their homes where they see a need. The tendency for agencies such as the KwaZulu Finance Corporation to finance and promote many such individuals, and then to view such progress as 'development' is fallacious. It is rather an indicator of the overall underdeveloped nature of circumstances which people in the district have to contend with.

Filling a gap which existing formal commercial services are failing to meet, are the activities of what is popularly called the 'informal sector'. Unlicensed taxi operators back up limited bus services, charging exorbitant rates. Hawkers with transport operate between neighbouring white towns, the agricultural development projects and district centres, buying and selling goods to small vendors. A small number of brick and block making enterprises support a growing local building industry. Informal butcheries, panel beaters and shebeens provide services much in demand.

Fourthly, the establishment of the Bata Shoe Factory at Keates Drift, with over 500 employees has been the only significant

industrial development in the area. An exceptionally innovative practice here has been the "putting out" of elementary work such as the stitching of shoe uppers (Bata Idlers) to young and adult women who come daily from surrounding areas, take the work home, and who are paid piece-work rates. Presently the factory staff leaving, all women, are not being replaced. Men view the management's preference for women as a slight, and consistently request more factories to be established so that they do not have to work on the Witwatersrand, with all its associated troubles at present, and to be able to look after their families and properties in view of the tension at home.

The 1983 report detailed the history, as well as the social and land matters contributing to the violent 'faction fighting'. To recap briefly, the potential for faction fights, more appropriately called ongoing feuds, is a function of the more 'traditional' or entrenched form of the social organisation of Zulu society into corporate groups, which as mentioned earlier, is a predominant and disturbing feature of Msinga. Historically, Zulu groups such as the 'Izifunda' of each tribal ward (isigodi) have 'estates' which include natural resources such as land, livestock, water (and for that matter women), as well as other property, and also rights over their members, which go together with a collective status, prestige and a not inconsiderable pride. In seeking to maintain or expand these estates they come into conflict with others, also trying to expand or maintain estates. Such is the basis for the fighting. Disputes which start between families spread, with wider circles of

relatives on each side joining in. One result is a 'tally' kept of people killed or injured, or property destroyed and reprisals occur for no other reason than to keep the 'score'. The most outstanding case is the destructive battle, which has been going on since at least 1922, between members of Thembu and Mabaso tribes over the wide strip of disputed grazing land on the North Bank of the Tugela river, some 1 km upstream from Tugela Ferry. The recent aborted KDC cotton and strawberry enterprises on this valuable and magnificent stretch of land failed to consider the enduring nature of the faction fighting issue.

Furthermore, the fighting extends to the Witwatersrand and not only involves opposing members of one troubled area within Msinga, but has expanded such that the social base, as it were, can come to include all Kranskop men rallying together, in a fight against men from all over Msinga. In effect then, men who fight against each other in one incident will join forces and retaliate against others in another incident.

Recently one more feature has appeared to be instrumental in continuing the fighting. The vesting of some sort of formal local level authority to an appointed category of leaders called 'amagoso', who come under the indunas in the tribal authority system in for what we understand to be a peace-keeping role, has resulted in these men utilising their marginal authority to build popular power bases among the people they administer, so that they may compete for higher authority. A result is fighting between factions, with these men taking a lead. When prosecutions result,

the amagoso are exempt, sometimes giving evidence which distorts the judicial procedure. We suggest here that this factor be investigated at Ministerial or Cabinet level, with further investigation undertaken to determine solutions or strategies which might prevent these tendencies from becoming further entrenched.

The major existing development initiatives undertaken by the State have harnessed the district's greatest physical resource - the water of the Mooi and Tugela rivers. The 600 ha. channel and furrow irrigation scheme at Tugela Ferry draws in members from three tribes, supplying water for some 1 700 plottolders, largely women, with many being widows. Many 0,1 ha plots are not used since people entitled to rights maintain these as a form of security while investing effort in employment elsewhere. A limited number of people with up to 12 plots realise around R700 p a . The Ikwezi Cooperative, the largest in KwaZulu, is the major development arising from the programme. For those involved, some 300 people in 1982, the management of the co-op is a continuing learning process. Here senior staff of the Department of Agriculture provide an important guiding and advisory role in what is essentially the development of new forms of democracy in the tribal situation. The co-op provides an avenue for control by individuals over their own affairs, and positions of power for men aspiring for advancement outside the formal tribal authority structures. Considerable politicking for office occurs among self-appointed leaders, some without any direct involvement in the irrigation scheme itself. 'Structural' tension between plottolders and this second category of

person exists, with these men generally having more education and outside commercial interests. They seek expansion of these interests through obtaining transport concessions, control of surplus funds and so on.

