

SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROCESSES IN THE RURAL AREAS OF REGION E¹

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INTRODUCTION

The social conditions in the rural areas of South Africa are by now widely known and numerous researchers have documented the poverty stricken quality of life which generally prevails amongst black families in these areas (Wilson and Ramphele, 1989). The vast majority of rural households have incomes which are below subsistence levels and in the Homelands, agricultural productive ability has become so eroded that rural household income is now chiefly derived from remittances from migrants in the towns or from the wages of farm labourers (Nattrass and May, 1986). As such, at present the majority of black rural households living in Region E make up consumer communities which must purchase the majority of their subsistence needs, rather than producer communities in which subsistence needs can be met from the utilisation of local resources (Derman and Poultney, 1983).

Despite this unpromising situation, the diminishing importance of agricultural production to the South African national economy (Bethlehem, 1989), and the dominance of urbanisation as a social force, it can be argued that the rural areas of Region E will be directly and substantially affected by efforts to restructure the South African economy as a whole. Consequently, revitalising the rural economy in a restructured social and economic system would be a concern in itself, even though the effect of this for a future growth path for South Africa may be uncertain (Kaplinsky, 1991:54).

The report will first examine the broad demographic changes in Region E noting the impact of these changes on the rural areas. Thereafter, the economic processes which characterise the rural areas will be discussed, in particular, employment, income levels and income distribution. This will feed into a discussion of the social processes which will include changing dynamics of migration, and a socio-economic profile of rural households. The paper concludes by briefly examining access and usage of basic services and facilities in the rural parts of Region E.

DEMOGRAPHIC PROCESSES

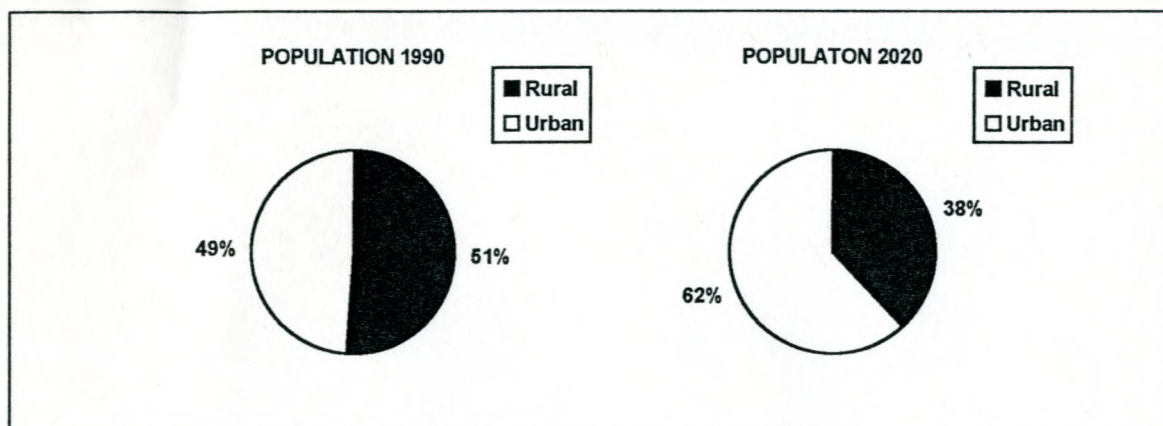
The population shifts in Region E have already been dealt with at length elsewhere in this study, and this paper will therefore only deal with the essential details.

Population Size

The process of urbanisation is probably the most dramatic change that is currently taking place in Region E. The most obvious consequence of this urbanisation is the declining proportion of the

¹. Notions of what constitutes rural and urban settlement in South Africa are obviously problematic. For the purpose of this study, rural areas ~~for~~ are taken to include both dispersed and dense settlements in the rural areas of Region E within which reproductive activities are predominant. Concerns relating to commercial agricultural are not part of this report and will be considered in the agricultural sector report. The spatial focus of the report will then be primarily on KwaZulu and Transkei.

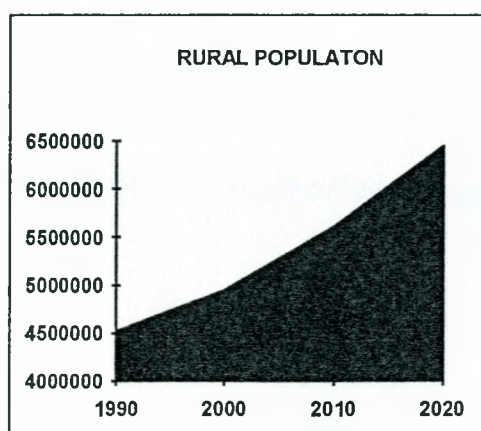
population who will be living in the rural areas. This change is shown in the figure below, which indicates a fall in the proportion the rural population from a current level of 51 percent to 38 percent by 2020.



A proportional change does not mean however that there will be a decline in absolute numbers. Using population projections developed by Smith (1993), the following growth in Region E's population is predicted.

Date	Rural	Urban	Metro	Informal	Total
1985	4281063	680829	1911789	1142911	8018578
1990	4517953	777193	2158458	1418742	8874336
1995	4747300	897800	2502193	1733407	9882695
2000	4943400	1029500	2905594	2115706	10996200
2010	5601519	1318524	3522835	3143075	13587953
2020	6447231	1659225	4096616	4653844	16858937

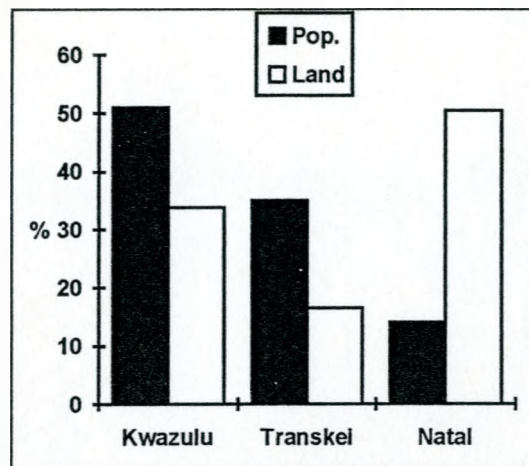
By 2000 the rural population of Region E is expected to reach just under 6 million people, and by 2020 these areas will still make up the single largest category of settlement in the Region. This growth can perhaps best be depicted graphically.



The figure shows the unrelenting growth of the rural population over the next 30 years, and confirms that the rural areas of Region E cannot be neglected on the assumption that growth in the Region will essentially be urban led. Furthermore, the present inadequate supply of services and utilities to the rural areas will remain under increasing pressure as the population of these areas continues to expand.

