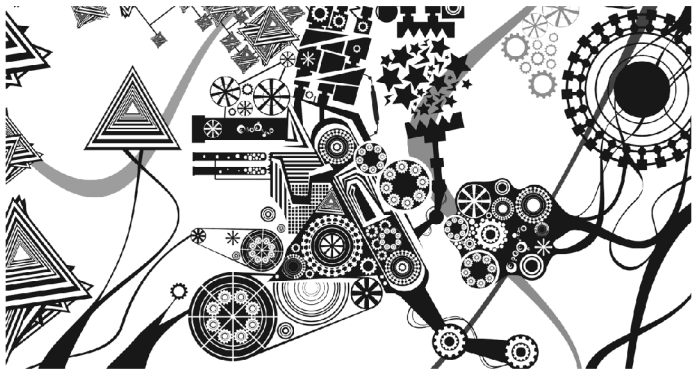
RURAL AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Only study guide for

DVA3702



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CONTENTS

STUDY UNIT 3

STUDY UNIT 4

STUDY UNIT 5

THEME B

STUDY UNIT 6

STUDY UNIT 7

THEME C

STUDY UNIT 8

STUDY UNIT 9

AN INTRODUCTION TO YOUR STUDIES

Welcome to Development Studies (module DVA3702).

In this module we will work with the following issues:

(1) the relationship between rural and urban development
(2) implications of urban migration
(3) integrated versus sectoral rural development
(4) the developmental role of urban and rural local government institutions
(5) rural growth points
(6) urban upgrading
(7) rural and urban development policies and strategies

This study guide is divided into three themes which cover all the above issues. The three themes are as follows:

(1) theme A: The rural-urban interface
(2) theme B: Key issues in rural development
(3) theme C: Key issues in urban development

Each of these themes is further subdivided into study units. Each study unit has learning outcomes, telling you what you should be able to do when you have worked through the study unit. This will help you to plan your study programme in detail.

First read the following important information before going on with your studies:

This is a study guide, not a textbook. The objectives of the study guide are to:

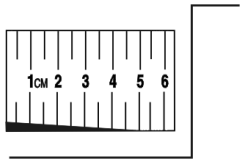
(1) introduce you to various themes
(2) direct you to specific reading
(3) structure your studies through a number of activities

The study guide is divided into three themes, each dealing with a number of topics. Each theme is in turn divided into a number of study units. A study unit aims to deal with a limited area of learning in a manageable format. You should be able to work through the material in an individual study unit in one sitting.

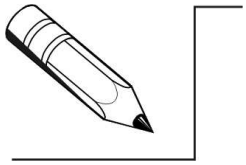
The study guide is the starting point of your studies. Work through it from beginning to end, do the reading when you are asked to do so, and complete the activities when you come to them. Remember to file your notes where you can find them when you need them for doing an assignment or preparing for the examination.

To complete this module successfully **you must have all the prescribed reading material available** (see Tutorial letter 101 for the list of prescribed books). Without the prescribed reading material you will not succeed.

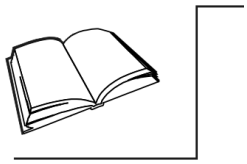
In Tutorial letter 101 a number of assignments are set. Each assignment focuses on a set piece of tutorial matter and gives you the opportunity to collate, integrate, evaluate and, to an extent, to apply the knowledge you have gained up to that point.



You will find this icon at the beginning of each study unit, indicating the **learning outcomes** set. First read the outcomes carefully. Then, as you progress through the study unit, constantly refer back to them and use them as a guide.



This icon indicates an activity that requires you to **write** a paragraph or page about an aspect of the prescribed reading. Writing activities are indicated throughout the study units and form part of your study. The activities aim to give you the opportunity to make summaries, apply knowledge and formulate ideas and arguments.



This icon indicates a **reading activity**. You will be asked to read specific sections of the prescribed reading matter which you must study. You will then be asked to make a summary or list from it.

Each study unit concludes with a learning **outcomes check list**. This check list consists of statements, and you must respond to them by indicating ''yes'' or ''no''. Indicate honestly whether or not you have achieved the outcomes. If you cannot answer with a ''yes'' return to the study unit and revise the material.

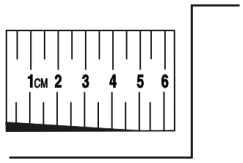
THEME A

THE RURAL-URBAN INTERFACE

The main thrust of this module is that rural and urban development are not two separate things. Rural development influences urban areas and urban development influences rural areas. As time passes, it is also becoming increasingly difficult to differentiate between urban and rural areas. Urban areas are not typically urban in the tradition of Western cities and rural areas are not that different from urban areas. Each has some characteristics of the other and what are known as urban services are not exclusive to urban areas. Finally, development is about human beings, not about areas, and human beings move frequently between rural and urban areas and are influenced by life in these areas. For all these reasons we deal with urban and rural development in one module and the first theme of this module deals with the relationship between the two kinds of development.

STUDY UNIT 1

THE INTEGRATED CHARACTER OF RURAL AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT



LEARNING OUTCOMES

When you have worked through this study unit, you should be able to:

(1) engage in the study of rural-urban development by describing issues identified in a case study
(2) show understanding of the complexity of rural-urban development by identifying the human, economic and environmental links between rural and urban areas
(3) give an account of the characteristics of the *urban bias* debate

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In this study unit, you will learn about the integrated nature of rural-urban development. The main objective is to understand that in this era, it is difficult to separate development as happening only in rural or urban areas. The point is to ensure that development occurs in both spatial areas because people are not confined to only one area but move around all the time. Although people may settle in an urban area, they are likely to keep contact with the rural areas they came from. Above all, the integrated nature of rural and urban development is a result of the recognition that poverty and unemployment cannot be tackled by concentrating on one side of the situation only. Development planning has to be holistic.

Given this understanding, it is also essential for policymakers to understand that agricultural production is not exclusive to rural areas, since it also happens in urban areas; and that non-agricultural production also takes place in rural areas regardless of the extent to which these activities happen. If policymakers understand the integrated and interdependent nature of people's livelihoods, they will be better able to plan across spatial boundaries. In this study unit, we introduce you to theoretical viewpoints that explain the dichotomy between rural and urban areas and then turn to those areas that create connections between the two spatial areas.

ACTIVITY 1.1

Please read the following quote from the *Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (ISRDS)* (2000:8). The ISRDS document forms part of the *Reader*.

Rural-Urban Linkages

Rural-urban linkages take many forms, some of which are particularly important with a view to developing a strategy for integrated sustainable rural development (ISRDS). The more dynamic types of linkages are found in:

(a) the movements of people between rural and urban households (many of which are of a circular nature), and these include temporary migration (as in seasonal moves) and labour migration (including weekly commuting)
(b) the more permanent migration of people from rural to urban areas and vice versa
(c) the movement of people operating from a single (urban or rural) household (as in daily commuting or school trips, shopping trips and short-term visits)
(d) the movement of resources (such as money and remittances), commodities (as in the production-market chains for agricultural produce), and services (eg mail delivery).

The more static (or long-term) types of linkages are found mainly in the infrastructural connections between rural and urban areas (eg roads, railway lines, and water, electricity and telecommunication networks).

In the absence of these linkages neither rural nor urban development can take place. The ISRDS should therefore not only be aimed at integrating only *rural* development actions, but it should also incorporate actions to integrate rural and urban areas.

ACTIVITY 1.2

In the texts you have just read, the core issues of the rural-urban debate are mentioned. In not more than two sentences each, describe what the texts say about the following issues:

Urban land: .....

.....

Housing and squatting in urban areas: .....

.....

Urban services: .....

.....

Local institutions for development: .....

.....

Now turn to the contents page of this study guide and see where the issues are discussed. Note that some of the study units discuss issues that are not listed above.

- -

In your feedback on the activities you should have discovered the core issues of the rural-urban development debate. While it is possible to identify the separate issues, the solution to development problems lies in a holistic and integrated development approach.

1.2 THEORETIC VIEWPOINTS

In the period from the end of World War II (1945) until the end of the first Development Decade (at the close of the 1960s), *modernisation* was considered to be the key to development in the Third World. Modernisation was geared to industrialisation — mainly in urban areas — to the extent that urban areas were characterised as "motors for development" (Gellar 1967). During the 1970s, however, it was increasingly realised that the concentration of material resources and human resources in urban development did not deal with the whole development problem because rural development also required attention.

The success of the Marshall Plan, according to which the USA provided large amounts of money and technical assistance to European countries who had fallen victim to World War II, resulted in the assumption that the underdeveloped Third World needed only capital investments and to follow the historical development pattern of developed countries in order to become industrially developed countries. The West assumed that these countries would follow the same path of development and industrialisation as the modern Western world. Modernisation theory developed from this one-sided intellectual environment (which was strongly influenced by the cold-war politics of the 1950s and 1960s) (Todaro 1982:88).

Policy-makers, development practitioners and students in development studies (which includes the fields of development administration, economics, political science and geography) shared in the postwar optimism that Western theories, technology and institutions were suitable for application in a Third World environment (Knippers-Black 1991:24 et seq; Higgott 1983:2). It was generally accepted that the problems of Third World countries could be solved by applying theories which resulted from the study of the historical evolution of the West.

Assumption means acceptance of something without real proof that it is so, in other words a belief, a taking of something for granted.

This led, in the 1960s, to the belief that modernisation was the key to the development of the disadvantaged and underdeveloped Third World. The *assumption* was that the stimulation of economic growth in general and industrialisation in particular would eventually provide the answers to the development of Third World countries. The manifestation of development was considered to consist of a series of stages which all countries had to go through. It was an economic theory of development, where economy, investment and foreign

aid were regarded as the principal methods of achieving economic growth and general development. Development therefore became synonymous with economic growth and was regarded as economic growth by means of industrialisation, specialisation, maximisation of national income and centralisation of authority and planning, service provision and the allocation of growth benefits. The human component of development did not receive much attention.

This process of modernisation included industrialisation — mainly in urban areas. Supporters of the modernisation school of thought regarded it as their task to manipulate the spatial organisation in order to achieve certain development objectives.

In the process of urbanisation, this approach resulted in the selective concentration of development inputs in certain centres, based on the assumption that this would streamline the urban system and bring about a more effective and more rapid spread of development through the urban hierarchy to areas outside the centres. Development efforts were aimed at industry building and large investments were made in urban areas. Cities were regarded as ''motors for development'' and the expectation was that the relative prosperity of the cities and industrial growth would trickle down from the industrial *metropolises* to the rural areas (Rondinelli & Ruddle 1978:20; Gellar 1967).

A *metropolis* is a large urban place or a city.

This viewpoint regarding the urban-rural relationship was supported by the classical economic theory (Rondinelli 1991:335). Modernisation theory and its fundamental evolutionary paradigm remained the dominant ideology throughout the 1950s and 1960s, which explains its large-scale acceptance by developing countries. It was believed that stimulation of economic growth and industrialisation would eventually provide the answer to underdevelopment and its manifestations (Higgott 1983:9).

The feeling of wellbeing which characterised the independence of former colonies was gradually replaced by a realisation of the extent of the problem of subsistence poverty facing Third World countries. This led to more and more criticism against the basic assumptions of the modernisation theory. The dependency approach offered an important critique of the modernisation approach. The interaction between political and economic factors provides the basis for this approach (Fair 1982:22). The basic idea of the dependency approach is that the capitalist world economy which originated in the West had become established worldwide through a process of imperialism. This process gave rise to a world economy in which the core or centre (European and North American powers) exploited the periphery (Third World countries) and kept them in a position of dependency. Supporters of the dependency approach blame the absence of development (underdevelopment) experienced by countries in the periphery on the existence of a world economy (which was essentially in favour of the Western countries).

According to the dependency school of thought, the metropolises and cities in the Third World are in fact instruments of exploitation. Similarly, rural towns and growth centres are instruments through which metropolises or cities exploit the rural interior. This exploitation is seen as a chain, starting in the industrialised capitalist states and stretching into the most remote rural areas of Third World countries. Cities, towns and rural growth centres all form links in the chain. In conclusion, according to De Souza and Porter (1974), cities are regarded by the dependency school of thought as ''centers of colonial domination in the service of

international capitalism, subjecting regional and national hinterlands to economic satellization and exploitation'' (Fair 1982:21).

The dependency school of thought's criticism of the modernisation school of thought may be regarded as valuable in pointing out the shortcomings of the modernisation approach. Nevertheless, the dependency approach cannot be accepted without any criticism. A fundamental problem of this approach is that it points out the shortcomings of modernisation without offering any real solutions. We therefore find ourselves in a theoretical dead end.

The modernisation and dependency schools of thought provide the basis for numerous debates about strategies of development that would be fair to both the rural and urban areas. In order to identify these strategies we must look at the integrated nature of the urban-rural situation in the Third World.

ACTIVITY 1.3

(Spend 45 minutes on this activity.)

''The dichotomy between rural and urban spaces as a result of modernisation has meant that rural spatial areas remain undeveloped compared to urban spatial areas''.

Using the article by Cruickshank (2009) in the *Reader*, discuss the validity of the above statement.

In your feedback on the activity you should have discovered the core issues of the rural-urban development debate. While it is possible to identify the separate issues, the solution to development problems lies in the use of a holistic and integrated development approach.

1.3 INTERACTION BETWEEN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS

Utilise means to make use of

Interaction between rural and urban areas can be seen in various ways. The most visible interaction is probably the flow of people, in other words migration. The flow of capital and goods between the areas represents the economic interaction. Human beings *utilise* their environment in order to meet their economic and social needs. As a result of factors such as overpopulation, inadequate resources and poor planning, the environment becomes exhausted and environmental degradation takes place. The city and urban industries contribute largely to such degradation; the surrounding rural areas, too, are subjected to urban practices which are harmful to the environment and natural resources.

From the above you can easily come to the conclusion that there are three clear links between the rural and urban areas. They are the human link, the economic link and the environmental link. Let's look at these links.

The article by Cruickshank (2009) shows some of the origins of the division of the spatial areas into rural and urban and the results thereof. The article makes it clear that the one-sided favour given to urban areas is largely motivated by economic considerations. But the article also shows that that view is skewed. The integrated

nature of rural and urban development can be seen in a number of areas. Flora and Flora (2008), Von Braun (2007), Tacoli (2004), Tostensen (2004), Okpala (2003), and the UNDP (2000) identify a number of factors as drivers for the integrated character of rural and urban development. These are discussed below.

1.3.1 Technology

Technology has created a situation whereby the world has, in a way, become almost as small as a village. Through technology, communication has become very easy and affordable for almost everyone. Various forms of technology have assisted in the quick flow of information and movement of people between areas leading to the development of new markets and services. Communication technologies have reduced the time it takes to travel between rural and urban areas and for people in these areas to communicate with one another, effectively eliminating or, at least, greatly reducing isolation. Think of the telephone, the cellular phone, the radio and television as forms of technology that have made the world look so small. Such technological developments have strengthened the links between rural and urban areas. Technology has not only made the distance between rural and urban seem smaller, it has also created opportunities for economic growth and development in rural areas. You need to think of technology broadly, and as including transportation and road networks.

1.3.2 Waste and pollution

The problems presented by pollution that emanates largely from urban areas affects those who live in rural areas as much as they affect people in the urban areas. Take, for instance, the issue of gas emissions. The effects are not limited to cities. Their impact on the ozone layer, for example, with the attendant effects on climate change flooding, droughts cannot be confined to cities. Rural areas are affected as weather patterns change and, in turn, change production patterns for the farming communities. Furthermore, the waste products of urban industries that end up in a country's water resources have severe effects on rural communities which, in many instances, use unpiped and unpurified water.

The toxicity of industrial chemicals shows itself in the form of acid rain, which does not necessarily fall in the urban areas that produce the toxins. Acid rain has major effects on rural societies because it leads to soil degradation and, in the long term, to poor harvests. The ultimate outcome is often migration of subsistence farmers to the cities in a bid to improve their standard of living.

1.3.3 Trade, capital flows and markets

Goods and services produced in either of the spatial areas are consumed in the other spatial area, or in both. This involves trading, capital flows and markets. Agricultural produce from rural areas, for example, is consumed in urban areas and clothing and textiles produced in urban areas are used in rural areas. Think what the outcome of a government policy that aims at increasing agricultural production without creating additional markets for such produce might be. This example makes the interrelatedness nature of rural production and urban markets very clear. Technology and improved road networks have dramatically changed how people spend money and commute to markets and workplaces. The link between

rural and urban is so strong such that neither of the two can claim independence from the other.

1.3.4 Physical infrastructure

For any development to occur, the physical infrastructure (e.g. the road system) is crucial. Take, as an example, the delivery of foodstuffs to the urban areas. Without proper roads, the urban areas would be at some disadvantage when it came to receiving their food. Roads (and other infrastructure) therefore play a critical role in ensuring the integration of rural and urban areas.

You should not see the physical infrastructure as applicable to goods only: think also of the mobility of people. You have learnt that isolation is one of the major causes and/or contributing factors to poverty. In fact, isolation is one of the major features of rurality. Without proper road infrastructure, movement becomes very difficult. The improvement of roads helps create better connections between the rural and urban areas.

1.3.5 Decentralised government structures and political institutions

Governments are increasingly realising that distinguishing between rural and urban areas is to some extent unrealistic. The issues of poverty and unemployment know no boundaries. When opportunities in the rural areas dry up, people inevitably flock to urban areas in search of a better life. In addition, the demand for social services, for example, is also no longer limited to urban areas. In order to address these problems, governments are increasingly turning their attention to the development of both rural and urban areas through policies of decentralisation. Decentralisation policies ensure that boundaries cut across different areas. Municipalities are increasingly becoming inclusive of both poor and better-off areas, and of both rural and urban areas. The intention is to ensure interdependency, as we explain in this study unit.

In South Africa, for example, municipalities are constitutionally required to adopt a developmental approach in order to ensure that sustainable development takes places. The intention is that even the less developed rural areas will be able to benefit from the better-off urban areas. The government's local economic development (LED) policies also attempt to better integrate its rural-urban spatialities. The LEDs, cutting across political boundaries, ensure popular participation, inclusivity, better use of regional resources and capacity-building, among other things.

1.3.6 Land-use patterns

In the past, rural and urban areas were differentiated primarily by the nature of land-use. In the rural areas, land was used mainly for agricultural purposes while in the urban areas it was used for industrial and residential purposes. That distinction is fast disappearing. Today, urban areas share many features with rural areas, as may be seen in the farming activities taking place in urban areas such as those of Gauteng. Here, we notice that subsistence and commercial farming exist side by side with large industrial and commercial activities.

1.3.7 Remittances

Migrants in urban areas send money ''home'' from the cities and help create a demand on the part of the rural folk for goods produced in the cities. The city creates jobs for rural people who would otherwise be unemployed. Similarly, rural areas create employment for urban dwellers who work in vegetable shops or butcheries, for truck drivers and factory workers. Try to imagine the number of economic activities in the cities that depend on raw materials from the rural areas.

1.4 Urban bias

To what extent, then, does the economic interaction between urban and rural areas consist of advancing the cities at the expense of the countryside? And to what extent is the difference in conditions due to spatial specialisation which is of potential benefit to a region or country?

Lipton (1977:1) has advanced the thesis that the biggest conflict in Third World countries is:

> ... between the rural classes and the urban classes. The rural sector contains most of the poverty and most of the low-cost sources of potential advance; but the urban sector contains most of the organisation and power. So the urban classes have been able to ''win'' most of the rounds of struggle with the countryside.

Chambers (1983:4–5) expresses this as follows:

> At the one end there coexist rich, urban, industrialized, high status cores, and at the other, poor, rural agricultural and low status peripheries ... . Both internationally and within individual third world countries, centripetal forces draw resources and educated people away from the peripheries and towards the cores. Within Third World countries, skills migrate from rural to urban areas, and from smaller to larger urban centres, feeding in turn the international flows of the brain drain.