Near Muden the 'Mchunu' irrigation scheme encompasses some 700 ha., with a final plan to accommodate some 1300 'families'. Members of the Msinga Steering Committee have been requested to assist in the planned extension to the scheme, which involves potential trade-offs between industrial expansion at Keates Drift, residential expansion, or the development of irrigated plots.

The 1983 report noted that while both schemes are significant engineering achievements, they provide limited potential to accommodate a full-time peasant farming class, primarily due to;

- i) the small plot sizes
- ii) the practise of allowing every tribal member the right of access to a plot, and
- iii) the limited ability for successful growers to expand their number of holdings to a size sufficient to guarantee commercial viability.

Tugela Estates, on the western boundary of the district, presents serious problems for planned re-organisation. Presently about 500 ha in extent has been developed to cotton and lucerne. The critical issue in redevelopment is to devise a land management system and cropping system which accommodates the aspirations of original, adjacent inhabitants and the more recent resettled arrivals

from Weenen district. The economic and technical scale of operations will undoubtedly have to exclude many household heads, and will create a social and economic differentiation between inhabitants. These features need to be resolved practically in redevelopment and the systems adopted must be seen as contributing to a reduction in the tensions existing at present.

1.2 REVIEW OF PROPOSED DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES AND GENERAL POLICY SUGGESTIONS

Briefly, these included;

i) the relaxation of any restrictions on informal enterprises, promoting their expansion by means of incorporation into the coordinated design and provision of;

(a) appropriate stalls and market shelters at Keates Drift, Tugela Ferry and Pomeroy, and also,

(b) inviting white builders to establish bi-partnership arrangements, through the KwaZulu Finance Corporation, with local builders and blockmakers; with the provision that whites provide training in building methods and the efficient use of appropriate materials and technology available to local builders.

ii) the comprehensive upgrading of the growing settlement at Keates Drift, providing roads, water supplies, sewage disposal, electricity, residential plots and market facilities in an co-ordinated manner, promoting the efficient development of a small town.

iii) the establishment of small "service centres" or small delivery points at which the dispersal of government services could be arranged in the poorly served peripheries in the district.

Two proposals regarding agricultural development were mooted. The

first set out (p.27+28) a conceptual plan for a system of land and cattle management which could possibly be undertaken in betterment planned areas, introducing a strategy which is essentially intermediate between the existing situation and the practices of a normal commercial beef ranching operation.

The second proposal involved a readjustment of allocation arrangements on the existing irrigation schemes in order to allow successful growers the right to utilise presently unused plots on a lease basis, with payment in kind, or a legislated fee.

To give administrative effect to these proposals the report recommended that the presently operating Msinga Steering Committee be constituted, and that a second phase investigation, allowing local leadership and the community to consider and modify the proposals and to become more fully involved in the programme, be undertaken.

The 1983 report was reviewed by the Technical Sub-Committee of the KwaZulu P.C.A.C., accepted in principle and forwarded for consideration by the KwaZulu Cabinet, which then gave its approval for the second phase investigation to proceed.

In the following section the perceived or felt needs arising from this investigation are listed, with comments on the thinking which informed the general development strategy mooted in the second project proposals forwarded to the Msinga Steering Committee.

2. A SECOND PHASE NEEDS INVESTIGATION: PROCEDURES, RESULTING NEEDS, TOWARDS A STRATEGY, CHOICES AND IMPLICATIONS

This investigation was undertaken under the direction of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences, which temporarily employed a concerned senior Msinga citizen on the recommendations of the District Magistrate. The Regional Authority was consulted, all the Tribal Chiefs made aware of the investigation, and their consent obtained. The research assistant was familiarised with the recommendations of the initial report, the background and importance of the programme, and the objectives of the assessment. His particular task was to present the existing proposals publicly to each Tribal Authority and to members of the community, by means of arranging or attending meetings of these groupings, and to obtain comment, modification and other felt needs of each particular area. Weekly reportbacks, and assessments of progress were held with the author of this report. On these arranged days the author would attend arranged meetings and promote, consider and discuss issues arising.

