

**SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS IN SOUTHERN
AFRICA**

**INSTITUTIONS, GOVERNANCE AND POLICY
PROCESSES**



South Africa Country Study

Mapping Phase Report

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

This Mapping Phase Report deals with the first stage of the Sustainable Livelihoods in Southern Africa (SLSA) South Africa country study. Research was conducted in the Eastern Cape Province over a three-month period, mid-January to mid-April 2001. This report outlines the main policies and institutional arrangements associated with rural development and local government in the Eastern Cape, and summarises the findings of a livelihoods analysis conducted in the village of Mdudwa. It also addresses the key research questions of the SLSA study, viz. the strategies that the rural poor use to gain access to land, water and wild resources, and how the livelihood concerns of the poor get represented in the policy process. Field notes from the social mapping conducted in Mdudwa village are included as an Appendix.

1.1 Study Area

In the original research proposal, the area for investigation was defined as the Wild Coast District, within the broader context of Eastern Cape Province. In December 2000, the Wild Coast District Council was abolished and its area of jurisdiction divided between various new District Municipalities. On the basis of our initial visits to the area, it was decided that the study district would remain the eastern portion of the Wild Coast and adjacent inland areas, effectively the contiguous Magisterial Districts of Lusikisiki and Sipaqeni (with some reference to neighbouring Bizana), in Eastern Pondoland, part of the former Transkei, Eastern Cape Province. The new local municipality comprising Lusikisiki and Sipaqeni (Flagstaff) Magisterial Districts is called Ingquza, and this is now effectively the study district. The higher level District Council (which includes the study district and the former Transkei capital of Umtata) is now called O.R. Tambo District Municipality. Within Ingquza, the village of Mdudwa was selected for detailed investigation during the mapping phase. This village forms part of the cluster known as Gcinilifu, which in turn forms part of the tribal area under Chief G. Mdutshane.

Figure 1: Map of the Wild Coast



1.2 Methodology

A five-tier structure was used for purposes of research and analysis, as shown in the following diagram.

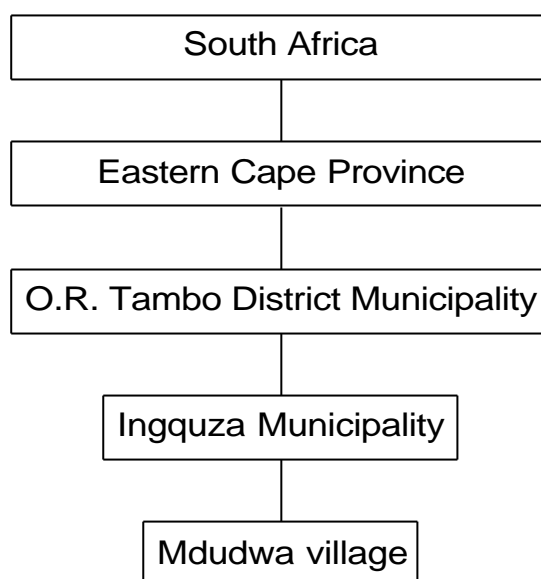


Figure 1: Levels of Engagement

Initial meetings and interviews were carried out at national, provincial and District Council levels (January-February 2001). These engagements were used to inform key actors about the study, to learn about the structures of various governmental and non-governmental organisations active within the study district, to collect relevant policy documents and to identify government programmes and projects within the study district.

The second stage of research was fieldwork at local council and village level. The principal research methods used at the village study were wealth ranking, social mapping, household interviews and key informant interviews. The wealth ranking exercise provided useful information concerning sources of livelihoods and relations within the village. The social mapping provided important information on historical and current land use. The wealth ranking exercise and the social mapping helped decide the issues to be covered in more detail in the household interviews. In all, 38 households were visited from a total of 70 in the village. Households were selected largely on the basis of availability of household members.

Eight broad issues were investigated during the household interviews:

- Household composition
- Livelihoods, including work history and current livelihood sources
- Land and agriculture, including residential plots, access to and use of arable land, organisation of labour and inter-household co-operation
- Grazing, including livestock assets and the management of common property resources
- Water, for both domestic and livestock purposes,
- Formal institutions, which mainly dealt with relationships with tribal authorities¹ and elected local government
- Informal institutions, including the various forms of self-help arrangements in which people organise themselves
- Forest resources, which looked access to firewood and other resources in communal and state-owned plantations.

¹ 'Tribal authorities' is used throughout the report to signify the whole system of tribal governance, including chiefs, headmen, tribal courts and tribal councillors.

2.0 POLICY CONTEXT

This section outlines the main areas of official policy relevant to the study. For each policy area, where possible, there is an account of the development of the policy, programmes that are currently in places, and examples of policy implementation within the study area.

2.1 Land Policy

Land policy in South Africa aims to overcome the legacy of dispossession, poverty and insecurity bequeathed by colonialism and apartheid. In terms of the South African Constitution, land is a national competency, and is handled by a national Department of Land Affairs (DLA), under the national Ministry of Agriculture and Land Affairs. Up to 1999, provincial and sub-provincial (district) offices of DLA reported to the national Department, rather than to provincial governments. At the time of writing, DLA is undergoing a process of restructuring, involving decentralisation of functions and staff to district-level offices and closer links with provincial governments.

Since 1994, South Africa has embarked on an ambitious programme of land reform, designed to redress the grave racial imbalance in land holding and secure the land rights of historically disadvantaged people. These aims found expression in the interim Constitution (*Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 200 of 1993, as amended*), which provided for the establishment of a Commission on Restitution of Land Rights and for historical land claims to be heard by a court of law.

The revised *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996, as amended by Act 35 of 1997)*, set out the legal basis for land reform, particularly in the *Bill of Rights* (Chapter 2). Section 25 (subsections 1, 2 & 3) of the Constitution, the so-called property clause, allows for expropriation of property only in terms of "a law of general application", for a public purpose or in the public interest, subject to just and equitable compensation. Section 25 (4) states that "the public interest includes the nation's commitment to land reform, and to reforms to bring about equitable access to all South Africa's natural resources". Subsequent sub-sections place a clear responsibility on the state to carry out land and related reforms and grant specific rights to victims of past discrimination, viz.

25 (5) The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to foster conditions which enable citizens to gain access to land on an equitable basis.

25 (6) A person or community whose tenure of land is legally insecure as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled, to the extent provided by an Act of Parliament, either to tenure which is legally secure or to comparable redress.

25 (7) *A person or community dispossessed of property after 19 June 1913 as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled, to the extent provided by an Act of Parliament, either to restitution of that property or to equitable redress.*

25 (8) *No provision of this section may impede the state from taking legislative and other measures to achieve land, water and related reform, in order to redress the results of past racial discrimination... "*

Since 1994, land reform has been pursued under three broad headings:

- restitution, which provides relief for certain categories of victims of forced dispossession;
- redistribution, a system of discretionary grants that assists certain categories of people to acquire land through the market; and
- tenure reform, intended to secure and extend the land tenure rights of the victims of past discriminatory practices.

The legal basis for restitution was created with the *Restitution of Land Rights Act, 1994 (Act 22 of 1994)*, which provided for the restitution of land rights of persons or communities were dispossessed under or for the purposes of furthering the objects of racially-based discriminatory legislation after 19 June 1913. A Commission on Restitution of Land Rights was established under a Chief Land Claims Commissioner and four (later five) Regional Commissioners. In terms of the Constitution, the Commission on Restitution of Land Rights is an independent body, but in practice it falls under the control of the Director-General of the Department of Land Affairs and, ultimately, the Minister of Land Affairs. A special court, the Land Claims Court, with powers equivalent to those of the High Court, was also established to deal with land claims and other land-related matters. Under the 1994 Act, all restitution claims are against the state, rather than against current landowners. The Act makes provision for three broad categories of relief for claimants: restoration of the land under claim, granting of alternative land or financial compensation.

The cut-off date for lodgment of restitution claims was 31 December 1998, by which date 63,455 claims had been received, including both individual and community claims in urban and rural areas. By February 2000, 1,651 claims, representing 12,167 households, have been settled at a total direct cost of R120 million - 11,194 households received land and 973 households received financial compensation (DLA 2000: 108). In 1997, the Restitution Act was amended (*Land Restitution and Reform Laws Amendment Act, 1997*) to bring it into line with the new Constitution, allowing claimants direct access to the Land Claims Court and giving the Minister of Land Affairs greater powers to settle claims by negotiation (the so-called administrative route). These legislative changes were followed by the Restitution Review of 1998 which saw a shake-up of the

Commission and its closer integration with the Department of Land Affairs. These changes led to a considerable acceleration in the settling of claims but also to charges that the Commission was favouring urban over rural claimants and promoting cash compensation rather than actually restoring land to claimants. By mid-2000, the Commission was signaling its intention of focussing more on rural claims and on those claims involving larger numbers of people.

The purpose of the redistribution programme is "the redistribution of land to the landless poor, labour tenants, farm workers and emerging farmers for residential and productive use, to improve their livelihoods and quality of life" (Gov. S.A. 1997b: 36). To date, this has been achieved mainly through the provision of the Settlement/Land Acquisition Grant, a grant of R16,000 supplied to qualifying households. Most projects have involved groups of applicants pooling their grants to buy formerly white-owned farms for commercial agricultural purposes. A separate grant, the Grant for the Acquisition of Municipal Commonage, has also been made available to municipalities wishing to provide communal land for use (typically grazing) by the urban or rural poor. The legal basis for redistribution remains the Provision of Certain Land for Settlement Act, 1993 (Act 126 of 1993), which was amended in 1998 and is now titled the *Provision of Land and Assistance Act, 1993 (Act 126 of 1993)*.

The coming to office of a new Minister of Agriculture and Land Affairs in 1999 led to a six-month moratorium on redistribution projects, followed by a flurry of new policy proposals. The SLAG is currently being replaced by the programme for Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD), which will make grants available to would-be beneficiaries on a sliding scale, depending on the level of contribution beneficiaries themselves can make.

The Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development sub-programme, launched in 2000, deals with transfer of agricultural land to specific individuals or groups and with commonage projects, which aim to improve people's access to municipal and tribal land primarily for grazing purposes. LRAD is designed to provide grants to black South African citizens to access land specifically for agricultural purposes. The objective of the programme is: "contributing to the redistribution of 30 % of the country's agricultural land over 15 years; improving nutrition and incomes of the rural poor who want to farm on any scale; decongesting overcrowded former homeland areas; and expanding opportunities for women and young people who stay in rural areas" (Gov. S.A. 2000d).

According to the DLA, the LRAD programme is based on the following principles:

- The programme is flexible and basic so that the beneficiaries can use it in ways according to their objectives and resources;
- All beneficiaries make a contribution according to their abilities;
- LRAD is demand driven the beneficiaries can define the project type and size;

- Implementation is decentralised;
- District-level staff can assist applicants and forward applications to provincial offices for approval.
- Grant range from R 20 000 to R 100 000 depending on the amount contributed by beneficiaries (in kind, labour and/ or cash).
- The minimum own contribution is R 5 000, which can be in the form of cash, equity or labour.

It is intended that LRAD will cater for a wide range of project types, including the following:

- Food-safety-net projects, for food crop and/or livestock production to improve household food security which can be done on individual or group basis.
- Share Equity schemes, whereby applicants will receive equity in an agricultural enterprise and the equity that would be received will be equal to the value of the grant plus own contribution.
- Commercial agricultural production, where participants are required to have prior experience in farming and to combine the grant with bank loans, own assets and cash to purchase a begin production.
- Agriculture in communal areas, whereby people who live in communal areas already have secure access to agricultural land, but do not have the means to make productive use of that land can apply for assistance in order to make productive investments in their land such as infrastructure or land improvements. These projects can take both the character of food-safety-net projects, or may be more commercially oriented.