This echoes Frank's (1969:6) argument that:

> ... each of the satellites ... serves as an instrument to suck capital or economic surplus out of its own satellites ... moreover, each national and local metropolis serves to impose and maintain the monopolistic structure and exploitative relationship of this system.

Clearly the argument of these theorists has some merit. The main cities are indeed the point of entry for the immensely powerful worldwide economic forces. The cities contain the richest classes and the political elite. Even if the majority of the population lives outside the urban areas, which is still the case in most Third World countries, the cities often seem to be more dominant, dynamic and economically influential. With reference to the late 1970s, Gilbert and Gugler (1981:28) stated that ''in Pakistan Karachi generates 42 per cent of industrial value added and accommodates 50 per cent of all bank deposits compared to its 6 per cent of the national population''.

Gilbert and Gugler (1981:38) recognise that ''few now doubt that Third World urban and regional systems are a reflection of basically distorted patterns of development'', but they then situate the reality of the city's power and privilege within the context of the economic history of colonial and postcolonial countries. Gilbert and Gugler identify two main stages in the development of Third World regional systems dominated by urban areas: an initial export-orientation phase, characterised by main ports developing into primary cities, followed by a phase of ''industrialization, modernization and bureaucracy'', coupled with independence and efforts to build up some form of national economy. In the first phase, ''the urban-regional structure was the result of the imposition of a foreign trading system onto an indigenous system'' and ''urban primacy and the emergence of major cities was an outcome of export expansion and the channelling of the benefits arising from international trade'' (Gilbert & Gugler 1981:41). In the subsequent stage, during initial efforts at industrialisation, the same cities grew further as ''most market oriented companies tended to concentrate in the cities'' (Gilbert & Gugler 1981:46). Another feature of this more recent phase is the link between urban growth and privilege and politics (Gilbert & Gugler 1981:47):

> In many countries ... it can be argued that it is the location of government and the paraphernalia of modernization rather than industrial growth per se that is the principal source of urban and regional concentration.

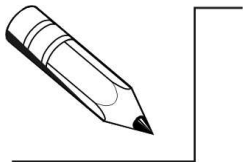
It is clear from this account that it is not the urban areas per se which are dominant, but rather specific economic and political groups.

It is also important not to see rural-urban relations only in terms of exploitation, as if the city is the enemy of the countryside. As Harris (1990:29) says, ''urban development is not an alternative to rural development: each is necessary for the other''. Part of what has happened with the growth of cities is a necessary territorial specialisation: ''cities produce an output of goods and services where, in conditions of relative economic backwardness, productivity is disproportionately enhanced by physical concentration''; and a poor country should have ''at least one concentration of workers with infrastructure of a reasonably high standard'' (Harris 1990:23). Harris (1990:29) also lists a number of ways in which the urban economy is useful to the rural economy: in areas adjoining the cities, more intensive and experimental cultivation can emerge; ''the city labour market offers part-time work in the agricultural off-season for cultivators''; ''concentrated urban markets with a relatively high growth of income provide expanding demand for agricultural outputs''; manufacturing industries including engineering and chemical industries provide direct inputs into agriculture; and high urban productivity may lead to surpluses for rural investment.

Distorted means that something has been pulled out of shape so that it is skew. *Affluent* means well-to-do or rich.

It should be clear that a *distorted* development path has led to the present urban-rural imbalance. It should also be clear that the existence of more *affluent* specialised areas (cities) is not an entirely negative situation. If we bear in mind the potential that cities offer, it may be easier to see the potential of rural areas, and also the obstructions in rural areas which prevent them from using the opportunities offered by the national situation. Although there are serious constraints as a result of the international economy and the urban-dominated national life, the ''disorganization and increasing inappropriateness'' of the structures in rural areas are obstacles in themselves (Mabogunje 1989:90). There is much room for both urban and rural improvement, and for the creative improvement of rural-urban interaction.

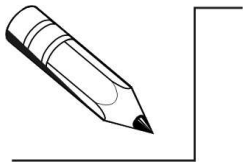
From the discussions in the sections above, it should be very clear that nothing short of an integrated national development policy will suffice. The need is for a policy that takes into account the complex economic dynamics involved in both rural and urban areas, and which will optimise the use of the resources of both spatial areas and help to establish optimal interaction between the growing cities and the countryside. It should also be clear that, in spite of this positive potential, the distorted development which present urban-rural systems have inherited, and political and economic powers at both national and international levels, work against the optimal use of economic opportunities.



ACTIVITY 1.4

Make a summary of the section entitled ''Urban bias'' by listing all the arguments, both for and against.

In this section, we have provided you with some insights into the factors (human, economic, technological, environmental etc) that create or contribute to linkages between rural and urban development. You should be able to see the interconnectedness of the two. It is the integrated character of the two spatialities that necessitates integrated thinking on the part of policymakers to ensure that development planning is evenly executed and to avoid urban bias.



ACTIVITY 1.5

(Spend one hour on this activity.)

Identify and explain the factors that account for the integrated character of rural and urban development in developing countries.

This question requires you to identify the factors that make rural areas important to urban areas and vice versa. To help you do this activity, read the articles by Tostensen (2004), Tacoli (2004), Okpala (2003) and UNDP (2000) in the *Reader.*

1.5 CONCLUSION

The foregoing indicates the extent of the interrelatedness of urban and rural development. When considering issues such as rural poverty and deforestation of the environment in more depth, the causes can often be found in the cities. The urban demand for certain agricultural products contributes to the commercialisation of agriculture. This results in a loss of land for the peasant farmer (and therefore the loss of the means to produce food) and contributes to rural-urban migration. The demand for wood and charcoal in the cities also contributes significantly to deforestation. Urban areas are therefore often the cause of problems in rural development, which necessitates that you consider each subject in your studies within a wider context.

A *holistic* view means one that sees everything as being connected; as forming part of a larger whole.

In Development Studies, the challenge is to take a *holistic* view of the development issue and to recognise the integrated nature of rural and urban development because of human, economic and environmental links between the two.

We emphasise this at the end of this unit because a holistic approach has not been followed in the past:

> Analyses of development problems based on the ''urban-rural dichotomy'' or on urban or rural bias, however, often lead to development policies and aid programmes that not only misrepresent the relations between urban growth and agricultural development but also overlook or ignore the mutually beneficial linkages between them. As a result, agricultural and urban development policies have been planned and implemented separately (Rondinelli 1986b:238).

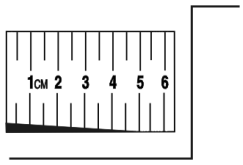
1.6 LEARNING OUTCOMES CHECK LIST

Use this check list to test yourself on this study unit.

Outcome	Can do	Cannot do
(1) I can describe the issues related to the study of integrated rural-urban development.		
(2) I can explain the human, economic and environmental links between rural and urban development.		
(3) I can identify and discuss the arguments used to explain *urban bias.*		

STUDY UNIT 2

CENTRALISATION VERSUS DECENTRALISATION



LEARNING OUTCOMES

When you have worked through this study unit, you should be able to:

(1) explain the difference between centralisation and decentralisation
(2) identify and explain the different policies in respect of decentralisation

2.1 INTRODUCTION

According to Rondinelli and Ruddle (1978:39), the increasing disparity between rich and poor in the Third World is the result of unequal distribution of social services, and physical facilities and unequal access to production factors. There are inequalities among individuals, but the main cause of inequality is the uneven development of regions as a result of an overconcentration of production factors, social services and infrastructure in the cities. Unbalanced regional development in the Third World is caused by unbalanced spatial development as can be seen in the growth of primate cities. A network of urban and service centres linking the rural hinterland with urban areas is lacking in most regions.

This state of affairs, and more particularly the role of cities in national development, is explained in different ways by various schools of thought. These may be placed on a continuum ranging from a perception of cities as negative (eg the view that urbanisation in the Third World is artificially introduced at the expense of rural areas), to a perception of cities as positive (eg the view that cities have the best development potential and that investment should therefore be concentrated in those areas). In this latter regard, Pugh (2000:x) states: ''Cities are the engine of economic growth and provide jobs, services and the promise of a better quality of life.'' The extremes of this continuum are therefore roughly represented by the arguments for and against urbanisation, which favour centralisation and decentralisation respectively. Between these poles there are views giving equal importance to urban and rural development, and other approaches which do not consider the inequality between the urban and rural sectors to be an obstacle and focus instead on development planning in terms of spatial patterns.

2.2 CENTRALISATION

In this section we consider perspectives on centralisation and then present an evaluation of this argument.

2.2.1 Perspectives

The centralisation argument is conducted at two levels. The first level justifies the founding and existence of primate cities, and at the second level the feeling is that primate cities are desirable because they function as ''motors of development''.

Primate cities originated during the colonial era as administrative capitals that offered certain services which drew migrants. These centres were almost always situated at the coast and therefore also served as import and export harbours, which made them a natural choice for the establishment of industries.

Three important characteristics of the developmental history of primate cities should be taken into account here. Firstly, people who earned a relatively high income settled in these cities, thereby creating a market for a large variety of imported goods, which in turn induced import and export firms to establish their headquarters there. Secondly, primate cities offered the best infrastructure, services and facilities in the relevant countries, mainly owing to the political and economic influence of the higher income groups residing in them. The fact that essential services such as water and electricity were cheaper and more reliable in the cities than elsewhere acted as a strong inducement to establish industries in these areas. Thirdly, primate cities were developed as centres of local transport and communication networks, partly to enable the colonial authorities to exercise efficient control over their territories, but also to help with the exploitation of raw materials (Rondinelli & Ruddle 1978:47). Gellar (1967:23) explains that ''in most cases, the capital city assumed the role of leading sector in the political, economic, and social modernization of their country''.

Criterion means a measure used to judge or evaluate. If there is more than one criterion, we talk of ''criteria''.

The charge of overurbanisation has also been addressed by advocates of centralisation, who consider the question as to the optimum size of a city to be central to this issue. Unfortunately there is no universal criterion that can be applied to determine such an optimum size because all the criteria proposed to date are subjective. Gilbert (Gilbert & Gugler 1984:169) observes that the problem with the urban system is that it can be seen as a situation in which an ideal has to be pursued, but where there is no consensus about what the ideal should be. He adds that there is no typical urban system. An empirical norm for Third World countries would have to be sought either within the Third World or outside it. Within the Third World a norm would have to be determined with due allowance for the fact that Third World countries are characterised by regional imbalances and by primate cities as the common urban system. Moreover, a distinction would have to be made between primate and other cities. This task would be hampered by a lack of criteria. For example, is a primate city three times or twenty times larger than the second largest city? Should primate cities be defined in economic or sociological terms, or should demographic features be the only consideration? The obstacle here is clearly similar to that preventing a decision about the optimum size of cities.

Far from being hampered by arguments about the questions of imbalances and the optimal size of cities, advocates of centralisation say that on balance investment in primate cities is highly beneficial, especially in view of the lack of large-scale projects elsewhere in Third World countries. They also hold that, regardless of their size, primate cities are the best potential vehicles for development in Third World

countries. This again raises the question of optimum city size. The question is simply: is there a limit beyond which a city becomes too large? Arguments based on city size cannot survive a thorough analysis, according to Dewar, Todes and Watson (1983/1984:94). This implies other questions such as: Is the diseconomy of pollution and crime outweighed by the economic potential of cities (Rondinelli & Ruddle 1978:47)? Another question is whether we are aware of the real strength of the city's ''growth motor'' and how difficult, if not impossible, it would be to dismantle it (Dewar et al 1983/1984:93).

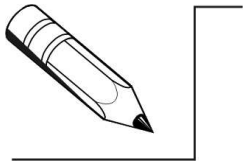
Those in favour of centralisation naturally cite the objections to decentralisation to create the impression that centralisation is the only real option, and they duly conclude that the criticism of ''urban bias'' is largely unfounded because it results from prejudice against the poor in favour of the rich. To underline their argument they point out that cities are not exclusively inhabited by the rich, just as rural areas are not exclusively inhabited by the poor.

2.2.2 Evaluation

The argument raised further on in the section on decentralisation, namely that migration to the cities is not necessarily a natural consequence of development, is also valid in respect of centralisation. Rather than being attracted by the development potential of cities, rural inhabitants are pushed away by the poverty of rural areas, this poverty being largely the result of prejudice in favour of the rich who have settled in the cities of many Third World countries. Rural migration to the cities is therefore not a rational choice in favour of development (Dewar et al 1983/1984:89). Neither can urban growth be seen as the result of the internal dynamics attracting people to share in the development opportunities.

Those advancing the cause of centralisation cannot deny that the potential of many primate cities to offer employment opportunities, housing and services has been exhausted, with the result that diseconomy has to some extent already become evident in these cities. Prejudice against the poor in favour of the rich benefits urban areas at the expense of most people living in rural areas. Thus it seems that capital investment is still concentrated in the cities, mainly because investors have little hope of gaining a return on investment in rural areas. It also seems that large-scale rural poverty persists while cities are increasingly faced with the same problem.

People in favour of centralisation argue that balanced development is too expensive to implement in practice. Third World countries seldom have the financial and administrative capacity to implement decentralisation policies. Furthermore, the opinion is held that rural people will be in a better position in the cities. Accordingly, centralisation is viewed as the best way to effect development.



ACTIVITY 2.1

Summarise the views in favour of centralisation and then evaluate them.

2.3 DECENTRALISATION

Below we consider perspectives on decentralisation and policies calculated to promote decentralisation. Finally, we present an evaluation of this argument.

2.3.1 Perspectives

Rondinelli (1987:31) defines decentralisation as:

> the transfer of planning, decision making or management functions from the central government and its agencies to field organizations, subordinate units of government, semi-autonomous public corporations, area-wide or regional development organizations, specialized functional authorities or non-governmental organizations.

Decentralisation, Rondinelli (1987:31) argues, can be distinguished ''by the degree of authority and power, or the scope of functions, which the government of a sovereign state transfers to or shares with other organizations within its jurisdiction''.

This shift, according to Drakakis-Smith (2002:175), has been encouraged by the World Bank on the grounds that local service needs vary and are better understood at the local level and may be better integrated with one another.

People in favour of decentralisation do not believe that improving the gross national product (GNP) should be the first aim of national economic policy, nor for that matter, do they consider economic criteria as the most important for development. They are sceptical about the advisability of allowing the growth of cities to continue unchecked; indeed, their entire rationale is informed by what they perceive as the evils of urbanisation.

According to Rondinelli and Ruddle (1978:48–49), the main points of the argument in favour of decentralisation are the following:

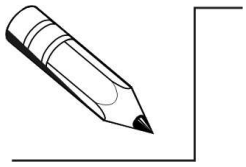
(1) Primate cities and other large urban complexes cannot offer sufficient employment opportunities for their own populations, hence they cannot absorb additional work-seekers migrating from rural areas.
(2) As a result of the rapid population growth in larger cities, inhabitants with little or no schooling are forced to accept unpleasant work that offers a bare subsistence wage at best, with the result that their living conditions are worse than those found in rural areas.
(3) Migrants from rural areas expect to receive goods and services that are neither in demand nor available in rural areas. Disappointment of these expectations causes alienation and dissatisfaction.
(4) Growing urban populations increasingly strain the capacity of public facilities and services such as health care, education and electricity generation, which are usually already overstrained.
(5) Most metropolitan cities cannot provide adequate facilities or maintain services at required levels because their revenue gathering systems are not adequate and therefore impose severe constraints on their budgets. The influx of migrants is causing a widening gap between that which is necessary and that which is possible.
(6) Most large cities cannot function as modern cities because they are hampered by the demoralising constraint of having to graft modern facilities onto

traditional urban infrastructures. Consequently, the health and wellbeing of inhabitants of such cities are jeopardised by high crime levels and a lack of physical and economic conveniences.

(7) Continued migration to large urban centres results in a concentration of urban poor in slums and squatter settlements, which hastens physical decline and social demoralisation in such centres.

(8) Prolonged concentration of the labour force and resources in primate cities and metropolitan centres deprives the rural hinterland of resources, continues regional inequality between incomes and prevents real growth in rural areas, giving rise to a dual economy.

(9) Decentralisation has the potential of being politically advantageous. Samoff (1990:516) is of the opinion that successful decentralisation can bring about empowerment when the emphasis is on decentralisation of decision making and not on spatial or economic decentralisation. Political decentralisation may have a beneficial influence on spatial and economic decentralisation. Resources and functions may be devolved and distributed more effectively through a decentralised political structure (United Nations Centre for Human Settlements 1989:46).



ACTIVITY 2.2

State each of the nine arguments above in your own words.

2.3.2 Policies

The points in favour of decentralisation set out above are translated into practice as policies calculated to promote decentralisation. Some of these policies are discussed below.

2.3.2.1 Decentralising industrial development

The pattern for deploying industrial development is based on the view that continued investment in large cities worsens regional imbalances and, therefore, rural poverty. From this perspective it is argued that investment should be concentrated at points that are so far removed from urban growth centres that they cannot be absorbed into such centres. Smaller towns, especially those in the interior, are ideally placed for industrial reinvestment according to this principle.

2.3.2.2 Restricting migration

One method used to restrict migration in the past was that of legally enforced influx control, which was ethnically selective and was applied during colonial rule in areas such as Kenya, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Until 1986 this type of control was also practised in South Africa, where it applied to certain categories of blacks rather than to the entire rural population. Tanzania maintained a form of this control (albeit no longer on an ethnically selective basis) long after independence, by periodically repatriating the urban unemployed to their rural areas of origin (Dewar et al 1983/1984).

An *incentive* is a motivation or a promise of reward.

Migration to urban areas may also be diverted by providing incentives for migration to major towns and service centres rather than to cities (Rondinelli & Ruddle 1978:51). It is presumed that migrants will automatically be attracted to sites where decentralised new industrial development takes place, thus diminishing the flow of migrants to the cities.

Another restrictive method that may be adopted is that of reducing the attractiveness of migration to the cities — especially permanent migration — by prohibiting strikes in cities (Dewar et al 1983/1984), by not providing public services to squatter settlements (Rondinelli & Ruddle 1978:51), and by strictly limiting the growth of squatter settlements (Dewar et al 1983/1984).

2.3.2.3 Founding new towns

New towns are created in two ways. Firstly, there is the practice of building a new national capital in an area removed from the existing urban areas, as in the case of Brazil and Malawi, where this measure was adopted both for political reasons and to open up the hinterland of those countries. While Brazil's capital is situated in an area with great potential for urban settlement, Lilongwe in Malawi is virtually the gateway from the south to the relatively undeveloped north. The main disadvantage of this kind of urban development is its costliness.

Towns are also created by selecting rural sites as prospective growth points (eg sites where industries have been established with state assistance) and then creating infrastructure by making special investments in educational and health facilities (Dewar et al 1983/1984). Bear in mind that this kind of township development usually clashes with existing economic forces, with the result that incentives have to be provided for extended periods in order to attract people to the relevant sites.

2.3.2.4 Rural development

Apart from encouraging town development in rural areas, it is obviously also necessary to enable subsistence farmers to make a living exclusively from their agricultural production so that they will stay on the land and not enter the labour market at certain times of the year. To this end, efforts have been made to commercialise agriculture by introducing such measures as the following:

(1) establishing large farms with a view to producing for the export market and to provide employment for the local populace
(2) providing extension services to inform small farmers of modern scientific farming methods and thus help them to improve their profit margins
(3) providing agricultural credit
(4) upgrading of marketing facilities

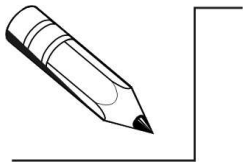
More recently, attention to development in other areas has led to the improvement of educational facilities and health care as a means of accelerating the creation of employment opportunities in nonagricultural sectors.

2.3.2.5 Political-economic decentralisation

Rondinelli, McCullough and Johnson (1989:62–69) maintain that in order to create a successful political-economic framework for decentralisation which will be appropriate to developing countries, it is necessary to analyse the following elements:

(1) local goods and services and their consumers
(2) alternative financial and organisational resources for the provision of services
(3) satisfactory institutional frameworks for service provision
(4) socioeconomic and political circumstances which influence policy formulation and programme implementation
(5) satisfactory policy intervention and instruments to direct policy formulation during the design of projects and programmes, as well as financial and technical assistance and programme evaluation

The political-economic framework described here is the ideal one, and as with all other policies there are certain obstacles to bear in mind. If it were possible to implement this framework in practice without any problems, decentralisation would be the solution to all spatial, political and economic problems.