The considerable formality associated with a Mchunu resident having to establish credentials and arrange meetings with other tribal authorities, done without the benefit of personal transport, necessitated allowing the assistant a week's break from work due to nervous exhaustion. However, his interest in a reduction in faction fighting, and a commitment to a need for development, growth and change informed his task. While the work was ongoing a Nxamalala resident killed a member of the Gun

Unit, and a period of faction fighting erupted in the area of the Mchunu Chief. Also, living in the southern, Mchunu part of the district, the assistant unsurprisingly tended to focus a greater part of his attention in these areas.

Notwithstanding these limitations, however, the range of discussions, and the variety of responses he obtained from a range of district inhabitants over the period provided a significant set of indicators of circumstances and requirements in Msinga.

The physical needs, as stated by chiefs, indunas and community members are set out below in the form of a list, headed by tribal ward/area. Comment then follows.

<u>Area/Ward</u>	<u>Requested Projects</u>
Muden/Dumakude	Medical Clinic, Secondary School, Footbridge (Mooi River) Meeting Hall, Toilets and Pit Latrines
Zondi Ward	Electricity and telephones, Roads to homes, Jobs, Nyoniyezwa, School Improvements.
Keate's Drift/Espongweni	Extension of Irrigation Scheme, Post Office, Bank, Market Shelters Upgraded, Administrative Building, Piped Water and Sewage Disposal, Road Maintenance, Depot, Police Station, Pedestrian Bridge over Mooi River.
Galibashi/Mchunu	Factories, Post Office and Public Phones, Medical Clinic and Clean Piped Water, Administrative Building.
Madulaneni	Clinic, Post Office, Administrative Centre, Road Maintenance Depot.

Mpofana/Dungamanzi	Clinic, Market Shelters, Administrative Building, School (Ngawu, Factory, Electricity.
Mbomvu/Ngebevu/Mbono	Suspension Bridge across Tugela River, Meeting Hall.
Kwa Nxamalala	Donga Rehabilitation, Clinic and Post Office with Public Phones, Secondary School, Community Hall and Public Toilets, Pedestrian Bridge over Mooi River, Law against Faction Fights.
E Madulaneni	Clinic, Post Office, Administrative Building, Road Maintenance Depot, Factory, Water Supply Trucks, Public Transport.
Tugela Ferry Village	Trade and Vocation Centre for physically handicapped, Dairy Project, Factories.
Mabaso/Cwaka	Large Factory, Small Gravity Irrigation Scheme.
Nhlalakhahle	Clinic, Post Office, Administrative Building, Telephones, Transport (RBMS) Maize Mill, Meeting Hall, Public Toilets.

The first issue arising from the evidence of the list is that a fairly considerable number of the requested projects could be supplied by the appropriate departments of the KwaZulu Administration, should a coherent rural planning strategy be adopted for each district. However, Msinga district is low on the list of priorities, and the list of capital and recurring projects supplied to the Msinga Steering Committee by the KwaZulu Department of Finance indicate other priorities. In addition, KwaZulu's National Budget is under significant constraints, and these extend beyond just a shortage of funds to include a shortage of development manpower. This, generally, forces

'homeland' administrations to concentrate investment in larger, more centralised projects that can be adequately supervised by the staff available. A result is that the smaller, dispersed development projects are omitted, which are usually projects most needed amongst the poorest members of the community.

The second issue arising, namely that a number of wards requested for their areas what amount to the full range of facilities and services constituting a 'service centre' or delivery point, reveals a task beyond the scope of the Msinga Steering Committee at present. Thus, within these limitations, and considering the uncertain nature of funding likely to be forthcoming, it was considered important to predicate a development programme which took these and the following factors into consideration.

Firstly, any projects initiated in Msinga need to effectively link the provision of essential community needs with the creation of job opportunities, utilising either state or outside (private sector/donor) funding. However, every effort is required to ensure the continuation of access to urban wage jobs (and here the lifting of strict influx control measures, and a continuation of, and encouragement of labour recruitment to mining and other industries is essential).