Tenure reform is generally seen as the most neglected area of land reform to date, but it has the potential to impact on more people than all other land reform programmes combined. Tenure reform, in the current context, is general taken to mean the protection, or strengthening, of the rights of residents of privately-owned farms and state land, together with the reform of the system of communal tenure prevailing in the former homelands. Attempts to draft a law for the comprehensive reform of land rights and administration in communal areas (the so-called Land Rights Bill) were abandoned in mid-1999 and tenure reform generally would now appear to have stalled. Recent proposals by the Department of Land Affairs include suggestions to transfer land to groups, communities or tribes (now referred to as 'African traditional communities') upon request, to transfer land to occupiers of state land with IPILRA or ESTA rights, to allow for the sale (privatisation) of communal land and attempts to revive the collapsing land administration system in the former homelands.

The principal components of tenure reform to date are as follows:

- The *Upgrading of Land Tenure Rights Act, 1991 (Act 112 of 1991)*, (as amended), allows for the conversion of informal land rights into formal ownership (title deeds or Deeds of Grant).
- The *Land Reform (Labour Tenants) Act, 1996 (Act 3 of 1996)* is intended to protect the land rights of labour tenants on privately-owned farms, and provides a process whereby such tenants can acquire full ownership of the land they occupy. Labour tenants are generally small-scale (black) farmers who obtain agricultural land from private owners, usually on a long-term basis, in exchange for (unpaid) labour on the owner's farm. Labour tenants are largely concentrated in the provinces of Mpumalanga and KwaZulu-Natal.
- The *Extension of Security of Tenure Act, 1997 (Act 62 of 1997)* is intended to protect occupants of privately owned farms from arbitrary eviction and to provide mechanisms for the acquisition of long-term tenure security.
- The *Interim Protection of Informal Land Rights Act, 1996 (Act 31 of 1996)* (IPILRA) was intended as a temporary measure to secure the rights of people occupying land without formal documentary rights, pending the introduction of more comprehensive reforms as demanded by Section 25(9) of the Constitution. In the absence of such legislation, the Act has been extended annually and remains in force. The main impact of the Act to date has been to provide a legal mechanism whereby informal occupiers of state or communal land can grant permission to government departments (or, less commonly, private investors) to use land for development purposes. While the Act can be seen as restricting the powers of traditional or community authorities in matters such as evictions, there is no evidence that this has occurred in practice. No mechanisms are in place to enforce the provisions of the Act and no cases under the Act have yet come before the courts.
- The *Communal Property Association Act, 1996 (Act 28 of 1996)* created a new legal mechanism whereby groups of people can acquire and hold land in common, with all the rights of full private ownership. Previously, groups could only gain title to land through forming a trust or a registered company. The Act specifies that a Communal Property Association (CPA) must be run along democratic lines, in terms of a written constitution, and registered with the Department of Land Affairs. CPAs have been established by groups receiving land under both restitution and the redistribution programme. While CPAs are largely concerned with creating a legal entity to hold land, they have also become involved in agricultural production and other land-use activities, with mixed results. In many areas, CPAs have found themselves in conflict with traditional leaders, who tend to see these democratically based structures as a challenge to their authority on land matters.

- The *Transformation of Certain Rural Areas Act, No. 94 of 1998*, provides for the repeal of the *Rural Areas Act (Act 9 of 1987)* that applied to the 23 so-called coloured reserves in the Western Cape, Northern Cape, Eastern Cape and Free State.

Land reform in South Africa since 1994, in all categories, has been painfully slow, the reasons for which remain the subject of intense debate. A range of new institutions have come into being, including a variety of Trusts, Communal Property Associations and worker-shareholder structures. It remains to be seen how effective these can be in managing the resources under the control and advancing the interests of their members.

2.1.2 Land Policy in the Eastern Cape

As in the rest of the country, land reform in the Eastern Cape has got off to a slow start, but there are signs of accelerated delivery since 1999. Considerable progress has been made in settling restitution claims, in particular, but progress with restitution and redistribution has been concentrated in the western portions of the province. Of the many land claims lodged in the former Transkei, not one has been settled at the time of writing. The claim closest to being settled is on Dwesa-Cwebe nature reserve, near Idutywa, but outside our immediate area of study.

Redistribution has suffered from a lack of appropriate private land for purchase in the former homelands, leading to an emphasis in some areas on the restructuring of state-owned farms. As in the rest of the country, no progress has been made with tenure reform in the former Transkei, due to the failure of national government to come up with a concrete programme for reform of communal tenure. Efforts to formulate legislation in this regard fell foul of elements within the ANC government and, it is widely believed, traditional leaders (chiefs) who feared losing much of their power over the administration of land in the communal areas.

In and around the study district there are a number of land claims, including claims on land currently used for forestry, state farms and nature reserves. Claims identified so far include those on the Mkambati Nature Reserve, on land used by the North Pondoland sugar company around Mzamba, at Hluleka nature reserve at Port St Johns and various 'betterment' claims whereby communities are claiming compensation for loss of access to land under physical planning regulations imposed in the 1960s and 1970s. Residents of Mdudwa and surrounding villages have lodged a restitution claim of the Flagstaff plantation, a state-owned forest.

The assets of Magwa Tea Plantation have been bought by the employees under the land redistribution programme. This appears to have been done as a means of preventing job losses when the company went into liquidation. Our initial research suggests that the cash injected by the Department of Land Affairs was sufficient to pay the outstanding debts of the company not for much-needed investment. A continuing

shortage of working capital and the liberalisation of national and international tea markets mean that the future of the company is far from certain. This raises serious questions about the appropriateness of the use of land reform budgets for such investment, given the degree of financial risk involved and the fact that the ownership of the land remains with the state rather than with the workers.

The institutional basis for land reform in the former Transkei is extremely weak. Up to the end of 2000, neither the Department of Land Affairs nor the Regional Land Claims Commission had any full-time staff based in the region, both operating instead from offices in East London. At the time of fieldwork, DLA was in the process of opening a district office in Umtata. The weakness of state institutions is matched by the weakness of non-governmental organisations in the Transkei. Only one NGO, the Transkei Land Service Organisation (TRALSO), offers support to communities interested in land reform, but even this has been beset by financial and managerial problems of late. At the time of writing, TRALSO has been reduced to a staff of four, who struggle to cover the entire Transkei from their base in Umtata.

It is still too early to say what the long-term impact of the land reform programme will be on the livelihoods of the rural poor, although one recent study suggests that may be more positive than generally believed (Deininger and May, 2000). In the former Transkei, the programme has yet to have any significant impact on landholding. Experience from elsewhere in South Africa suggests that the a positive impact on livelihoods depends on many factors, including access to additional resources, whether in the form of government grants or a community's own assets, appropriate and relatively low-risk forms of production and durable institutional arrangements. The institutional arrangements proposed for land reform and related projects in the former Transkei are largely based on models imported from other areas which sit uneasily alongside tried-and-tested local models of management. Land claims, of which there are many, and redistribution projects, look likely to be settled in favour of specially formed Communal Property Associations or Community Trusts, which bear little relationship to the tribally-based institutions which predominate in the area.

The Magwa tea estate, a land-reform project in name only, offers another institutional model, the worker-shareholder. This model appears to have been introduced by the DLA in order to rescue failing state enterprises, and preserve the jobs of workers. It remains to be seen how effective this form of worker-management can be, given its chequered history in other parts of the world. At Lambasi, a brave experiment is underway by the Department of Public Works to put a former state farm under the collective control of surrounding communities which have lodged a land claim on it (see below). While some new enterprises are being proposed on the site, the intention appears to be to continue running the main farm as a centralised unit, dividing the profits between workers and other community members. Alternative models, such as dividing the land into family plots, would not appear to have been considered. Initial reports suggest that Lambasi is already experiencing financial difficulties, raising further questions about the institutional forms introduced by stage agencies as part of rural reform.

In the area of tenure reform, the DLA would appear to have reversed its earlier emphasis on reforming the communal tenure system and now seems set on bolstering the powers of traditional leaders. Taken together, these examples suggest a worrying tendency to experiment with new (or even discredited) institutional arrangements for land reform, together with a contradictory approach to the role of existing institutions such as tribal authorities, which see them central to certain reforms and excluded from others.

2.2 Agriculture Policy

Unlike land affairs, agriculture is largely a provincial competency in terms of the South African Constitution. This means that most agriculture-related functions are carried out by provincial departments of agriculture, within broad national policies set by the National Department of Agriculture. National policy is set out in the *White Paper on Agriculture* (1995) and a discussion document entitled *Agricultural Policy in South Africa* (1998). National policy stresses the importance of agriculture within the national economy and as a source of income for the rural poor. Policy seeks to broaden access to agriculture by means of the land reform programme and by extending technical and financial assistance so small-small farmers wishing to expand production for the market.

The aim of South African agricultural policy, as set out in the Department's 1998 discussion document, is to ensure that agriculture contributes to the national objectives (economic growth, reducing income inequalities and alleviation of poverty) through the following means:

- an increase in agricultural productivity and output which will enhance the sector's contribution to national economic growth;
- an increase in the incomes for the poorest groups in society, through opening of opportunities for small and medium-scale farmers to raise their production for own consumption and the market;
- creation employment opportunities in agriculture;
- improvement in household food security through expanded production and a more equitable distribution of resources (Gov. S.A. 1998a).

2.2.1 Agriculture Programmes

While agricultural policy is largely implemented through provincial government departments, the National Department of Agriculture is responsible for a number of countrywide programmes, such as the *National Land Care Programme (NLP)*. The aim of the NLP is to encourage communities and individuals in rural areas to adopt an ecologically sustainable approach to the management of the environment and natural resources, while improving their quality of life. Particular emphasis is given to the soil conservation. To achieve this, the NDA supports natural resource management initiatives through the NLP, with the following objectives:

- Promoting community, private and government partnerships in the management of natural resources;
- Establishing institutional arrangements that will develop policies and implement programmes that will promote sustainable use of natural resources;
- Promoting skill development for sustainable livelihoods;
- Promoting business opportunities which have a sustainable resource management focus; and
- Enhancing long-term productivity of natural resources.

There are two components of the NLP programme: the NLP focussed investment component and the NLP Small Community Grants Component. Under the Small Community Grants Component, grants are offered to communities up to a maximum of R 100 000 and are intended to provide resources that facilitate the achievement of the NLP's objectives. The grants are available for projects that have a primary focus on any of the following:

- Improving the ability of land users to sustainably manage land, water and vegetation;
- Addressing the causes of environmental and resource degradation;
- Promoting integrated approaches to local catchment areas and regional planning;
- Demonstrating innovative approaches to natural resource management;
- Encouraging the use of land, water and related vegetation resources within their capabilities;
- Stimulating the formation of land care/ catchment groups;
- Addressing the needs of former disadvantaged groups.

Under the Focussed Investment Component, the investment is intended to provide resources that facilitate the achievement of the NLP objectives by focusing on three major themes: water care, soil care and veld management. The investment concentrating on these three themes will be targeted initially in five provinces: KwaZulu-Natal, North West, Northern Province, Mpumalanga and the Eastern Cape.

Despite these new programmes, agricultural services provided by government have collapsed in many parts of the former homelands. Since 1994 the Eastern Cape Department of Agricultural has had little budget for field services and is now intending to sell off all agricultural land in its possession. Senior officials in the provincial Department of Agriculture stressed that resource-poor ('subsistence') farmers were not a priority for the Department and would be better served by the 'welfare' departments.

