

**SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS IN
SOUTHERN AFRICA:
INSTITUTIONS, GOVERNANCE AND
POLICY PROCESSES**



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress of South Africa
CBO	Community based organisation
DPC	District Planning Committee
DWAF	Department of Water Affairs and Forestry
EDA	Environmental and Development Agency
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
LDO	Land Development Objectives
LED	Local Economic Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisations
PAC	Pan-Africanist Congress
PLAAS	Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies
SANCO	South African National Civic Organisation
SDI	Spatial Development Initiative
TRC	Transitional Representative Council
UDM	United Democratic Front

1 INTRODUCTION

This paper presents a brief overview of social and economic conditions in South Africa's Eastern Cape Province, with particular emphasis on factors affecting rural livelihoods. It includes information on small-scale agriculture, water, forestry, nature conservation and local government. The final section sets out a number of broad issues suitable for further investigation as part of the Sustainable Livelihoods in Southern Africa research project.

2 NATIONAL CONTEXT

2.1 Poverty and Livelihoods in South Africa

The Eastern Cape province has the highest rural unemployment rate in South Africa (59%). It is also one of the poorest provinces with 70.7% of the population living below the poverty line, as compared with 17% in Gauteng province.

Table 1. Occurrence (%) of poverty by race group, Eastern Cape (1996 census)

Proportion of population with	African/Black	Coloured	Indian/Asian	White
Standard 10 or above	15.1	16.6	40.4	64.8
Unemployed	23.4	13.6	7.1	3.1
Not economically active	45.1	35.2	41.6	33.4
Living in informal dwelling	21	7.7	7.6	0.1
Using unprotected water source	16.7	1.6	0.2	0.2
Bucket latrine/no toilet facilities	22	12.2	0.2	0.1

According to the 1996 Census, people living in rural areas are significantly poorer than those living in urban ones. While less than half of the total population lives in rural areas, 73% of the country's poor live in rural areas. The proportion of urban to rural inhabitants varies dramatically across provinces of which four are predominantly urban – Gauteng (97%), Western Cape (88.9%), Northern Cape (70.1%) and the Free State (68.6%). The other five provinces are predominantly rural – Northern Province (89%), NorthWest (65.1%), Eastern Cape (63.4%), Mpumalanga (60.9%) and KwaZulu-Natal (56.9%) (SSA 2000:9).

The 1996 census also shows that predominately rural provinces, like the Eastern Cape, are also the poorest. The main employment opportunities are in the agricultural sector, which is characterised by low wages. Workers often rely on their employers for services such as housing, water, and electricity. The

Eastern Cape has the highest unemployment rate (48.5%), followed by the other predominantly rural provinces – Northern Province (46.0%), KwaZulu-Natal (39.1%), NorthWest (37.9%) and Mpumalanga (32.9%). The lowest rates of unemployment are found in the most urban provinces – Western Cape (17.9%), Gauteng (28.2%), Northern Cape (28.5%), and Free State (30%) (SSA 2000:41). Where there are fewer urban centres, there is less economic activity, fewer employment opportunities, and less opportunity for self-employment.

Table 2. Access to basic services, Eastern Cape

Service	Rural (%)	Urban (%)
Running water inside dwelling	16.8	74.1
Flush toilet indoors	10.9	65.5
Electricity in house	21.1	82.4
Telephone in dwelling/cellular	7.5	48.4

Table 3. Comparisons of poor and non-poor households, Eastern Cape (%)

Item	Ultra-Poor	Poor	Non-poor
Incidence of mental disability	8.3	6.5	2.5
Stunted children	37.6	31.2	18.5
Contribution of wages to income	43		72
Contribution of state transfers to income	26		3
Contribution of remittances to income	17		2
Piped water	19.9	28.4	80

Table 4. Comparisons of household expenditure, Eastern Cape

Proportion of household expenditure (%)	<i>Bottom 20%</i>	Bottom 40%	Top 10 %
Food	59.2	57.6	14.9
Energy water and rates	11.0	12.6	6.3
Education	2.9	3.1	7.6

Table 5. Comparisons in Livelihoods between provinces

Factor	E Cape (%)	“Best” province		“Worst” province	
		Name	%	Name	%
Poverty rates	70.7	Gauteng	17.3	E Cape	70.7
Aged 20+ with no education	20.9	W Cape	6.7	N Province	36.9
Unemployment	48.5	W Cape	17.9	E Cape	48.5
Employed people earning <R500 p.m.	30.6	Gauteng	15.5	N Cape	42.0
Employed people earning > R4500 p.m.	8.2	Gauteng	15.6	North West	5.7
Employed in agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing	9.0	Gauteng	1.4	N Cape	22.6
Households with piped water on site	34.9	W Cape	89	E Cape	34.9
Households without toilet facilities	29.1	Gauteng	2.5	E Cape	29.1

Source: 1996 Census, unless otherwise specified.