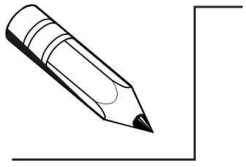
ACTIVITY 2.3

Describe the five decentralisation policies in one sentence each.

2.3.3 Evaluation

This evaluation is based largely on Dewar et al (1983/1984). Another more recent article, ''Decentralisations in practice in Southern Africa'' (SLSA Team 2003), essentially deals with the same issues, but specifically concerns Zimbabwe, Mozambique and South Africa.

As mentioned earlier in the evaluation of the centralisation argument, migration to the cities is not necessarily the result of a rational choice (Dewar et al (1983/1984:89). Advocates of both centralisation and decentralisation therefore proceed from an incorrect interpretation of the process of migration in the Third World. Migration from rural areas to the city is often a matter of necessity, and the migrants therefore do not necessarily have high expectations of urban services, good housing, urban luxuries and economically and psychologically rewarding employment. Many of the arguments in favour of decentralisation, however, wrongly take such expectations on the part of migrants for granted.



ACTIVITY 2.4

Read the contribution by the SLSA Team (2003) in the Reader and note the similarities and differences between the various countries, especially regarding decentralisation policy since the 1980s.

Any effort to change migration patterns should be made with due allowance for existing economic forces, because attempts to effect change will fail if they run counter to such forces. A case in point is influx control, which merely worsened rural poverty and regional inequalities without effectively achieving its chief

purpose, which was to curb urban growth. Moreover, the increasing poverty which rural populations experienced as a result of influx control forced them to live too close together, and this population pressure further diminished the agricultural potential of the land.

One of the main concerns underlying the argument in favour of decentralised urban development (urban redistribution) is that primate cities are becoming too large. This concern did not originate from empirical data from which the optimum size of cities may be deduced, but from a view that Western town planners hold about Western metropolises and now consider to be equally applicable to primate cities in the Third World, even though most primate cities are much smaller than Western metropolises.

It is further maintained that there can be no balanced development unless the growth of major cities is curbed, but financial incentives to this end are usually hopelessly inadequate because the economic growth potential of the relevant cities is seriously underestimated. Moreover, despite the policy to promote development in rural areas, it certainly remains less costly, and therefore more popular, to invest in industry, services and administration in major cities than elsewhere.

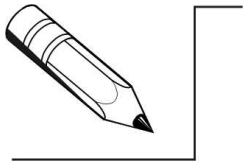
The governments of Third World countries are caught in a dilemma. Although decentralisation of economic activities would be politically advantageous, it is virtually impossible to neutralise the many powerful factors that attract economic activities to cities. Many more points may be raised against decentralisation, but we will confine ourselves to the following:

(1) Most of the diseconomies of scale regarded as being the result of the size of cities are actually the result of poor management of the spatial structure of cities.
(2) Efforts to achieve equal development throughout a country by reducing the level of economic activity maintained in its cities to the lowest level maintained in other parts of the country are counterproductive. Surely it would be far more to the purpose to elevate the depressed areas to the level of the more prosperous ones?
(3) It is not at all certain — indeed it is highly improbable — that investment will automatically be redirected to rural areas or that other benefits will accrue to these areas if urban growth is curbed. If cities lose their attraction for investment it is far more likely that investors will seek out opportunities offered by other cities that may well be in other countries.

Equitable means fair or reasonable.

(4) Efforts to redistribute industrial development cannot succeed if they run counter to the dynamics of the relevant economy. Since developmental inequalities among regions are partly caused by the differences in their development potential, the location of industrial development in areas with a low potential would inhibit the whole economy instead of bringing about the envisaged *equitable* distribution of development.
(5) A policy of rural development is not only correct, but essential, for Third World countries. It is ill-advised, however, to base such a policy on the assumption that rural development will stop migration to the cities — at best it will only diminish such migration, and such a reduced flow can produce noteworthy results only in the long term. Rural development can succeed only if policies are in the first instance aimed at reducing the pressure which large numbers of landless people exert on the land — especially in Asia and Africa.

(6) Advocates of decentralisation tend to exaggerate the problems caused by migration to the cities because they underestimate the capacity of cities to absorb migrant populations. In fact, it would seem that unemployed urban dwellers have a better chance of survival than their rural counterparts because the informal sector, albeit not an alternative for the formal economic sector, is more viable in urban than in rural settings and accommodates up to 40 per cent of the labour force in some cities.



ACTIVITY 2.5

State the above six points of evaluation in two sentences each.

The following quote from Dewar et al (1983/1984:95) which aptly summarises the development dilemma and the solution to it:

> The need to grow and the need to spread the benefits of growth are potentially in conflict. It is now clear that in developing countries which are powerfully influenced by forces of capitalism, one objective cannot be pursued at the expense of the other. The only feasible approach is to utilize the potential of the most propulsive economic impulses in order to generate resources which can be spread to the underdeveloped areas.

The writers are sober enough to admit in closing that ''there are severe constraints on the degree to which this can be done in practice''.

The following should be borne in mind (Rondinelli 1983:76):

> Decentralization is not a quick fix for the administrative, political, or economic problems of developing countries. Its application does not automatically overcome shortages of skilled personnel; in fact initially it creates greater demand for them.

Decentralisation is expensive and requires sufficient political commitment to rural development. Third World countries often lack the necessary funds, well-trained personnel and political commitment, and this hampers the implementation of decentralisation.

It should be noted that decentralisation, like democracy, has no static model that can easily be transferred from one country to another (Kanyinda 2004:10). However, the challenge remains to identify positive components of decentralisation policies from which all countries could benefit.

2.4 CONCLUSION

In this study unit we considered the role of cities in development. The various schools of thought in this regard form a continuum, with the two extremes being the arguments for and against urbanisation. These arguments favour centralisation and decentralisation respectively. There is no single solution to the problems of Third World countries. What is required is a mix that should relate to the particular conditions that are prevalent in a particular region.

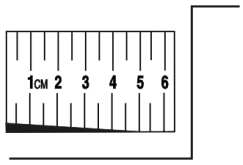
2.5 LEARNING OUTCOMES CHECK LIST

Use this check list to test yourself on this study unit.

Outcomes	Can do	Cannot do
(1) I can explain the difference between centralisation and decentralisation.		
(2) I can identify and explain the different policies in respect of decentralisation.		

STUDY UNIT 3

INSTITUTIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT



LEARNING OUTCOMES

When you have worked through this study unit, you should be able to

(1) explain the meaning of the term ''local government''
(2) describe the history and emerging issues of local government in Africa
(3) identify the role of local organisations in development by relating it to the role of government
(4) classify local organisations according to the characteristics found in a typology of local organisations
(5) distinguish the tasks associated with local organisations
(6) apply knowledge of local organisations in classifying and describing local organisations in your community

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This study unit is part of theme A. It focuses on the institutions that play a role in promoting development in rural and urban areas, namely local government and local organisations. With regard to local government, the following issues are addressed: the meaning of local government, the history and emerging issues of local government in Africa, and the developmental role of local government in South Africa. Where local organisations are concerned, we look at their role in development by relating it to the role of the government, we discuss the classification of local organisations according to the characteristics found in a typology of local organisations and, finally, we distinguish the tasks associated with these organisations.

3.2 LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Let's begin by looking at the definition and characteristics of local government.

3.2.1 The meaning of local government

Generally, a distinction is made among the central, regional and local levels of government. At the central level the emphasis is on broad national policy, including macro guidelines, norms and standards, and the execution of functions that normally belong at the central level. At the regional level (eg a province) provision is normally made for regional policy, and for the execution of functions which may

be considered to belong at the regional level. At the local level the concern is normally with local policy relating to local functions and their execution.

As far as local government itself is concerned, the Office of Public Administration of the United Nations defines it as the governing body (elected or otherwise locally selected) of a political subdivision of a nation (or, in a federal system, a state) which is constituted by law and has substantial control over local affairs, including the power to impose taxes or to exact labour for prescribed purposes.

Kasfir (1983:27) breaks up the various characteristics of local government as follows:

> Local because the system of government must be close to the common people and their problems; efficient because it must be capable of managing the local services in a way which will help raise the standard of living; and democratic because it must not only find a place for the growing class of educated men, but at the same time must command and respect the support of the mass of the people.

All-embracing as this definition is, it has a defect commonly found in definitions of local government: it loses sight of the fact that in local government a political process takes place at the local level. Local government is not merely a local administrative process in which certain resolutions are carried out; it also includes local decision making and the processes leading to this. Thus the local offices of the Departments of Agriculture, of Health and of Justice, for example, cannot be regarded as local government, for these offices differ from local representative bodies with local legislative power. The definitions given above do not, however, necessarily exclude the local offices of central government departments.

Mawhood (1987:9–10) identifies the following five characteristics of a decentralised structure:

(1) *An independent budget*. This means that revenue and expenditure should generally balance, while the power to issue cheques should reside with an official of the local authority and not with a government civil servant.
(2) *A separate legal existence.* This entails corporate status, the capacity to sue or be sued, and the power to hold land and property.
(3) *The authority to allocate substantial resources.* This includes the power of the institution to decide on its expenditure, the freedom to vary both revenue and expenditure as it sees fit, and control over staff appointments.
(4) *It possesses different functions.* Mawhood (1987) argues that a single-purpose local body is not a decentralised structure. In other words, although the functions of a local authority need not be uniform, it must undertake more than one function.
(5) *Local decision making*. The crucial point is that although different forms of election or appointment to a local authority may be considered, the public it serves must feel that the policy-making body is representative of its views.

It should be sufficiently clear that the concept and practice of local government take on a variety of forms in different parts of the world. Local government performs a large variety of functions at different times and in different places.

3.2.2 Local government in Africa

In Africa's urban areas no strong tradition of local government was in place at the time of independence in the various countries. The postcolonial decline of local government in sub-Saharan Africa is also due to the fact that the African governments concerned have not given local governments enough opportunity to come into their own. With few exceptions, the autonomy of local government has been overwhelmingly threatened by central governments, as all writers on local government in this enormous region agree. Mawhood (1991a:8) emphasises the emasculating effect of the central planning model which dominated tropical African governments after national independence in the 1960s, when the key to rapid economic development was seen as lying in central decision making:

> ''Local councils formed no part of this plan; they were often starved of resources and supervision over their executive was weakened or abandoned''.

There are other reasons for the postcolonial decline of local government in sub-Saharan Africa, including the advent of military rule and one-party states, the lack of financial and human resources available to local government structures, and above all, central governments' fear of or *antipathy* towards local political power bases.

Antipathy means a strong feeling of dislike.

Mawhood (1987:8) identifies four phases in the treatment of and approach to local government in the postindependent African state. He suggests that the analogy of the pendulum may be used in analysing this topic, since some African governments are once again attempting to decentralise power to local governments, having taken it away in the period immediately after independence. Mawhood's four phases are as follows:

(1) The final years of colonial rule saw *the institution of decentralised governments;* the new rulers accepted and reinforced this decentralised system of local government. However, political competition among different political parties and the need to accumulate power led to the withdrawal of support from autonomous local authorities.

(2) In the wake of this, governments favoured *a centralised administration and greater central government control* over the allocation of public resources. Mawhood (1987:8) calls this new approach to administration ''deconcentrated'', rather than decentralised.

    Deconcentration differs in important respects from decentralisation, although Mawhood notes that they are often confused. Decentralisation involves a hierarchical division of power among different institutions over different geographic areas; for example among central, state/provincial or local governments. On the other hand, deconcentration means a division of administrative responsibilities within, say, a government department.

(3) Discontent with the consequences of this new approach led to governments experimenting with *mixed authorities* as from the late 1960s. The Tanzanian example, is a good example of a mixed authority. However, power still remained in the hands of government officials.

(4) Finally, in the 1970s, some African countries began to return once more to *fully decentralised local governments*. Nigeria in 1976, Tanzania in 1978 and the Sudan are probably the best examples of governments who were once again prepared to look at the possibility of decentralised governments in the mould of those instituted in the 1950s by the colonial authorities.

Olowu (1995:2) states that ''a strong system of local government is a prerequisite for economic and social advancement as well as the prospect of a sustained democratic regime''. This observation is made against the background of Africa's apparent lack of progress in establishing a strong system of local government.

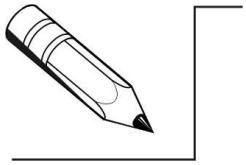
After World War II the policy in British colonial Africa on local government was characterised by the following (Olowu 1995:3):

- There was institutional separation of local authorities from central government. Local authorities had to assume responsibility for services such as primary education, health services, community development and secondary roads.
- Local authorities had their own funds and a budget raised through local direct taxation.
- They employed their own, qualified staff.
- Government was carried out by councils, consisting of popularly elected members.
- Central government performed an advisory, inspectorial role.

With the onset of independence in the colonies these policies were not yet implemented or only partly implemented. In the years following independence, local authority functions came to be largely centralised by government with only local (or deconcentrated) offices performing their functions under direction and control of central government. By the 1990s the tide began to change. The importance of local government to democratisation and development became conventional wisdom. In this new climate, Olowu (1995:5) proposes a model of self-governance characterised by the following:

- Recognition of institutional pluralism
- Development of a system of rule of law and property rights
- Association within the framework of various communities of interest
- Provision for the resolution of institutional conflict among the various organisations

This model clearly makes provision for a partnership between local government and civil society. In South Africa, strong emphasis is also placed on the role of local government in democratisation and development.



ACTIVITY 3.1

Study the two articles entitled ''The African experience in local governance'' and ''Local institutional and political structures and processes: Recent experience in Africa'' by Olowu (1995; 2003) in your Reader. Then summarise the articles in not more than three pages, by discussing the historical background and possible ways of strengthening local government in Africa.

3.2.3 Developmental role of local government in South Africa

In the recent development debate, local government is increasingly emphasised as a very important institution in development and the expansion of democracy. It is argued that, at the local level, people must participate in a democratic fashion to

elect representatives; and that local government and civil society can harness efforts to tackle development problems. South Africa seems to follow the prescription well. In 2000, after a process of reorganising and demarcating new local authorities, an election was held nationwide. A number of metropolitan councils and also rural authorities were elected. Much attention will be focused on these local government institutions in the coming years. To obtain some background on the role of metropolitan government, do the following activity.

ACTIVITY 3.2

Read the article by Mmakola (2000) in your *Reader*. Then consider whether, and how, metropolitan local authorities can contribute to local development with civil society as a partner. Write about two pages.

The White Paper on Local Government (1998) also deals with the developmental task of local government in South Africa. It talks of ''developmental local government'' and explains what is meant by it. Study section B of the White Paper (1998) in order to get an idea of how the South African government sees local government's development task.

Hilliard and Wissink (2000) also deal with the roles and functions, and specifically the developmental role, of local government. Study this contribution in the *Reader*.

3.3 LOCAL ORGANISATIONS

To understand development in any country, it is extremely important to have an understanding of popular, rather than government, initiatives in that country. Government development efforts must bear some relation to the practices and initiatives of the people. The energies of a country's people are usually seen at work in various social contexts: in the mobilisation of the poor over certain local political issues; in the adoption of ''selfish'' economic strategies by a group of rural households (these strategies often affect prices, employment and land issues); and in sports and cultural activities.

In rural areas, these creative, grassroots activities may be divided into political activities (eg peasant resistance movements), economic activities (eg traders' associations) and cultural activities.

However, local organisations in rural and urban areas straddle the three categories listed above. For instance, the members of a church choir may use the choir's travel facilities, raise funds and, between them, meet their physical needs, at the same time maintaining a sense of group identity. And, of course, some churches are politically oriented.

Some organisations do not have formal membership and may consist of a loose coalition of disparate forces. At the same time, there may also be organisations that have a more formal structure. At this point, we should also mention the fact that there are some development-related organisations whose power bases are

external to the areas in which they operate. These may include trade unions with large migrant membership, nongovernmental organisations (NGOs), government-run youth structures (such as the Malawian Young Pioneers), and even a football leagues.

In studying local organisations, you should bear in mind the following: the nature of the terrain itself, the geographical distribution of the population within that terrain, whether or not this population includes the very poor, the lack of resources, and the political powerlessness of people generally (Chambers 1983:109).

Local organisations in rural areas tend to reflect a greater mixture of indigenous social structures than that found in urban areas. This is owing to the nature of rural society, which is characterised by the presence of indigenous languages (this is particularly true of rural societies in Africa and Asia), traditional family structures, and traditional religious and agricultural practices. However, these characteristics all form part of the resources of local organisations in their confrontation with modernity and assaults on traditional structures.

Permeated means to be filled right through with something.

Third World society is highly complex and *permeated* with authoritarian power structures. For example, Chazan, Mortimer, Ravenhill and Rothchild (1988:71) say the following with regard to Africa:

> Most studies of contemporary Africa ... have emphasized the importance of class and ethnicity in determining the social roots of public institutions. African social and national life, however, revolves, in the first instance, around a medley of more compact organizations, groupings, associations, and around movements that have evolved over the centuries in response to changing circumstances.

This picture of a complex network of groupings, movements and institutions needs then to be put into the context of the inequality and turbulence of the modern world. Fuentes and Frank (1989:184), speaking of popular or working class movements in the Third World, contend as follows:

> The international and domestic burden of the present world economic crisis falls so heavily on these already low-income people as to pose serious threats to their physical and economic survival and cultural identity. Therefore, they must mobilize to defend themselves — through social movements — in the absence of the availability or possibility of political institutions to defend them.

Many local organisations are therefore defensive and oriented towards survival amidst the ravages of modernity. They have also emerged precisely because of the weakness and inappropriateness of official development efforts.

Local organisations came into being not because they wanted to help national development efforts, but because they sought, and still seek, to serve the aspirations of their members. Such movements exist in the context of the modern dynamics of the Third World state, but also in the more localised context of a complex rural society which already has a tradition of social and economic movements which have arisen in response to the invasion of the modern world in the past few centuries. The result of all this is a very diverse range of organisations and movements, all of which are directed to responding to various rural and urban needs, but which stand in a variety of relations to official structures, ranging in size

from tiny self-help groups to very large political or resistance movements. Peasant movements may aim to protect rural producer prices and their land rights (against, for example, agribusiness, nature reserves, urban encroachment or mining interests). Groups engaged in co-operatives or self-help schooling efforts may base their activities purely on meeting their own needs, and even conservative governments may be prepared to aid such groups. Rural traders form interest groups, while some of the more formal NGOs may represent local aspirations and give local people access to political forums and to urban markets.

Other NGOs may employ local people, but primarily represent the interests of perhaps well-meaning funding and aid organisations. In each country a variety of voluntary organisations spring up in response to particular opportunities and issues, and may form part of broader and more diffuse social movements (eg political, labour or women's movements). However, in many countries, the government tries to co-opt such social movements into the state, or else forbids or discourages them from operating.

The whole subject of local organisations in rural and urban areas is a very complex one, and perhaps one needs to study individual cases to get any real clarity. Furthermore, the way in which the various organisations have contributed to or hampered development is not always clear. Productive economic initiatives can often safely be put in the development camp, but what if they prop up a parasitic government, destroy the environment, and destroy existing local enterprises? It is essential to take into account all the consequences of any economic initiative before judging whether such initiatives aid development or not. Conversely, resistance and opposition movements, even if these are in some cases destructive, may actually lead to strengthening a society and to a more functional political and economic order within a certain country. If this happens, the effect of a resistance movement may be regarded as development-oriented.

From the preceding discussion it is obvious that the relationship between governmental and popular development initiatives is complex indeed. Many popular initiatives represent limited sectional interests, whose net effect on society is not always positive. The state's development efforts, on the other hand, will not succeed unless they correspond, to some extent, with popular initiatives.