Secondly, employment in any development programme must have a chance of becoming self-sustaining, either through binding local entrepreneurs to the ongoing projects, or through the eventual

incorporation of entrepreneurs into essential government programmes as contractors. Development project employment must offer potential workers or aspiring entrepreneurs job and career prospects which they see as an alternative to seeking a job in towns elsewhere, and which may also draw back people from towns. Technical training involving sheet metal work, welding, carpentry, brickmaking and building techniques, in combination with the provision of certificates of merit, performance and competence will encourage prospective participants to invest in projects as alternatives to seeking jobs elsewhere.

With these considerations, the author, in discussion with leaders in Msinga (and bearing in mind the requirements of the donor agency for funding programmes with a strong training and educational component) structured the project proposals to include:

- (a) The construction of a Training Centre at Tugela Ferry;
- (b) The recruitment and training of Msinga residents in conjunction with the KwaZulu Training Trust;
- (c) The construction, by course trainees, of a requested suspension footbridge over the Tugela River;
- (d) The relocation and upgrading of the Keate's Drift Market Stalls - with a number of further project developments possibly arising;

(e) The construction of a small scale gravity water supply System at Kwaga/Mabaso ward, and

(f) The provision of a library and laboratory at Nyoniyezwa High School, (Zondi ward).

The implications of these choices are as follows:

Firstly the training and educative part of the programme would be centralised, and administered by a combination of agencies.

Secondly, the linked project construction would be dispersed geographically. Thirdly, the initiatives amount in their present stage to a relatively small input into stated requirements in the district, and fourthly, provide a limited social function in attempting to draw in people from the respective tribal divisions mentioned earlier in the report.

Finally, they give recognition to the 'area loyalty' discussed in the following section.

3. SOME SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ISSUES ARISING

A major social concern which emerged in the second investigation was the extent to which members of the 'community' view faction fighting as an impediment to development initiatives.

Statements such as;

"how can you speak of progress in this very unruly area of Msinga?, have you forgotten that all what you say and what we may want can one day be destroyed by these Impis?"; or, "when will these Impis be stopped?, can we not have a special law for the protection of people against these fights?"; and

"we all seem to be misunderstanding each other, even knowing not what to do or which way to follow if there is anything to be done, please let it be done at once to stop the fighting"; are evidence of the seriousness of the issue.

Generally it is Christians of whatever sect or denomination who plead against the ' primitiveness' and the implications of the fighting. However, residents who see themselves as Christians or 'modernists', particularly leaders, teachers and so on, have had wider experience, education and greater life chances than the ordinary tribal members, who get caught up in the fighting through their stronger, traditional ties to their areas. Christians tend to distance themselves, and denigrate, the aspirations and circumstances of this perhaps poorer, less literate community. This presents a problem in any development initiative. In this case the implications are the likelihood of the more modernised

social groups and leaders attempting to appropriate any available resources away from the poorer, more marginal 'traditional' participants. A very real division along these lines exist in the district, apart from the tensions caused by faction fights.

At this stage, while the Centre for Applied Social Sciences has placed considerable store in achieving a representative management structure which includes,

- (a) the KwaZulu Department of Agriculture,
- (b) outside development agencies (the KFC) and
- (c) a Msinga Local Advisory Committee,

as well as careful consultation with communities and individuals; minor tensions have already emerged between the modernists (representing a Msinga Peace and Development Committee) and the 'traditionals' (tied to the Tribal Authorities), over the representativeness of the appointed local Msinga Development Advisory Committee.

The appointed members are less literate, 'closer' to the chiefs and indunas and to a considerable extent, are the type of people likely to benefit from the training, job opportunities, wages and the infrastructure provided through the development programme.

At issue here then is the imperative of ensuring that the opportunities go to such individuals, while at the same time not alienating the 'modernists' who tend to react against this more narrow vision, and against the slight of seeing 'backward' people closer to the seats of power and authority. Their more

universal outlook and a concern for 'peace and justice' can play a useful role in local decision making around programmes and projects. By the same token, it is also important to try to ensure that representatives of both 'factions' do not manipulate the project benefits exclusively. Again quoting the preface of the original 1982 report, "new forms of integration, new types of leadership and new rewards for the people must cut across these older group lines and create a sense of identity and a new basis of interests." This has been recognised to some degree in the structuring of the project proposals to include a centralised training initiative tied to projects in outlying areas. In doing such, a second major issue is accommodated.