The Human Development Index (HDI) confirms these findings. While the national average Human Development Index in South Africa is 0.67, the figure for Eastern Cape is 0.57 (compared to Gauteng province at 0.82.) The HDI for the Eastern Cape is only 75% of the national figure (0.677) and is the second lowest in the country after the Northern Province (0.470) (CSS 1995:v). By contrast, the wealthiest provinces have HDIs which are significantly above the national figure, the highest being in the Western Cape (0.826), followed by Gauteng (0.818) (CSS 1995). Furthermore, recent statistics (1991) indicate that the HDI for women is only 80% of that for men and the HDI for non-urban areas is only 58% of that for urban areas.

2.2 Population

According to the 1996 Census the population of South Africa is estimated at 40.58 million people, with blacks constituting the majority at 76.7% of the population, followed by whites at 10.9 %, coloureds at 8.9% and Indian/Asian at 2.6%. By 1999 the population was estimated to have reached 45 million, of which 76% were black, almost 13% white, 8.5% coloureds and 2.5% Indian/Asian. Population growth is

estimated at 2.6% per annum. The most heavily populated province is Kwazulu/Natal Province, followed by Gauteng. The Eastern Cape is the second poorest province after Northern province, according to the 1996 census.

2.3 Local Government

Two different systems of local government operate in the rural areas of the Eastern Cape. Traditional authorities at local government level mostly administered the former homelands and “independent states”, while the former 'white' areas enjoyed a system of elected local government. Steps to strengthen local government institutions were taken following the December 2000 elections. By demarcating new, enlarged municipalities it is planned to strengthen financially weak municipalities with stronger ones, thereby improving overall service delivery.

Various criticisms have been directed at the process of reforming local government. There have been objections to the demarcation process from some municipalities and traditional leaders. Traditional leaders argue that an enhanced system of elected local government will strip them of much of their powers, particularly control of land. They also fear that it will undermine their areas of jurisdiction, especially where tribal areas might be divided between different municipalities.

Further objections include complaints about the high number of tasks delegated to the local government, with too little money to fulfil these tasks. Part of the problem is that of non-funded mandates being pushed down from the national government to the local government. In addition to the financial concerns raised, there are also concerns about the capacity of local government structures to perform their assigned tasks.

There is also a lack of clarity regarding the role and powers of chiefs in local government. Here some critics point to the incompatibility of retaining *unelected* traditional leaders alongside *elected* councillors, and that the institution of traditional leadership itself is not in line with principles of democracy, despite being recognised in the Constitution.

3 VULNERABILITY CONTEXTS AND LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES, EASTERN CAPE PROVINCE

3.1 Natural capital

3.1.1 Water Resources

Water scarcity in South Africa is especially prevalent in the inland regions of the country. This is particularly a problem in the urban most populated areas where water resources are heavily relied upon, both for domestic and industrial purposes. The riparian system, which tied rights to water to ownership of property, has recently been scrapped. The government is now aiming to provide water for all on an equal basis. Basic water needs have been identified, and the government has committed itself to providing at least 50 litres per day per household.

Under the new Water Act, Catchment Management Authorities are to be set up for all major catchments. These entail setting up systems of integrated management, involving representatives from local communities and other local stakeholders. Nationally there are 19 catchment management areas, two of which are earmarked for the Eastern Cape where. While no Authorities have actually been set up in the Eastern Cape, studies are currently underway in preparation for their establishment. These studies were funded and steered by the regional office of the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry and are being conducted by private consultants.

The Department of Water Affairs and Forestry's (DWAF) Working for Water programme, which is funded by the national Poverty Relief Fund, is aims to address environmental problem caused by invading alien vegetation such as wattle and pines, which adversely affect availability of water. In the process this programme provides jobs for members of local communities.