The Provincial Department of Agriculture has set for itself the following goals:

- protection of productive agricultural land;
- encouragement of subsistence farmers to commercialise;
- lease or sale of state land to private commercial farmers.

As yet, the activities of the Department of Agriculture would appear to be poorly co-ordinated with land reform initiatives and other land-related developments such as the Department of Public Works' Community Production Centres (see below).

2.3 Public Works

In the area of public work, broad national policy and major national infrastructure projects of national importance are the responsibility of the National Department of Public Works. Provincial departments of public works have responsibility for construction and maintenance of infrastructure at a provincial and sub-provincial level, where they commonly work in collaboration with District Municipalities. Key policy is set out in the *White Paper on Public Works*, published by the National Department of Public Works in 1997.

Public works policy is of importance to this study because of the involvement of the various departments of public works in employment creation schemes in rural areas, promotion of small and micro enterprises and the restructuring of a number of state farms. Through these programmes, the government seeks to address the problems of unemployment, high levels of poverty, lack of skills training and enormous backlog of socially useful assets for use by the majority of citizens. Public works programmes seek to create a substantial amount of jobs through accelerated labour based infrastructural development and maintenance of public works in urban and rural areas.

The *Community Based Public Works Programme (CBPWP)* was launched in 1994 as a Presidential Lead Project within the National Public Works Programme. Funds were made available to communities through provincial governments and NGOs. The main emphasis of the programme is on labour-intensive projects that employ poor, unskilled men and women on projects of pressing local need. The CBPWP over the past three years shown potential in playing an important role in addressing poverty and stimulating community development.

The programme has the following objectives:

- Upgrade the living standards and quality of life of the poor by providing basic community level infrastructure;
- Stabilise and improve community livelihoods that are threatened by a number of catastrophes;
- Build the capacity of local development organisations and structures of local government to manage community development ventures;
- Promote public sector, the private sector and civil society partnerships in managing community development ventures.

According to a recent speech by the minister of Public works, the CBPWP has delivered 608 rural infrastructure projects between March 1998 and October 2000. Projects included crèches and pre-schools, sports fields, clinics, community centres, taxi ranks, parking and ablution facilities, access roads, bridges, workshops, community gardens, market stalls, environmental protection projects, production centres and multipurpose halls and centres, all for the benefit of rural communities. The total amount that was injected in the Eastern Cape alone during this period was R237 million.

2.3.1 Public Works Policy in the Eastern Cape

The Eastern Cape Department of Public Works has a number of programmes operating in the study area. The *Community Based Public Works Programme (CBPWP)* is a poverty alleviation initiative based on temporary job creation. One particular project in the study district is a R13 million road project between Mbotyi (on the coast) and the town of Lusikisiki. Local demands for such projects are channeled through the local and district councils. When a project is to be implemented, a project steering committee is formed. In areas where there are both traditional leaders and local councillors, both parties have to be consulted before a project is implemented.

Community Production Centres (CPCs) are being developed by the National Department of Public Works in the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu Natal and Northern Province. These generally involve handing over former parastatal enterprises – mainly state farms - to community control. In the Eastern Cape, Lambasi dryland maize project and Ncora irrigation scheme have been identified. In Lambasi, which falls within the study area, 14 different projects have been proposed, ranging from renovation of farm buildings to fowl runs, maize and bean projects. Part of the plan involves producing maize, milling it on site and feeding it to chickens. The project is expected to benefit the seven communities surrounding the farm from whom the land was taken during the apartheid era. A national NGO, the Independent Development Trust (IDT), has been contracted by the government to capacitate the members and facilitate the process up to the point of handover to the Community Trust. This consists of members from the local communities, traditional leaders and councillors. A budget of R9.6 million has been allocated for the Lambasi project alone by the Department of Public Works.

The Community Based Public Works Programme has certainly managed to create large numbers of short-term jobs in remote rural areas, and seems to be successful in its objective of targeting very poor men, women and the youth. Interviews with Public Works officials in the Eastern Cape, however, revealed that no specific measures are put in place to create long term sustainable employment. For this reason, the programme can be seen as largely contributing to short-term poverty relief, although the physical products of the scheme will continue to be of use to communities for a long time to come. It was reported, however, that a small number of workers on the scheme, particularly younger men, have acquired basic building skills which have allowed them to find permanent employment elsewhere. In contrast, the Community Production Centres, like that at Lambasi, are part of a much more ambitious and long-term strategy for improving the

livelihoods of the rural poor. As the CPC are still in the process of being established, it is too early to say whether they can meet their objectives over the longer term.

2.4 Water Policy

Water policy in South Africa is the responsibility of the National Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF), and is implemented through a network of provincial and sub-provincial offices that report to the national department. Since the first democratic election in the country, DWAF has published two white paper policy documents on water related issues, the 1994 *White Paper on Water Supply and Sanitation* and the 1997 *White Paper on a National Water Policy for South Africa*. The 1997 white paper was developed over a period of two years with the first outcome being the production of the “Fundamental Principles and Objectives for a New Water Law in South Africa”.

Among the key features of South African water policy are the following:

- Government is the custodian of the water resource
- All water in the water cycle will be treated as a common resource
- Water required for basic human needs is guaranteed as a right
- Tariffs will be charged to bring balance to the demand and supply of the resource. (although provisions are in place to provide free water to the poor)
- Charges will be in place also for the conservation of the resource, infrastructure development and catchment management activities
- Catchment management agencies will be established to undertake water resource management in water management areas

Working for Water (WFW) is a national program to eradicate alien plant species, such as black wattle, Port Jackson, bluegum and black wood trees, from watersheds and river courses. The programme aims at saving water since these alien species consume a lot of water. The central government made funds (Poverty Relief Fund) available which are intended to bring relief to the poorest of the poor. Using the funds, DWAF has initiated several projects in the Eastern Cape which have created a large number of jobs. The approach used by the programme is not total eradication but eradication through management. This involves clearing those areas required for agricultural activities and selling of the unwanted species, either in the form of timber for building or in the form of a range of craft products. This programme does not operate in our study district and the closest examples are to be found in Kokstad and Maluti districts.

Build, Operate, Train and Transfer (BOTT) projects form part of the Water Services Supply Programme of the government’s Reconstruction and Development Programme launched in 1994. Since then, a number of

implementation mechanisms have been used which included Provincial and Local Governments, DWAF, Housing, Municipalities, Water Boards and NGOs. Included in these were the BOTT type contracts in four provinces; Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga and the Northern Province.

The aim of the BOTT programme is to maximise the rate of development of sustainable water services in low-income neighbourhoods especially in the Eastern Cape and Northern Province. The government funds the development of infrastructure and its operation in the early years and the scheme is later transferred to local communities who will operate it in the long term. The implementation of the BOTT programme is through private consortia selected by competitive tendering. In the study district, the Project Implementation Agency is a consortium called Amanz'abantu.

The objectives of the BOTT contracts are:

- To maximise the rate of the development of sustainable water services,
- To simplify administrative procedures,
- To mobilise private sector resources through competitive bidding,
- To build capacity of local authorities, and
- To empower communities.

Involved in the project are the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry and local municipalities representing the public sector; private consortia such as Amanz'abantu and Water and Sanitation Services South Africa (Pty) Ltd (WSSA), along with local construction and design firms representing the private sector; and Mvula Trust, an NGO which manages the institutional and social development components of the project. It is expected that beneficiary communities will be involved in all aspects of the planning and implementation of projects, although this does not appear to be always the case in practice.

2.4.1 Water Policy in the Eastern Cape

Water policy in the Eastern Cape focuses on the establishment of catchment management authorities for the main catchments and the provision of safe drinking water to all communities. Catchment management authorities have not yet been established in our study district (it is not yet clear why) and so we have focussed so far on domestic (small) water issues.

In rural areas DWAF employs implementing agents to implement village water projects. These implementing agents work closely with the District Municipalities. A consortium of NGOs and private companies, Amanz'abantu Services Pty Ltd, has been formed to carry out water projects in the Eastern Cape, working as an implementing agent for DWAF. In carrying-out any water, sanitation or alien control project, Amanz'abantu is first commissioned by DWAF. They visit the area as identified by the District Municipality. In many instances they are given a name of the village only to discover that there are numerous sub-villages

that are called by one name. They have to go back to ascertain the actual beneficiaries. They then form a project steering committee to liaise and work closely with them. After doing this and determining the cost of the project, they go back to DWAF to calculate the cost of the project and devise a work plan, which can lead to lengthy delays in the project. One such project is underway in Gcinilifu, which forms part of our study district. The installation of pipes has already started and a village Water Committee has already been formed.

The implementation of village water schemes was identified as an urgent priority for people within our study district, where many households continue to rely on unprotected sources for their domestic supply. Under-resourced local government is struggling to meet this demand, resulting in a variety of partnership arrangements with NGOs and the private sector, of which BOTT is just one example. Initial investigations in our study district suggest that rural communities are quite confused about the institutional arrangements for implementation of water projects and unsure as to where key decisions are made. Implementing agents at local level are forming village water committees to ensure the sustainability of the water project being implemented. The village water committees are mainly based on the terms determined by the implementing agents which are likely to have implications for the sustainability of the project. In the village case study, it is evident that the village water committee follows the dictates of the implementing agent.

Major questions remain around the sustainability of the newly-emerging village water committees and the financial sustainability of the projects over which they have nominal control. At Gcinilifu, a new committee had been formed for the purposes of the BOTT project, which does not appear to adequately reflect traditional power structures in the village or women who are presently responsible for virtually all water collection. While water itself, in line with government policy, will be free of charge to poor consumers, revenues will have to be collected for maintenance of the delivery system. No systems appeared to be in place for collection of revenues or for dealing with defaulters, despite construction of the project already being underway.

2.5 Forestry Policy

South African forestry policy is the responsibility of the National Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF). The current policy framework is set out in the *1997 White Paper on Sustainable Forest Development in South Africa*. Forestry is understood to include the use and husbandry of the wood, fruits and other products that come from trees, as well as the wildlife that dwell in the forest. Other factors, which are also perceived as important are the environmental, aesthetic and cultural values of forests and woodlands (Gov. S.A. 1997c). Forestry policy addresses all components of the forest sector, including indigenous forests and woodlands, industrial forestry and community forestry and defines the role of government in dealing with the forest sector.

DWAF's *Forestry Restructuring Programme* involves privatisation of state plantations and sets out how the adjoining communities can benefit from the process. It emphasises the need for an holistic approach to developing the former homeland forests. The restructuring programme is based on the principles of resource conservation, attention to community interests and land claims, generation of rural employment, promotion of industrial development through sustained wood production and reducing public expenditure.

The main objectives of the restructuring programme are:

- DWAF's withdrawal from industrial forestry;
- Reduction in the DWAF deficit;
- Sustainable development of resources;
- Equitable and sustainable arrangements for employees and local communities;
- Participation in the ownership of resources.

Community forestry is defined in the White Paper on Sustainable Forest Development in South Africa as "forestry designed and applied to meet local social, household and environmental needs and to favour local economic development". DWAF provides a community forestry service through the Directorate: Community Forestry to facilitate this type of development. The aim of the community forestry policy is to address the national problem of social deprivation, impoverishment, deforestation and land degradation in all sectors of rural and urban communities through community forestry development.