Land and Population

The implications of population size need to be contextualised in terms of access to land. The unequal distribution of land is likely to be one of the most persistent and troublesome products of apartheid for the foreseeable future, and the figure below showing the relative proportions of population and land that falls into KwaZulu, Transkei and Natal gives some idea of the problem faced by the region.



Just over 50 percent of rural land in Region E is concentrated in Natal, which presently accommodates 14 percent of the population. In this context, reforming rural land holdings appears highly probable even if driven by no more than population pressure and not by economic criteria. However, although this graph indicates the extremely unequal distribution of land in Region E, it is worth noting that the situation is less severe than for South Africa as a whole in which 80 percent of rural land is currently designated as being white owned.

As noted in the paper on demographic trends, the black population of Natal has undergone forced removals both through the removal by the state of settlements designated as black spots as well as by the eviction of farm labour. Not surprisingly, the black population of rural Natal has declined from comprising 35 percent of the total rural population of Region E in 1950 to 13 percent in 1985. Despite this, the Population Census of 1991 reports that 87.9 percent of the 700 000 people residing in rural Natal are black, the majority of whom are farm-workers. Sixty percent of those in the economically active age group were employed in agriculture and 30 percent were employed in manufacturing and other non-farm linked employment. The map at the end of this report indicates the distribution of this population and shows the high concentration of rural blacks in the magisterial districts of Vryheid, Estcourt, Lower Tugela and New Hanover. The socio-economic conditions of these farm workers will be picked up below, although Ardington (1989:23) notes that the population profile of blacks in rural Natal is closer to that of "migrant supplying rural KwaZulu than migrant receiving rural Natal".

ECONOMIC PROCESSES

As the 1991 census data is not yet available in a sufficiently disaggregated form, much of the data used in this discussion of the economic processes in the rural areas of Region E is derived from a data base of survey data collected by Data Research Africa as well as a series of rural surveys conducted by the Rural Urban Studies Unit at the University of Natal between 1984 and 1988.

Employment Levels

The table below indicates the employment status of the black population in KwaZulu in the potentially economically active age group (15-64 years).

Employment Status of the Potentially Economically Active (15-64 years) - 1992			
	Men	Women	Total
Work-Seeker	21.5	22.4	22.0
Informally Employed	5.9	6.3	6.1
Formally Employed	41.2	17.8	28.4
Economically Inactive	31.4	53.5	43.5
Sample Size	5115	6182	11297

Only 28 percent of the potentially economically active rural population were formally employed in 1992. An additional 6 percent were employed by informal sector enterprises, and 22 percent were indicated that they were seeking employment. A far smaller proportion of women are employed with 18 percent formally employed compared to 41 percent of men and 54 percent of potentially economically active women actually fell into the economically inactive group.

Household and Per Capita Incomes

Household income is always a contentious issue, and is frequently incorrectly reported by respondents. Nonetheless, income levels are critical when assessing the well-being of rural households and therefore data from the recent KwaZulu income and expenditure survey is provided.

A mean household income of R826.49 per month was reported for all rural areas in 1992, with a median of R500.00 and a standard error of the mean of 18.906 (DRA, 1992). This implies that at a 95 percent confidence limit, mean income was between R789.06 and R863.92 per month. Per capita income was R130.48 per month with a median of R75.00 and a standard error of the mean of 3.478. Mean per capita income can thus be said to be between R123.66 and R137.30 per month.

The table on the following page provides mean household income for all magisterial districts of KwaZulu, with the exceptions of Madadeni, Ndwedwe, Ntuzama and Umlazi for which there is no data available for the rural areas of these districts.

Average Household Incomes - 1992

Magisterial District	Household Income Rand per Month	Per Capita Income Rand per Month
Inkanyezi	1632.54	268.58
Mpumulanga	1500.33	327.34
Ubombo	1372.87	180.50
Enseleni	1262.92	170.23
Vulamehlo	1066.17	190.38
Umbumbulo	970.32	159.70
Ongoye	927.76	152.74
Hlabisa	897.10	130.32
Simdlangentsha	892.93	115.26
Mahlabatini	821.99	93.13
Nongoma	793.60	83.24
Okhahlamba	786.02	126.12
Hlanganani	785.72	144.56
Nquthu	769.84	124.13
Maphumulo	733.02	132.77
Ingwavuma	702.28	93.65
Emzambe	630.27	116.88
Emnambithi	622.98	120.73
Ezingolweni	596.78	97.08
Msinga	465.84	77.70
Nkandla	442.59	69.74

Sample Size = 3387

Of the four areas with the highest incomes, Inkanyezi, Mpumulanga and Enseleni had access to employment centres at Mandeni, Durban and Richards Bay. In Ubombo, high incomes from agriculture were reported.

Source of Income

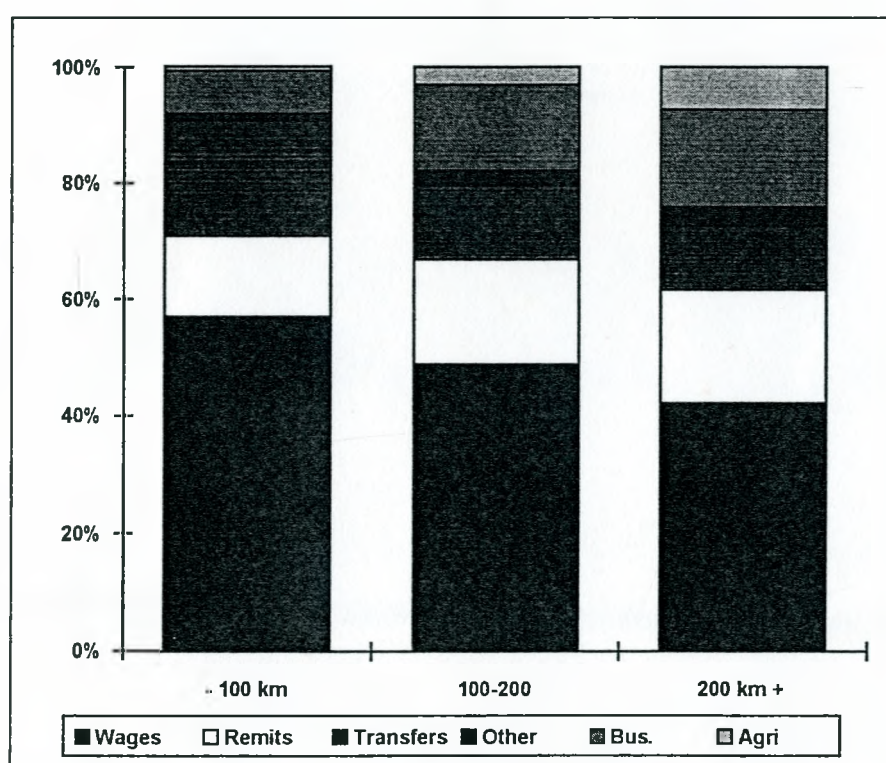
For the total sample drawn from the rural areas, wages comprised 46.5 percent of household income. Remittances made up 18.3 percent and welfare transfers such as pension comprised 12.6 percent. Income from entrepreneurial activities such as the running of a micro-enterprise made up 15 percent of household income, whereas income from both the sale and the consumption of agricultural activities made up only 4.7 percent of household income. There are significant differences between areas however, and the table below indicates source of income broken down by the distance of the magisterial district from Durban.