It is incorrect to assume that there is necessarily a conflict between the state and civil society. In theory, at least, governments could facilitate the creative efforts of popular movements, while in other areas they could initiate projects which are unlikely to originate from within society itself, but which could be integrated into the economy as a whole. At present, however, many countries are experiencing a considerable level of conflict between government and grassroots movements.

3.3.1 A continuum of local organisations

Institutions or organisations for development can be placed on a continuum: from purely governmental institutions at one end, to purely private institutions at the other end. Esman and Uphoff (1984:58) designed a continuum consisting of five categories of local organisations. This continuum is set out in table 3.1.

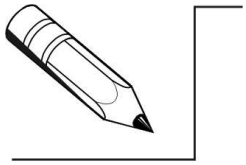
TABLE 3.1

A continuum of local organisations

A	B	C	D	E
Central government agencies	Local government units	Local organisations (cooperatives, clubs, etc)	Political organisations	Private organisations
Governmental				Nongovernmental
(Public sector)		(Intermediate sector)		(Private sector)

While central government and private sector organisations may be responsive, rather than accountable, to local interests, organisations in the intermediate sector are accountable to their members and are involved in development activities (Esman & Uphoff 1984:59). Of course, in acknowledging the important role of intermediate organisations as accountable, development-focused local organisations, it is important not to underestimate the role of central and local government in rural and urban areas. They remain important institutions for general administration and accessing of resources. Yet they are in a sense aloof and removed from the local population.

In the excerpt in section 3.3.2 below, Esman and Uphoff (1984) provide a typology of local organisations. Before reading the excerpt, do the following activity.



ACTIVITY 3.3

List the local organisations operating in your community. Also indicate their area of involvement (eg early childhood development, health).

3.3.2 A typology of local organisations

Esman and Uphoff (1984:61–67) distinguish three categories of local organisations. Read what they have to say about the typology of local organisations in the following excerpt from their book, *Local organisations: Intermediaries in rural development* (1984:72–82).

A Typology of Local Organizations

The range of local organizations [LOs] itself can be divided into three categories: (1) local development associations (LDAs), (2) cooperatives, and (3) interest associations (IAs).[4]

A common distinction between formal (or ''modern'') and informal (or ''traditional'') LOs was not made typologically, as the degree of formalization is better treated as a variable cutting across all other

types. The cases we covered in our review did not include many of the most informal groups, since direct involvement with development activities was a criterion for consideration. But all three of these categories include relatively informal as well as formal associations.

The first type, *local development associations*, shares some characteristics with local government (B) [see the continuum in table 3.1 above]. First, LDAs are area-based, bringing together all or most of the people within a community or region to promote its development by direct self-help or other means, such as lobbying for needed services or raising funds to pay for new construction. The *servicios* of the National Community Development Service and the Ayni Ruway in Bolivia are representative of this type, as are the Village Development Committees in Botswana, Tanzania, and Zambia, the Local Development Associations in Yemen, and the *Sarvodaya Shramadana* organizations in Sri Lanka.[5]

Membership in LDAs is as heterogeneous as the communities involved, since the only common characteristic that members share is their place of residence. There can be considerable ethnic, religious, or economic homogeneity, depending on the locality. But this is a variable, not a defining characteristic. The organizations are generally *multifunctional* in that they can undertake a wide variety of tasks — from supporting education to building roads, assisting agriculture, maintaining churches or mosques, or possibly even regulating social conduct (for example, temperance activities). They are not comprehensive in their responsibilities, as are local governments, nor do they have the same legal or taxing powers. They are extensions of the community more than of the government, though they may be government instigated and assisted. The authority they exercise is likely to be extra-legal as well as legal in origin, since they draw legitimacy less from formal charters than from expressions of community need. Certain LDAs may be so much the creatures of government that it would be better to regard them as fitting in category (B). But judging by the criteria indicated above, we found a substantial number of LOs — 19 percent of the cases in our sample — which are best regarded as LDAs, clearly differentiable from local government.

The second type, *cooperatives*, is extremely varied and has many subtypes. At one level it is a purely nominal category, as thousands of LOs around the world are called "cooperatives".[6] One can usefully distinguish this set of LOs from the rest, however, by focussing on their economic functions for their members. The defining characteristic of cooperatives, as Galjart (1981b) has suggested, is the pooling of resources by members. Using this criterion, we classified 35 percent of the LOs in our sample as cooperatives. The resources involved may be capital (savings societies or rotating credit associations; eg, C. Geertz, 1962), labor (rotating work groups; eg, Seibel and Massing, 1974), land (production cooperatives; eg, Wong, 1979), purchasing power (consumer co-ops), or products (marketing co-ops). In addition, there can be pooling of financial resources and labor to secure production inputs like fertilizer or power tillage through service cooperatives. There is a democratic principle operating in most cooperatives which presumes that even if

resource contributions are not equal, all members should have an equal voice in decisions — with purchase or input of even one share entitling the member to a vote like other members.

Various distinctions can be made between co-ops and LDAs. Co-ops are usually more limited in the scope of their activities, though the multipurpose cooperative societies found in numerous countries of Asia and Africa generally include credit, agricultural inputs, and marketing services along with consumer goods, as do the SAIS organizations set up in Peru after the land reform (McClintock, 1981). Having single or few functions is thus not a defining characteristic of co-ops; rather the number of functions is a relevant variable. Membership in cooperatives is usually more limited or selective than that in LDAs, though co-op membership can be quite encompassing within a community and can thus be rather heterogeneous. While homogeneity of membership is often thought to be an important feature of cooperatives, we need to examine this as a variable rather than take it for granted. The most crucial difference between co-ops and LDAs is that the latter contribute mostly to ''public goods,'' accessible to all, while the benefits from co-ops are usually of a more private nature, most accruing directly to members. To be sure, co-ops can provide gains to non-members as well, for example, those in Bolivia studied by Tendler (1983).

One reason for considering cooperatives separately as a group is to examine the arguments of some observers that co-ops are more likely to disadvantage poorer sectors of a community than to help them, whereas by working for public good, LDAs provide benefits that should be accessible to all.[7] Our findings are not much more encouraging; still, there are enough exceptions to indicate that this form of LO can be useful for disadvantaged groups. What needs to be better understood is how to work within different kinds of environments. The success of a leather workers' co-op for untouchables in Barpali, India, of the bams (co-ops) among Tiv small farmers in central Nigeria, and of Andean Indians' cooperatives in highland Ecuador suggests that this category should not be written off as unable to help the poor (F. Thomas, 1968; Morss et al, 1976, II:23141; Meehan, 1978:13437). We need to know more about what structures, incentives, and outside support will be most conducive to the desired developmental results.

The third type of LO, *interest associations*, is the most diverse of the three. What we call interest associations are defined not by geographic boundaries as are LDAs, or by pooling of economic resources as are co-ops, but by certain *common features of their membership*. In some IAs, persons come together for the sake of performing some particular function better, perhaps water management or public health or primary education. Water users' associations, health committees, and parent-teacher groups are examples of *functional* interest associations. In other IAs, people join together on the basis of some personal characteristic — such as their sex, ethnicity, religion, or economic status — to promote common interests. Women's associations, mothers' clubs, tribal unions, mosque committees, church groups, and landless laborers' organizations are examples of what might be considered categorical interest associations. As a rule, IAs will be less encompassing than LDAs, which are inclusive and multifunctional by definition, but more so than co-ops,

since they are concerned with social as well as economic interests and with public as well as private goods. Nearly half — 46 percent — of the LOs in our sample fell into this category.

A specific interest association can verge on either of the other two categories. A water users' association operating in an irrigation scheme may be fairly similar to a cooperative. But to the extent that the association is occupied with deciding on water rotation schedules, resolving disputes, and carrying out channel maintenance, it is servicing an economic activity more than performing it. Traditional water users' associations like the subak in Bali (Birkelbach, 1973) and the zanjera in the Philippines (Coward, 1979b; Siy, 1982) involve some pooling of labor to keep the channel systems in good order, and they operate in a highly equitable manner. But contributions of resources and voting are likely to be proportional to landholding, rather than equal as in a co-op, since the organizations' purpose is to provide goods or services to members more than to share inputs, risks, and benefits. Similarly, the members of an ethnic association might in effect constitute an LDA, if the whole community is ethnically homogeneous and the group engages in many activities, as did the Ibo State Union in Nigeria (Sklar, 1963; Smock, 1971). The difference remaining, in this example, is that non-Ibos in a community would not become members as they would in an area-based LO like the Onitsha Community League.[8]

The continuum of membership differences between homogeneity and heterogeneity is particularly complex. At the extreme of heterogeneity, both sexes, all ages, all social classes, and any diversity of races and religions would be represented in a group — a rare circumstance. Homogeneity in all these regards, on the other hand, is not much more likely. A group which is homogeneous with regard to ethnicity, for example, is likely to be heterogeneous in terms of age, sex, and probably some other characteristics. As a rule, a cooperative would not be extremely heterogeneous, as members are usually a subset of the general population motivated to come together by classification to be made sometimes according to degree rather than kind. If the organization includes women as well as men and deals with problems of health, schooling, and so forth, as well as economic livelihood, it could qualify as an LDA.

NOTES

4 This designation is not to be confused with ''interest groups'' in the ''pluralist'' tradition of American political science. The interest associations included here undertake self-help activities as well as seeking to promote, by whatever means are feasible, the interests of their members.

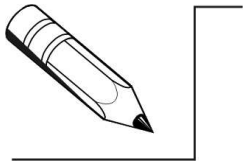
5 Studies that have been instructive concerning these are Savino (1984), Healy (1980), Chambers (1974), NIPA (1976), Cohen et al. (1981), Ratnapala (1980) and C. Moore (1981).

6 For example, the local organizations in North Yemen referred to as ta'awun in Arabic are labelled in English both Local Development Associations (their national organization is called the Confederation of Yemeni Development Associations) and cooperatives. In fact, ta'awun have all the characteristics of LDAs and features of cooperatives as we define these categories (Cohen et al., 1981).

7 See Fals Borda (1976), Münkner (1976), ICA (1978), and Lele (1981). Fals Borda summarizes the negative findings against cooperatives in this regard from a major comparative study by the UN Research Institute for Social Development covering Africa, Asia and Latin America (see UNRISD, 1975)

8 Consider, for example, the differences arising between the Onitsha Ibo Union and the Non-Onitsha Ibo Association, both formed according to ethnic criteria but the latter made up of ''strangers — Ibos from outside this town''. A third organization also formed in the town of Onitsha, the Community League, was open to anybody living in Onitsha (Sklar, 1963:151–57).

The three categories of local organisations identified are local development associations, co-operatives and interest associations. The defining feature of each type of local organisation may be found in its rationale, source of authority, functions, membership commonality or origin of resources. Thus, a local development association is distinguished by its multiple functions on an area base. Co-operatives are distinguished by the pooling of member resources as shares. Interest associations are distinguished by the commonality of their members, for example same sex or activity such as involvement in early childhood education.

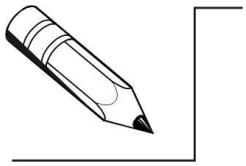


ACTIVITY 3.4

Use the variables and characteristics described by Esman and Uphoff (1984) to categorise each of the local organisations that you identified in activity 3.3.

3.3.3 Tasks of local organisations

In order to perform their functions, organisations, including local organisations, have to perform certain operational tasks, for example planning and resource mobilisation. This is necessary in order for them to achieve their goals.



ACTIVITY 3.5

In the previous two activities you identified and classified local organisations in your area. Now determine what operational tasks they carry out. It may be necessary to speak to the chairperson or secretary to get this information. Remember to be courteous and clearly explain to them what you need and why you need it.

Esman and Uphoff (1984:72–82) distinguish four groups of tasks performed by local organisations, namely:

- intra-organisational tasks
- resource tasks
- service tasks
- extra-organisational tasks

These tasks are then further subdivided and explained in detail. Read the following excerpt from Esman and Uphoff's book, *Local organisations: intermediaries in rural development* (1984:72–82).

Local Organization Tasks

When dealing with the whole range of LOs, one can identify a number of operations that represent the generic outputs of these organizations. In our 1974 review, we specified six tasks that were evident in the operation of LOs: planning and goal-setting, resource mobilisation, provision of services, integration of services, control bureaucracy, and claim-making on government. In this analysis, to focus on the working of specific LOs more than on whole LO systems, we have seen a need to add two more: conflict management and resource management. These eight tasks can be viewed as four pairs, which constitute a continuum from initiating and maintaining internal organizational activity (A) to influencing the external political-administrative environment (D). Activities pertaining to resources and services, the inputs and the outputs of organization, come between.

(A) Intra-organizational tasks
Planning and goal-setting
Conflict management

(B) Resource tasks
Resource mobilisation
Resource management

(C) Service tasks
Provision of services
Integration of services

(D) Extra-organizational tasks
Control of bureaucracy
Claim-making on government

We will discuss each of these in turn as basic LO functions. Then, after describing briefly the methodology we used for making quantitative assessments, we will indicate observed relationships among them.

Planning and goal-setting is logically the first task, though any strictly sequential view distorts the reality that this task must be undertaken continually to determine the relevance and precision of other tasks. We were impressed with the way some of the most effective LOs made explicit and thorough surveys as part of their planning and goal-setting process — in particular, house-to-house interviews supplemented by group discussions to ascertain the most urgent needs of individuals and groups, what resources they controlled, and what they would be willing to contribute toward collective efforts. This function, well performed, can

TABLE 3.2

Variables and characteristics distinguishing types of local organisation

	LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS (C)				
	LOCAL GOVERNMENT (B)	**LOCAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATIONS (C1)**	**COOPERATIVES (C2)**	**INTEREST ASSOCIATIONS (C3)**	**LOCAL POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS (D)**
RATIONALE	Perform government functions at local level	Improve income, services, etc for area residents	Increase benefits from economic production or consumption	Advance members' common interest and/or perform specific activities for members	Influence or acquire authority
AUTHORITY	LG is structure of political authority*	Quasi-authoritative; may have government authorisation	None, but may be registered and regulated	Only de facto authority which members may concede to it	LPO is structure of political competition*
FUNCTIONS	Comprehensive	Multiple functions on an area basis	Single or multiple	Single or multiple, depending on agreement of members	Primarily political; may perform others
MEMBERSHIP COMMONALITY	Residence (degree of heterogeneity depends on area)	Residence (degree of heterogeneity depends on area)	Contribution of economic resources (land, labor, or capital)	Personal characteristics (eg sex) or activity (eg, irrigation management)	Political allegiance or ideology (degree of heterogeneity varies)
RESOURCES	Taxation and grants from central government	Assessments and contributions (often in kind); may have government subventions	Pooling of member resources as shares; may have government subsidies	Fees, dues, levies, etc set by members for group activity or interest; may get outside resources	Dues and donations; likely to have some outside financial support.

* As defined by Eckstein and Gurr (1975).

have the side effect of educating the community, as in the case of setting up the Banki water supply committees in India (Misra, 1975), or of drawing forth effective new local leaders, as in the organizational efforts in Tambon Yokkrabat, Thailand (Rabibhadana, 1983). Few LOs that we reviewed have had formal plans such as would please the eye of a planning commission member, though some do have fairly detailed plan documents.[14] When LOs took this task seriously, the most important result was a shared knowledge among member of their needs and capabilities and a grounded consensus that would buoy their performance of other tasks. In this way, the process of planning and goal-setting may be more important to the success of LOs than the specific outputs of that process.

The means for eliciting planning and goal-setting are varied. The Small Farmer Development Programs (SFDP) established with FAO support in Nepal, Bangladesh, and the Philippines (which we will refer to often in this book because of their organization innovation and frequent success) developed methodologies to be introduced by group organizers for group problem solving (FAO, 1978:79). Some outside ''catalysts'' for LOs focus their efforts on ''consciousness-raising'' among members or potential members as part of, or even as a preliminary requirement for, planning and goal-setting. Apart from having some outside agent prompting the effort, it appears that the need to cope with problems can precipitate planning and goal-setting within the community. Hyden (1981b) has even suggested that some ''obstructive power'' can be an advantage for starting viable rural organizations, a theme we will return to several times. Both the Chipko and the Bhoomi Sena movements in India initially mobilized marginal populations to defend their access to land and natural resources, and then proceeded to plan and carry out productive activities as well (De Silva, 1979; De Silva et al., 1979). The same dynamic was observed in the Kagawasam case in the Philippines, as confrontation over land rights prompted collective planning and self-help (Hollnsteiner, 1979). On the other hand, systematic planning was developed under more ''normal'' conditions with the Sikuma cotton cooperative in Tanzania (Lang et al., 1969), the Amul milk cooperatives in India (Paul, 1982), and the Baglung district bridge construction program in Nepal (P. Pradhan, 1980). In these cases, energetic leadership initiated a process that grew well beyond the initial LO effort.

It is tempting for outside agencies to do the planning for LOs, intending to leave ongoing decision-making to the organization after initial decisions about priorities and program support have been made. Indeed, one of the few quantitative studies of local organization concluded that project success was more positively affected by the resource contributions of small farmers than by their initial participation in project design (Morss et al., 1976). This conclusion, however, may have been influenced by the large proportion of agricultural credit and production projects in their sample.[15] In our quantitative analysis we found that planning and goal-setting had the same correlation with overall performance as did resource mobilization, suggesting that participation in initial decisions be treated at least as seriously as resource contributions.[16]

It may be thought that planning and goal-setting requires a certain level of sophistication on the part of LO leaders and members. However, we

found no correlation at all between effectiveness in this particular task and levels of literacy or per capita income. This suggests that at the local level planning need not require many technical skills or resources. Rather, in information gathering and consultation, local knowledge is needed more than scientific training. Technical knowledge can be added to local planning efforts to enlarge the range of alternatives, to achieve some internal consistency in plans, or to reconcile them throughout a larger area. Assistance from a higher-level organization (an LO federation or a government agency) will be more effective once the planning process has been started on a firm foundation of local knowledge and commitment to collective action.[17]

Conflict management is probably the most ''internal'' of tasks in that its purpose is to maintain group solidarity for achieving common purposes.[18] Accounting for degrees of success in this task is difficult because effective conflict management is not as evident an activity to outside observers as is planning. Indeed, when explicit efforts at conflict management come into operation, it may mean that the more important informal measures have failed. It may be that conflict management is performed best where it is least visible.

We presume that in most settings there is potential for conflict within the group, though how incipient it is will vary. To some unavoidable extent, judgments about success in conflict management will reflect the environment: low-conflict situations may offer no opportunity to develop or show such capacity, and high-conflict situations may overwhelm it. We have tried to minimize this problem in our analysis by looking for indirect as well as direct indications of conflict management. If the environment or the development activity under consideration is potentially conflict-producing (for example, because there are caste or class differences or because loan repayments are being enforced) but there are no evident conflicts, one may assume some success in conflict management. Such an inference might be incorrect, but it would be even more misleading to assume that the amount and success of conflict management is proportional to what is observed.

Some conflict within LOs should be regarded as normal and, within limits, as useful. Social scientists who study conflict have shown how, if successfully resolved and limited, it can mobilize resources and build larger, broader, and deeper commitment to common purposes (Coser, 1956). This view is more than a Toynbean tautology, which suggests that conflict — like challenge — is good in moderate quantities, defined by whether or not one ''survives'' it. Rather it is a recognition that within any organization interests are likely to be in some respects divergent. At the same time, there are likely to be some common interests which, if activated and emphasized, can compensate constructively for differences. Acceptable rules and legitimate procedures for dealing with conflict can serve to protect and accommodate divergent interests, channeling them into joint efforts for agreed objectives.

We find instructive the analysis of conflict and cooperation in a dozen Peruvian rural communities between 1964 and 1969 by our colleague William F Whyte. It has usually been presumed that these are inversely related — the more conflict, the less cooperation. But the two forces operate in the real world as distinct variables. One can find not only high

conflict/low cooperation and low conflict/high cooperation situations, but also low conflict with low cooperation. A low conflict/low cooperation situation represents stagnation, whereas conditions of high conflict and high cooperation can energize satisfaction (Whyte, 1975).[19] The absence of conflict is not necessarily productive, and its presence not always destructive.