2.5.1 Forestry Policy in the Eastern Cape

Most of the larger state forests in the Eastern Cape are being prepared for privatisation. The bidding companies are expected to prepare proposals as to how they will facilitate the involvement of the communities in accessing resources in the plantations. Communities can also be shareholders in the venture. A private company, when leasing a state plantation, can approach communities to see if they would be interested in being shareholders. Plantations are divided into small and big plantations, and commercial exotic trees. Small plantations are in category C and they are mainly for community use. Under the restructuring initiative, communities have to decide whether they want to clear the plantation for alternative use or they want to manage plantation for production of poles or other products. Category B forests are large forests with a combination of indigenous and exotic trees. Category A are big state forests, with exotic trees, which the state is leasing to private companies. Privatisation of Category A forests has already begun and privatisation of category B forests is in the pipeline.

Management of indigenous forests is the responsibility of both national and provincial departments. A pilot process is underway to involve communities in the management of indigenous forest. This is referred to as joint forest management (JFM) or participatory forest management (PFM). Joint forest management policy is

set out in the National Forestry Action Plan (NFAP). Officials in Eastern Cape have met with communities where JFM is to be piloted to ascertain the different activities for which people use the forests. The activities would include collection of firewood and medicinal plants, cultural activities, conservation of certain species and tourism ventures. JFM is currently being implemented in two nature reserves, Oakland Nature Reserve and Qacu Nature Reserves. The approach used by DWAF in reaching communities for any activity is to consult with the district council and the local councils. Where there are conflicts between the local councils and traditional leaders, they invite both parties to participate.

The government's privatisation programme poses a major threat to poor rural communities that depend on state forests for a range of natural products, including firewood, building poles, thatching grass, grazing and medicinal plants, as well as for direct employment. While DWAF has publicly committed itself to protecting the rights of customary users, and sharing the benefits of privatisation with neighbouring communities, the details of how this will be achieved have yet to be worked out. What is clear is that the great majority of customary users will not be in a position to bid for forestry concessions themselves, and will therefore have to enter into new arrangements with private owners in order to ensure continued access to vital resources. The considerable employment currently offered by state forests could also be expected to fall following privatisation, posing yet another threat to the livelihoods of the poor in surrounding communities. DWAF is currently investigating way in which part of the revenues accruing to the state as a result of forestry privatisation could be channelled to a fund to be used for community development purposes, but again the details of such a programme have still to be worked out.

2.6 Nature Conservation and Marine Resources

A range of public bodies are involved in conservation activities. The Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) is responsible for the marine and coastal resources. State indigenous forests along the coast are the responsibility of the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF). Nature reserves such as Mkambati and Ongeluksnek are the responsibility of the Directorate of Nature Conservation in the Eastern Cape Provincial Government.

In the reserves where there is wildlife, permits to hunt may be issued by the department but illegal poaching (especially of Eland and wild pigs) is prevalent. This appears to be run by organised syndicates. There is provincial legislation which seeks to regulate hunting but it is reported to be virtually unenforceable in the former Transkei. Access by communities to resources in protected areas is not encouraged by the provincial Directorate of Nature Conservation because, they argue, the areas are not very large and already under server pressure. Thatch grass and firewood collection is allowed at nominal fee but grazing is not allowed. There is a brisk trade in medicinal plants to Durban. In Bizana, traditional healers have established a protected area of their own in collaboration with the local government. Draft legislation is due to come before the Eastern Cape parliament to allow for the creation of community reserves where communities request this.

Marine resources are the responsibility of the national Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT). The policy of the DEAT is set out in the 1997 document *A Marine Fisheries Policy for South Africa* (Gov. S.A. 1997d). The fisheries sector is important to the economy of several coastal regions, and for the livelihood of many communities. The term fisheries in the policy document refers only to the marine fisheries. Inland (freshwater, and currently also estuarine) fisheries fall under the jurisdiction of the provincial governments.

The following are some key points in the Marine Resource Policy:

- Custodianship of marine resources will be entrusted to the state which will promulgate regulations for the sustainable use of the resource.
- Promotion of sustainable utilisation and the replenishment and restocking of living marine resources
- The management and development of fisheries will comply with the principles of the constitution of the country and the long-term objectives and principles of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP).
- Participation in resource management will be done encouraged by all parties concerned, including local communities using the resource.
- Marine resources will be managed nationally. Allocation of rights and control will also take place nationally. Provincial authorities will play an administrative role in the case of inshore resources which have low mobility and are confined to a particular region.

Government departments at both national and provincial levels have committed themselves to the sustainable use of natural resources, both marine and terrestrial. While this should, in theory, allow for the conservation of these resources and managed exploitation by poor rural communities, the emphasis to date has been strongly on conservation. Hunting of wildlife in the Transkei has been officially prohibited for many years, and is likely to remain so given the severe decline in animal numbers. Along the Wild Coast, so-called subsistence fisherman have been locked in a struggle with fisheries protection officials over the collection of shellfish and other species. Interviews with officials in the nature conservation directorate of the Eastern Cape government indicated that they are most unwilling to allow any further resource extraction from existing nature reserves. With such a strong emphasis on protection through exclusion, it is difficult to point to any effective livelihoods-oriented strategy within the field of nature or marine conservation in the Eastern Cape. The challenge facing officials and resource users is to identify new ways of combining resource conservation with tangible benefits for the poor in adjoining communities.

2.7 Tourism Policy

Tourism is widely seen as an important developmental strategy for South Africa as a whole and especially for less-developed areas with high potential such as the Wild Coast. Tourism policy is the responsibility of the National Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. In its 1996 *White Paper for the Development of Tourism in South Africa*, DEAT set out a number of key principles of tourism policy, which included private sector driven development, the effective involvement of previously disadvantaged groups in society, sustainable use of the country's natural resource base, close partnerships among all stakeholders in the industry, and regional co-operation. The broader vision of tourism contained in the White Paper is to develop the sector so that it will contribute significantly to the improvement of the quality of life of South Africans.

According to the DEAT, the following conditions are crucial to achieving the broader vision of tourism:

- sustainable environmental management practices,
- involvement of local communities and those communities that were previously disadvantaged,
- a safe and stable tourism environment,
- globally competitive practices, by offering quality services and value for money,
- innovative and responsive to customer needs,
- focus on product enhancement and emphasise diversity,
- tourism training, education and awareness,
- marketing and promotion,
- economic linkages with other sectors of the economy,
- appropriate institutional structures and infrastructure.

A number of role players are involved to ensure the success of tourism in the country. The national government is expected to play five key roles in the development and promotion of the tourism industry, namely facilitation and implementation, co-ordination, planning and policy-making, regulation and monitoring, and development promotion. The provincial government takes on similar functions, with three main differences:

- the focus is much more on the implementation and application of national principles, objectives and policy guidelines as appropriate to local conditions;
- As much of the tourism product is itself located at the provincial level, provinces take on a much more important role in facilitating and developing specific tourism 'products';
- Provinces play a major role in marketing and promoting their destinations in competition with other provinces.

The functions of local government are similar to those of the provincial government, but with added emphasis on the planning, development, and maintenance of many specific aspects of the tourism product. The roles of a range of other stakeholders, such as labour, women, NGOs, conservation agencies and local communities, are also seen as key in the development of tourism in the country.

2.7.1 Tourism on the Wild Coast

The principal tourism policy initiative in the study district is the Wild Coast Spatial Development Initiative (SDI), an initiative of DEAT with support from the European Union (EU). The SDI strategy aims to unlock the economic potential in specific locations by enhancing their attractiveness for investment. In the Wild Coast SDI, the focus is on wildlife and environmental-based tourism.

To balance the SDI's focus on external investor-driven development, the EU programme of support to the Wild Coast SDI was initiated to foster local community-driven economic development, with a focus on sustainable and responsible tourism and related development. The aim of the EU programme is to increase the level of income and employment of previously disadvantaged communities through their improved participation in the tourism industry in the Wild Coast area. The EU programme has a budget of R80 million with an initial life cycle of four years. The purpose of the programme is "to increase the level of income and employment of previously disadvantaged communities through their improved participation in the tourism industry in the Wild Coast area". Specific objectives of the programme are to:

- Increase income levels and job opportunities of local communities by assisting them to participate in responsible tourism
- Improve the level of skills of community members
- Improve the business capacity in the local communities
- Improve environmental awareness
- Improve capacity of local, regional and provincial government structures to continue of the process of community based tourism development after the EU programme ends
- To establish a management structure and policies for the natural areas which need to be protected for conservation and tourism development reasons

The national government has also committed itself to investment in the Wild Coast SDI. Funds are made available to open doors for further investment by the private sector through building public-private sector partnerships. R185 million has been committed by the Eastern Cape's Department of Economic Affairs for the development of the Wild Coast SDI - R154,3 million for road infrastructure, R31 million for water and reticulation, R1.2m for small, medium and macro-enterprises, and R2.9m for the Working for Water project.

The programme will be concentrated in five 'development nodes', namely Mzamba, Magwa/Mbotyi, Port St. Johns, Dwesa-Cwebe and Khobonqaba/Nxaxo/Cebe (Wavecrest area). Of these, only Magwa/Mbotyi fall within the study district, but Mzamba and Port St. Johns are close by. The EU programme seeks to promote a wide range of tourism related activities, including accommodation facilities, horse and hiking trails, tour guiding, non-consumptive fly fishing and the production of crafts and agricultural produce for use in tourist activities.

The implementation of the programme activities on the Wild Coast is the responsibility of the three NGOs, namely PondoCROP, Triple Trust Organisation and World Wide Fund for Nature – South Africa. A Programme Management Unit (PMU) is responsible for the co-ordination of efforts between the NGOs, act as the administrative office for the programme and co-ordinating a marketing campaign together with the East Cape Tourism Board and SATOUR, aimed at promoting both the region and the products established through the programme. The EU programme, which is still in the early stages, aims to promote community-based tourism along the entire length of the Wild Coast, from Port Edward to Kei Mouth over the next ten years.

2.8 Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy

Since 1994, the South African government has referred frequently to the need for an integrated approach to rural development that would guide the various aspects of government policy and the activities of the different tiers of government, but it was only in 2000 that such a strategy was actually finalised. The *Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (ISRDS)*, unveiled in November 2000, aims to “attain socially cohesive and stable rural communities with viable institutions, sustainable economies and universal access to social amenities, able to attract and retain skilled and knowledgeable people who are equipped to contribute to growth and development” (Gov. S.A. 2000a). The ISRDS aims to use and develop existing institutional, planning, management and funding mechanisms to respond more effectively to pressing needs and opportunities. The strategy is not predicated on additional funding from the government but aims to increase the efficiency of the application of public funds in rural areas where needed most. Additional funding, if necessary, will be sought from the private sector, public-private partnerships, state organs and the donor community.

The underlying approach of the ISRDS is that “successful rural development must be implemented in a participatory and decentralised fashion in order to respond to articulated priorities and observed opportunities at local level” (Gov. S.A. 2000a). It is acknowledged in the ISRDS document that local municipalities in many rural areas need assistance and guidance to develop their capacity. These municipalities are required to identify local development needs and opportunities and to plan to respond to these needs. They are also required to align their budgets to meet their planned objectives. The provincial

governments will assist them in co-ordinating, integrating and alignment of planning outputs and development inputs. The office of the Deputy President leads and co-ordinates the ISRDS.

The motivation offered by government for the ISRDS includes the following:

- Problems of co-ordination and communication of public investment programmes and complaints of poor associations of these programmes to community priorities,
- Incoherent and unfocussed relationship between national and provincial line function departments and District Councils in implementations of programmes,
- Funding mechanism from the different spheres of government to respond to community priorities,
- The evolution of institutional framework to respond to development issues, which are now in an ordered structure to support the principles of the ISRDS.