7.2.2 Breakdown per different type of income

Source of Income	- 100 km From Durban	100-200 km From Durban	200 km + From Durban
Wages	57.0	48.8	42.2
Remittances	13.8	17.9	19.5
Transfers & Pensions	20.0	12.9	10.9
Other Income	0.9	2.1	3.0
Gifts and Income In-Kind	0.3	0.3	0.3
Entrepreneurial Income	7.3	14.8	16.8
Imputed Subsistence Income	0.3	0.8	1.4
Cash Agricultural Income	0.5	2.3	6.0
Sample Size = 3387			

Household in "deep" rural areas, those more than 200 kilometers from Durban derive a larger component of their income from non-wage activities, although income from wage payments and remittances still make up more than 60 percent of household income. Households in areas close to the economic core have a much higher likelihood of receiving an income from wages, and surprisingly, derive 20 percent of household income from transfers and pensions.

It is useful to graphically depict this breakdown of the source of household income.



Despite the increased importance of wages in terms of the proportion of household income that wages contribute, rising unemployment represents a severe threat to the well-being of many

households in some areas. As far back as 1985, Ardington (1988:24) reports that 22 percent of remittances received by rural households were contributed by unemployed family members compared to 7 percent in her earlier 1982 survey. In contrast, income from pension payments represents a more secure source of income and the KwaZulu Government (1985) has reported an 82 percent coverage of pensioners for 1985 which had increased from 64 percent in 1980.

The proportional breakdown of the source of income does not appear to have changed radically between 1985 and 1992 although there are a number of important shifts. In 1985, wages and remittances accounted for 77 percent of household income compared to 64.8 percent in 1992. Pensions and transfers were virtually unchanged as a proportion although the amount had substantially increased. Income from agriculture had declined from 6.6 percent in 1985 compared to 4.7 percent in 1992. Finally, income from entrepreneurial activities had increased from 1.5 percent to 15 percent.

Income Distribution

By now a considerable body of research evidence has shown the high levels of income inequality in rural areas. In the Transkei, Muller (1987:12) has calculated a Gini Coefficient of 0.537 for the rural areas and in rural KwaZulu, Perkins and May (1988:63) report a Coefficient of 0.507. For 1992, the following table shows the distribution of household income in KwaZulu.

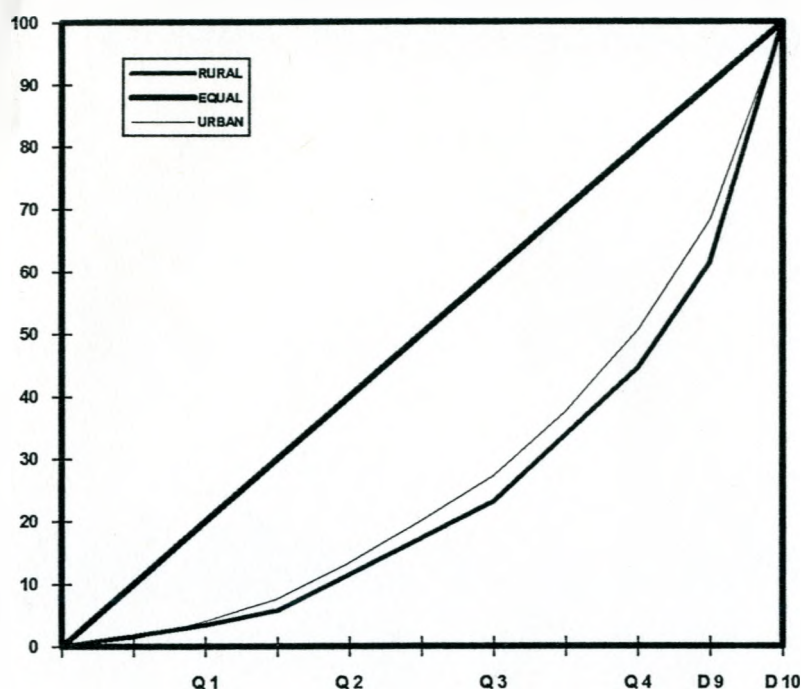
Household Income Distribution - 1992

Percent of the Population	Rural		Urban	
	% Income	Cum. %	% Income	Cum %
Poorest Quintile	3.4	3.4	4.1	4.1
Quintile 2	8.1	11.4	9.3	13.4
Quintile 3	11.7	23.2	14.0	27.4
Quintile 4	21.4	44.6	23.2	50.6
Decile 9	16.9	61.4	17.7	68.3
Richest Decile	38.5	100.0	31.7	100.0
Sample Size	3387		2325	

In rural KwaZulu, the poorest twenty percent of the population received 3.4 percent of all income received by households in rural areas. The poorest sixty percent received 23 percent of income and the richest 10 percent of the rural population received 38.5 percent of all income. In the urban areas, the poorest sixty percent of the population received 50.6 percent of all income earned by urban households, and the richest 10 percent earned 32 percent of income. Comparing these findings with Perkins and May (1987), there appears to be virtually no change in the levels of income inequality in rural areas, with the poorest sixty percent of their 1985 sample receiving 25 percent of income, and the wealthiest 10 percent receiving 38 percent of income.

The distribution of income can be usefully depicted by a Lorenz Curve which plots the percentage of the population of the X axis and the percentage of income on the Y axis. A diagonal straight line bisecting the graph indicates a perfectly equal distribution, and moving further away from this line

implies increasing inequality. The figure below shows comparative data for 1992 for rural and urban areas.



The graph clearly reveals the higher levels of inequality in rural areas compared to urban areas.

Rural Productive Activities

Having discussed in some detail the comparative levels and sources of income in the rural areas of Region E, it remains to go into more detail on the type of productive activities that are engaged in by rural households in the rural economy. Although it must again be stressed that although these activities presently make up a minimal proportion of household income, these are the activities which could be enhanced by future rural development policies and it would be incorrect to disregard the potential of rural productive activities².

Farm Workers

There is virtually no data on the incomes earned by farm workers in Natal. In 1985, Ardington gives a mean household income of R168.16 per month and a per capita income of R56.75 for farm workers of which wages made up 64.5 percent of the income and rations 24.7 percent. This income can be compared to that provided for 1985 by Perkins and May (1988) who report a mean monthly household income of R208.40 for KwaZulu and a per capita income of R42.16.