The significant circumstance is how the conflict is handled, whether energies are channeled through reconciliation of interest or dissipated in mutual sabotage. The two factors that appear to be most associated with successful conflict management are the quality of leadership (an explanation always verging on tautology but a reality nevertheless) and the existence of ''informal'' modes of organization. Unfortunately, neither of these factors is easily amenable to outside instigation or improvement. Persons who work with LOs have often pointed to the lack of ability to manage internal conflicts as a key cause of LO ineffectiveness, and have often felt themselves unable to improve this capability. We will consider this issue in Chapters 6 and 7, noting here that one of the encouraging findings of our quantitative analysis was that the degree of economic or social heterogeneity within LOs was not significantly associated with successful conflict management. Those LOs with substantial heterogeneity were as often as not able to handle the conflicts that they confronted.

Resource mobilization is probably the task that government agencies most value in LO performance. Our assessment of this task took a community perspective. Estimates of success included not only the raising of local resources but also the acquisition of outside resources — from government or external agencies — if these were given to the LO as a result of activity on its part. We included as resources not only money and labor but also various material or in-kind contributions and the mobilization of political resources for voting or lobbying to promote LO goals.

In the literature the most specific analysis of this function has been done by Morss et al. (1976) in terms of ''resource commitment'' by participants in development projects, in conjunction with some form of local organization.[20] By ''resource mobilization'', we refer to all resources channeled as an organization, so the two terms are comparable. Resource mobilization is always a relative matter, since its value depends on how much or how well it meets the needs of the community. Fairly small amounts of resources put to use in alleviating urgent problems can represent great success from the perspective of members and also of assisting agencies. Assessments should reflect such judgments rather than simply absolute amounts.[21]

Among the issues to be resolved with regard to resource mobilization, is the balance to be struck between outside and local resources. Communities, especially poor ones, can benefit from external assistance, but to rely very much on it creates a dependency that may prove to be counterproductive. The concomitant paternalism is likely to inhibit self-help and even undermine long-standing patterns of community initiative.[22] The total volume of resources (and ideas) for local problem solving would thereby become less than would otherwise be attainable, and the use of whatever resources are made available would not be as likely, for

lack of local involvement, to meet priority needs efficiently or to be providently managed. A good example is the finding by the World Bank in its study of village water supply (1976) that the facilities were maintained better over time when villagers not only participated in decision-making about projects but also contributed resources toward construction and operation. This supports the finding of Morss et al. (1976) about ''resource commitment''.

Our own finding, discussed later in this chapter, that resource mobilization correlates more highly with overall LO performance than does claim-making, suggests that self-help activities are a more important part of LO functioning than outside resources. The paradoxical twist on this relationship is that there is a positive association overall between self-help efforts and resource mobilization from outside the community. We found that if only outside resources were involved, performance was relatively poor except in the area of services. Some combination of local and outside resources is generally to be preferred, with enough outside resources to encourage and extend local resources contributions, and with enough of the latter to justify and multiply the former. This is a very important subject with regard to assessing and assisting LOs and will be taken up in later chapters.

Resource management is perhaps the least glamorous of LO activities, but the fact that in our statistical analysis it turned out to have the highest correlation with overall LO performance suggests that it may be the most influential. (It also had the highest average correlation with success in other tasks.) This function involves keeping track of funds, collecting loans, maintaining buildings and equipment, operating irrigation structures, repairing roads, and the like. In assessing the performance of this task, we focussed on the extent to which LOs are able to manage their resources, whether mobilized locally or acquired from outside the community, in ways that increase the volume of resources subsequently available to the LO and its members. Where we are considering the management of natural resources, particularly forests, soil, and water (an increasingly important kind of resource management in the rural sector), the criterion is preserving the resource base while it supports productive activities.

A prime example of good resource management is the building up of a revolving loan fund by enforcing repayment and by making productive loans to members, so that more persons could be assisted over time. Examples of poor resource management include corruption by officers who deplete LO treasuries, squandering resources on unproductive ventures, and failure to harvest crops planted on communal fields. The tasks of resource management and conflict management are related in that LO conflicts are more likely to arise if there is poor management of local resources.[23] Indeed, in our statistical analysis, the highest correlation was between these two tasks.

Since most of the reported experiences of poor resource management involve ineffective or dishonest handling of *financial* resources, this is one area toward which government and other outside training and support efforts could usefully be directed. Training, of course, is likely to be more effective with regard to skills like bookkeeping or maintenance of equipment than to attitudes like honesty. Still, constructive skills and

attitudes can be reinforcing. In Chapters 6 and 7 we address some of the problems of resource management and suggest, on the basis of LO experience, some things that may be done to reduce the problems. Since resource management is central to LO performance, we need to draw on whatever means can increase effectiveness in this function. Remedies can be considered with relatively few environmental constraints, as indicated by the fact that *none* of the environmental variables analyzed has a significant correlation with LO success in resource management.

Provision and integration of services are tasks easy to conceive and describe though not so easy to access, because seldom are LOs solely responsible for agricultural or social services. If LOs are involved in service delivery or coordination, it is usually in conjunction with some government or private agency (though we do find some cases where LOs are wholly responsible for domestic water supply or make loans from their own funds mobilized from savings deposits). We do not count as LO provision of services any coming entirely from outside agencies. But one can give LOs credit for involvement in the delivery and monitoring of health services, for example, where they schedule visits with doctors at a clinic or follow up on patients to see that medicines are taken, so that outside services become more accessible or effective. One should also credit LOs that help to coordinate such services as approval of credit applications and timely delivery of fertilizer.

Service provision is the "bread-and-butter" task for most LOs; it occurred in about 90 percent of the cases we studied. The exceptions were organizations concerned mostly with lobbying or legal redress — though access to the legal system itself is a service usefully performed by the Sidamo associations in Ethiopia, for example (Hamer, 1980) — and organizations involved in planning and even coordinating but not delivering services. Service integration, on the other hand, was attempted in only about half the cases reviewed, and only one-tenth of these were judged to be "quite effective" in such integration, compared with one-quarter judged "quite effective" in provision. This may reflect the resistance of bureaucratic agencies to any horizontal coordination of their activities at the local level.

We found at least some LOs that were able to increase the relevance, timeliness, and efficiency of services by being involved in their coordination. Engaging LOs in the task of service integration appears to offer government and private agencies opportunities for improving the benefits to be derived from their services. This would involve LOs not only in decisions as to the timing and level of services but also in the evaluation and modification of services in relation to local needs. LOs are an underused channel for service delivery, according to a study of rural organizations in the Philippines done for the Asian and Pacific Centre for Development Administration (Montiel, 1980:18485). An excellent example of the possibilities for service delivery and integration is the Kottar Social Society in India (Field, 1980).

Control of bureaucracy and claim-making are perhaps the most difficult tasks for LOs, since strengthened capabilities along these lines are likely to constrain government to some extent. There can be differences of interest, of course, between a government (the political leadership) and its agencies. Insofar as priorities and resource allocations are

established, the government has an interest in efficient administrative implementation. Are extension agents actually visiting the farmers, and as often as they are supposed to? Do medical assistants show up for their clinic work as expected? Are loan officers certifying credit-worthy farmers without insisting on bribes?

Local people and leaders can know more precisely than any central government officials just what lapses or misdeeds are occurring in program operations, and local organizations are in a much better position to insist on improved performance of local staff than are individuals. Perhaps the most instructive case of LO control of technical and administrative staff has been that of the Farmers' Associations and Irrigation Associations in Taiwan, where the LOs have actually hired and supervised their own field-level staff.[24] Control over bureaucracy can be indirect rather than direct if a government solicits the opinions of farmers, irrigators, or mothers on a systematic basis. Through organizations, idiosyncratic views can be sifted out to get representative assessments, which deserve to be treated seriously by higher political and administrative echelons. The limits of control and coordination of bureaucratic behavior from above are increasingly apparent.[25] The orderly logic of hierarchical direction according to Weberian theory is better for getting staff to follow superiors' orders (or at least to appear to do so) than for getting staff to work together across administrative boundaries and to be responsive to clients' requirements. With functioning local organizations, greater control and coordination from below should be available to supplement if not replace the oversight of political and administrative superiors.[26]

The relevance of such a strategy for improving governments' development performance depends, as indicated in Chapter 1, on the goals and values of the top political leadership. They have it in their power to frustrate if not always to promote, effective LO activity. One of the main findings of theoretical significance in our earlier study was the importance of congruence between the development objectives of national leaders and those of local communities. To the extent that their goals are compatible — that is, that leaders want for communities what communities want for themselves — the distribution of power between them is positive-sum, not zero-sum. In this situation, more power at the center contributes to furtherance of local goals, and power at the local level increases the center's ability to achieve its objectives. If there is a divergence of objectives, however, strengthening LO capabilities will detract from central power (Uphoff and Esman, 1974). Thus, one cannot look at claim-making as an LO activity without reference to the orientation of the regime's leaders. Enhanced claim-making ability should be positively regarded by political leaders insofar as they desire greater satisfaction of rural people's needs, and approve of greater capacity on the part of rural people to articulate and meet those needs by self-help and in cooperation with the government. The LO outcome of empowerment, discussed in Chapter 1, must be evaluated in this context.[27]

A government must expect certain costs from claim-making. Even if the demands coming from an LO are regarded as reasonable by its members, a regime having limited resources or different priorities may consider

them excessive, though LOs are seldom powerful enough to impose significant costs on a government. It should be understood on both sides that the government cannot always respond favorably. The consequence should be a continuing dialogue that helps each to understand the priorities of the other and to make feasible adjustments. Shortfalls in what government can provide may then occasion more local resource mobilization on a cost-sharing basis.

This set of functions of local organization we think encompasses the main tasks of concern analytically and for policy purposes. As suggested previously, these functions do not represent the outcomes of LO activity, which are desired for their own sake; those we will address in terms of LO performance. Rather they constitute outputs of organization. Our analysis here reflects the concepts and experience reported in the literature plus our own observations. An effort has been made to provide a more systematic and quantitative basis for making generalizations and for inferring appropriate strategies of support. Before we discuss our statistical findings concerning LO functions, we need to describe in brief the methodological basis for these findings.

NOTES

14 The difference between planning and accomplishment was demonstrated to Uphoff in a study (1979) of 16 rural communities in Sri Lanka. Half were selected for their record of development activity through LOs and the other half were matched neighboring communities with no such record. One of the latter had a rather detailed plan for local development, with a handsome hand-illustrated cover. The Rural Development Society was prepared to provide all the labor needed for ensuring cultivation of some 300 acres if it could get technical advice and some material inputs (mostly cement) to link seven small reservoirs by canals to a large one that overflowed each rainy season. But no work followed when the community became divided over alleged misappropriation of "food for work" allocations and when the government failed even to acknowledge receipt of the request for technical assistance.

15 The DAI sample included a large number of projects where subsidized credit or other inputs were involved, so "planning" decisions might be less important if the activity was fairly standard and an attractive opportunity was being offered. Then the "matching" resources contributed by participants would be more significant. For a reanalysis of the DAI conclusions, see Young (1980).

16 In the more recent DAI study, a statistical analysis of the overall impact of LOs found participation of the poor in decision-making to be significant, but not resource commitments (contributions) of the poor to the program (Gow et al., 1979, I:232).

17 One might regard a subject like rural road construction as a fairly technical and sophisticated activity with little scope for LO assistance in the planning process, but Tendler's study of rural road projects (1979) highlights the contributions that LOs can make at the planning stage to get an "optimal fit" between local uses and road layouts.

18 We are not using the term to refer to handling conflict between the LO and others in its environment, except insofar as this creates problems of group cohesion and cooperation.

19 Two of the 12 communities studied fit the last category. Whyte's distinction between conflict and cooperation, using operationalized scores for each variable, arose from his observation that whereas in 1964 only one of the 12 had low conflict with low cooperation, five were below the mean on both indexes five years later. All three communities that remained low in conflict and high in cooperation were small, relatively "traditional" ones. The factor of socioeconomic differentiation (which increased with size of community) correlated with conflict as would be expected (though not when the smallest villages were omitted); it did not correlate one way or another with cooperation, which is quite interesting.

20 The findings of that study are summarized by its successor study as follows: projects intended to benefit small farmers are more likely to succeed when small farmers participate in project decisions and make resource commitments to project activities; organizations can facilitate small farmers' participation in decisions and resource commitments (Gow et al., 1979, I:7).

21 Resources mobilized could be compared on a per capita basis or per community or per area, as a percentage of per capita income or of LO budget. Each standard would be valid for some kinds of comparisons and not for others. Since resource mobilization by any one criterion is seldom measured or reported for more than a few cases, systematic assessments must rely on grosser, composite comparisons. Any single quantitative measure will limit the range of comparison and reflect only one aspect of resource mobilization, not representing its utility relative to need.

22 Gow et al. (1979, I:5859) discuss the case of a successful cattle producers' cooperative in Peru that was able to pay substantial dividends to its members as well as sell meat, cheese, and wool to the community at reduced rates; it was disbanded after government agencies approached it "with an open checkbook" and made large loans. The resulting farmers' organization was judged no more than average in its success.

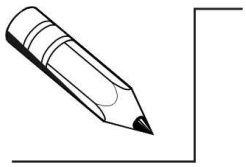
23 A dramatic example of this interaction was seen in a pair of SFDP projects in Bangladesh, where landless persons were given loans to buy rickshaws with which to earn nonfarm income. One LO had a leader who was honest and dedicated, but it also had a member able and willing to do maintenance and repair work on the group's rickshaws. It prospered, while the other languished. Conflicts arose in the latter LO over who was responsible for the deteriorating condition of their rickshaws. Nobody in that group was able or willing to repair them; eventually they became unusable, income ceased, and the loans could not be repaid. If the group had been better able to manage its internal conflict, the resource management lapse might not have been so devastating. But also if members of the group had taken better care of their equipment, some of the controversy could have been avoided. Lack of attention to equipment maintenance was a deficiency in project design (Islam, 1979). These cases are discussed again in Chapter 6.

24 The most thorough study of these associations is by Stavis (1974a). Changes in their organization are discussed by Gilbert Levine in an appendix to the Stavis chapter on Taiwan in Uphoff (1982–83, 2:248–252), and also by Moulik (1981). During the period of greatest agricultural dynamism in Taiwan — through the early 1970s — the FAs and IAs although closely supervised from the center, had a good deal of discretion in undertaking local agricultural development activities. Their employment of staff evidently contributed to both the level of effort and the responsiveness of trained personnel. Increased central control over association activities was introduced in 1975 in the name of greater efficiency and equity in resource use (farmers' groups in richer areas could afford to pay staff more and could therefore attract and keep better-qualified personnel). Much of the staff and budget control was returned to the associations in 1982. Additional sources on these LOs are Abel (1975), Bottral (1977), Kwoh (1964), and M. Moore (1983).

25 See Leonard's excellent empirical study of the agricultural extension service in Kenya (1977), which accounts for the observed relationships by drawing on organization theory.

26 This is discussed in Uphoff (1983a) in terms of creating LO capacity to make demands to balance the "supply-side" orientation of prevailing administrative doctrine and practice in most developing countries.

27 It should be borne in mind that regimes are seldom monolithic; some top leaders may not be sympathetic to advancement for the rural majority, while others are. Or some elements of the bureaucracy, on which the regime depends, could take a more positive-sum view than political leaders toward central vis-à-vis local capacity. To be sure, a leadership sympathetic to enhancing local capacity could be thwarted by less supportive elements of the bureaucracy. Our discussion here of respective gains and losses of power refers to the purposes of national leaders generally, vis-à-vis rural communities, without elaborating on the implications arising from pluralism within regime structures.



ACTIVITY 3.6

In not more than four pages list and describe the tasks of local organisations. Then compare this list with the list you compiled in activity 3.5.

3.4 CONCLUSION

In this study unit we have paid attention to the roles of local government and local organisations in development. The notion of partnership between local government and local organisations (civil society) is being increasingly emphasised in the debate on international development. In a sense the notion of central government as an active partner is being bypassed. The argument is simple: in the past central government has failed to secure development at the local level. Because local government is closer to people, it can act more effectively as an agent for development, while simultaneously promoting democracy.

It remains to be seen whether or not the new collective wisdom will stand the test of time and really deliver development results. As a scholar of development, your task is to keep abreast of the debate and its implementation at the local level. After studying this study unit you should be well informed on the types and tasks of local development organisations. Now reflect on how those organisations can collaborate with local government to bring about development.

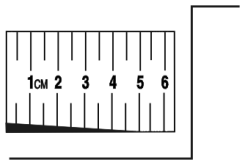
3.5 LEARNING OUTCOMES CHECK LIST

Use this check list to test yourself on this study unit.

Outcomes	Can do	Cannot do
(1) I can explain the meaning of local government.		
(2) I can describe the history and emerging issues of local government in Africa.		
(3) I can identify the role of local organisations in development by relating it to the role of government.		
(4) I can classify local organisations according to the characteristics found in a typology of local organisations.		
(5) I can distinguish the tasks associated with local organisations.		
(6) I can apply knowledge of local organisations in classifying and describing local organisations in my community.		

STUDY UNIT 4

THE HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY: URBAN-RURAL LINKAGES



LEARNING OUTCOMES

When you have worked through this study unit, you should be able to

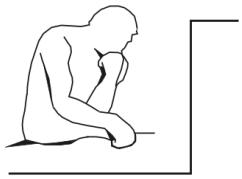
(1) use the concept of *household economy* appropriately
(2) use the concept of *sustainable livelihoods* and explain its meaning
(3) explain the concept of *livelihood diversification* and identify its determinants
(4) list and discuss the policy areas affecting livelihood diversification
(5) highlight the socioeconomic links between rural and urban areas

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Study of the household economy is concerned with the way people make ends meet. Rural poverty and urban squalor are mainly caused by few employment opportunities and low incomes associated with unskilled or low-skilled labour and the decrease in earnings from agriculture-related production. As a survival strategy, poor households diversify their means of earning an income: income is earned through (subsistence) agriculture, seasonal farm labour, hawking in the informal sector and remittances sent from urban incomes (eg mineworkers) to the rural household. Consequently, a household survives on the income earned by a number of members of the household in diverse income-generating activities.

According to Ellis (1998:6) a household is "the social group which resides in the same place, shares the same meals, and makes joint and coordinated decisions over resource allocation and income pooling". This definition is, however, somewhat limiting. It does not take into account the contribution made by non-resident members of the family: those earning an income in the city, for instance. Yet, urban employment opportunities are on the decrease and wages earned are dwindling (Francis 1998:73). It is therefore becoming increasingly difficult to earn a household income by "straddling" the rural and urban sectors.

4.2 THE HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY



ACTIVITY 4.1

Think about your own household or that of a close friend:

- Is your household contributing to the subsistence of a relative/friend in a rural area, or do you receive a contribution from a relative/friend in an urban area?
- What is the nature of the contribution: money, food, information?
- What is the effect of the relationship of giving/receiving on the family?