The operational approach of the ISRDS is intended to build on existing government programmes through well co-ordinated bottom-up approach. Central to this process will be Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) which all municipalities must be draw-up by all municipalities and form the basis of the funding they receive from central government.

In the political sphere the Deputy President (DP) is responsible to the Cabinet for the overall co-ordination and monitoring of the ISRDS. The DP is expected to engage the provincial Premiers to establish sound operational co-operative governance in each province so that operational matters are fully endorsed. The DP is also expected to engage political leaders in the local government sphere in manners appropriate for implementation. In the Cabinet, a core group of Ministers drawn from the Economic, Infrastructure and Social Clusters is intended to give leadership, and ensure that co-ordination and integration delivery “are implemented across the horizontal and vertical structures of government in terms of the Constitutional and other legislative frameworks on co-operative governance” (Gov. S.A. 2000a). The role of each cluster in the ISRDS will be to ensure that sectoral line-function departments give priority to the identified nodes in their programmes and budgets and that they operated through the required planning mechanisms of the IDPs.

It is still too early to say how the IRDS will work in practice. Recent experience has demonstrated the severe capacity constraints faced by local government structures, and the difficulties in achieving co-ordination between the various government departments and agencies involved in rural development. Clearly, the leading role taken by the Deputy President’s office is the development and promotion of the new strategy is a positive development, but in itself will not be enough to overcome the problems of limited resources and low levels of co-ordination. In this respect, the unwillingness to commit substantial new resources to the IRDS is likely to impose severe constraints on its overall impact.

In the Eastern Cape province there is an additional initiative by the Office of the Premier to promote rural livelihoods. RULIV (Promotion of Rural Livelihoods) is a key unit within the Eastern Cape government dealing with livelihood issues. Their intention is to co-ordinate initiatives of other government departments that address similar issues. The office consists of a person seconded by the office of the premier, officials from departments of local government and agriculture and staff from the German development agency GTZ. There are 5 results which this office wishes to achieve, namely agricultural production, non-farm activities (SMMEs), capacity building among local institutions, self-help programmes and monitoring and evaluation. This programme is still at the early stages of implementation.

2.9 Local Government Policy

The South African Constitution recognises local government as a distinct sphere of government and gives it an important role in the delivery of public services. Under the Constitution, the three tiers of government - national, provincial and local - are distinct, interdependent and interrelated. Parliament is required to establish structures and institutions to promote and facilitate relations between the tiers to enhance co-operative governance and service delivery.

There are currently three categories of elected local government in South Africa, as specified in the *Local Government: Municipal Structures Act, 1998*. Category A municipalities are Metropolitan (i.e. urban) Municipalities, category B are District Municipalities and are C local municipalities. In the run-up to the December 2000 local government elections, the Municipal Demarcation Board reduced the existing 843 municipalities to 284 and determined new municipality and electoral ward boundaries. Whereas category A municipalities (so-called metros) are 'stand-alone' structures, categories B and C constitute two parts of a two-tier system covering mostly rural areas and smaller towns. Category C municipalities are the lower level and are made up of councillors directly elected from wards and from party lists. Category B municipalities (roughly equivalent to the former District Councils) are composed of representatives of a number of local municipalities, and are thus only indirectly elected. District Municipalities provide a range of services to local municipalities within their area of jurisdiction.

The Municipal Systems Bill was published in August 1999 to establish a framework for planning, performance management systems and effective use of resources, among other things. The bill requires all municipal councils to develop Integrated Development Plans (IDPs). They are required to develop the plan for the development of the municipal area immediately after the start of their term which:

- Links, integrates and co-ordinates plans and proposals for the development of the municipality,
- Aligns resources and capacity for the implementation of the plan,
- Forms policy framework and basis on which annual budgets must be based,

- Should be compatible with the national and provincial development planning requirements.

An IDP adopted by a municipal council would remain in force until the next elected council replaces it. The IDP of the district municipality will contain a framework for the integrated development plans of the local municipalities. Each municipal council is expected to adopt a process in writing to guide the planning, drafting, adoption and reviewing of its IDP. These process must assist municipal councils to identify and define its development needs, priorities, objectives; include a programme for the drafting of the IDPs; methods and procedures for consultation of communities on their development needs and priorities, their participation together with other stakeholders in the municipality in the drafting process and the review of the IDPs; identify planning requirements binding on the municipality in terms of the national and provincial legislation; and to deal with any other matters that may be prescribed. The provincial Member of the Executive Council (MEC) for local government will supervise and assist in the development of the IDPs. The MEC for local government will also integrate the development plans of the different local and district municipalities.

A number of national funds are disbursed through local government structures. These include the Local Economic Development Fund, the Social Plan Fund, the Decentralised Development Planning (DDP) Project, Consolidated Municipal Infrastructure Programme, the National Housing Subsidy, and the Community Water Supply and Sanitation Programme,

2.9.1 Traditional Leaders

Despite the introduction of elected local government throughout the country, the structures of so-called traditional leadership – chiefs, headman, tribal councils and tribal courts – remain firmly established in former homeland areas such as the Transkei. While many observers expected the institutions of traditional leadership to be swept aside in the transition to democracy, the ANC has show great willingness to accommodate the demands of chiefs, who have managed to hold on to many of the powers they exercised under apartheid. The question of how to integrate chiefs into systems of elected local government remains a matter of heated debate, as became clear when chiefs threatened to disrupt the 2000 local elections.

The South African Constitution recognises the institution of traditional leadership and provides for the establishment of Houses of Traditional Leaders by means of either provincial or national legislation. Provincial houses of traditional leaders have been established in six provinces, namely the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, the Free State, Mpumalanga, the Northern Province and the North-West Province. The National House of Traditional Leaders was established in April. Each provincial House of Traditional Leaders nominates three members to represent them in the National House. The National House of Traditional Leaders advises the national government on matters relating to traditional leaders and customary law.

It remains unclear what role traditional leaders might play within the system of elected local government. The ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (CONTRALESAs) has called on the government to involve traditional leaders in the local municipalities as ex-officio members. The situation is not any clearer regarding their role within the new Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (ISRDS) (see above). Here, they are only mentioned as an institution that would be “involved”. Nonetheless, their role in the administration of communal land looks set to continue.

2.10 Rural Development, Livelihoods and Institutions in the Eastern Cape

The above survey outlines the range of government policies that directly influence the livelihoods of rural people in the Eastern Cape. Clearly many other policy areas, such as macro-economic policy, industrial policy, market liberalisation, communications and more also have the potential to influence livelihoods, directly or indirectly, but they lie outside the range of this study.

The policy initiatives outlined here, many of them very new, are giving rise to a range of new institutional arrangements for local governance at village and district level. At the same time, a range of older institutions – largely informal and based on customary practice – continue to operate but are often neglected or ignored by official reform efforts.

Of the new institutions, the most important is undoubtedly the two-tier system of elected local government, comprising local and district municipalities, which in its current form has only existed since December 2000. Elected local government has been identified by the state as the principal institution for the delivery of state services in the rural areas, and will soon extend its operations to take over many of the functions currently exercised by provincial and national government departments, in areas as diverse as health and land reform. The limited capacity of local government structures, in terms of finances, skills and operational systems, remains a severe constraint on delivery. Councillors and their officials struggle to deal with range of duties imposed on them by an array of higher level authorities, across the fields of health, water, electricity, roads, housing, agriculture, environmental affairs, land and local economic development. Working relations with traditional leaders remain tense, and in some areas have broken down altogether. Under such difficult circumstances, it is difficult as yet to say to what extent rural communities can influence the workings of local government, and to what extent local government can respond to the particular needs of the rural poor, although early signs suggest that it will be extremely limited in most cases.

The introduction of democratically elected and development oriented local government has accompanied by a new discourse of popular participation and accountability which extends even into remote rural villages. One manifestation is this is the range of new committees and forums emerging at village level, some examples of which can be seen in the study of Mdudwa village that follows. The nature of the relationship

between these new structures and elected local government, on the one hand, and older structures like the tribal authorities, on the other, is not yet clear. It remains to be seen whether recently formed water committees, land claims committee and the like can develop into legitimate and effective representatives of their communities, and influence the various organs of the state to deliver the types of services and benefits they desire.

3.0 VILLAGE CASE STUDY

Mdudwa village was selected for in-depth study of livelihoods at a household level. Mdudwa was purposefully selected as an example of a reasonably accessible but undeveloped village. Although located only 10km from Flagstaff town, the village has no roads, piped water or electricity and has not been the subject of any government development initiatives. Further stages of the study will focus on even remoter communities and those, which have been more directly affected by state development policies. Mdudwa village is situated about 10 km outside Flagstaff on the way to Kokstad. Mdudwa is one of the three sub-villages constituting Gcinilifu cluster. The other sub-villages are Mtshekelweni and 'Kuwait'. Gcinilifu is under Xopozo tribal council. There is a headman (*uNozithetyana*) and a ward councillor (*Ceba*) in the village. The ward councillor represents about 15 villages inside and outside Xopozo area.

There are 81 sites in the villages distributed in two areas known as Kayisa and Mathumbu, called after the two main clans that make up the village. A total of 23 out of the 81 sites are in Kayisa and the rest in Mathumbu. At the time of fieldwork, 10 sites in Kayisa were vacant. The vacant sites have either been given back to the headman to be allocated to other people or continue to be used by their owners for arable purposes. In Mathumbu, 14 sites were vacant. It should be noted that not everyone in the Kayisa area is of the Kayisa clan - eight out of thirteen households in Kayisa are of the Kayisa clan and the rest have other clan names.

3.1 Sources of Livelihoods

A wide variety of livelihoods were identified by the people of Mdudwa village, including pensions, cropping, livestock, kin dependency, formal and casual wage employment, remittances from migrant workers and hawking. Women above 60 years of age and men above 65 for men are entitled to state pensions, but not everybody in the village who meets these requirements gets the grant. The Department of Social welfare is widely criticised for delays in processing the applications. Those who receive pensions typically have to support large families. Household composition is increased in many cases because of children who are left in the care of grandparents. Some pensioners have to support two households as it is not uncommon in the village for a man to have more than one wife.

Almost all the households in the village make use of their arable fields. People grow maize, pumpkins and beans, with the main concentration being on maize. They use maize for homemade beer, maize drink (*amarhewu*) and for a variety of foodstuffs. They also feed it to livestock such as chicken as pigs. Households who do not make use of their arable fields are perceived by their neighbours as being poor. People keep a variety of livestock, including cattle, goats and poultry, although many households that had cattle in the past do not have them now. Livestock are kept for a variety of reasons, including food, as a store of wealth, and for ploughing purposes.

Kin dependency is common among households who do not have a reliable source of income or household who are waiting for remittances from husbands in distant town and cities. Gifts or loans from friends or relatives takes various forms, such as a small dish of maize meal, maize, samp or sugar.

Many people in the village work occasionally for their neighbours, especially those with old-age or disability pensions, assisting them with collection of firewood and plastering houses with mud. A number of people in the village are employed in the state plantations and some work for a private company which dips the poles. In this area, maybe because it is close to KwaZulu-Natal, many people have worked in the sugar plantations. Some still work there permanently or seasonally. Other migrants work in Gauteng and the Free State provinces, mainly on the mines, and a few in Cape Town and Port St Johns.

Remittances support a number of households with men working away from home. During the household interviews it was evident that most husbands remit inconsistently. Wives in such cases are prompted to borrow money in order to 'chase their husbands behind'. Households which, according to the wealth ranking exercise, were classified as relatively rich, are in many cases receiving remittances from their educated children. Education and a full-time job were counted during the exercise as factors that greatly improve the wealth of a household.