This concerns the pervasive nature of what is named here, for want of a better word, 'area loyalty'. With a strong basis in the persistence of the Tribal Authority System, each tribal group sees itself as belonging firmly to their respective localities. It may be argued that this identification has more to do with influx control regulations, extreme insecurity in urban areas and the long history of urban employers seeing rural areas as reproducing sufficient resources to warrant paying low wages, as well as the structuring of access to jobs through labour bureaux tied to tribal authorities.

However, the implications in the course of undertaking the work to date have been strong pressure exerted by individuals and leaders, as they attempt to persuade outsiders with 'something to

offer' to bring the 'goods' into their exclusive areas and perhaps in doing so gaining some sort of political status as well as the benefits accruing. This in itself is not unusual. What is unusual, in Msinga, is the exclusivity of these spatial boundaries which extends almost to the level of a moral imperative. In other words, for men to initiate major activities outside their areas might mean loss of identity, status and authority. More practically, this is clear when considering that the area of Tugela Ferry village itself is seen by members of the different groups as a safer "no man's land", where petty and commercial trade, administration and the concentration of transport modes and routes serves to draw people together in the course of daily life.

4. INSTITUTIONAL, ADMINISTRATIVE, PERSONAL AND PROCEDURAL FRAMEWORKS

In building an overall administrative framework for an effective and sustainable rural development programme in Msinga around the projects outlined in Section 3, a number of constraints and requirements related to, and in addition to foregoing comment, need consideration.

Firstly, staff involved as project implementors need to follow a flexible approach which assumes considerable uncertainty, characterised by an openness to redesign and an adaptation to changing circumstances. A reliance on an interactive type of problem solving rather than the imposition of a remote and often inappropriate 'expertise' is important. The approach needs to be based on dialogue, allowing variations in both bureaucratic and administrative structures, (both existing, and those set up specifically for projects.) There needs to be an ability to adapt to political, physical and social changes which occur during implementation.

Operationally. (and to a large extent inherent in the Msinga programme to date), the implications of this approach involve the following:

- (i) a design broken into discrete phases;
- (ii) an emphasis on action oriented training for both project staff, beneficiaries and participants;
- (iii) a system of rewards which strengthen the participants'

competence, and confidence, to address their own needs, and to state these as they become involved in project programmes;

- (iv) flexible budget processes;
- (v) a design reorientation involving revision of project organisation, objectives and personnel; and
- (vi) an applied research component which contributes to learning, with monitoring oriented to benefits obtained by participants.

Furthermore, projects need to start with small, relatively simple activities which build confidence, responding to local needs, and produce results quickly. To the degree possible, projects need to involve both existing formal and informal organisations. Where the environment is one of conflict, such as Msinga, it is necessary to work with more than one group, with an emphasis on building an appropriate and flexible organisational capacity.

To achieve the right 'mix' of supervision and autonomy for participants is perhaps the most difficult bureaucratic problem. The stimulation of local participation along the lines stated in section two of this report is only likely to be achieved by decentralisation and local control which, however, does not imply an inadequate and irregular provision of back up services. The management style, for government, training agencies and project co-ordinators, needs to be participatory.

These factors require considerable skill, and for many, a personal reorientation towards the 'objects' of development

programmes, as well as the need to relinquish perceived personal authority, particularly in day to day relations, as well as in situations where an accountability towards several, possibly conflicting local authorities is required.

To date, the Centre for Applied Social Sciences (CASS) have developed a formative management and operational structure bearing these important considerations in mind.

The Msinga Steering Committee (see minutes, 3rd April 1985) is well represented by the important development agencies and departments involved in the Natal/KwaZulu region, and the local Msinga Advisory Committee has been constituted.

It remains to set out an operational structure with which to set the project programme in motion.