Many households do not have access to clean potable water, particularly in rural areas where people have to walk long distances to fetch water.

3.1.2 Wild Resources

South Africa's indigenous forests cover about 0.25% of the country's surface. A third of these indigenous forests are currently under the management of the state. Many forests in the Eastern Cape are part of protected areas with limited access for local economic uses. Consequently poaching by local communities is prevalent in many protected areas.

3.2 Livelihood strategies

Rainfall patterns and climatic conditions vary across much of South Africa. Droughts and floods, frosts in some parts of the country, low average annual rainfall and the few perennial rivers provide unfavourable conditions for many agricultural activities. A limited amount of dry-land farming is practised while dams and rivers, especially the Orange, are used for irrigation purposes. The main dryland crops are maize, beans and pumpkins, which are grown for both commercial and subsistence purposes.

3.2.1 Agriculture and the economy of SA

Except for in times of drought, South Africa is self-sufficient in food production. While agriculture is not a major contributor to the overall economy of South Africa, it is still a significant contributor to export products. Grains, particularly maize, are exported to neighbouring African states, where it is the staple food, just like among South Africa's black population. The success of the commercial sector masks the hardships experienced by the black population in the former homelands. Despite adequate amounts of food produced, there are people live in poverty and with food insecurity and who cannot produce food from the little infertile land available to them.

3.3 Diversification of rural livelihoods

Pensions and public sector employment provide the primary sources of income in much of rural South Africa, especially in provinces such as the Eastern Cape and Northern Provinces where there are limited alternative opportunities. In the Eastern Cape pensions constitute the highest source of income by household (40.3%) compared to an average across six provinces of 31.3% (SSA 1999:20). The government spends most of its welfare budget on old age pensions.

3.3.1 Remittances

Remittances to rural areas by migrant workers have declined in recent years, partly due to retrenchments in the mining sector and also due to migration from the rural to urban areas as influx control laws were scrapped. The 1997 *Rural Survey* (SSA 1999) found that the average contribution of remittances towards household income is 21.3% nationally, while the figure for the Eastern Cape is 23.4%, the highest of the six provinces included in the survey.

4 CASE STUDY AREA - WILD COAST DISTRICT COUNCIL

The Wild Coast District Council, located in the former Transkei homeland, has nine Magisterial Districts, namely, Mount Ayliff (which is also the headquarters of the District Council), Mount Fletcher, Maluti,

KwaBhaca, Tabankulu, Umzimkulu, Bizana, Lusikisiki and Siphaheni. This report will focus on three magisterial districts in all - Bizana and Lusikisiki, which are located on the coast and Maluti, which is located inland.

4.1 Maluti District: Mvenyane, Mkhemane and Madlangala villages

These villages are in communal lands and the majority of the households fall under the impoverished category whose survival strategies centre on land use. The natural resources (water, land, forest and rangelands) show signs of excessive pressure, inappropriate use and inadequate management, which lead to low returns from the land and a general apathy towards farming.

The area is predominantly rural, and the population is predominantly black, with 96% of the population living in rural un-serviced villages with poor or non-existent transport routes, no electricity and often contaminated water supplies. There are four small towns and the nearest city, which has a supreme court and major services, is over 200km away. People in this area are poor, employment opportunities are scarce, and these communities deeply feel the effects of retrenchments taking place nation wide. As a result of a combination of these factors, livelihoods are fragile.

4.1.1 Local governance

The villages of Mkhemane, Madlangala and Mvenyane comprise an administrative area under the jurisdiction of a traditional chief. Villages and sub-villages are under headmen and sub-headmen respectively. Elected local government takes the form of Transitional Representative Councils (TRC's). Government departments active in the area include Agriculture, Health and Welfare, Education, DWAF, Public Works, Justice, and Local Government and Housing.

Development forums, which operate at village level, identify development needs and act as implementation agents. The local development forums consist of development committees focussing on specific issues such as water, roads and security. The existence of multiple structures leads to tension in some areas since there is no clear division of responsibilities, and this hampers development initiatives.