Assuming that wage levels for farm workers and migrants workers has remained constant, this suggests that farm workers are marginally better off than those living in the Homelands. However, the wide range of laws which continue to determine the rights of farm workers have meant that they are extremely vulnerable to having their right of occupation being withdrawn. Furthermore, as a

². Commerical agricultural activities, such as the cultivation of cane and cotton are discussed in the paper on agriculture in Region E.

result of the strict enforcement of anti-squatting and tenant laws, it is difficult for persons not closely related to farm workers to live in rural Natal. Unemployment levels are therefore concomitantly low, since the unemployed have not been permitted to live in Natal.

In terms of access to productive assets, farm worker conditions vary enormously by the type of farm and its geo-climatic location. Ardington (1985:) reports that all the farm workers included in her sample of midland farms had access to land for cultivation, and half those on the coast had access to land. In addition, half of those in the midlands kept cattle, although virtually no farm workers on the coast had cattle.

Subsistence Cultivation

Subsistence cultivation has become increasingly eroded over the past twenty years as increasing population pressure and the deteriorating natural environment have contributed towards an eroded agricultural base. Nattrass and May (1986:592) comment on the resulting alienation of rural families from agriculture whereby over 80 percent of their sample indicated that the family was involved in migratory labour because they needed an income from formal employment.

Earlier, the very small contribution, less than 10 percent, made by agriculture to household income was noted. There are, however, exceptions to this limited contribution. In the Nkandla district of KwaZulu, Ardington (1984:40) found that 25 percent of the income of households with a man living permanently at home and actively involved in agriculture, was derived from agricultural production. Over two thirds of this agricultural income (70 percent) was derived from livestock and livestock products. This suggests that certain types of household are more able to engage in agricultural production and appropriate intervention may ease some of the constraints of production. Ardington (1988:38) notes that just over one third of her sample had not ploughed all of their land during the previous season, and half of these households indicated that they had experienced difficulty in getting access to oxen or a tractor for ploughing. This link between access to traction power and the ability to produce is critical. Ardington (1988:44) also comments on the fall-off of 30 percent in terms of the real value of produce between 1982 and 1985. Over the three year period, virtually no innovations had taken place in terms of the method of cultivation.

These results suggest that while there may well be prospects for the promotion of commercial farming activities in Region E, the bulk of agricultural activities, in at least the areas which are presently designated as Homelands, will involve low output and low productivity cultivation intended for home consumption. Indeed, even the importance of this form of activity appears to have fallen with only 7 percent of household income in the more remote areas of KwaZulu being derived from agriculture in 1992. This is not to imply that this form of income generation should be neglected. Rising unemployment may well compel many household to increase their dependency on home production, and as such, a "subsistence cultivator's support programme" could be investigated which would complement existing Farmer Support Programmes in the region. In addition, careful targetting of those types of household who are able to engage in greater agricultural production is also important. This will be picked up below in the discussion on socio-economic profiles.

Ownership of livestock

Livestock represent a substantial resource in the Homelands with some 1.5 million cattle in KwaZulu. The table below indicates the percentage of household who own cattle in a number of magisterial districts in KwaZulu and Transkei.

Incidence of Cattle Ownership		
Researcher	District	% Ownership
Mpanza & Nattrass (1987)	Vulamehlo	46.0
Muller (1987)	Transkei	49.0
May & Peters (1984)	Nquthu	32.2
May & Peters (1984)	Maphumulo	37.0
May & Peters (1984)	Inkanyezi	34.8
Perkins & May (1987)	Emzumbi	50.3
Muller et al (1987)	Okhahlamba	74.7
Ardington (1988)	Nkandla	66.6
Erskine (1982)	KwaZulu	64.0

Ownership ranges between on third and two thirds of households, with the incidence being lower in more densely settled areas, and higher in sparse areas such as Nkandla. Due to the higher availability of land for pasture relative to land for cultivation, widespread ownership and relatively low skill and capital implications, May (1992) has argued that this is a worthwhile sub-sector to be targeted for development. At present, however, both Ardington (1988:62) and Muller et al (1987:52) have pointed out that households derive a far from adequate return from their livestock resources, and indeed, much of the return derived from cattle holding is actually at the cost of reducing stock numbers.

At present, little is being done to support small scale livestock farmers in Region E, although there are examples of development interventions carried out in other parts of Africa, such as in Botswana and Zimbabwe, as well as in South Africa, such as in Venda and Bophuthatswana. Certainly, dairying, broilers and feed-lot production methods present themselves as viable options in a region with a high population density and large urban market. As with cultivation, any such strategy would have to differentiate between larger stock-holders, and those who own small herds of 10 animals or less.

Petty Commodity Production

A range of activities are carried out by rural households for income, of which some could be said to fall into the informal sector. This production of petty commodities, which include services and manufacturing, was found to account for only 5 percent of household income despite the fact that more than half the surveyed households in the Okhahlamba district were engaged in such activities (Muller et al, 1988:58). Thirteen percent of households surveyed by Ardington (1988:67) were involved in traditional informal sector activities such as hawking. However, numerous other activities are under-taken in rural communities which include grasswork (25.3 percent of household participated with the intention of marketing), knitting (9 percent), manufacture and sale of clay pots (4 percent), preparation and sale of food, thatching (8 percent), house-building (5 percent),

brick-making, traditional healing (9 percent) as well as services such as the collection of water, wood and thatching grass, child-minding and the washing of clothes.

As already noted, increasing the prospects for smaller scale farming which employs more labour can directly benefit the marketing of such "petty commodities". The intensive commercial activity that has been seen to accompany the payment of pensions in rural KwaZulu could easily be extended to include other regular forms of payment and the owners of micro-enterprises have a proven ability to react rapidly to new market opportunities. Furthermore, improving the infrastructure of the rural areas of Region could also be carried out in a way that fosters backward linkages to micro-enterprises. Examples in this regard include the sourcing of bricks, kerb-stones, fencing and the like from local producers.

SOCIAL PROCESSES

Probably the most important social processes that are presently being worked out in the rural areas of KwaZulu and Transkei relate to the rapid pace of urbanisation that the Region is currently experiencing. These have been dealt with at length in the paper on demographic change, and so this report will concentrate on the changing nature of migration, and the socio-economic differentiation that underlies the earlier discussion on income inequality.