Some households earn a living by selling fruit or meat in the streets of Flagstaff, or by making baskets and brooms for sale to their neighbours.

Overall, we can say that households at Mdudwa pursue diverse and multiple livelihood strategies. The most common activity is crop production, but only the very poorest households depend on it as their main source of livelihood. Pensions are the only regular source of cash income for many households and typically support large extended families. Full-time wage employment – either locally or in the cities - is the goal of most people of working age but is available to only a minority of households. Households with one or more members in wage employment are noticeably better-off than their neighbours.

3.2 Migration

Migration to cities such as Johannesburg and Durban was for many decades the principal source of livelihoods for households at Mdudwa, but is now in decline as a consequence of falling employment in industry and the mines. Migration was, traditionally, a largely (but not exclusively) male activity, and men typically worked a succession of fixed-term contracts – joyini in local terminology – over the course of their working lives. Some people have taken as many as eleven joyini while others as little as one. Many of these joyini where for a single season, especially in the KwaZulu-Natal area which offers temporary harvesting jobs in the sugar cane plantations. This kind of job is very strenuous and poorly paid. Many people took their first joyini in KwaZulu-Natal. Joyini in KwaZulu-Natal used to be looked down upon by people when

compared to *joyini* in the mines of Gauteng or the Free State, which are for longer periods and pay better than the sugar plantations. Temporary employment on the plantations would last between three to six months but for employment in distant places would usually be for at least one year. Although migration generally benefits the individuals and households concerned, it is not without its social and economic costs. Many men started second families in the cities, thus significantly reduced the money remitted back to their rural homes. Women in the village indicated that in some cases they have to borrow money while waiting for remittances from their husbands, while others reported that it is not uncommon for men to come home from the cities empty handed.

Almost all the older men in the village (35 years and older) have taken *joyini* in their lifetime. In the past decade or so, finding employment has not been easy for many people. Now people consider themselves lucky if they can find a job in the sugar plantations, and are likely to back year after year if they can. This is unlike in the past where most men would settle for temporary employment in KwaZulu-Natal only whilst waiting for better employment elsewhere.

Joyini like many other livelihood strategies of rural people has not been the single livelihood strategy for many migrants. It has in many cases been coupled with agricultural activities. It was common for men to take leave from their places of employment and return home around planting and harvesting seasons. Because of the high retrenchments in the mines and industries, many have fall back on agriculture to survive. These days there are very few migrants from Mdudwa. People in the village spoke of spending a year or more looking for employment in metropolitan areas without success.

3.3 Land and Agriculture

The people of Mdudwa were dispossessed of much of their land by the government to make way for an agricultural college in the 1930s. The agricultural college offered employment to local people to work in its arable fields as well as training students for agricultural extension service. After it was closed, the government used the land for livestock production and later as a plantation (Flagstaff Plantation) of exotic trees such as pine and gum. The area is commonly known as Bhunga Farm (*Ibhunga*). People of Gcinilifu and Sipaqeni (which is under a different tribal authority) are now claiming the land under the land restitution programme. If the claim is successful, they plan to move their houses closer to the forest and use the land in which they reside presently as arable fields. The villages of Gcinilifu and Sipaqeni have had a series of meetings on how best to use the land, and their respective chiefs are at the forefront of the claims.

Mdudwa village today does not have clearly demarcated arable fields like other villages in the Transkei. During the 1960s, the area was subjected to 'betterment' (forced replanning and relocation) and each household was allocated a site of approximately one hectare for combined residential and arable purposes. Their former arable plots on the slopes around the village now form the communal grazing lands of the village. There are no fences that divide the grazing land, but rather a system of "social fences" between the

various grazing areas, known as camps. People agree on when to graze on not to graze in one camp that is reserved for the winter season. There are a total of four camps in the area.

People in the village complain that although all home plots are supposed to be all the same size, in practice they differ considerably. In part this is because of the natural unevenness of the land, but according to the village headman people commonly move the beacons which mark the boundaries of their plot. Other people especially from the Kayisa clan blame the headman for giving them smaller than average plots.

There is some disagreement about who has the formal authority to allocate plots, although most people in the village agreed that both the tribal leaders and the agricultural extension officer are involved. Further confusion was evident around the role of the local municipality which, according to the ward councillor, was also supposed to be involved, but this could not be confirmed. Some informants suggested that the actual allocation of sites is the responsibility of the extension officers, while other people in the village claim that their sites were allocated by the headman (which is something that happened in the 1990s) and others claim that it was men from the tribal authority. The allocation of site by the tribal authority involves considerable expenses – a meal has to be prepared by the household for the visitors and other men from the village who witness the formal demarcation of the plot.

In the normal course of events, a person requiring a plot must first approach the village headman, which the Kayisa clan perceives as the most difficult of all the stages of site allocation because the headman perceived them as 'anti-chief'. Some people resort to bypassing the headman and going straight to the tribal authority. Others, because of the delays by the headman in taking them to the tribal authority, have decided to leave the area (*bakholiwe*) to find sites elsewhere. For many the first stage is very expensive, involving transport for the applicant and the headman to the offices of the tribal authority, and gifts for the headman and members of the tribal council. At each stage, some money has to be paid.

Following this, the headman takes the applicant to the tribal authority to present his or her case in front of the tribal council. Next, the tribal authority forwards the name of the applicant to the extension officers in the district Department of Agriculture. In the final stage, the tribal authority supports the applicants' case before the extension officers. The extension officer must establish that the applicant is married and whether or not they already hold another piece of land in the village. Applicants are generally advised by the extension officers to pay the local tax and the general levy of R20 to avoid unnecessary delays. The extension officers visit the site identified by the applicant to formally allocate it.

A number of households reported that the headman himself allocates plots, with the tacit approval of the tribal council and without the involvement of the Department of Agriculture. The headman strenuously denied this, insisting that only government officials could legally do so.

If an occupant decides to vacate a site, and does not intend using the site for other purposes such as crop production, there is an agreement in the village that they should hand the site back to the headman who then re-allocates the site to another household. Most of the sites that have been vacated are not suitable for residential purposes, but households are granted the use of them for crop production.

A local tax and general levy (*irhafu*) of R20 is payable by every plotholder. The collection of the tax and general levy, and the approval of new plot allocations, used to be done by a branch of the magistrates office before the coming of the new democratic government. This office has now been taken over by the provincial Department of Land Affairs and Agriculture. If a man has two wives or more, he is expected to pay R20 for the site of the first wife and R 10 each for the rest. If he dies and the wife who was paying R10 wants to continue staying in the site she would have to pay R20.

A number of households have access to two sites. These are households that have relocated to a new site because of problems with the location of the old site and managed to hold on their former site. One household in the village had access to three sites. The first site belongs to the first wife of the household head, who no longer lives in the area, one is where the family is currently residing and the third is intended for the eldest son when he gets married. Families with multiple plots are in a position to produce more maize and other crops than those with only one plot, as long as they have sufficient labour within the household to make use of them. A common complaint among members of the Kayisa clan was that their sons are not being allocated plots by the headman, forcing them to subdivide their existing plots between their family members. In contrast, members of the Mathumbu clan, of which the headman is a member, were said to be able to obtain as many plots as they need.

People use their arable land for maize production and some fence off small portions as vegetable gardens. Most of the arable land is used to plant maize, pumpkins and beans with the main concentration on maize. Crop production in the area was used in the wealth ranking exercise as one measure of whether the household is rich or poor. Households that do not make productive use of their land were perceived by others in the village as poor. Many households harvest sufficient maize to provide their staple diet for the whole year, or most of the year. Maize is also used for making *Isigwampa* (liquor), *Ibhanqa* (fresh maize), *Amarhewu* (maize drink), *Isikhuluphathi* (maize with beans), and for feeding to chickens and pigs.

Field crops, mainly maize, are grown on domestic plots and, for those who have them, on second plots away from the homestead. Smaller areas ('gardens') are used for vegetable production, where people grow potatoes, spinach and cabbages. Fresh vegetables are consumed throughout the growing season but are not preserved or otherwise stored over the winter months. Most households do not sell their vegetables or other crops. The exception is a group of women who have been allocated a plot by the headman for a market garden, and have recently begun selling cabbage, potatoes and beans to members of the community and in Flagstaff town.

Households enter into a variety of relationships with other households in order to produce a crop. Many households do not have cattle, or sufficient cattle, for ploughing purposes, and therefore must join ploughing teams (*ilima*). The composition of ploughing teams is based largely, but not exclusively, on kinship. Relations between households usually endure over many years, and even over generations. The usual arrangement is for one household in the team to supply the cattle and all the equipment, such as a plough and, in some cases, a planter. The household that owns the cattle and the equipment will usually plough its own field first, just after the first spring rains, and then move on to plough the fields of other members of the team. In cases where the cattle-owning household is short of labour, other members of the team will assist with the ploughing and, in some cases, will provide labour later in the year for ploughing or harvesting. People differentiate between work parties for the purposes of weeding (*ilima lokuhlakula*) and sharing livestock (*ilima leenkabi*). A household that has its land ploughed by others (*ukumema ilima*) must provide a feast (*ukuhlinzeka*) for the cattle owners and their household, and others who contribute to the team. Such feasts are a major burden for some households, but are generally accepted as necessary in order to get one's land ploughed and also because they are considered to strengthen the bonds among kin groups.

The main concentration in the village is on cattle farming as opposed to other forms of livestock such as sheep and goats. Only a minority of households now have cattle, however, and very few households have more than 20 cattle. The number of livestock is a determinant of the social status within the village and is especially important during the ploughing season. Previously people were denied old age pension if they had more than 30 cattle, which served as a deterrent to accumulation, but the practice has now stopped.

Unlike other areas where there are cattle posts and cattle are headed in those areas during certain seasons, people in Mdudwa kraal their livestock every night, either at their own home or at another home in the village which has a cattle byre and its own livestock. In most cases the households are related. This usually occurs where the household owning the cattle lacks the labour necessary to look after the animals every day. There are benefits linked to this form of sharing such as milk, cow dung and manure for the household where the livestock is kept. In one case we encountered, the elder brother of a migrant labourer took all the livestock belonging to his brother to his own village, a few kilometres away, presumably with the agreement of his brother. Reports about the welfare of the livestock are occasionally sent to the wife of the migrant labourer, especially when an animal has died and she is expected to collect some of the meat from her brother-in-law.

After a break of some years, the Eastern Cape Department of Agriculture and Land Affairs has recommitted itself to providing dipping services in communal areas. A dip tank attendant who lives in the village collects the chemical mixture from the district Department of Agriculture and Land Affairs to dip people's livestock. Dipping is intended to prevent *Umbendeni* (Redwater) and other tick-borne diseases.

People gain cattle through *lobola* (bridewealth) which are given to the family of the bride by the family of the groom. While it was traditional for men to work on the mines or elsewhere in order to accumulate sufficient *lobola*, these days many parents must pay *lobola* for their sons due to the high rate of unemployment. *Lobola* can be paid in cash but most rural households prefer cattle.

There are other reasons besides *lobola* and cultivation which that make people keep livestock. These include savings, aesthetic value, sales in neighbouring villages, milk, draught power, manure, *Ukugugisa* (slaughtering of old cattle) and cultural reasons. Sheep are also kept for their wool, while both sheep and goats are necessary for slaughter on ceremonial occasions.