There are also civil society movements such as the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO), burial societies, sports clubs, community policing forums, farmers' associations, church groups, cultural clubs and branches of political party such as the ANC, PAC and UDM. Community based organisations (CBOs) serve to link communities with service providers and facilitate development programmes. CBO's active in the area include: Sakhumzi, SIBHA, Itekeng, Ncedanani-Mzongwana, Phuthamahae, Madlangala Development Organisation and Diaho Development Organisation. Non-Governmental Organisations

(NGOs) are also instrumental in facilitating development processes for communities, providing resources and serving as a link between donors, the state and the communities. NGOs servicing the district include EDA, KARD and Matatiele Advice Centre. EDA is involved primarily in environmental upgrading and sustainable land use, while KARD is involved in implementing water programmes and related issues. Matatiele Advice Centre handles programmes such as social pensions, UIF and land claims.

Other service providers that offer technical support and perform consultancy functions in the district include Maluti Water and Mattcom

4.1.2 Traditional Authorities

Traditional authorities are guardians of customary law. They play a role in land allocation and conflict resolution and are an entry point for development agencies. There are 10 recognised traditional authorities in the district, each under a chief, with a total of 129 sub headmen.

4.1.3 Land Tenure

Land tenure in the district is mostly communal and administered by a local tribal authority. Land is used for residential, cropping and grazing purposes, modelled around the betterment scheme practices. Statistics obtained from the land use planning office by the Environmental and Developmental Agency Trust (EDA) for the three areas (Mvenyane, Mkhemane and Madlangala) show that the bulk of the land is used for grazing purposes. On the arable land, maize is the main crop, followed by sorghum. Both sorghum and maize are usually inter-cropped with beans and pumpkins, which provides a balanced diet. The planting season is in October-November and harvesting is in May-June. For rural households rangelands are a source of firewood, medicinal plants and construction material, in addition to providing grazing for livestock.

Unlike residential and arable lands, rangelands are held and used communally. This poses some management challenges, especially in communities where several conflicting structures of leadership exist. Until recently, rangers (officials of the Department of Agriculture) monitored rangelands, but the position of the ranger has now been dissolved and management systems have collapsed in many areas. The main problems in rangelands include:

- encroachment by settlements, leading to difficulties in managing stock
- removal of fencing material and collapse of general infrastructure such as boreholes, sheds, dipping tanks and windmills
- livestock theft, which makes livestock farming difficult and increases vulnerability
- increased stock diseases, due to the inadequate dipping

Residential land comprises land designated for dwelling places, as well as land for schools, clinics, roads and businesses. Much of the residential land is productive, being used for vegetable gardens and orchards, which contributes to food security. Kraals for livestock are also situated in the residential land.

4.1.4 Soils

The main problem with soils in Maluti District is phosphorous deficiency. As a remedy local farmers use fertilisers such as MAP and LAN. However, the severity of the deficit, and the consequent high level of fertiliser application required, falls beyond the means of most farmers in the district. In general, erosion is not a major problem in the district, partly due to the fact that the soil has been stabilised by the invasive wattle. However there are certain areas within the District which are developing sheet and gully erosion due to overgrazing and veld fires. Droughts are common in the area and in some areas there is evidence of overgrazing.

4.1.5 Forests

Some of the indigenous tree species are a valuable source of firewood for local communities. Other smaller trees are found in protected areas, and thus are not used by locals for daily household purposes. The Mvenyane area, which is in the south-eastern part of the District, has mist belt afro-montane forest along the moister edge of the watershed. At the time of writing the EDA report, there were no up-to-date surveys or demarcation of the type and extent of such forests, as required by the National Forests Act (1998). However most of these forests would fall under the authority of the local headman, and thus can be used by local residents for domestic uses. However, even within the forests to which local communities have access, under the National Forests Act (1998) protected species, such as *Podocarpus*, may not be harvested without a permit. This situation creates tension regarding access rights to these forests and the situation is difficult to administer, thus rendering the resource vulnerable.

There is limited potential for production of commercial species of forests due to the low amount of rainfall. There are no major state forests or plantations in the district but there are three community woodlots (Khoapa, Makhoba and Polile) of 3.6 ha, 4 ha and approximately 8 ha, respectively, with the main species being *Eucalyptus camaldulensis* and *macarthurii*. Local people are employed to maintain the woodlots, and a supervisor collects revenue from the woodlots. These are to be administered by the local chief for development projects selected by the tribal authority.