Migration

Oscillating migration has been the most critical social process in the rural areas of South Africa over the past forty years. This referred to the system in which workers and work-seekers left their rural homes for employment in the urban areas, where they were expected to live as temporary residents, remitting a part of their income to their rural homes, and to return to their rural home on an annual or monthly basis. Already in 1986, May (1990) argued that the dynamics of the system had fundamentally changed and that as a consequence, the system of migratory labour was beginning to break down with greater permanent migration as well as short-term, weekly or even daily migration. The table below, based on 1992 data, indicates that this breakdown has continued in Region E.

Migration Patterns of the Potentially Economically Active (15-64 years)			
Employment Status	At Home	Weekends	Migrant
Formally Employed	67.8	7.2	25.0
Informally Employed	89.2	2.6	8.2
Work-Seeker	95.8	0.9	3.3
Economically Inactive	97.8	1.1	1.1
Total	88.3	2.9	8.8
Sample Size = 11297			

Sixty eight percent of the formally employed were living at home during the week compared to 7 percent who commuted on a weekly basis and 25 percent who were monthly or more migrants. Migration on both a weekly or monthly basis was highest in the magisterial districts of Simdlangentsha, Emzumbhe, Vulamehlo and Hlanganani with 42 percent of those employed in the

former three areas being migrants, and 57 percent in the latter. Migration was lowest in Nseleni and Emanambithi at only 20 percent of the employed population. The incidence of weekly migration was highest in areas on transport routes such as Ezingolweni and Inkanyezi, making up 55 and 42 percent of the employed who were migrants respectively, followed by Maphumulo, Okhahlamba and Vulamehlo, all at 34-38 percent of migrants. Weekly migration was lowest in more remote areas such as Ubombo, Hlanganani and Nkandla at 12-13 percent of the population who were migrant workers. It is worth noting that the majority of work-seekers are not migrants.

The incidence of migration was higher among the higher age groups, with some 35 percent of men in the 35-45 age group being migrants. This represents a substantial drop in migrancy rates recorded by earlier studies. Mpanza and Nattrass (1987:12) report that 80 percent of men in these age groups were absent as migrants, Muller et al (1988:30) report that 65 percent of men in these age groups were migrants, and Perkins and May (1987) give a figure of 64 percent of men.

Looking at the gender implications of migration, 26.9 percent of all employed migrants were women, and 24 percent of employed women were migrants, compared to 46 percent of employed men. A slightly higher proportion of weekly migrants were women. If all migrants are included, whether employed or not, the percentage of women increases to 32.6 percent. Fifty four percent of these women were formally employed compared to 77 percent of male migrants, 14 percent were workseekers compared to 10 percent of men, 8 percent were employed in the informal sector compared to 4 percent of men and 15 percent were scholars compared to 6 percent of men. Only 3 percent were full time housewives compared to 17 percent reported in 1988 (Muller et al, 1987:30).

There seems to have been an increase in the incidence of women migrants. This indicates that more although the overall incidence of migration has declined, a greater proportion of women are now migrants, and for example, in 1984, Mpanza and Nattrass (1987:11) report that 24 percent of all migrants were women, in Nkandla, Ardington (1988:23) reports that 15 percent of migrants were women in 1985, and in Okhahlamba, Muller et al (1988:30) indicate that 26 percent of migrants were women.

Socio-Economic Profiles

Rural households in the Homelands can be conveniently stratified according to their ability to engage in subsistence production, both agrarian and pastoral, and their total income. It would be anticipated that the former is largely determined by the households' access to land, the availability of labour with which to work this land and traction power, usually in the form of cattle, as well as the number of other livestock units that are owned such as sheep, pigs and goats. In addition to these factors, it has been argued that successful subsistence production requires some capital stock, or a regular cash income. Further, as cattle are regarded as a form of saving in black rural areas in Southern Africa they can be said to represent a stock of wealth. This relationship between cash income, which is principally earned from wage labour, and subsistence production suggests that the combined distribution of land, livestock and household income does not only reflect stratification, but also shows both differential access to the means of subsistence production, as well as differential access to wage labour. Access to labour on the other hand, is partly dependent upon the size of the household and the ratio of dependents to the economically active. These in turn, are related to the stage of the household's life-cycle.

The distributions of each of these individual factors amongst households in KwaZulu is given in the following table. This data is taken from the 1985 income and expenditure survey because it was felt that drought had led to the under-reporting of agricultural data in the 1992 survey. The table also provides the average size of landholding in hectares, the number of livestock units (LSU), annual total per capita income, the number of labour power units (LPU), annual cash income (including income from wages, remittances and pensions), and finally, the percentage of households who have no livestock or land.

The Distribution of Land, Livestock, Labour and Household Cash Income					
% of Pop. in terms of access to each factor	Landholding % of Total	Livestock³ % of Total	Labour Power⁴ % of Total	Cash Income⁵ % of Total	Total Per/Cap Income
Bottom 20%	0.0	0.0	9.8	4.2	3.0
Bottom 40%	10.0	0.1	22.9	13.0	10.4
Top 20%	58.3	71.4	20.3	51.1	56.4
Top 5%	35.1	32.1	11.4	21.0	26.1
Mean of hh with factor	1.4h	5.0LSU	5.28LPU	R2 670	R528
% hh w/out	23.1	39.1	NA	NA	NA
Sample Size = 1085					

The most noteworthy features of this table are:

With respect to the distribution of landholdings, the top 5 percent, representing those with the larger plots of land, controlled 35 percent of land as against the bottom 40 percent who had only garden plots and possessed 9 percent of the total land; the distribution of livestock was also highly uneven, with the top 5 percent, those with herds of 12 LSU or more, owning 32 percent of the total herd, whereas the bottom 20 percent owned only small stock;

The distribution of labour power was more even, with a mean per household of 5,28 and median of 4,9. However 10 percent of the sample had less than 2,5 LPU, that is to say, fewer than two adults and one child of between 9 and 12 years of age. These households were mostly comprised of elderly couples. The largest households in the top 5 percent on the other hand, had 9,5 LPU or more with a maximum of 25,2 LPU. It must be emphasised that a larger LPU does not necessary imply that a household is in some way

³. Five small stock units (sheep, pigs goats) equal one livestock unit (LSU).

⁴. The measurement of labour power reproduces the work of Derre and de Janvry (1981:343-345), who weighted the labour contribution of all household members according to their age. The weights are consistent for both men and women, and are as follows: 0-3 years = 0; 4-5 years = 0,1; 6-8 years = 0,3; 9-12 years = 0,5; 13-17 years = 0,8; 18-59 years = 1,0; 60-65 years = 0,8; 66-75 years = 0,5; 75+ = 0,3.