The concept ''household economy'' refers to the interaction between household and family organisations, and the economy. The household economy is therefore a means to an end, namely survival. This goal of survival extends beyond the survival of the household. As a result of the socioeconomic links with rural areas, the urban household has a duty to meet its *obligations* towards rural relatives. It is important in this respect to mention the ''economy of affection''. According to Hyden (1983:8) the economy of affection in this instance refers to support networks, communication and interaction among groups bound by kinship, community, religion and lineage, and not merely by emotions as such. It indicates co-operation within a household and among various households to make a living and perform economic activities. In the household economy, the economy of affection is the foundation for the activities of the household economy. Decisions are made within the household economy with due regard for the economy of affection, and therefore with due regard for the rural and the urban household. This means that when migrants make decisions in their ''new'' context (ie the urban lifestyle and the household economy), such decisions will follow the principle of the economy of affection. Migrants will make decisions that will be of benefit to themselves as well as to their rural relatives. They therefore make choices that will be favourable to themselves and to those with whom they have links in the rural area. This principle becomes apparent in three areas: basic survival (the survival strategy), social preservation and development (Hyden 1983:11–15). Basic survival is the most fundamental area in which the economy of affection may be found. Migrants will in the first instance act so as to satisfy their own basic needs and those of relatives. Social preservation amounts to utilising the economy of affection in order to make the social side of daily life more acceptable. This means, for example, that when women go to fetch water (often at a considerable distance from their homes), they do so in a group so that they can socialise along the way by talking or singing. In so doing, the struggle for survival becomes less unpleasant. In the field of development, the economy of affection offers an extensive support network. It takes the form of financial assistance, assistance in finding employment, provision of temporary accommodation to new arrivals and the provision of schooling opportunities in the city for children of rural relatives.

Obligation means a duty or requirement.

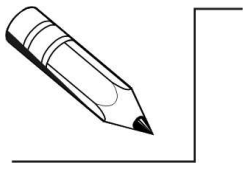
In discussing the process of urbanisation Kuznesof (1986:75) looks at the transition from the subsistence economy in the household to labour-specific activities. The process of urbanisation may be regarded as increasing the economic diversity of the rural area, accompanied by an interdependency between the urban and the rural area. The household economy, which forms part of the urban lifestyle, is therefore the interaction between the household and the external economy. The subsistence

economy, which forms part of the rural lifestyle, is the interaction between the household and its productive ability to meet the subsistence needs of the household.

The household economy makes a contribution to the subsistence economy, while the struggle for survival serves as a motivating force to enter the household economy, which results in interaction with and differentiation within the economy at large. In other words, the household economy contributes to the subsistence economy found in the rural area by moving away from the subsistence economy and adding to it by being part of the household economy of city life. Migrants are pushed away by the known (subsistence economy) towards the unknown (household economy), because the known cannot satisfy their needs. They enter the complex economy at large and turn to the differentiated nature of the household economy which involves interaction between the household and the economy at large. The household economy is employed as an alternative to the subsistence economy where the family satisfies its needs within its ''own economy'' in the form of subsistence farming. Entering the household economy is seen as a potential solution to the problem of providing for the needs of the family.

Two related aspects give rise to the household economy. The survival strategy is the more important of the two. Poverty and deprivation in the subsistence economy force individuals to find other means of survival. They consequently enter the household economy, not by choice, but in order to survive. They regard the subsistence economy practised in rural areas as insufficient to meet their needs. This is the second aspect giving rise to the household economy. Individuals entering the household economy do so to ensure their own survival as well as the survival of those in the rural areas to whom they are socioeconomically linked.

Entry into the household economy is seen as the easy solution to all problems, for instance in respect of housing and services. The urban lifestyle is also regarded as wonderful and better, bigger and more convenient than the rural way of life (Seekings, Graaff & Joubert 1990:47). In fact however, entry into the household economy is not a smooth transition. It is necessary to adapt to the environment, the working conditions and the lifestyle in general. Support is nevertheless available, especially in the socioeconomic and sociocultural fields. The survival strategy is the most important aspect in the transition to the household economy, and this is discussed in more detail later in this study unit.



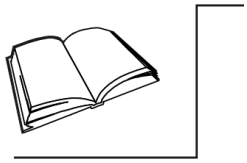
ACTIVITY 4.2

Answer the question: ''What is the household economy?'' File your answer for future reference.

4.3 SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS

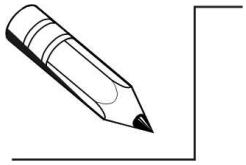
The household economy is a mechanism that people use to ensure sustainable livelihoods. What is meant by ''sustainable livelihoods''? They are livelihoods that take into account the long-term impact of the strategies employed by maintaining natural resources so that the needs of both the existing and future generations can be met. According to Carney (1998) and Scoones (1998), there is a need to

understand the livelihood strategies and the ''vulnerability of the poor as the starting point for intervention''. This is supported by Scoones and Wolmer (2003), who emphasise that poor people are vulnerable and face many uncertainties. They therefore suggest four areas where policy directions could support the idea of creating livelihoods that are sustainable. These are: redistribution of resources (primarily land, but also other resources), the politics of a free market, multiple decentralisations, and realising rights (Scoones & Wolmer 2003:113–114). Toner (2003:774) goes one step further and moves from frameworks for thinking to what she calls ''principles for action''. We must realise that, although the concept of sustainable livelihood is theoretically sound, its implementation is faced with many challenges in practice as is the case with the poor living within this reality. This is discussed by Scoones and Wolmer (2003:114–115) and illustrated by Toner (2003), using two case studies of Tanzanian districts.



ACTIVITY 4.3

Read the articles by Scoones and Wolmer (2003) and Toner (2003) in your *Reader*.



ACTIVITY 4.4

Answer the following questions and file your answers for future reference:

(1) In a paragraph of about half a page, explain the concept of sustainable livelihoods.
(2) List and then discuss, in not more than one page, the policy directions for sustainable livelihoods.
(3) List and explain, in not more than two pages, how these policy directions impact on the principles for action.

4.4 SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS FRAMEWORK

At the heart of migration is the desire for economic wellbeing on the part of individuals as well as individual households. Similarly, rural and urban development aims to improve the living conditions of the people concerned. If we understand the household as the basic unit of production in any society, we will also be able to understand the economic imperatives of that unit. In this section, we employ the use of the sustainable livelihoods (SL) framework by the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID) to analyse the factors that impact on households' ability to lead sustainable lives. (We hasten to add that this is not the only framework used in the analysis of livelihoods: CARE, Oxfam and the United Nations Development Programme also have their own frameworks.) Through this, we hope that you will be able to understand why some household members finally migrate to cities (remember the push and pull factors?).

It should also become clear to you why, particularly in this theme, the emphasis is on the linkages between rural and urban development planning.

4.4.1 Sustainable livelihoods defined

A livelihood consists of five specific capital assets that a household possesses. These capital assets are human capital, natural capital, physical capital, financial capital and social capital. It is these assets that ensure sustainable livelihoods, which Carney (1998) defines as follows:

> A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base.

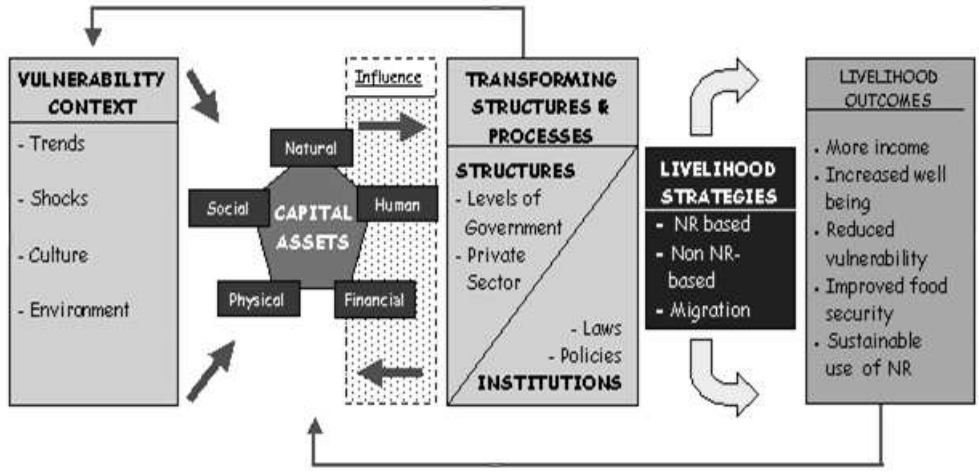
4.4.2 Forms of capital assets

- *Financial capital* consists in money incomes, access to credit and any other financial means. Financial capital is a very versatile form of capital. Having money means that a household can afford to do many things, such as going to a doctor, buying enough food, sending children to school and so on. A household that has access to financial capital is therefore better placed to achieve its wellbeing than one that does not have financial capital. Money could come into the household through wage employment, state social grants, self-employment and remittances.
- *Human capital* consists in education, skills, knowledge, health and labour. Changes in human capital are likely to have tremendous effects on all other factors that count as household assets. At a household level, human capital is most likely to differ from one household to the next, since households are rarely the same size. The size of a household is one of the factors that determine what livelihood strategies the household will pursue.
- *Natural capital* consists in land, water and biological diversity. Lack of access to productive land may greatly compromise the livelihoods of some families. So, too, with other natural resources. Due to their conditions of poverty, poor households may find themselves degrading the natural environment to such an extent that even the soil nutrients cannot be recovered.
- *Physical capital* consists in livestock, machinery, communications, infrastructure and housing. Without proper road infrastructure, for example, people struggle to reach markets. Poor housing or lack of a safe water supply could mean that people have to spend most of their time building or repairing and maintaining their hopes, or collecting water from a distance for domestic uses. This prevents people from engaging in productive activities.
- *Social capital* refers to the ability to socialise with other people, for example in local organisations. It also includes access to information and any form of social support, either from family or friends. Social capital is closely related to social groups or class. Here, networks are created and, for the poor, these provide a way of withstanding shocks such as funeral costs. Friends, family and club members, for example in a stokvel, will always be at hand to help if the household has a good stock of social capital. Social capital also goes to the level of politics.

Important as they are, the assets we have referred to above exist within a particular context of vulnerability. The DFID framework refers to trends, shocks and cultural practices as influencing livelihoods. Trends refer to changing patterns of stocks of resources, population density, technology, politics and economics. Shocks could take the form of job losses, conflict and climate change, while cultural practices may affect how people manage and choose their livelihoods (Carney 1998:11). Understood within the vulnerability context, how assets are used is the function of societal structures as represented by levels of government, the private sector as well as processes in the form of policies and institutions. These structures and processes in turn determine the kind of livelihood strategies people adopt, for example whether they are natural resource-based, non-natural resource-based or migration. While societal structures set and implement laws and policies which affect service delivery and trade, processes embrace laws, policies, and norms, and determine how structures function. The livelihood strategies people choose affect incomes received, wellbeing of individuals, improved food security and less vulnerability. This explanation is presented diagrammatically in figure 1.

FIGURE 1

DFID sustainable rural livelihoods framework



Source: Carney 1998

4.4.3 The principles of sustainable livelihoods

According to Carney (1998:3, 7) and Scoones (1998:7–8), the sustainable livelihoods approach is based on six core principles, as follows:

- *People-centredness*. Attempts at poverty alleviation should focus on what people have — their strategies, environments and ability to adapt.
- *Participatory and responsive*. Beneficiaries should be the main actors in identifying and prioritising their needs.
- *Dynamic*. Support provided to the poor should take into account the fact that livelihoods are not static but are determined and influenced by many factors.
- *Multilevel*. Poverty is multilayered and cannot be addressed only at one level. Institutions and processes need to be considered. Strategies should be able to link the micro and macro levels.
- *Holistic.* Because of the dynamism of poverty, strategies should be holistic and not be confined to a few particular areas of people's lives.

- *Sustainability*. Attempts at development should aim at ensuring sustainable environments, including the economic, natural, institutional and social environments.

It should be stated here that the sustainable livelihoods principles are not ''set in stone'', but are in the process of evolving.

VILLAGE CASE STUDY: MDUDWA VILLAGE, EASTERN CAPE PROVINCE

[The excerpt below is taken from Ntshona and Lahiff (2001).]
Mdudwa Village was selected for an in-depth study of livelihoods at a household level. Mdudwa was purposefully selected as an example of a reasonably accessible but undeveloped village. Although located only 10 km from Flagstaff town, the village has no roads, piped water or electricity and has not been the subject of any government development initiatives. Further stages of the study will focus on even remoter communities and those which have been more directly affected by state development policies. Mdudwa village is situated about 10 km outside Flagstaff on the way to Kokstad. Mdudwa is one of the three subvillages constituting Gcinilifu cluster. The other sub-villages are Mtshekelweni and ''Kuwait''. Gcinilifu is under Xopozo tribal council. There is a headman (*uNozithetyana*) and a ward councillor (*Ceba*) in the village. The ward councillor represents about 15 villages inside and outside Xopozo area.

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

Sources of livelihoods

A wide variety of livelihoods were identified by the people of Mdudwa village, including pensions, cropping, livestock, kin dependency, formal and casual wage employment, remittances from migrant workers and hawking.

Women above 60 years of age and men above 65 are entitled to state pensions, but not everybody in the village who meets these requirements gets the grant. The Department of Social Welfare is widely criticised for delays in processing the applications. Those who receive pensions typically have to support large families. Household composition is increased in many cases because of children who are left in the care of grandparents. Some pensioners have to support two households as it is not uncommon in the village for a man to have more than one wife. Almost all the households in the village make use of their arable fields. People grow maize, pumpkins and beans, with the main concentration being on maize. They use maize for homemade beer, maize drink (*amarhewu*) and for a variety of foodstuffs. They also feed it to livestock

such as chicken and pigs. Households who do not make use of their arable fields are perceived by their neighbours as being poor. People keep a variety of livestock, including cattle, goats and poultry, although many households that had cattle in the past do not have them now. Livestock are kept for a variety of reasons, including food, as a store of wealth, and for ploughing purposes.

Kin dependency is common among households who do not have a reliable source of income or households who are waiting for remittances from husbands in distant towns and cities. Gifts or loans from friends or relatives takes various forms, such as a small dish of maize meal, maize, samp or sugar. Many people in the village work occasionally for their neighbours, especially those with old-age or disability pensions, assisting them with collection of firewood and plastering houses with mud. A number of people in the village are employed in the state plantations and some work for a private company which dips the poles. In this area, maybe because it is close to KwaZulu-Natal, many people have worked in the sugar plantations.

Some still work there permanently or seasonally. Other migrants work in Gauteng and the Free State provinces, mainly on the mines, and a few in Cape Town and Port St Johns.

Remittances support a number of households with men working away from home. During the household interviews it was evident that most husbands remit inconsistently. Wives in such cases are prompted to borrow money in order to ''chase their husbands behind''. Households which, according to the wealth ranking exercise, were classified as relatively rich, are in many cases receiving remittances from their educated children. Education and a full-time job were counted during the exercise as factors that greatly improve the wealth of a household. Some households earn a living by selling fruit or meat in the streets of Flagstaff, or by making baskets and brooms for sale to their neighbours. Overall, we can say that households at Mdudwa pursue diverse and multiple livelihood strategies. The most common activity is crop production, but only the very poorest households depend on it as their main source of livelihood. Pensions are the only regular source of cash income for many households and typically support large extended families. Full-time wage employment either locally or in the cities is the goal of most people of working age but is available to only a minority of households. Households with one or more members in wage employment are noticeably better off than their neighbours.

Migration

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

in KwaZulu-Natal used to be looked down upon by people when compared to joyini in the mines of Gauteng or the Free State, which are for longer periods and pay better than the sugar plantations. Temporary employment on the plantations would last between three to six months but for employment in distant places would usually be for at least one year. Although migration generally benefits the individuals and households concerned, it is not without its social and economic costs.

Many men started second families in the cities, thus significantly reducing the money remitted back to their rural homes. Women in the village indicated that in some cases they have to borrow money while waiting for remittances from their husbands, while others reported that it is not uncommon for men to come home from the cities empty handed. Almost all the older men in the village (35 years and older) have taken *joyini* in their lifetime. In the past decade or so, finding employment has not been easy for many people. Now people consider themselves lucky if they can find a job in the sugar plantations, and are likely to go back year after year if they can. This is unlike in the past where most men would settle for temporary employment in KwaZulu-Natal only whilst waiting for better employment elsewhere.

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

Land and agriculture

The people of Mdudwa were dispossessed of much of their land by the government to make way for an agricultural college in the 1930s. The agricultural college offered employment to local people to work in its arable fields as well as training students for agricultural extension service. After it was closed, the government used the land for livestock production and later as a plantation (Flagstaff Plantation) of exotic trees such as pine and gum. The area is commonly known as Bhunga Farm (*Ibhunga*). People of Gcinilifu and Sipaqeni (which is under a different tribal authority) are now claiming the land under the land restitution programme. If the claim is successful, they plan to move their houses closer to the forest and use the land in which they reside presently as arable fields. The villages of Gcinilifu and Sipaqeni have had a series of meetings on how best to use the land, and their respective chiefs are at the forefront of the claims. Mdudwa village today does not have clearly demarcated arable fields like other villages in the Transkei. During the 1960s, the area was subjected to ''betterment'' (forced replanning and relocation) and each household was allocated a site of approximately one hectare for combined residential and arable purposes.

Their former arable plots on the slopes around the village now form the communal grazing lands of the village. There are no fences that divide the grazing land, but rather a system of ''social fences'' between the

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

People in the village complain that although all home plots are supposed to be all the same size, in practice they differ considerably. In part this is because of the natural unevenness of the land, but according to the village headman people commonly move the beacons which mark the boundaries of their plot. Other people, especially from the Kayisa clan, blame the headman for giving them smaller than average plots. There is some disagreement about who has the formal authority to allocate plots, although most people in the village agreed that both the tribal leaders and the agricultural extension officer are involved. Further confusion was evident around the role of the local municipality which, according to the ward councillor, was also supposed to be involved, but this could not be confirmed. Some informants suggested that the actual allocation of sites is the responsibility of the extension officers, while other people in the village claim that their sites were allocated by the headman (which is something that happened in the 1990s) and others claim that it was men from the tribal authority. The allocation of a site by the tribal authority involves considerable expenses — a meal has to be prepared by the household for the visitors and other men from the village who witness the formal demarcation of the plot. In the normal course of events, a person requiring a plot must first approach the village headman, which the Kayisa clan perceives as the most difficult of all the stages of site allocation because the headman perceived them as ''anti-chief''. Some people resort to bypassing the headman and going straight to the tribal authority. Others, because of the delays by the headman in taking them to the tribal authority, have decided to leave the area (*bakholiwe*) to find sites elsewhere. For many the first stage is very expensive, involving transport for the applicant and the headman to the offices of the tribal authority, and gifts for the headman and members of the tribal council. At each stage, some money has to be paid. Following this, the headman takes the applicant to the tribal authority to present his or her case in front of the tribal council. Next, the tribal authority forwards the name of the applicant to the extension officers in the district Department of Agriculture. In the final stage, the tribal authority supports the applicants' case before the extension officers. The extension officer must establish that the applicant is married and whether or not they already hold another piece of land in the village. Applicants are generally advised by the extension officers to pay the local tax and the general levy of R20 to avoid unnecessary delays. The extension officers visit the site identified by the applicant to formally allocate it. A number of households reported that the headman himself allocates plots, with the tacit approval of the tribal council and without the involvement of the Department of Agriculture. The headman strenuously denied this, insisting that only government officials could legally do so.

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

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

A number of households have access to two sites. These are households that have relocated to a new site because of problems with the location of the old site and managed to hold onto their former site. One household in the village had access to three sites. The first site belongs to the first wife of the household head, who no longer lives in the area, one is where the family is currently residing and the third is intended for the eldest son when he gets married. Families with multiple plots are in a position to produce more maize and other crops than those with only one plot, as long as they have sufficient labour within the household to make use of them. A common complaint among members of the Kayisa clan was that their sons are not being allocated plots by the headman, forcing them to subdivide their existing plots between their family members. In contrast, members of the Mathumbu clan, of which the headman is a member, were said to be able to obtain as many plots as they need. People use their arable land for maize production and some fence off small portions as vegetable gardens. Most of the arable land is used to plant maize, pumpkins and beans with the main concentration on maize. Crop production in the area was used in the wealth ranking exercise as one measure of whether the household is rich or poor. Households that do not make productive use of their land were perceived by others in the village as poor. Many households harvest sufficient maize to provide their staple diet for the whole year, or most of the year. Maize is also used for making *Isigwampa* (liquor), *Ibhanqa* (fresh maize), *Amarhewu* (maize drink), *Isikhuluphathi* (maize with beans), and for feeding to chickens and pigs. Field crops, mainly maize, are grown on domestic plots and, for those who have them, on second plots away from the homestead. Smaller areas (''gardens'') are used for vegetable production, where people grow potatoes, spinach and cabbages. Fresh vegetables are consumed throughout the growing season but are not preserved or otherwise stored over the winter months. Most households do not sell their vegetables or other crops. The exception is a group of women who have been allocated a plot by the headman for a market garden, and have recently begun selling cabbage, potatoes and beans to members of the community and in Flagstaff town.