Invasion of alien species along the forest has both positive and negative effects. On the negative side, it threatens the survival of the indigenous forests, while on the positive side it eases the pressure on indigenous species in terms of use for domestic purposes. The invasion is characterised by the widespread occurrence of silver and black wattle (*Acacia mearnsii* and *dealbata*), which were originally introduced as a fast growing source of fuel and pulpwood in the late 1800s. The wattle has now become

a problem in terms of threatening the ecosystem and hydrological cycles. Wattle is perceived as both a valuable resource (source of fuel wood, building and fencing material), and provides cash income as many families cut and sell wattle firewood, earning up to R 500 per month. Furthermore, using wattle for fuel constitutes savings by avoiding the need to purchase alternative forms of fuel.

Wattle is also perceived as a serious problem as it invades arable, residential, and grazing lands. Other alien species include eucalyptus, poplar and pine. The impact on water resources by these species is very great, given that generally trees use more water than natural grassland, and this situation has serious implications for surface and groundwater availability. The invasion of alien species is unevenly spread within the district, with some settlements being heavily invaded.

The Working for Water programme is being implemented by the DWAF in areas facing invasion of alien species. The programme is taking place in three areas within the district, i.e., Mvenyane, Madlangala and Ongeluksnek. Over 1,000 people were employed for 3 months on clearing contracts, and paid daily wages, with over 600ha being cleared in the pilot areas. It appears that the clearing has resulted in the availability of land for residential purposes, and in some streams flowing again in areas such as Mvenyane. The cleared species are utilised by the local Development Forum for its income generating activities. However at times there have been problems with the felled trees not being removed and thus growing back. There are various possibilities of utilising the alien species to the advantage of local people, which could include establishing small businesses such as marketing cut wood and charcoal. EDA also assists in the clearing of wattle through its Wattle Management Project, which has been in operation since 1996 and aims at managing controlled wattle production and generating income through the sale of wattle products.

Currently, DWAF is drawing up plans to transfer woodlot ownership and management to local communities. In terms of the Land Development Objectives (LDOs) of the district, forestry was identified as an important sector, and in this regard a Task Team involving DWAF, TRC and other local role-players has been established.

4.1.6 Farming

4.1.6.1 Crop Farming

Local farmers are engaged in a combination of traditional and commercial farming methods. While fallowing is not used fertilisers are commonly applied to enhance yields. At times kraal manure is mixed with commercial fertilisers, but the effects of these initiatives on yields are low as the amount of fertilisers applied is inadequate and at times inappropriate. Whereas crop farming on the designated arable fields is largely for subsistence, vegetables grown in home gardens are used for both subsistence and sale purposes. Yields from the home gardens are higher given a combinations of factors such as fencing

around these gardens which protects them from stray animals, and proximity of the gardens to the homestead, which means that it is easy to irrigate, add kraal manure and generally tend these gardens. This is in contrast to the arable fields, which are rarely fenced and are situated at some distance from the residential areas. Vegetables that are grown in home gardens include turnips, cabbage, onion, beetroot, spinach, tomatoes and carrots.

4.1.6.2 Livestock Farming

Livestock ownership patterns have shifted significantly between 1994 and 1999. Goats and other small livestock, such as fowl, have increased in preference over cattle whose numbers have decreased. Factors influencing this trend include stock theft, particularly of cattle and discontinuation of government services, such as the rangers who helped maintain the grazing camps, stock inspectors who attended to the health of the animals and dipping foremen. Various advantages are attached to goat farming. Goats are hardy animals that browse and species encroachment works to their advantage. They are not prone to stock theft, require a simple health care programme, fetch better prices than sheep and they are in demand for traditional ceremonies.

Pig farming, actively encouraged through welfare projects for purposes of generating income and improving nutrition, has also increased significantly in the district. Pigs are also preferred for practical reasons such as rapid reproduction, easy maintenance and inexpensive meat. However pigs require strict hygienic conditions and conflicts between health worker (nurses) and extension officer campaigns have arisen.

The number of fowl has more than doubled during the 1994-1999 period, and like pig farming, this can be largely attributed to encouragement and support from poverty alleviation programmes. The main types of fowl in the district are chickens reared for egg and meat production and a limited amount of geese. The EDA has helped establish over 43 poultry groups and also offers technical advice on poultry keeping to over 200 farmers.