⁵. Income data has been adjusted for inflation to the base year of 1985 using the consumer price index for low income groups.

fortunate in terms of either income or quality of life. Indeed, households in the top 5 percent of this ranking had a mean per-capita income equal to two thirds of the mean for the bottom 20 percent, although they had more than 5 times as many migrants. Ranking by LPU does however mean that the top households have more labour available for field work, wage labour, home chores and so on, and are most likely to be in that stage of household life-cycle, in which consumption needs have reached their maximum;

Cash incomes were also unevenly distributed although less so than land or livestock, with the richest households in the top 5 percent of the sample receiving 21 percent of total cash income with a range of between R7 693 and R21 083 per annum. In contrast, the bottom 20 percent, received only 4 percent of cash income, had a range of between R30 and R888 per annum;

Per capita incomes were more unequally distributed than household incomes showing the influence of household size upon relative poverty lands. The bottom 40 percent of households had an annual per capita income of between R2,50 and R250, as opposed to the top 5 percent with a range of R1 650 to R7 500;

A comparatively large number of households were without the necessary factors of subsistence production. Almost one quarter of the rural households did not have access to land, and 39 percent did not own any livestock. In all 16 percent of the sample did not have access to either of the factors of subsistence production, and 30 percent did not have access to one or other of the necessary factors, 7 percent with only stock, and 23 percent only land. These households face severe constraints with regard to subsistence production. For example, whilst the latter group could still plant, they may be severely constrained with regard to fulfilling the traction requirements of cultivation. These households could hire or borrow cattle or tractors, or plough by hand. For each of these alternatives ploughing might be completed later, or cash refunds might not be available. In either case, the costs of planting are significantly increased. Half of the sample, controlling 88 percent of livestock and 75 percent of available land, had the minimum factors of production necessary for self-sufficient cultivation;

Amongst households which did have access to land, the average plot size was only 1,4 hectare. This is well below the 4,6 hectare of arable land which was suggested by the Tomlinson Commission as being ideal in the mixed farming regions of the homelands. In addition, 28 percent of the landholding households had access to only 0,5 hectare garden plots;

Amongst households which did own livestock, the mean herd size was 5,0 animals. However, Bembridge (1979) has calculated that least 6 animals are needed to adequately meet any of the primary survival and subsistence needs, such as food production and drought.

The most important conclusion which can be drawn from this table are as follows:

Although termed rural, a large percentage of the sample population could not really be considered as subsistence farmers as they lacked one or both of the necessary factors of agricultural production. While it is possible that some of those households could borrow or lease land and livestock, it follows that the majority must rely upon non-farm income

generation such as from wage labour and transfer payments. Moreover, amongst those households who did have access to both rural factors of production, average landholding and herd size were below the minimum estimated for economic viability.

In addition, the data also shows that the sample is highly stratified, both with regard to access to the individual subsistence factors of production, as well as in terms of per capita income. Casual inspection of the data suggests the inequalities are most extreme in the case of livestock, and least in the case of labour power. The former may be a result of household's saving in the form of livestock, and would therefore represent the characteristic distribution of wealth, a similar result to that noted in Lesotho and Transkei (Muller, 1987)..

As it might be expected that differentiation in the rural areas would lead to the concentration of all agricultural resources into the hands of a privileged group, the extent to which livestock, land and cash income are accumulated jointly is indicated in the table below. This table shows the relationship between the cash income of the household and whether it has access to one, both or neither of the subsistence factors of production (land and livestock).

Access to the Subsistence Factors of Production (Subs FoP) and Cash Income Group			
Income Group In Cash Terms	% Pop. with no access to Subs Fop	% Pop. with one Subs Fop	% Pop. with both Subs Fop
Poorest 20%	12.4	33.0	54.5
Poorest 40%	12.7	33.3	54.0
Richest 20%	28.0	22.2	49.8
Richest 5%	28.3	22.6	49.1
Total	16.1	30.0	53.9
Sample Size = 1098			

Unexpectedly the Table shows that a smaller percentage of the poorest income group did not have access to these factors than was the case amongst households in the wealthiest two groups (12 percent and 28 percent respectively). Despite this, a similar proportion of households in all groups had access to both factors, and it is those who have one or other of land and livestock, which decrease proportionally as cash income rises. This suggests that higher incomes appear to be associated with an increasing degree of specialisation, either towards the ownership of both subsistence factors of production in conjunction with wage labour. When the actual sizes of landholding and herd are examined, there is a tendency for the wealthier groups to own more. This is shown in the next table which provides the average size of landholding, the number of livestock owned and the labour power value of the household, for each income group.

Although the proportion of landless households in each income group increases from one fifth of the poorest 40 percent to two fifths of the richest 5 percent, landholdings were notably larger in the higher income groups.

Land, Livestock and Labour by Cash income Group			
Income group in cash terms	Mean Landsize (hectare)	Livestock (LSU)	Labour Power (LPU)
Poorest 20%	1.2	4.9	4.9
Poorest 40%	1.3	4.4	5.9
Richest 20%	1.8	6.6	5.7
Richest 5%	3.1	9.3	6.3
Sample Size = 1 114			

In the case of livestock, households with no animals were evenly distributed at around 40 percent of each income group, but again herd sizes were larger for the richer households. Finally, labour power size also increases, although the largest households (those with more than 9,5 LPU) were distributed throughout all of the income groups. If one were to apply life-cycle theory, this concentration of land and livestock associated with larger households, suggests that there is a tendency for wealthier households to fall into "State II" or "Stage III" period of the life-cycle, in which bigger households command both agricultural resources and higher cash incomes. In contrast, households in the poorer groups tend towards either "Stage I" or "Stage IV", in which family size is respectively, increasing or decreasing, and agricultural resources and incomes are either still accumulating or dissipating (May, 1987).

To summarise, the most important factor which structures the total income of households in all groups is access to wage employment. Indeed, those without this income form the most poor group, with an income which is half the average of the total sample. Peasant production, including the production of commodities for sale or exchange does allow a minority of households to increase their income and to save, both in the traditional form of cattle, as well as at banks and building societies. Nonetheless, these households are still heavily reliant upon wage income. Finally, households who are marginalised, in the sense that they are excluded from the wage economy, or are less successfully combining wage labour with some peasant production, have lower incomes and are less likely to have any kind of savings.

It is suggested that the empirical categories above can be very roughly collapsed into the following typology of households:

Wage Dependent - wholly committed to wage labour, some to 15 percent of the sample;

Commodity Producing - able to farm and engage in informal sector production, although also engaged in wage labour, some 10 to 15 percent of the sample;

Combining Strategies - comprising the archetypal migrant labourer, unable to farm effectively but unable to forsake agriculture as a last resort, some 60 to 70 percent of the sample;

Subsisting - marginalised and poor, relying upon transfers, charity and on other survival strategies, some 15 to 20 percent of the sample;

Of course, any categorisation such as this is static and neglects the dynamics of a social system, but as the life-cycle theorists have argued, having picked out the principle mechanism/engine of change in the rural areas (the migrant labour system) the movements of households can now be broadly deduced from their composition.