3.4 Forest and Wild Resources

Households in Mdudwa depend heavily on the resources they collect from the forests and uncultivated lands that surround the village. The most important such resource is firewood that, in the absence of electricity, is the principal source of fuel in every household in the village. In only a few better-off households is firewood supplemented by paraffin stoves. The gathering of firewood is a labour intensive and physically demanding activity, carried out almost entirely by women and girls, which must be repeated three or four times a week. Also of great importance is the gathering of building materials, particularly wooden poles and thatching grass. While some structures in the village nowadays have tin roofs, every homestead has at least one traditional hut of mud and timber walls and thatch roof, and for poorer households such dwellings remain the norm. Other natural materials of lesser economic importance gathered in the area are rushes and wattle for the making of traditional baskets and brooms, and a range of leaves, seeds, bark and roots for use in traditional medicines.

While a range of grasses, rushes and other natural materials are collected from the grazing lands and the banks of streams, the most heavily exploited areas are the three categories of forests within and adjacent to the village – the state-owned Flagstaff plantation, so-called village plantations and scattered pockets of indigenous forest. The people of Mdudwa are acutely aware that they are the historical owners of all the land surrounding their village, even that which is now under state-owned plantations.

Village plantations, mainly composed of black wattle, were established under previous government to create revenue for the tribal authority, and are under the control of the village headman. They are sometimes referred to as headmen's forests. Because of their close proximity to the residential areas, there tends to be a shortage of dry wood for firewood. Thus, these plantations are mainly used for the collection of building poles and laths, for which people must pay a fee to the headman. When a person pays to cut a tree, the headman asks one of his associates to accompany the person lest they cut other trees. One tree cost about R10. People value poles from indigenous trees in the village plantations as they are much more durable than the pine or gum poles from the state plantations. The revenue collected for the use of the village plantations

is supposed to be paid over to the tribal authority, but some residents of Mdudwa questioned whether this in fact happens.

Access to the state-owned plantation is controlled by officials at the old agricultural college, referred to locally as *Ibhunga*. People wishing to collect firewood must first get a permit, for which they do not have to pay, but which are only available on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays before 12h00. One permit allows the collection of a single headload of dry wood. Honey may also be collected from the plantation without charge, but charges are levied for other resources such as thatching grass, building poles and laths. Entry to the plantation is monitored by security guards, who check for the necessary permits and control the amount of material taken out by users, but evasion of the guards and the permit system is believed to be widespread. Fines can be imposed on anyone removing material or found in possession of cutting tools without permission,

There would appear to be no controls over the collection of natural materials from non-forest areas, such as grazing lands and riverbanks in and around the village.

An interesting insight into village dynamics, and attitudes to natural resources, is provided by the story of the Mdudwa soccer field. As in many South African villages, soccer is the only organised recreational activity, and is a daily ritual for the male youth. The old soccer field in Mdudwa village was located on a slope in the village, so the young men decided to find a more level site. Unfortunately, the only one suitable was on land that had been confiscated from the village many years ago and incorporated into the state forestry plantation. The decision was taken to clear trees from the chosen area and the soccer players went to work. They were threatened with legal action by the forestry officials but they continued with the clearing. The sub-headman was called to resolve the matter but he did not succeed, perhaps because his son was a leading member of the soccer team. Today the soccer field is in constant use and is an important amenity in the village. There can be little doubt that the decision to clear the site was influenced in part by historic claims to the land on which the plantation is located. It also points to an underlying tension between the powers-that-be, including both traditional leaders and government officials, and the younger generation.

3.5 Water

Up to now, people of Mdudwa get water for domestic purposes from a number of unprotected streams and springs around the village. These sources are considered very reliable and do not dry up even in times of drought. The collection of water is an exclusively female activity, and is a daily ritual for women and girls in every household in the village. No efforts have been made, by the villagers or others, to protect the water points or the streams that supply them, and some villagers complained that water is occasionally contaminated by people washing clothes upstream. Livestock are watered from the same sources, but usually downstream

from the domestic supply points, yet there appeared to be no concern about water-borne diseases in the village.

A water scheme is presently under construction for the villages of Mdudwa, Mtshekelweni and Kuwait which will supply piped water to a number of communal standpipes. The project is said to cost about R200,000 and is being implemented under the Build, Operate, Train and Transfer (BOTT) programme, by a private implementing agency contracted by the municipal council. Even though a water committee had been established for the three villages, and the project was already under construction, there was widespread confusion and lack of information about the scheme, to the extent that nobody in Mdudwa could tell us the name of the private implementing agency involved. (It is probably Amanz'abantu, but this could not be confirmed).

The water committee consists of nine members, four from Mdudwa village, three from Mtshekelweni and two from Kuwait. They are advised by a representative of the private implementing agency who is known to members only by her first name. The committee is supposed to oversee all aspects of the scheme, both during the construction phase and during its subsequent operation. Local people have already been employed to dig trenches for the water pipes, but there was some confusion about who would pay them and how much they would receive.

While the physical construction of the scheme proceeds, little progress has been made in developing systems to manage the water use and the maintenance of the infrastructure. Villages have been informed, seemingly arbitrarily, that they will be able to use the water for cooking, washing and drinking, but not for irrigation or washing of big items such as blankets, since these require a lot of water. On the financial side, the committee has decided that all households in the three villages must make a monthly contribution of R5 toward the maintenance of the system and purchase of diesel for the pump. This figure, we were informed, was decided on the basis of what it was thought people would be willing to pay, rather than on the basis of any estimates of the real costs of operation and maintenance of the system. As yet, no measures have been put in place to collect such charges, or for dealing with households that fail (or refuse) to pay.

The confusion and lack of information about the water project can be attributed to a failure of the relevant authorities to fully inform villagers about what is being planned, and their role in it, but also to divisions within the community. Considerable tension exists between the village headman, the longstanding power in the village, and the newly elected ward councillor, the representative of developmental local government. Although there is a strong element of personal rivalry in this case, it can be related to wider tensions between traditional authorities, represented by the chiefs and headmen, and pro-democratic elements mainly associated with the African National Congress. These tensions gave rise to physical violence at Mdudwa in the run up to the 1994 democratic elections and have remained simmering in the area ever since. In the case of the water project, the local ward councillor called several meetings to inform people that funds had been

approved by the council for a water scheme in the village. The meetings were poorly attended because the headman would call another meeting, which would clash with the water meeting. The headman remains opposed to the project and has warned people that they will end up paying for what they currently get for nothing.

While the introduction of piped water scheme can be seen as a triumph for the new local government, and for the local councillor who lobbied hard for it, the manner in which it has been introduced remains top down and bewildering to the intended beneficiaries. The local committee established to facilitate the project clearly does not have the support of all members of the community and serves largely to rubber-stamp the decisions of the local municipality and the little-known implementing agency. Realistic financial planning appears to have been overlooked in the rush to deliver infrastructure, which raises serious concerns around the viability of the project when the implementing agency withdraws. The switch from what is effectively a free resource to one that must be paid for will undoubtedly impose a strain on many poorer households. Coupled with this is an underlying gender dynamic – whereas women are currently responsible for collecting water, and may be expected to benefit most from the new system, it is men, as the controllers of most cash income in the villages, who are likely to end up paying for it. It is thus, perhaps, not surprising that the water committee is largely composed of men.

3.6 Results of the Wealth Ranking Exercise

This section looks at the issue of access to land, wild resources and water in Mdudwa village at the household level. Access to wild resources and water cannot be effectively differentiated by household as all households have access to the same resources. The main difference are in their ability to make use of them. Access to land, however, varies considerably between households.

For the purposes of this exercise, a group of three village informants spent half a day sorting all the households in the village by wealth. There follows details of two of the top five (richest) households and two of the bottom five (poorest) households in the village.

3.6.1 Rich Households

Box 1

Ringini is 70 years old and he never went to school. His wife, who is 63 years old, also never went to school. Both of them are entitled to a pension grant. They live with four of their children, two of whom are schoolteachers and two of whom are unemployed. Both of the unemployed children were employed before but presently they are without work. Other children are married and have their own households.

Ringini's employment history started in the sugar cane plantations in KwaZulu-Natal where he migrated on four occasions, each time for a period of about six months. After working in KwaZulu-Natal he went to Dalfontein, in Gauteng, for one year, and Lapaslei, also in Gauteng, for four months. He stopped working because of health reasons. He was bed-ridden for seven years. After he regained his strength he made a living from working the land he owned. Before the 'betterment' scheme was introduced he had one large field which was later divided into three – one plot for himself and one for each of his two sons. Before the land was divided he used to harvest about thirty 50kg bags of maize every year, enough to feed his entire family. During these years, when he was employed, he used to buy fertiliser. He now produces 15 small bags of maize from his own field, excluding the fields belonging to his sons. Before the 'betterment' scheme his residential site was located elsewhere. The place where they are now located is the land they were previously using for arable purposes but which they now use for residential and arable purposes.

Ringini is the person behind the land claim in the village. He has been called to several meetings with officials to discuss the details of the land dispossession. He influenced the chief to write a letter lodging the claim.

Box 2

Nyuwani is 72 years old and his wife is 56 years old. Both have passed grade 6 (Std 4) and both receive old age pensions. They live with five of their children, who are all unemployed, and nine grandchildren. As a youth, Nyuwani worked in Natal for six months, heading livestock and doing other piece jobs. He later went to work in Gauteng for five years and in Cape Town for three years. Between 1955 and 1991 he worked for the government as a painter.

Nyuwani's household ploughs their own field, one that will soon be occupied by their eldest son and a third that belonging to Nyuwani's second wife who has long ago relocated to another village. In their fields, they plant maize, pumpkins and beans with the main concentration on maize. In their small garden they plant potatoes, tomatoes and carrots. In a good season they fill 3 tanks with maize cobs. When there is a need to sell, they sell one 50kg bag for R60. With their livestock, they plough and harvest these three fields and also help two other households.

The women's vegetable project which has been established in the village uses one of the three fields belonging to Nyuwani's household, but will soon be moving to another plot. Nyuwani's wife started the project. She invited other people to join her. The joining fee in the project is R50.

3.6.2 Poor Households

Box 3

Kofu is 35 years old and his wife is 18 years old. The both have passed grade 3 (Std 1) in school. They live with their three young children.

Kofu worked between 1984 and 2000 in KwaZulu-Natal, mainly in the sugar plantations. He now herds livestock for another family in the village, for which he earns R100 a month. His wife collects firewood for old people and earns R10 per headload. This happens around pension pay-days, but not often. She also plasters people homes with mud. This type of job pays R10 to plaster a piece of wall in-between the main frames (poles).

Kofu has an arable field that yields maize which lasts the household for four months. They also grow a few pumpkins. For the family to get more maize the wife helps other people with harvesting. In assisting other people she gets 25kg of maize for her contribution per day. If she works for two days the maize she gets lasts them for three months. Kofu on the other hand contributes with labour during the ploughing season and in return he gets the use of cattle to plough his own field. Their field takes three days to plough but this year they took only one day because Kofu did not prepare properly. Livestock owners complained about the amount of grass in the field which meant that only a portion of his field could be ploughed.

Box 4

Nkazi is 58 years old. He never went to school and he is not yet eligible for a pension. He stays alone but his married daughter lives nearby. He worked before in KwaZulu Natal. He had five *joyini* (migrant contracts) in the area, four *joyini* to Billieskop, one to a coal mine and another one back in Billieskop. His wife left him a long time ago.

He has not planted anything in the past few years because he does not have money. He complains that the land he has is not productive and that he does not have money to buy fertiliser. He also complains that his land is small. His main sources of livelihood are handouts from his relatives and seasonal work weeding other people's gardens, for which he get between R30 and R100, depending on the amount of work.

He says that the previous sub-headmen would give people a say as to where they want their sites to be located. He accuses the current sub-headman of allocating people "*ezindaweni zokukhoboka*" (places of slavery) and not allocating people proper pieces of productive land.