Sheep, like cattle, have decreased in numbers between 1994-1999. The sheep in the district are shorn annually, and until the EDA organised appropriate marketing arrangements with BKB, the wool used to be sold through middlemen to wool marketing companies. During the 1998 season, about 159,200kg of wool was sent to BKB, which in turn noted that the wool was poorly classed, contaminated by kemp and brands, and that some bales were underweight. This has meant reduced returns on the wool. To address these problems surrounding the marketing, a bale press and a sorting table were purchased. Plans are underway for a shearing shed to be erected to address the issue of overcrowding during shearing times, and baling and sorting demonstrations were held across the district in consultation with BKB.

The Maluti district faces several developmental stumbling blocks, such as poor infrastructural support, poor business opportunities, and land degradation in all its forms and a history of betterment schemes. On the positive side, there is a strong institutional base in the Maluti District Planning Committee, which has close links at village level through local development forums. This creates favourable conditions and opportunities for communities to express their needs and to interact with government and other stakeholders.

An institutional assessment in the district indicated a lack of information flow between the governmental institutions and people on the ground, particularly around policy and institutional roles.

4.1.7 Land

Maluti district has encountered many of the same land issues faced by large sections of South Africa. Inadequate communication regarding new policy and legislation, the very slow processing of land claims, lack of clarity regarding land ownership and discriminatory traditional inheritance laws have been endemic. A high proportion of the population still recognises traditional authorities' legitimate roles in local land administration. There is, however, a need to clarify the roles of elected local councils and traditional authorities.

The EDA runs a Community Based Land Management Project, and an Institutional Development Project, which are aimed at assisting local communities around land issues. Land Development Objectives (LDOs) have been drawn up in the past two years by local councils in the area, but have largely related to physical planning for urban and infrastructural development.

4.1.8 Local Government

High expectations have been placed on the role and functions of the TRCs. Given the proximity of local government to communities, it is seen as the main instrument for delivery of services. Local governments are also responsible for Integrated Development Planning, establishing Land Development Objectives for their areas and for driving local economic development. Despite all these expectations, there is a lack of guidance regarding issues such as the powers of local governments to raise revenue through taxation and the roles of TRCs and Traditional Authorities in land administration.

As a rural area, Maluti never had elected local government structures in the past. Villages were organised in wards, which combined to form the 10 tribal authority areas that now make up the Transitional Representative Council. Local Development Forums, which have been formed at tribal authority level, are represented in the District Planning Committee (DPC), which has 12 sectoral task teams. The District Planning Committee was formed in 1997 to assist the TRC with Integrated Development Plans

(IDPs) and Land Development Objectives. Each of the 10 Traditional Authorities is represented in the DPC.

Some of the activities of the DPC include the following:

- informing communities about land development objectives
- gathering information from communities on their needs and priorities
- advising, encouraging and facilitating local development forums to enable local co-ordination and engagement in development planning and activity

4.1.9 Local Economic Development

There are a variety of self-help groups in the area that have initiated projects such as poultry, bakery, welding, arts and crafts, sewing, vegetable production, livestock and wool production. There are also initiatives from the government towards poverty eradication, and these include the Working for Water programme run by DWAF and the Welfare Department's anti-poverty programme. Further plans include a 3-year UNDP sponsored anti-poverty programme. In March 1999 the Local Economic Development (LED) Task Team established the Matatiele/Maluti LED, to strengthen co-ordination between SMME support service providers and project beneficiaries.

The district has potential for forestry and tourism particularly along the Drakensberg as well as potential for cross-border traffic through the border posts with Lesotho, which needs to be developed. There is also agricultural potential, particularly a small rain-shadow area between Matatiele and Mount Fletcher with annual rainfall of 600mm-800mm, which is well suited to livestock farming and limited cropping.

Problems encountered in this regard include:

- weak co-ordination and communication between stakeholders
- fragmented support services for SMMEs
- inadequate access to finance
- underdeveloped markets for SMMEs
- under-utilisation of some resources, such as agricultural land
- lack of value-adding economic activities such as classing and weaving of wool

4.1.10 Infrastructural and Support Services

4.1.10.1 Roads

Road improvement has been identified as a leading need as the poor quality of the roads obstructs the movement of people, delivery of services and local economic development. Priority areas for road construction are in the development nodes, particularly within eco-tourism projects. The main road in the area is the R56 between Mt Fletcher and Matatiele, with a link road to Maluti, followed by the roads to the three border posts of Ongeluksnek, Qachasnek and Ramatsiliso.