To push this analysis a little further so as to allow for a more dynamic categorisation, this typology can be broken down further.

Rural Dwellers : Households who use land solely for residential purposes, that is they do not cultivate any land and do not have large stock for small stock. Two groups can be identified :

Marginalised Households: Likely to be households in direst poverty; ageing households; female headed households; households without a breadwinner; households where the major barrier to agricultural production is absolute poverty. This group is estimated to make up 10 percent of the rural population;

Urbanising Households: Likely to be households with both husband and wife who are migrants; households in denser settlements which are near to major urban areas; households where the major barrier to agricultural production is lack of interest in agriculture as an economic activity. This group is estimated to make up 20 percent of the rural population.

Rural Producers: Households who rely upon the land to provide a minor part of their subsistence needs, that is they engaged in agricultural and/or pastoral activities which supplements other economic activities. Two groups can be defined:

Peasantariat: Likely to be households where the "breadwinner" is a migrant or commuter but maintain some form of agricultural activity; households who are engaged in a variety of activities - ie not specialising in any one economic activity other than wage labour; households in which the major barrier to agricultural production is available labour time. This group is estimated to make up 59 percent of the rural population;

Emerging Farmers: Likely to be households with small herds of stock, both large and small and/or are cultivating small plots of land; households showing some signs of specialising in a form of agricultural activity; households in which the head of the household has not/no longer migrates although remittance may be received from a relative; households where the major barrier to agricultural production is the lack of sufficient agricultural resources. This group is estimated to make up 7.5 percent of the rural population.

Farmers: Households who use land as an important means of generating an income, that is, land usage complements other economic activities and could be a viable alternative. Two groups can be identified :

Self-sufficient Farmers: Likely to be households who have smaller plots of land but are farming efficiently and therefore able to produce for their own consumption; smaller households; households who are ageing but have land or livestock; households where the

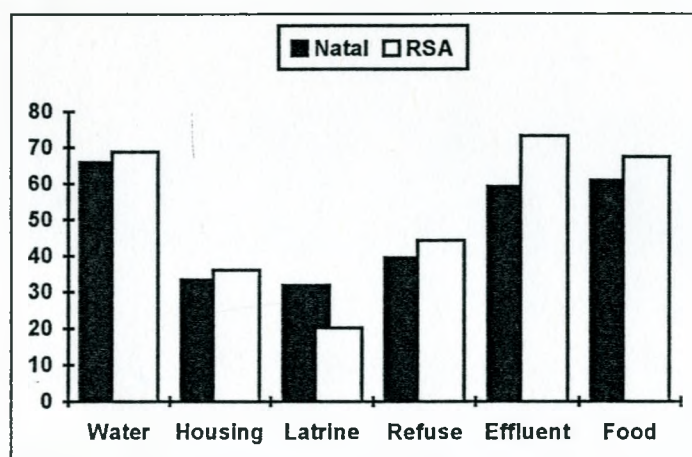
major barrier to agricultural production is the lack of more specialised resources and labour power. This group is estimated to make up 1 percent of the rural population;

Commercial Farmers: Likely to be households with larger plots of land and/or larger herd sizes; households where the "breadwinner" is a full time farmer; households who are marketing their products; households where the major barrier to agricultural production is the lack of capital, specialised knowledge and markets. This group is estimated to make up 2.5 percent of the rural population.

SERVICES, FACILITIES AND BASIC NEEDS

Administratively, the rural areas of Region E are serviced by two Homeland governments and the Natal Provincial Administration. However, the area of Region E designated as white is far from unambiguous, and Ardington (1989:10-20) has detailed the complicated arrangements which deal with 'Scheduled Areas', Designated Areas, Transit Areas, 'Released Areas' and areas added in terms of various consolidation proposals. Suffice to say, the boundaries between homeland and non-homeland areas are by no means as fixed as state documents suggest.

The delivery of services by the state to rural populations is problematic worldwide. In Region E, the complications that have arisen as a result of the political boundaries imposed during the past decades has considerably worsened this situation. The replication of services for the different race groups has necessitated far larger coverage areas and increased costs. In a review of the conditions of blacks living in rural Natal, Ardington (1989:7) concludes that access to basic amenities is extremely limited, and more importantly, that the security of access to housing and amenities is minimal. In a comparative study of facilities in the rural areas of South Africa, excluding the Homeland areas, the Department of National Health (1992) provides the following overview of basic subsistence facilities⁶.



The table suggests that access to facilities in rural Natal is somewhat lower than for the rest of South Africa with the exception to the percentage of the rural population who have access to effective domestic latrine facilities.

⁶. The data represents the percentage of the rural population who have access to safe and adequate domestic water, housing, latrines, refuse removal, effluent disposal, and hygienic handling of food.

Education Facilities

In rural Natal, 82 percent of the schools for blacks are farm schools and Ardington (1989:37) goes on to comment that there is no actual system for the provision of education for blacks in rural Natal and therefore education facilities have developed in a haphazard fashion. Ninety-six percent of the schools in rural Natal were primary schools and 70 percent did not go beyond Standard Four. Teacher/pupil ratios are poor with 40 percent of schools having a ratio exceeding 1:45. As such, it is not surprising that fifty percent of blacks in rural Natal had not received any education compared to 44 percent of blacks in rural KwaZulu and 26 percent in urban Natal (CSS, 1985). In terms of the number of years of education completed by individuals, urban areas exhibited a mean of 5,7 years and a median of 6,0 years. The corresponding figures for their rural counterparts were a mean of 3,8 years and a median of 2,5 years (Perkins and May (1987)

Health Services

Turning to health services, in 1989 there were 21 hospitals and 75 clinics which admitted blacks in Natal. Mobile clinics operate from 644 points in Natal and 71 in KwaZulu. The service in KwaZulu does not appear to have quite the same coverage in terms of mobile clinics although there are many more permanent clinics, and there were 170 clinics and 424 mobile stops operating from KwaZulu Hospitals (Moore and Booysen, 1987:168). Krige (1988:32) estimates that 70 percent of the rural population in Natal are within 5km of a mobile clinic, 33 percent are within 10km of a permanent clinic or hospital and access to basic health care appears to be better in neighbouring Swaziland than in Natal.

Transport

The transport sector and road networks have been dealt with elsewhere. It is worth stressing, however, that access to services and facilities, as well as to urban centres and employment nodes is fundamentally determined by the availability and accessibility of transport. While the transport sector has been transformed by the expansion of the taxi industry, the condition and extent of the road network has not kept pace with the usage of these roads. As a result, many rural communities report that taxi's will no longer use certain road networks as the potential cost of damage to a vehicle exceeds the potential earners from commuters. This has a threefold impact: The growth of the taxi service in rural areas is curtailed, reducing the potential of this industry as an employer; the access of the rural population to services and facilities is constrained; and finally, the ability of the rural population to take advantage of marketing opportunities in small urban centres is limited.