These four cases show the importance of land to the livelihoods of people in the village. Those who have access to more land are generally better off than those who have access to only one field. The perceived favouritism with land allocation negatively affects the livelihoods of many people. It is not uncommon in the

village for one person to have access to more than one site whilst other people have small unproductive pieces of land. People from the Kayisa section are hoping that the ward councillor will bring changes in the way that land is allocated.

3.7 Village Institutions

After decades of official neglect, the new era of democratic reform and development is finally beginning to reach remote rural areas such as Mdudwa village. The formal institutions of state – at national, provincial and local government level – have been radically reorganised and reoriented to deliver services to all communities. Seen from the village perspective, however, the new agenda is at times bewildering and even chaotic, with a host of agencies intervening in village life with little or no apparent co-ordination. Undoubtedly the most important institutional change has been the introduction of elected local government, which has acquired many of the powers formerly exercised by the tribal authorities, the magistrates and the South African Development Trust under apartheid, and many new powers besides. The continued existence of the tribal authorities, however, with support from a considerable section of the rural population, gives rise to ongoing tensions that may, in some cases, threaten the developmental agenda. A new emphasis on participation has also given rise to a range of single-purpose committees at village level which, as this study has shown, tend to be insufficiently representative and insufficiently informed to carry out their intended tasks. Beneath this flurry of institution building, a range of less formal, customary institutions, such as the *ilima*, or ploughing party, continue to play an important part in people's livelihoods, but remain largely unnoticed by official policy.

The establishment of elected local government is clearly an important step in improving the delivery of public services and in giving local people control over their affairs. Within the new two-tier system of local government, real power rests with the District Municipalities, remote and little-known institutions which are only indirectly accountable to the electorate. Local municipalities operate largely according to agendas and budgets set for them by the district municipalities and government departments such as Water Affairs and Public Works, and have little scope to respond to the particular needs of communities within their jurisdiction. This top-down approach is exemplified, perhaps unwittingly, by the ward councillor at Mdudwa, whose primary responsibility appears to be to communicate the wishes of the council to the local population, rather than the other way around.

Elected local government at Mdudwa, as in much of the rest of the country, exists in an uneasy relationship with the long-established tribal authorities. The continuing importance of the tribal authorities can be attributed to a range of factors, including the very real powers they continue to exercise, particularly in the area of land administration, the high degree of legitimacy, centred on the person of the chief, that they enjoy among substantial sections of the rural population, the strong desire by chiefs and headmen to preserve as many of their powers as possible, and the failure of the democratic government to clearly define their

powers. Unlike the elected local councils, the traditional authorities have a permanent representative in every village, in the form of a headman or sub-headman, who is on hand twenty-four hours a day to deal with local concerns, and a steady supply of tribal councillors and advisors that exercise their customary duties on a voluntary basis. The formal powers of the tribal authorities include not only allocation of land but also the hearing of cases in the tribal court. Informal powers include arbitration in disputes between neighbours and within families. A letter of recommendation from the tribal authorities is still the standard requirement for a black rural dweller wishing to obtain an old age pension or send their child to school. Within the community, there is a tendency for people to be identified as supporters of either the elected council or the tribal authorities, and much rivalry between the two. It remains to be seen how the deeply rooted powers and authority of the tribal authorities can be reconciled with those of the newly established democratic order.

Alongside the new institutions of elected local government, and the older ones of tribal governance, there have emerged a wide range of village committees, most dealing with one specific issue. At Mdudwa, for example, we identified a recently formed water committee, a school committee and a land claim committee, in addition to a range of sports and religious organisations. These newly formed committees are generally identified with the elected local council, or more broadly with the democratic agenda, and enjoy ambivalent relationship with the tribal authorities. It also became clear that they did not all enjoy full support within the community, particularly in the case of the water committee and the land claim committee. This proliferation of structures in such a small village gives some cause for concern. It remains to be seen whether effective and authoritative village-level structures will emerge that can represent all sections of the community in their dealings with the outside world and mobilise the local resources necessary to benefit fully from the reform programmes on offer.

4. CONCLUSIONS

This mapping exercise has identified the range of official policies and institutions designed to address the livelihood needs of poor rural people in the former Transkei homeland. It has also investigated in some detail the livelihoods of households in Mdudwa village. What emerges is a picture of rural households that remain heavily dependent on access to natural resources but for whom access to cash income – in the form of wages, pensions or remittances – is the principal determinant of relative wealth or poverty. Government programmes, implemented by a host of national, provincial and local government structures, remain poorly co-ordinated, but this is set to change with the increasing emphasis on local government as the ‘delivery arm’ of government and the launch of the Integrated Rural Development Strategy.

To date, the policies of reconstruction and development have only barely touched remote rural communities such as Mdudwa, but the available evidence suggests that things are slowly improving. Basic services such as roads, schools and health, not covered by this report, remain rudimentary at best. The land reform programme, a major national initiative, remains hampered by limited resources and the lack of operational capacity in the former homeland areas. The restructuring of state assets, particularly the privatisation of state forests, is likely to have a more immediate impact on communities such as Mdudwa, and it remains unclear how such communities can benefit from this process. Considerable progress has been in the area of water provision, but experience from elsewhere in the country suggests that projects based on cost recovery are vulnerable to institutional weakness at the local level and resistance to payment. Probably the single most important government policy, in terms of livelihoods, is the old age pension, on which many of the very poorest households depend for survival.

Access to natural resources – arable field, grazing camps, forests and springs – was an important aspect of the livelihood of every household in our survey, even those with access to substantial cash income. Most households at Mdudwa produce enough maize to last them for at least half the year, while gardens produce a seasonal supply of fresh vegetables which, for many, would be difficult to obtain otherwise. Most households also kept a variety of small stock, which contributed substantially to their diet. For a minority, cattle provide an important means of accumulation as well as the means for ploughing their own and their neighbours' fields. Virtually every house in the village was built from local materials – grass and poles from the forests, and mud from the river. Local forests also supply virtually the entire fuel needs of the village, albeit at a cost of much strenuous labour on the part of the village women.

The establishment of new institutions, notably the elected local council but also a range of village committees devoted to various aspects of development, signifies a new way in which rural communities manage their affairs. Chiefs and headmen, while retaining much of their customary powers, are no longer the unchallenged locus of power in the village. As yet, it is difficult to predict the impact of this proliferation of institutions, some of which work well together while others are openly antagonistic. At Mdudwa, households are

commonly identified as being for or 'against' the headman, with those against generally being associated with the elected councillor for the ward. It is likely to be around control of land – the bedrock of chiefly power – that the real struggle will be joined between the forces of 'democracy' and of 'tradition', assuming that the government's land reform programme gains some momentum.

Further stages of this research will investigate these and other issues in much more detail. We will continue our fruitful interaction with the people of Mdudwa over the coming year but also expand our focus to look at the wider impact of reform, and at sectors such as tourism which have not been investigated in any detail up to now.

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APPENDIX 1

RESULTS OF THE SOCIAL MAPPING EXERCISE, MDUDWA VILLAGE

Note: This section reports on the results of a participatory exercise which resulted in a large map of Mdudwa village, created by villagers over three days in March 2001. The map is in the possession of the authors.

The social map which people of Mdudwa drew shows 81 sites, two village plantations, the land of which they were dispossessed which is now a state forest, three rivers (Sililo, Gushede and Mkhumbi), a rivulet (Dyivini), three beacons, a dip tank, a shop, a school, three churches, the proposed new school site, five water points for use by humans and one mainly for use by livestock, the training college, arable fields which are used by people from another village under a different tribal authority, grazing land, old sites that were taken from them and a soccer field.

Sites

There are 81 sites in the villages distributed in two areas known as Kayisa and Mathumbu. 23 of the 81 sites are in Kayisa and the rest in Mathumbu. 10 sites in Kayisa are vacant. The vacant sites have either been given back to the sub-headman to be used by other people or are still being used by their owners for arable purposes. The sub-headman reallocates sites that have been given back to him. In Mathumbu, sites that are vacant are 14. It should be noted that not everyone in the Kayisa area is of the Kayisa clan - eight out of thirteen households in Kayisa are of the Kayisa clan and the rest have other clan names.

Villages Plantations

Village plantations were established under the previous governments to create revenue for the tribal authority. Use of the village plantations is through the sub-headman. When a person buys a tree to cut down for firewood, the sub-headman asks one of his associates to accompany the person in case they cut other trees. Because the cutting and collection of the tree is time consuming, people have used the opportunity in the absence of the guard to cut additional trees that they have not paid for. One tree costs about R10, depending on its size. Other resources collected from the village plantations are poles and laths.

Flagstaff Plantation

The land on which the Flagstaff plantation is established was confiscated from a number of villages surrounding the plantation. The chiefs of the two tribal authorities concerned are claiming the land. Very few people are actively supporting the claim. Most are just waiting for the land to be given back. Collection of fuelwood (one headload of drywood) is by permission obtained from the administrative offices in the

plantation. Some villages are far from where the permission is obtained but Mdudwa and Mtshekweni are relatively close.

Rivers

One river in the area is a boundary between Mdudwa village and Bhala village. Livestock should be prevented from crossing the boundary, as they will be impounded. People use streams, which flow from the springs and rivers, as sources of water for domestic consumption.

Water Points

The water points in the village are not protected. Households, which are in close proximity to any of the streams collect water from that stream. There are no rules to control who collects where and when. The rivulet (Dyivini) also supplies one of the water points.

Beacons

Beacons (*pekezela*) are used to mark boundaries. People were not sure during the exercise as to what exactly they were marking. What complicated the discussion was that one beacon could be seen as on the boundary of the area before their land was taken but the other two were inside their land.

Dip Tank

The dip tank attendant is the councillor of ward 8, of which Mdudwa village forms a part. The government provides the chemical solution for livestock to be dipped.

Secondary School

The principal of the school is a respected person in the village. Although he is from a different village, he is also one of the key persons in the village. The highest level of education offered in the school is grade 9 (the old standard 7). Many pupils in the village cannot afford to proceed to higher levels of education.

The New School Site

The site is situated in Flagstaff plantation far away from the households. The Department of Education, Sports and Culture is reluctant to build the school since they fear that the building material might be stolen. The sub-headman is adamant that the school should be built in the new site whilst other people feel that the

new site should be used for sport activities and that the new classrooms be built next to the old classrooms. The school owns the new site.

Sigrau Training College

The new training college has evolved from the agricultural college which was built after the land dispossession. It has changed from being an agricultural school, high school and a teachers college. The offices where the permits are collected for collection of drywood are close to the college.

Arable Fields belonging to a different Tribal Authority

On the map people indicated that there are arable field which once belonged to them but are now used by another village. The little knowledge that people have is that the fields changed hands based on the agreement that the chiefs made. It was evident in the exercise that people are not really keen to claim the land back.

Grazing Land

The grazing land in Mdudwa village is divided into four camps. One of the four camps is used for winter grazing. It is closed most of the year. The sub-headman sets rules around the use of the camp.

Old Sites

To strengthen their land claim, people point to abandoned housing sites that are in the state plantation (Flagstaff plantation). During the relocation, most people whose sites are still visible were moved to other villages.

Soccer Field

The soccer field in Mdudwa village has changed locations because of the slopes in the village. Soccer players decided to find it a spot where the state plantation is located since the area is flat. They cleared trees that were located where they wanted the field. The officials of the plantation threatened them but they continued with the clearing. The sub-headman was called to resolve the matter but he did not succeed. The matter was left unresolved.