Households enter into a variety of relationships with other households in order to produce a crop. Many households do not have cattle, or sufficient cattle, for ploughing purposes, and therefore must join ploughing teams (*ilima*). The composition of ploughing teams is based largely, but not exclusively, on kinship. Relations between households usually endure over many years, and even over generations. The usual arrangement is for one household in the team to supply the cattle and all the equipment, such as a plough and, in some cases, a planter. The household that owns the cattle

and the equipment will usually plough its own field first, just after the first spring rains, and then move on to plough the fields of other members of the team. In cases where the cattle-owning household is short of labour, other members of the team will assist with the ploughing and, in some cases, will provide labour later in the year for ploughing or harvesting. People differentiated between work parties for the purposes of weeding (*ilima lokuhlakula)* and sharing livestock (*ilima leenkabi)*. A household that has its land ploughed by others (*ukumema ilima*) must provide a feast (*ukuhlinzeka*) for the cattle owners and their household, and others who contribute to the team. Such feasts are a major burden for some households, but are generally accepted as necessary in order to get one's land ploughed and also because they are considered to strengthen the bonds among kin groups. The main concentration in the village is on cattle farming as opposed to other forms of livestock such as sheep and goats. Only a minority of households now have cattle, however, and very few households have more than 20 cattle. The number of livestock is a determinant of the social status within the village and is especially important during the ploughing season. Previously people were denied old age pension if they had more than 30 cattle, which served as a deterrent to accumulation, but the practice has now stopped.

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

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

People gain cattle through *lobola* (bridewealth) which is given to the family of the bride by the family of the groom. While it was traditional for men to work on the mines or elsewhere in order to accumulate sufficient *lobola*, these days many parents must pay *lobola* for their sons due to the high rate of unemployment. *Lobola* can be paid in cash but most rural households prefer cattle. There are other reasons besides *lobola* and cultivation that make people keep livestock. These include savings, aesthetic value, sales in neighbouring villages, milk, draught power, manure, *Ukugugisa* (slaughtering of old cattle) and cultural reasons. Sheep are also kept for their wool, while both sheep and goats are necessary for slaughter on ceremonial occasions.

Forest and wild resources

Households in Mdudwa depend heavily on the resources they collect from the forests and uncultivated lands that surround the village. The most important such resource is firewood that, in the absence of electricity, is the principal source of fuel in every household in the village. In only a few better-off households is firewood supplemented by paraffin stoves. The gathering of firewood is a labour intensive and physically demanding activity, carried out almost entirely by women and girls, which must be repeated three or four times a week.

Also of great importance is the gathering of building materials, particularly wooden poles and thatching grass. While some structures in the village nowadays have tin roofs, every homestead has at least one traditional hut of mud and timber walls and thatch roof, and for poorer households such dwellings remain the norm. Other natural materials of lesser economic importance gathered in the area are rushes and wattle for the making of traditional baskets and brooms, and a range of leaves, seeds, bark and roots for use in traditional medicines. While a range of grasses, rushes and other natural materials are collected from the grazing lands and the banks of streams, the most heavily exploited areas are the three categories of forests within and adjacent to the village — the state-owned Flagstaff plantation, so-called village plantations and scattered pockets of indigenous forest. The people of Mdudwa are acutely aware that they are the historical owners of all the land surrounding their village, even that which is now under state-owned plantations. Village plantations, mainly composed of black wattle, were established under previous government to create revenue for the tribal authority, and are under the control of the village headman. They are sometimes referred to as headmen's forests. Because of their close proximity to the residential areas, there tends to be a shortage of dry wood for firewood. Thus, these plantations are mainly used for the collection of building poles and laths, for which people must pay a fee to the headman. When a person pays to cut a tree, the headman asks one of his associates to accompany the person lest they cut other trees. One tree costs about R10. People value poles from indigenous trees in the village plantations as they are much more durable than the pine or gum poles from the state plantations. The revenue collected for the use of the village plantations is supposed to be paid over to the tribal authority, but some residents of Mdudwa questioned whether this in fact happens. Access to the state-owned plantation is controlled by officials at the old agricultural college, referred to locally as *Ibhunga*. People wishing to collect firewood must first get a permit, for which they do not have to pay, but which are only available on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays before 12h00. One permit allows the collection of a single headload of dry wood. Honey may also be collected from the plantation without charge, but charges are levied for other resources such as thatching grass, building poles and laths. Entry to the plantation is monitored by security guards, who check for the necessary permits and control the amount of material taken out by users, but evasion of the guards and the permit system is believed to be widespread. Fines can be imposed on anyone removing material or found in possession of cutting tools without permission. There would appear to be no controls over the collection of natural materials from non-forest

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

Water

Up to now, people of Mdudwa get water for domestic purposes from a number of unprotected streams and springs around the village. These sources are considered very reliable and do not dry up even in times of drought. The collection of water is an exclusively female activity, and is a daily ritual for women and girls in every household in the village. No efforts have been made, by the villagers or others, to protect the water points or the streams that supply them, and some villagers complained that water is occasionally contaminated by people washing clothes upstream. Livestock are watered from the same sources, but usually downstream from the domestic supply points, yet there appeared to be no concern about water-borne diseases in the village. A water scheme is presently under construction for the villages of Mdudwa, Mtshekelweni and Kuwait which will supply piped water to a number of communal standpipes. The project is said to cost about R200,000 and is being implemented under the Build, Operate, Train and Transfer (BOTT) programme, by a private implementing agency contracted by the municipal council. Even though a water committee had been established for the three villages, and the project was already under construction, there was widespread confusion and lack of information about the scheme, to the extent that nobody in Mdudwa could tell us the name of the private implementing agency involved. (It is probably Amanz'abantu, but this could not be confirmed.) The water committee consists of nine members, four from Mdudwa village, three from Mtshekelweni and two from Kuwait. They are advised by a representative of the private implementing agency who is known to members only by her first name. The committee is supposed to oversee all aspects of the scheme, both during the construction phase and during its subsequent operation. Local people have already been employed to dig trenches for the water pipes, but there was some confusion about who would pay them and how much they would receive. While the physical construction of the scheme

proceeds, little progress has been made in developing systems to manage the water use and the maintenance of the infrastructure. Villages have been informed, seemingly arbitrarily, that they will be able to use the water for cooking, washing and drinking, but not for irrigation or washing of big items such as blankets, since these require a lot of water. On the financial side, the committee has decided that all households in the three villages must make a monthly contribution of R5 toward the maintenance of the system and purchase of diesel for the pump. This figure, we were informed, was decided on the basis of what it was thought people would be willing to pay, rather than on the basis of any estimates of the real costs of operation and maintenance of the system. As yet, no measures have been put in place to collect such charges, or for dealing with households that fail (or refuse) to pay. The confusion and lack of information about the water project can be attributed to a failure of the relevant authorities to fully inform villagers about what is being planned, and their role in it, but also to divisions within the community. Considerable tension exists between the village headman, the long-standing power in the village, and the newly elected ward councillor, the representative of developmental local government. Although there is a strong element of personal rivalry in this case, it can be related to wider tensions between traditional authorities, represented by the chiefs and headmen, and pro-democratic elements mainly associated with the African National Congress. These tensions gave rise to physical violence at Mdudwa in the run-up to the 1994 democratic elections and have remained simmering in the area ever since. In the case of the water project, the local ward councillor called several meetings to inform people that funds had been approved by the council for a water scheme in the village. The meetings were poorly attended because the headman would call another meeting, which would clash with the water meeting. The headman remains opposed to the project and has warned people that they will end up paying for what they currently get for nothing. While the introduction of a piped water scheme can be seen as a triumph for the new local government, and for the local councillor who lobbied hard for it, the manner it which it has been introduced remains top down and bewildering to the intended beneficiaries. The local committee established to facilitate the project clearly does not have the support of all members of the community and serves largely to rubber-stamp the decisions of the local municipality and the little-known implementing agency. Realistic financial planning appears to have been overlooked in the rush to deliver infrastructure, which raises serious concerns around the viability of the project when the implementing agency withdraws. The switch from what is effectively a free resource to one that must be paid for will undoubtedly impose a strain on many poorer households. Coupled with this is an underlying gender dynamic whereas women are currently responsible for collecting water, and may be expected to benefit most from the new system, it is men, as the controllers of most cash income in the villages, who are likely to end up paying for it. It is thus, perhaps, not surprising that the water committee is largely composed of men.

ACTIVITY 4.5

(Spend one hour on this activity.)

Read the case study on Mdudwa Village above and identify the various forms of capital assets available to the villagers.

4.5 THE HOUSEHOLD SURVIVAL STRATEGY

The interdependent relationship between the rural and urban areas forms an integral part of the survival strategy. Migrants in the first instance move from the rural to the urban areas to ensure their survival. This process of migration for survival centres around needs. By entering the household economy, migrants, and those with whom they maintain socioeconomic links in the rural areas, survive, because if migrants survive and can satisfy their needs, they can help rural inhabitants survive by meeting some of their needs.

The survival strategy may be discussed primarily in terms of felt needs and possible need satisfaction, as well as the fact that rural inhabitants perceive an urban lifestyle as being more acceptable than a rural lifestyle. The latter arises from felt needs which, according to the rural inhabitant, can be satisfied more easily by the household economy than by the subsistence economy.

The needs that are relevant to the survival strategy include the need for services (eg water and electricity), employment opportunities, education, recreation, housing and adequate land on which to settle. Urban bias contributes to the perception among rural inhabitants that the survival strategy and need satisfaction are possible only by migration to an urban lifestyle and the transition to the household economy.

The most basic need which emerges from the survival strategy is the need for adequate land on which to settle (Watson 1991:29). As a result of the limited capacity of the rural areas, and especially the restrictions of communal land rights, the rural inhabitants migrate because they have no land or not enough land for the subsistence economy. In the urban areas the household economy is dependent only on enough land to erect an informal dwelling.

The need for education also plays a role in the decision to migrate because the importance of training is becoming increasingly obvious. Educational prospects in the rural areas are limited, and as a result rural inhabitants are drawn to the cities — but a better education for children will very rarely be the only reason for migration. It is rather one of a collection of aspects that make up the survival strategy.

If one asks why rural inhabitants find an urban lifestyle more acceptable, it is clear that the reason must be sought in the survival strategy. Rural inhabitants wish to survive. In their struggle to survive, certain needs arise. They believe that they will be able to satisfy those needs more easily and more effectively in the city by entering the household economy, because the subsistence economy does not offer a solution in the struggle for survival.

Socioeconomic links between cities and rural areas lead to rural inhabitants regarding an urban lifestyle as preferable to a rural lifestyle: in a sense, an urban lifestyle offers the best of both worlds in that it satisfies the needs of the family as a whole, while the migrants' strong bonds with their origins remain intact.

The move to the household economy entails a process of diversifying the income-generating activities of members of the family. While conventional wisdom sees diversification as a temporary occurrence, Ellis (1998:2) says it can be a deliberate household strategy or an involuntary response to crisis: it is both a safety net for the poor and a means of accumulation for the rich.

The household economy is the arena where livelihood diversification occurs. While the diversification may originate in rural areas, it is also found in the informal and squatter settlements in urban areas. Looking at livelihood diversification from a rural angle, Ellis (1998:4) defines it as "the process by which rural families construct a diverse portfolio of activities and social support capabilities in their struggle for survival and in order to improve their standards of living".

Livelihood diversification is followed as a means of survival for the poor or as a means of accumulation of income for the rich. Earlier we stated that livelihood is more than income: livelihood also includes social institutions, gender relations and property rights. Also included is access to public social services such as education and health (Ellis 1998:4–5). Yet income remains an important aspect of livelihood, and we will therefore pause for a moment to consider the categories of livelihood income. Saith (1992, quoted in Ellis 1998:5) distinguishes farm income, off-farm income and nonfarm income. Farm income includes earnings from crops and livestock; off-farm income usually consists of wage or exchange labour on farms; and nonfarm income is subcategorised into nonfarm rural wage labour, nonfarm rural self-employment, property income (eg rents), urban to rural remittances (of income earned within the national boundaries) and, finally, international remittances earned from overseas migration.

An intertemporal strategy is a strategy that takes into account that current decisions also affect the choices available in the future (eg if you save more today you can consume less today, but you will be able to consume more in the future).

What influences decisions on livelihood diversification? The economic logic of households definitely determines livelihood diversification options; social and family considerations also play a role. Ellis (1998:11) distinguishes the following determinants of diversification:

- seasonality
- differentiated labour markets
- risk strategies
- coping behaviour
- credit market imperfections
- *intertemporal* savings and investment *strategies*

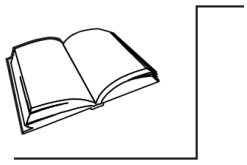
Income diversification means that in order to survive or increase their wealth, people make use of a range of different opportunities and means to earn an income.

Income diversification is a widespread livelihood strategy. Its practice straddles rural and urban areas and provides a means of survival to many, and a means of enrichment to some. Because of its prevalence in the Third World it needs to be provided for in national development policy. A number of policy areas are relevant for income diversification as a livelihood strategy. Reinforcement within these areas will improve the household economy and support household livelihood strategies. Ellis (1998:25–29) identifies the following important policy areas:

- targeting
- reduction of risk

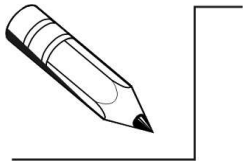
- microcredit
- rural services
- rural nonfarm enterprise
- rural towns
- infrastructure
- education

To summarise, livelihood diversification as a household strategy is an important part of the household economy and needs to be reinforced by appropriate government policy.



ACTIVITY 4.6

You will need to do this activity before you can do the one that follows. Skim-read the article by Ellis (1998) in your *Reader*. Then thoroughly read the sections in the article entitled ''Introduction'', ''Concepts of livelihood diversification'', ''Determinants of diversification'' and ''Diversification and policy''.



ACTIVITY 4.7

Do the following activity and file your answers for future reference:

(1) In a paragraph of about half a page, explain the concept of livelihood diversification.
(2) List and then discuss, in not more than one page, the determinants of livelihood diversification.
(3) List and explain, in not more than two pages, the policy areas affecting livelihood diversification.

4.6 URBAN LIFESTYLES

It is typical of the urban lifestyle that migrants move to the city, but retain their rural links and continue to regard themselves as members of their community of origin. They are therefore not isolated in the city and they assume that they will return to the rural area (Gilbert & Gugler 1984:117). These links with the rural area indicate that migrants remain peasants at heart, but become urbanites because they participate in the urban lifestyle. Migrants will use their urban connections to help the children of their rural relatives to attend school in the city. They become accustomed and adapt to the urban lifestyle in order to realise their economic objectives. As they move about the city, they become experienced in the urban lifestyle. Migrants who move to the city therefore actually acquire an additional culture, namely the urban culture.

It is important to bear in mind that the urban lifestyle makes provision for a migrant arriving in the city from the rural area to be supported by relatives or acquaintances in the city. Knowledge of, and strategies for survival in, the urban environment are conveyed and explained to the migrant. A solidarity develops among rural inhabitants who come to the city as migrants and become part of the urban lifestyle.

Life in the city is also characterised by alternative lifestyles (Gilbert & Gugler 1984:121). The most important of these lifestyles are the networks of family and friends. Religious groupings are another example of an alternative lifestyle found in the city and utilised by migrants to become part of the urban way of life. A further characteristic of the urban way of life is the co-operation that exists within groups. It is also an innovative lifestyle because it offers more opportunities, and new opportunities are created more readily than in the rural areas.

The subculture of poverty as part of the urban lifestyle is the rule rather than the exception. Characteristics of this subculture are as follows: the absence of a protected childhood, a tendency towards female- or mother-oriented families, and a strong tendency to yield to authoritarianism (Gilbert & Gugler 1984:129). The subculture of poverty gains a permanent foothold in the urban lifestyle because it has a strong influence on the children. As a result of the subculture of poverty, the children assimilate the prevailing lifestyle in the environment and they become so used to it that they do not make use of the opportunities that may present themselves.

4.7 SOCIOECONOMIC LINKS WITH RURAL AREAS

As a result of the traditional system of land ownership, the rural population in Africa migrates to the cities very easily, because the extended family's occupation of rural land means that individuals may move to the cities without giving up their rural resources (Swilling, Humphries & Shubane 1991:367). Socioeconomic links with rural areas facilitate entry into the household economy because the migrants know that they still have their rural resources to fall back onto and to which they can return. Socioeconomic links indicate the bond between the migrants in the city and their families and friends in the rural area. In practice, this finds expression most strongly in the system of kinship between inhabitants of rural and urban areas. This bond is in fact reinforced, for instance, when a father migrates to the city, because his brother will take on his role in the rural area. Bonds of this kind may be found in the social, psychological and economic fields (Peil & Sada 1984:178). The economic links become evident in the financial assistance that migrants channel from the city to their families in the rural area. The migrants retain a stake in land rights in the rural areas. This facilitates the survival strategy in that the migrants who have socioeconomic links with the rural area are twice as likely to survive because their opportunities have been doubled.

Socioeconomic links are also forged when children remain in rural areas to attend school (Seekings, Graaff & Joubert 1990:51). This influences the household economy in that money, food and clothing are sent to children in the rural areas. It also forms part of the survival strategy. By means of the household economy, migrants provide for their own survival as well as the survival of other members of the household who remain in the rural areas.

The most significant influence of urban income on rural people is that it facilitates the rural survival strategy. The benefit of the household economy (money) serves to supplement the subsistence economy as a source of income. This eases the strain on subsistence economy activities because a supplementary income is available for satisfying needs.

Because rural inhabitants receive money from the city, it appears to them to be easy to earn money in the city. In this way, urban income may also serve to attract inhabitants of rural areas to the cities.

When migrants arrive in the city, everything seems new, foreign and strange. Accordingly, it is when they first arrive in the city that they are offered socioeconomic and sociocultural support.

Kinship is the primary network providing support for new arrivals. When migrants arrive, some of their relatives may already have settled in the city and they will give the new arrivals with the necessary support. This support may take various forms, for instance temporary accommodation, financial assistance, exchange of knowledge and finding employment.

Migrants may also receive support from the neighbourhood in which they settle (Huggins 1989:18). If they meet their neighbours and build up friendships with them, these new friends may also be supportive. Migrants may receive valuable and useful information from neighbours on matters such as the nature, scope and venues of cultural, social and recreational activities.

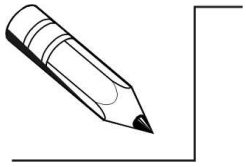
An example of a support service is the burial society. Like women's organisations, burial societies serve as mechanisms to help migrants adapt to and keep pace with various aspects of the modern urban lifestyle (Huggins 1989:37). By joining a burial society, migrants meet other members of the community in which they live. They acquire information and hear opinions on the urban lifestyle. The burial society as such provides them with peace of mind because they know that if they should die, their families will receive support, and that if relatives of theirs die, they themselves will receive support. Women's organisations also provide support where necessary. For instance, they assist new arrivals with food preparation, settling in and information.

According to Huggins (1989:40), the stokvel offers important assistance to migrants in respect of the household economy and the survival strategy. It is believed that the name ''stokvel'' is derived from the term ''stock fair'' (cattle auction). Stokvels come in different guises and are usually associations with a limited membership. Each member regularly contributes a certain amount of money and each member in turn receives the ''jackpot'' — the whole amount contributed in a given period, usually a week or a month. Mutual trust is important for the success of a stokvel. When new arrivals enjoy the support of a stokvel, they are assured of receiving a large amount of money as a return on their ''investment'' of a smaller amount.