Measures which seek to address this system can take advantage of the substantial opportunities for labour intensive production methods that exist in public works programmes of this nature.

CONCLUSION

Population dynamics in Region R indicate that the dominance of urbanisation as a social force has limited implications for the population numbers in rural areas. While it is true that the provision of bulk services is cheaper for the state in urban areas, and therefore that state expenditure could be efficiently utilised for the provision of housing and services in these areas, it would be incorrect to deduce that the rural areas could be neglected and the absolute size of the population will in fact

increase. Urbanisation is also not a cost-free action for rural families and involves numerous costs which include the cost of obtaining shelter, the cost of transfer and the potential opportunity cost of leaving the rural home. Moreover, a decision to move will be based upon the availability of employment rather than access to housing and services. As such, many rural families are unlikely to move immediately, or in their entirety, and indeed, it is possible that the soaring levels of urban unemployment might result in a reverse flow of migration to the rural areas in which there is at least some access to the means of agricultural production. It might therefore, prove strategic for the central and regional state to adopt measures which attempt balance the pace of urbanisation and urban based development through programmes of rural development.

Revitalising the rural economy of Region E is likely to consist of three elements. Firstly, the restructuring of the agricultural sector, secondly, enhancing incomes that are earned from non-agricultural activities, and thirdly, addressing the current inadequate supply of services and facilities to the bulk of the rural population. Other potential goals of a rural development strategy might include boosting agricultural production, changing the production process, redressing past imbalances in the sector, or simply maintaining existing techniques and production levels (de Klerk, 1990; Van Zyl and Van Rooyen, 1990).

Restructuring the Commercial Agriculture Sector : This contentious issue could contribute towards dealing with the problem of poverty in the Homeland parts of Region E and amongst farm labourers in Natal. The ability of the agricultural sector to absorb unskilled labour through labour intensive production is an important factor in this respect (Weiner, 1989:422). The sector also has the potential to promote wealth redistribution and encourage the proper exploitation of presently under-utilised agricultural resources such as livestock grazed in the Homelands and farmland currently not used in both the Homelands and Natal.

The present food production process in South Africa could also represent a political risk since it is largely controlled by conservative white farmers who have historically shown a capacity to form an influential lobby. By so doing, this group have been able to obtain special privileges, often at the cost of other groupings in the economy. As such, a phased deracialisation of agriculture could be a desirable long term goal. Likewise, the demands of blacks for land, arising from land hunger in the rural areas of the Homelands as well as the political dimension of the distribution of land over the past 40 years could also become an issue if not resolved. In this regard, it is important to recognise that in other countries which have had drastically uneven distribution of land and which have not effectively dealt with this inequality, such as Chile, Nicaragua, Colombia, Peru, Angola and Mozambique, have experienced up to forty years of unrest and civil war. Consequently, any government committed to a socially just economic system will find itself compelled to address the needs and aspirations of a substantial rural population (Urban Foundation, 1990).

The development of the agriculture sector itself is potentially an appropriate strategy for South Africa as a whole. Generally, agriculture development can be structured so as to represent good usage of scarce capital and the relatively low skill requirements of agriculture is also more suited to the present structure of the South Africa labour market. The well developed road system and agri-industrial base of Natal could be extended to all parts of Region E providing the potential for adding value to agricultural products through processing. Further, both urbanisation and population growth will ensure an expanding market for food items.

Promoting Non-Farm Activities: Efforts to restructure agriculture are likely to have multiplier effects on rural towns in terms of their impact on non-farm activities. Large scale capital intensive

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agriculture has contributed towards the decay of small towns in South Africa (Mbongwa and Muller, 1992:69) which in many cases have become receiving areas for displaced farmworkers. Were smaller more labour intensive farm unit be promoted, it is very likely that the population using small towns would increase, with a concomitant increase in the demand for services and goods as well as for labour. Furthermore, urban economies have the potential to generate additional jobs in the informal sector as small traders and manufacturers take advantage of the larger market. This can potentially be enhanced by appropriate infrastructural, institutional and financial support.

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Eco-tourism could play a role in this regard. The potential of this activity has already been dealt with elsewhere in the study, however, of importance to this paper is the importance of forming appropriate linkages to the rural communities in which tourist facilities are provided. Obviously, craft production is one possibility, which would imply the provision of credit facilities in rural areas for micro-enterprises. The provision of training for people seeking to move into the renting of facilities and other higher skilled activities is another area for intervention. Currently, little attention has been directed towards the fostering of the rural micro-enterprise sector and this then represents a significant area for future effort.

The Delivery and Management of Services: There is obviously a need for a substantial improvement in the supply of services such as health, education and transport. Other critical needs include access to clean and adequate water and low cost safe energy. In view of the high levels of mobility in the Region, access to tele-communications should not be disregarded. When attempting to meet this list of needs in Africa, the World Bank (1989) has stressed the need for an enabling environment and the building of capacity. This refers to the provision of infrastructure, services and incentives which foster development, as well as the requirement of enhanced capacities of people and institutions. In dealing with the problems of gaining access social services, the World Bank goes on to suggest five main courses of action:

Economic measures to reverse declining per capita incomes to achieve at least a modest gain in living standards;

Lowering birth rates;

Allocating additional state funds to education and health which are complemented by tapping into private sector resources. In addition, reorientating higher education toward effective and relevant skills training;

Undertake serious measures to reduce costs, promote cost sharing, encourage peoples participation in service management, expand outreach and raise the efficiency of social services;

Embark on mainstream activities which reach both genders effectively.

Finally, any reform which seeks to revitalize the rural areas of Region E should not be regarded as a once-off exercise, but rather a structured and integrated programme that seeks the improvement of both the welfare of the rural population and of the economic potential of the rural sector as an employer, welfare net and producer. As such the nature of any redistribution policies are going to be extremely complex, and it is quite likely that attention will first be directed towards the restructuring of land ownership in the existing Homelands and the areas immediately adjacent. It is

pertinant to heed de Klerk's (1990) warning that there are significant economic costs attached to most approaches to land reform. Consequently, because of the different roles of agriculture, it seems that several types of redistribution strategy would be more desirable than a blanket approach. These types would be determined by the area, objectives, and the availability of resources, both human and physical.

As a final comment, it would be a mistake to assume that land reform on its own will revitalise the rural economy agriculture, address equity problems or satisfy the needs of impoverished households. As Vink (1986) has commented, the restructuring of agriculture is only a part of the restructuring of the social system as a whole.

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