4.1.10.2 Health

There are a number of permanent and temporary clinics in the area, as well as mobile clinic services. Attempts have been made by the Maluti/Mt Fletcher District Health Council to encourage participation by local communities in the running of local health centres, promoting primary health care and local food production to improve food security. The Department of Health is implementing a nutrition programme, which involves training mothers in nutrition and food security and the distribution of infant food supplements. Within the district, the main problems in the health sector remain the lack of resources, in particular staff, poor co-ordination between government departments, and poor roads disrupting the mobile health services.

4.1.10.3 Welfare

Through its anti-poverty programmes, the Department of Welfare is primarily involved in the alleviation of poverty. It has supported seven projects in the district. However there are some problems around the operations of the Department, including the lack of a clear strategy and the discontinuation of pensions.

4.1.11 Settlements

Maluti is the only town in the district, and there are no major service centres in the district.

4.2 The Wild Coast Spatial Development Initiative (SDI)

The Wild Coast Spatial Development Initiative (SDI) includes the magisterial districts of Bizana and Lusikisiki, together with other districts that lie outside the study area. The objectives of the SDI include increasing locally owned SMMEs, employment creation, raising investment returns to local communities, environmental sustainability and the development of planning processes and skills to build the competitive position of local enterprises.

The Wild Coast SDI area covers 280km stretch of the south-eastern coastal region of South Africa, in the northern region of the Eastern Cape province. The region lies between the Mtamvuma River in the north and Great Kei River in the south, the Stormberg and Drakensberg mountain ranges inland to the West, and the Indian Ocean to the East. The region comprises 7% of the province. It is a well-watered

land of deeply incised river catchments. Tourism, forestry and agriculture are the key development opportunities within the SDI.

SDIs are faced with at least two problems in attaining the above objectives, namely lack of information and management mechanisms for planning, and a poorly developed institutional environment for interaction with communities. The latter is important given the political divisions in the Wild Coast. Other problems around the Wild Coast SDI include a lack of information about the SDI, slow start up of activities which has led to low regard for the SDI, lack of a tradition of SMME, and poor access to public services.

4.2.1 *Natural Resources*

The SDI area is rich in natural resources, primarily in terms of the coast and the sea (including marine resources), high potential agricultural and forestry areas, as well as high value conservation areas such as coastal forests, estuaries and mangroves.

4.2.1.1 Forestry

Forests in the area include the Egosa forest in Lusikisiki and Mkambati Nature Reserve, an 8,000 hectare coastal reserve in the Lusikisiki magisterial district. Around the reserve are the Msikaba and Mtentu rivers, which have forested ravines. The area is known for its biological diversity and the occurrence of very rare endemic species, of which the Mkambati palm is one of the rarest. Over 900 plant species are found in the reserve. Some 50% of the coastline falls within forest reserves, occupying some 60 000ha, of which the major portion is under the control of DWAF. Most of the potential forestry land is under the tribal land tenure system. The coastal grasslands are in good condition and constitute a valuable grazing resource.

4.2.1.2 Wildlife/Marine resources

The marine ecosystem is highly productive, with about 15 species of edible molluscs occurring in the coastal area.

4.2.1.3 Water

The Wild Coast has a high average rainfall of 1 200mm per year. The area also has a high water potential, reflected by that of the Umzimvubu River, which has not been exploited, and also the high surface run-off of the Transkei region, which constitutes 10% of the country's land area but receives 20% of surface water run-off. Water supply and provision are limited, and this is a high priority of the Wild Coast SDI

region. In 1996, 48% of rural households were without access to water (in-house, on-site or communal tap).

4.2.2 Agriculture

The north-eastern hinterland has soils suitable for crop production. The Great Central Plateau, particularly the areas that are not too steep, is also suitable for agriculture. The north-eastern coastal forelands and midlands have poor soils and are thus not suitable for crop production. There are also a number of parastatals operating in the area, such as the Magwa Tea Estate and Umzimkulu sugar mill.

4.2.3 Land and Land Use

The SDI area covers 7% of the total provincial land area and the majority of this land is under tribal trust land.