PHASE A: AGENCIES INVOLVED:

CASS

KZDAF

CSTP (Community Service Training Programme)

M L A C (Local Advisory Committee)

K T T (KwaZulu Training Trust)

STEP (i) Deploy CSTP graduate and one other in Msinga

(ii) KTT to design centre in consultation locally and with CASS

(iii) Recruit, under CASS supervision, local builders and

entrepreneurs to begin training centre construction

- (iv) Building to commence - total duration +- 8 months
- (v) Ensure funding for phase B is received
- (vi) Complete construction

PHASE B:

- Step (i) L A C, CASS, KZDAF to recruit and select trainees
- (ii) K T T to provide training courses, audio visual materials and trainers
- (iii) Begin training courses: duration +- 6 months

PHASE C:

- STEP (i) Establish a special projects unit (SPU) in order to:
 - (a) design infrastructural projects;
 - (b) provide support services to implement projectsThis SPU should comprise of representatives of these agencies: CASS, KTT, LAC, KZDAF, as well as representatives of the private sector including civil engineering and construction firms located in Greytown and Dundee. These latter representatives would be required to provide a considerable operational input into the programmes, particularly in the design stage and the provision of services unobtainable in Msinga. It is proposed that the SPU at the same time assist with the training and encouragement of local people and contractors through participation in the projects,

promoting, over time, the capacity to maintain and administer projects at the required level.

Step ii: Establish local development committees at each project site in order to recruit labour, facilitate organisations, obtain proper representation over conflicting issues and so on.

5. MEDIUM TERM PROPECTS AND LIMITATIONS

The project programme as considered in this report aims at three limited objectives.

Firstly, the institutional and training developments around the programmes are structured to encourage a form of participation and cooperation with cuts across three social divisions peculiar to Msinga. These exist between members of different tribal groups, between modernists and traditionalists and between groups involved in faction fights. In addition the programme also represents a challenge to the emerging capacity of the KwaZulu Training Trust to become effectively involved, on a sustained basis, in rural development programmes.

Secondly, the limited infrastructive proposed is linked to the provision of stated basic needs, albeit in a piecemeal fashion, due largely to the need to begin with manageable programmes, and the requirements of accommodating "area loyalty".

Thirdly, with the potential establishment of the SPU, an avenue for the mobilisation of the private sector is possible, in both project related support, and as a channel through which to direct private sector funding into the programme.

These objectives imply a considerable initiative in a difficult social environment. However, being dispersed across the district, the project initiatives as a whole will have a limited overall

impact in any one specific location. Besides the immediate spinoffs of training, employment creation and some community development each project, (with the exception of the market shelter upgrading programme scheduled for Keates Drift) is not likely to generate any effective developmental linkages with the immediate social and physical environment. In the medium term, the sustainable benefits accruing to adjacent communities and households will be limited.

With these considerations in mind alternative possibilities need to be considered by the Msinga Steering Committee and possibly the Msinga Social Advisory Committee.

6. AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH AND SOME IMPLICATIONS

For a number of reasons a more focussed project programme in Msinga will appear more manageable with, potentially, greater spinoffs and linkages to a wider section of a particular community. The choice of a more restricted area for the initiation of an alternative programme would need to consider the list of priorities detailed in section two of this report.

However, the 1983 report detailed a comprehensive approach to the development and upgrading of the growing settlement at Keate's Drift. The responses to these proposals evidenced in the second phase needs investigation where positive, expanding on the initial list of possibilities to include a bank and a police station. To a considerable degree the aims of a sustainable development programme, with a strong emphasis on both training and education, and including a substantial input from both government and the private sector along the lines detailed in section four of this report, could be attained. Such an initiative will, however, circumvent some of the more ambitious objectives of the initial brief of the programme.

In particular, the importance of the need to draw people from different areas into a development programme to promote new forms of 'integration' would be bypassed, with a possibly strong reaction from the Social Advisory Committee. The Keate's Drift settlement is in the Mchunzi Tribal Ward, and has already benefitted substantially from the opportunities of the Bata Shoe Factory. However, the concentration of settlement, the rapid

increase in living levels, and the growth in expectations which have arisen from this decentralised industry, create the conditions which will promote a more effective, comprehensive and sustainable programme, which could serve as a model for development programmes in other rapidly modernising areas of KwaZulu.



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