Table 6: Land Use Summary, Wild Coast SDI

Land usage	% area
Traditional use of land on the tribal land tenure system encompassing residential, arable and grazing land	93.0
Intensive commercial agricultural land use as practised at Magwa Tea and the Sugar Estates in Pondoland	2.0
Lessee farmers using freehold land	2.0
Commercial Forestry and Woodlots under the control of the Department of Water Affairs and of Forestry	1.6
Conservation areas under the control of Department of Agriculture Indigenous Forests Nature Reserves Conservation Areas	1.4

4.2.4 Settlements

In 1996, the population of the area totalled 1.4 million, which then constituted 15% of the total population of the Eastern Cape province.

Settlement patterns consist of densely populated rural areas (96 people per km²), evenly spread throughout the region. Due to the lack of employment opportunities in the area, many men migrate out to find work and a high proportion of the population consists of very young and female members. Like

in most rural areas across the country, rural communities around the wild coast heavily rely on pensions and remittances. Social and infrastructural services are almost non-existent in many of the rural areas. Small towns such as Kentane, Willowvale, Elliotdale, Mqanduli, Ngqeleni, Flagstaff, Bizana and Lusikisiki provide basic social and commercial services.

4.2.5 Roads

There are only two major surfaced roads, a national road, N2 and a regional one, the R61, between Umtata-Port St Johns and Bizana-Port Edward. The N2 provides north-south linkage with a network of secondary and largely gravelled roads from the N2 linking to the coast.

5 CONCLUSION AND POTENTIAL RESEARCH THEMES

Provision of services, particularly in the rural areas of the Eastern Cape province, faces various constraints, both institutional and financial. These include the limited capacity of local government to deliver services and disputes around the role of traditional leaders in the development and administration of their area. Financial constraints arise from limited ability of local government structures to raise revenue, exacerbated by a culture of non-payment. Charges for services are being levied in many rural areas for the first time and there is resistance to pay for the services rendered. On the other hand there are also questions around the commitment of the national government to disburse the necessary funds to local government.

5.1 Broad Research Themes

5.1.1 Land Tenure

Community dynamics, particularly decision making structures and processes, as well as institutional arrangements that determine access to natural resources, should be explored.

5.1.2 Access to natural resources in “protected” areas

Access to protected areas by neighbouring communities has always been a contested issue, which leads to poaching of resources within these areas. This situation stems from the fact that most of the communities living around the protected areas were initially removed from the in order to create these nature reserves.

5.1.3 Access to natural resources in the face of development initiatives

This is a major issue in the Wild Coast district, where natural resources are in abundance and are the main attraction and resource for development. It would be important to look at how developmental initiatives

affect local people's access to natural resources, which they have been utilising, illegally or otherwise. The majority, if not all, of the development initiatives along the wild coast will involve investment from the private sector. Thus the impact of privatisation of public resources might be crucial to access to natural resources, and thus to local livelihood strategies.

It would be useful to explore the historical relationship between the local communities and indigenous forests, particularly management practices regulating access, use, protection and conservation of these resources. This would be necessary in the context of illegal use or poaching of protected natural resources.

An important aspect to the management and use of these forests is the collection of firewood, and it would be interesting to look at the gender implications of the management practices. How accessible are these forests to the local communities, in particular the state managed forests? This could be linked to the redistribution of state owned land.

Deshingkar (1995:2) notes that due to their responsibilities, women have a closer relationship with natural resources than men. Consequently, the degradation and depletion of such resources more adversely affect women. She further notes that, even though women have such high stakes in the state of natural resources, they often do not play a role in the management of such resources and in related programmes. It would thus be important to look into the gender dimensions and impact of access to resources.

5.1.4 Competing Resources

It is likely that the development of forest plantations will lead to reduced access to agricultural lands and reduced water resources. On the other hand, the forestry sector is argued to be a major source of jobs. This contradictory impact on livelihoods should be explored.

5.1.5 Competing Authorities

There is widespread confusion in terms of the authority in the allocation of land. In some areas, traditional authorities are still respected and seen as legitimate, and continue to allocate land. In other areas, local councillors have taken over. The national government is not clear on what the role of traditional leaders should be or how the two structures (democratically elected local councillors and traditional leaders) should operate together.

5.1.6 Access to water

It is estimated that as most people do not have access to water and given the need for investment in the necessary infrastructure, it would cost R9.5 billion for the provision of water to those currently without. Therefore it would be interesting to look at how the local government will handle the provision of water services. This is important given that the majority of those without water are in the rural areas that lack revenue and infrastructure.

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