Indiscriminately means doing something without thinking about what the result may be, acting in a random manner.

The household economy is important to the survival strategy because certain needs are identified which are important for survival. In order to meet these needs, it is necessary to enter the household economy. Migrants make decisions regarding the extent to which they will be able to satisfy these needs by entering the household economy. They will not move to the city *indiscriminately,* but will first make reasonably sure that their needs will be better satisfied in the city.

Socioeconomic links between rural and urban areas are important in the decision to adopt an urban lifestyle because migrants always retain their links with rural areas, which provide them with an option in case they are not able to adapt to the urban lifestyle. However, problems with adapting are usually resolved by means of socioeconomic and sociocultural support.



ACTIVITY 4.8

Describe in your own words the socioeconomic links between rural and urban areas.

4.8 CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have discussed the household economy, and particularly how the household economy is influenced and supported by urban-rural linkages. Sustainable livelihoods and the household survival strategy form part of the context. Finally, we discussed urban lifestyles and socioeconomic links with rural areas.

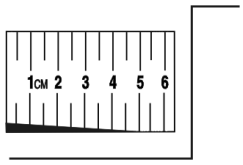
4.9 LEARNING OUTCOMES CHECK LIST

Use this check list to test yourself on this study unit.

Outcomes	Can do	Cannot do
(1) I can explain what is understood by the concept of *household economy*.		
(2) I can explain what is meant by *livelihood diversification*.		
(3) I can explain what is meant by *sustainable livelihoods.*		
(4) I can identify the determinants of livelihood diversification.		
(5) I can list and discuss the policy areas affecting livelihood diversification.		
(6) I can highlight the socioeconomic links between rural and urban areas.		

STUDY UNIT 5

RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION



LEARNING OUTCOMES

When you have worked through this study unit, you should be able to

(1) explain the colonial history of migrant labour
(2) identify areas of investment of income remittances from migrant labour
(3) explain how migrants' use of remittances could influence policies supporting household livelihood strategies
(4) list and explain the models of rural-urban migration
(5) identify the consequences of natural and human-made disasters

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this study unit, we discuss migration as it relates to the movement of people from rural areas to urban areas. To provide you with some background, we first try to define this concept before analysing the types of migration and discussing the causes and results thereof, as well as obstacles to migration. Although the study unit is based on a number of other readings, our main source is the book *Migration in South and southern Africa: dynamics and determinants* (2006), edited by Kok, Gelderblom, Oucho and Van Zyl. Although this study unit tends to focus on labour migration, you need to understand that many people all over the world migrate for different reasons — economic, education, political, social and environmental, to mention a few examples.

The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) defines migration as "the crossing of a spatial boundary by one or more persons involved in a change of residence" (2007). The HSRC acknowledges the debates around the definition of this concept, but it definitely rules out any definition that includes moving from one house to another in the same neighbourhood (or town) or from one apartment to another in the same block of flats. Consequently, for a move to be regarded as migration, it should not involve just a few kilometres. Essentially it should be a crossing of some spatial boundary, for example between countries, provinces, local governments, or magisterial districts. For the purposes of this study unit, migration is defined as the movement of people from rural spaces to urban spaces within the borders of a single country. Keep in mind that definitions are specific — they cannot be anything and everything, otherwise they will serve no purpose.

De Jong and Steinmetz (2006:249) refer to local and distant, temporary and permanent, voluntary and involuntary, national and international forms of migration. In many instances, what we refer to here as rural-urban migration will involve individuals crossing a spatial boundary into another area. The rural-urban migration we discuss therefore fits in with many of the forms De Jong and Steinmetz refer to, but within the boundaries of a single country.

5.2 THE COLONIAL ORIGINS OF MIGRANT LABOUR

The era of colonialism represents a particular and special discourse of migration in the developing world, especially in the sub-Saharan region. During that era, local colonised populations were not only required to provide labour to the mines and farms, but also to the industries that resulted from such activities. Thus rural-urban labour migration was born from the colonial needs for labour. In cases where local labour was not found, it was drawn in from other colonies — thus involving cross-border migration. In many ways, labour migration was a system for creating forced labour reserves, particularly in the colonies (O'Laughlin 2002:511; Jeeves & Kalinga 2002:1), and it created many social problems (Bryceson 2003:21) which fed into how a household's assets were utilised.

One of the ways people tell their stories is through songs. Mazibuko (2009:24) explains that people express themselves in music as a form of participation in specific issues. The story of migration has also been told in song in South Africa. Specific popular songs — especially by Miriam Makeba, Caiphus Semenya and Hugh Masekela — that explain the effects and consequences of rural migration, tell of people being transported in trains to the mines and of others dying there. The songs express sorrow, hope and frustration about migration. The long labour contracts migrants had to endure without their families and loved ones are issues that come out clearly. But also from those songs, we learn that migration became an option in order to sustain livelihoods ensuring food security in the households and even in enabling young men to get married (Wentzel & Tlabela 2006:74).

The early Cape colony authorities of the Dutch East India Company had at some stage to request permission to bring in Malaysian slaves to provide the required labour which the settled white inhabitants refused to do. Similarly, in the 1800s, the British colony of Natal had to bring in Indian labour to work in the sugar cane fields as indentured labour, and after the expiry of their contracts, they could choose to either return to India or stay in Natal.

As for the local African people, particularly in sub-Saharan and South Africa, the colonial governments used taxation to force men to go to work in the mines, where their labour was critically required (Wentzel & Tlabela 2006:74). Some common forms of taxes that those men were required to pay were head tax and hut tax. Initially these attempts were resisted and people used their livestock as payment. This could not, however, last for long as it depleted their wealth, and the colonialists themselves later refused to accept livestock as tax payment. Local people were therefore forced to join the ranks of migrants. In some parts of Africa, these forms of taxation were forcibly resisted with the use of arms. The Bhambhatha Uprising of 1904 is a case in point. Although it is known as the Bhambatha Uprising in the history books, the Zulu people refer to it as *Impi Yamakhanda* (head tax war). The uprising was led by the Bhambatha from Enkandla, KwaZulu-Natal, who resisted paying tax and therefore opposed the recruitment of young men to the Witwatersrand gold mines.

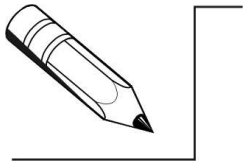
In order to ensure an adequate labour supply to the mines, the colonial authorities passed various pieces of legislation to dispossess African people of their land, and even their right to earn a living as farm workers was severely curtailed. All this was done to ensure that these people became landless and were compelled to seek livelihoods as workers of one kind or another. This was actually a process of creating a kind of forced labour which took place in the whole region, with the mines drawing labour from countries such as Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe (Wentzel & Tlabela 2006:74–75). To this day, labour migration from these countries still provides a way of earning a living for many people.

Rural-urban migration was not and is never an issue that affects all except white people. White people were also forced to migrate during the same era, but largely by natural factors. The clouding of the issue, as if migration is a non-white issue, came about as a result of the fact that white people were protected by colonial governments against competition with other racial groups. Take, for instance, the 1896 outbreak of rinderpest — a cattle disease that left many stock farmers poor — and the drought that accompanied it, which affected everyone, not only white people. These two occurrences led to what is known as the ''poor white'' problem in South Africa (Wentzel & Tlabela 2006:82; Mtonga 2002:25-45) and the related pieces of legislation that successive colonial and apartheid governments passed to save the white race. Here then are the early beginnings of the politicisation of poverty in the region and South Africa in particular. A picture was created that white people should and must not be allowed to fall into poverty as that would make them vulnerable to association with black people regardless of their economic standing. Wilson and Thompson (1971:181–182) state the following:

For much of the period under consideration policy aimed at prising Africans out of reserves to work on white-owned farms and industry. African reserves were regarded by whites as ''reservoirs of labour'', and congestion, landlessness, and crop failure were welcomed as stimulants to the labour supply. But similar phenomena among whites were viewed as national calamities.

Today, it is common practice for many people to shift continually between rural and urban areas. People move to work in the cities and return ''home'' at specific times of the year — their homes being the rural space. Now, think of this as a culture born out of circumstances. The process of migration has, since the colonial era, been projected as a cultural one, based on the assumption that people of African origin prefer to work as migrants and return home periodically. On the contrary, this culture was forced on the people. Many such people who were recruited to the mines and farms away from their real homes were forced to stay in single-sex compounds. In the cities they were regarded as sojourners while white people enjoyed the liberty to live with their families wherever they wished. In South Africa, specific laws were passed to prevent African people from settling in towns and cities. Wentzel and Tlabela (2006:84–89) refer to specific pieces of legislations such as pass laws, the Group Areas Act and the Urban Areas Act, which were used to control the influx of black people into urban areas. These laws became obstacles to the permanent settlement of African people in urban areas. The results of this ''culture'' of migration — the spread of diseases and family breakdowns have been described by many (Roux & Van Tonder 2006:129–130) while a few, such as Ramphele (2002) and Baden, Hasim and Meintjies (1998), examine the effects of migration on women left behind alone with the children.

In this section, we have tried to give you some insight into migration during the colonial times. Of importance is to understand that the migration of people to urban areas was (and still is) largely induced by specific factors. This does not in any way imply that everyone who migrated was forced to do so. Many people left their places of origin of their own volition. Nevertheless, you should realise that migration at that stage was driven by politics for those who migrated, and economics for those who needed labour. We can thus state that politics and economics have always had a tremendous influence on the practice of migration.



ACTIVITY 5.1

(Spend 1.5 hours on this activity.)

Write short notes on the reasons for migration in South Africa.

5.3 MODELS OF URBAN MIGRATION

In this section we look at the factors that cause people to migrate to the cities. (You should bear in mind that migration is not only a move to the city; it can also be a move to a rural area.) Many theories have been offered in an attempt to provide answers to the question: why do people migrate? In considering the different answers to this question, you will notice that, as Gelderblom (2006:271) explains, theories of migration include push and pull factors in varying degrees. As you read through this section and the relevant article in the *Reader*, try to differentiate between pull factors and push factors.

Gelderblom (2006:268–290) discusses the various theoretical approaches to migration, namely the spatial reward structure, individualised rewards, structural variables, information flows, perceptions, motivation and decision-making, and filters. Let us take a brief look at each of these theoretical approaches to migration.

The spatial reward model

The spatial reward approach to migration states that once people perceive an area as being unable to offer them what they need, they are likely to leave it for an area that they believe is better able to meet their needs.

Individualised rewards model

The people who live in a particular place enjoy different benefits based on their individual characteristics or attributes, such as education or gender. People will move or stay depending on whether the area will reward their particular characteristics.

Structural variables determining decision-making units

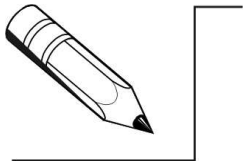
A decision to migrate or not to migrate may be influenced by a number of factors. This could include marriage, gender and the number of people who need to be consulted about the decision.

Information sources

Knowledge is power. Without information about other places people will not migrate. Once they have access to such information, they are more likely to consider migration and to decide for or against it.

Filters

This approach emphasises the factors that could prevent or assist an individual to decide to migrate or not to migrate.



ACTIVITY 5.2

(Spend 45 minutes on this activity.)

Based on your understanding of the causes of migration, write short notes on the various theoretical approaches to migration.

5.4 MIGRATION, URBANISATION AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

We have seen that the main impetus for migration is to help people improve their livelihoods — whether they migrate voluntarily or are forced to do so. A number of studies (Jeeves & Kalinga 2002; De Jonge & Steinmetz 2006) show that migration enables people to send remittances home and to keep hunger and starvation in their families at bay. Through remittances, families are able to send children to school and this ultimately contributes towards the formation of human capital in the rural areas.

Looking at the other side, migration deprives the rural areas of their physically strong people. As it is often the young people, in particular, who leave for the urban areas, the rural areas become populated mainly with older persons and the infirm, who have a limited contribution to make to rural economic development. The fact that remittances help build rural human capital may well be reversed since the very people who are educated with this money may finally migrate themselves. This rural brain-drain then poses severe challenges. It happens because the rural areas lack the economic incentives that would retain their young educated people. Here, you need to refer back to the models of migration discussed above to help you understand some of these problems.

While migration is primarily a result of economic issues — the need to earn a living and ensure food security in the household — it must be seen in a holistic manner. Here, you need to think of the effects of migration on those remaining behind. What happens to the family that is left in the rural areas? What happens to the rural areas themselves as the physically strong people leave for the cities? These are some of the issues that should concern us. You learnt at the first level that poverty is not only economic, but also involves issues of emotional wellbeing and ill-being. The article by Ntabeni (2002) in the *Reader* will give you greater insight into these issues.

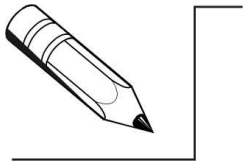
Ramphele (2002:65) has this to say about the impact of the migrant labour system on females remaining behind in rural South Africa:

The migrant labour system expected African women to divide themselves into faithful wives who ran the rural household and mothers who nurtured the children that would become the economy's labour force. For eleven months of the year these

women were to lead celibate lives and focus on mothering the children. Little consideration went into the difficulty of re-establishing intimacy between husband and wife.

Although labour migration has been dominated by males, the perception could be created that it is a ''man thing''. On the contrary, females have not been left untouched by this movement. Baden, Hasim and Meintjies (1998:39) have this to say about women's migration in South Africa:

> While recruitment of mine workers remained male-dominated, African women began to move into urban areas in increasing numbers from the 1930s onwards. While the range of employment opportunities for white women increased during the War , the vast majority of African women in the cities were employed in domestic work, which, although highly exploitative, offered women food and shelter in urban areas. Legal restrictions on the movement of women into the cities, and the exclusion of Africans from a range of jobs resulted in a high proportion of women located in the informal sector in activities such as hawking and beer brewing or, in rural areas, working casually on farms. During the late 1940s and 1950s, the apartheid government began to regulate more systematically the movement of African people, and especially of African women in order to restrict the development of a large urbanised African population.



ACTIVITY 5.3

(Spend one hour on this activity.)

Using the understanding you have gained by reading this section, identify the effects of migration on family members left behind when their menfolk migrate to the cities.

List, and then explain in your own words, each of the models of urban migration. File your answer for future reference.

5.5 DISPLACEMENT AND NATURAL DISASTERS

Normal (voluntary) migration is primarily motivated by perceived economic opportunities in the city (Todaro 1994). Forced migration, on the other hand, is caused by, *inter alia*, famine, droughts and wars across national boundaries. Forced migration is distinguished from voluntary migration by the diminished power of decision in the former. Although few theorists mention natural disasters as a cause of forced migration, the same element of powerlessness applies in people's decision to migrate from areas affected by a disaster.

Natural disasters can cause irreparable damage and major displacements. Selected examples of such displacements are as follows:

- A cyclone hit Orissa, India, in 1999 and caused the total collapse and destruction of 742 143 housing units.
- An earthquake in Turkey in the same year made one million people homeless, including 70 per cent of the population of Izmir (Habitat 2001:182).
- On 26 December 2004, a massive earthquake in the Indian Ocean generated a tsunami that caused widespread destruction. This disaster claimed the lives of

over 150 000 people in South and Southeast Asia (Deen 2005:2). Most of the people who were affected lived in marginal areas on the coastline — not surprisingly, many survivors wanted to migrate deeper inland onto higher lying ground.

The above-mentioned disasters are not isolated occurrences; they are examples of catastrophes that occur all too often.

Table 5.1 below (Habitat 2001:182) provides information about the total number of people affected by disasters, including those killed. Those "affected" are people who require immediate assistance during a period of emergency (ie help in meeting basic survival needs such as food, water, shelter, sanitation and urgent medical assistance).

TABLE 5.1

Total number of people affected by armed conflicts, natural and technological disasters, 1990–1999

Continent	Type of disaster (N) Armed conflict	Natural disaster	Technological disasters	Type of disaster (%) Armed conflict	Natural disasters	Technological disasters
Africa	101,553,666	101,181,011	84,705	62.0	5.4	14.0
America	7,249,029	54,600,922	111,791	4.4	2.9	18.5
Asia	45,216,161	1,677,789,948	318,778	27.6	89.7	52.9
Europe	9,582,061	18,416,100	72,965	6.0	1.0	12.1
Oceania	70,025	18,022,672	14,841	0.0	1.0	2.5
Total	163,670,942	1,870,010,653	603,080,100	100	100	100

Source: Centre for Research on the Epidemiology of Disasters, Université Catholique de Louvain, Belgium. Table compiled by Susan Krieger.

The data in table 5.1 show that from 1990 to 1999 more than 2 000 million people were affected by disasters worldwide: most of them (1 800 million) by natural calamities; many in the course of armed conflict (163 million); and a relatively small but still significant number by technological (human-made) disasters (600 000). The above led to a massive exodus of migrants, largely to urban areas, often in neighbouring countries, mainly to recover from the devastating effects of natural disasters, and in search of economic prosperity in urban areas. This resulting urbanisation holds a serious threat for the sustainability of urban regions in the developing world, in terms of jobs, housing and infrastructure.

5.6 CONCLUSION

Our discussion of the colonial origins of migrant labour, as well as of urbanisation in sub-Saharan Africa, has made it sufficiently clear that the phenomenon of urban migration is too vast and complex to be forced into formal models. The concrete circumstances and specific problems of the people involved, with their rational decision-making capabilities, simply cannot be reduced to structural generalisations. Such generalisations cannot finally fathom the causal factors behind the attracting and repelling (push and pull) forces governing migration tendencies.

Migration is part of a wider social system which can only be understood to the extent that it is examined theoretically as well as concretely. In this regard many able fieldworkers and researchers have vigorously cautioned against uneven urban and rural development in the light of concrete circumstances.

5.7 LEARNING OUTCOMES CHECK LIST

Use this check list to test yourself on this study unit.

Outcomes	Can do	Cannot do
(1) I can explain the colonial history of migrant labour.		
(2) I can identify areas of investment of income remittances from migrant labour.		
(3) I can explain how migrants' use of remittances could influence policies supporting household livelihood strategies.		
(4) I can list and explain the models of rural-urban migration.		
(5) I can identify the consequences of natural and human-made disasters.		

THEME B

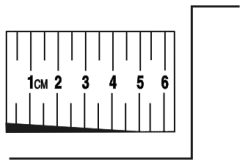
KEY ISSUES IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT

In theme A we saw how strong the rural-urban links in Third World countries are. These links are socially reinforced by family relations and economically reinforced by land. Rural land remains a central issue in the household economy and in rural development: it also remains an issue that influences urbanisation and the development of cities.

Although we pay separate attention to rural development in theme B, this does not mean that rural development is a separate issue. It is very much integrated with urban development and we refer to this fact frequently.

STUDY UNIT 6

LAND TENURE REFORM



LEARNING OUTCOMES

When you have worked through this study unit, you should be able to

(1) explain the concept of land tenure reform
(2) list the prerequisites for land tenure reform
(3) write an essay on land tenure reform in Zimbabwe and Namibia

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Land is probably the most precious resource for the survival and continued existence of humankind, and it forms the basis on which an entire economic, social and constitutional order is established. It is on land that people settle and achieve security; they can use the land to their advantage and make a living from it. At the same time land is very valuable, particularly in view of the fact that the population is growing, cities and towns are growing and businesses are expanding, while the amount and availability of land remains constant. For that reason land must be utilised with the utmost care and with careful planning, and heavy demands are made on land tenure reform is surrounded by high expectations.

Systems of land tenure and utilisation of land play an important part in the development process and have become a survival issue, owing to the high population growth rate with its accompanying demands for increased food production and equality. A third important aspect which should be increasingly stressed is the demand for sustainable development, which implies that the environment and ecological resources have to be protected and preserved.

Reform of land tenure may offer the solution to the majority of the above problems. Emotionally, however, this is a very sensitive matter and there is probably no other sphere in which the conflict between traditional values and economic concepts is more difficult to reconcile.

6.2 LAND TENURE

The term ''land tenure'' refers to the legal or traditional relations between individuals or groups and a community with regard to the rights and obligations of land use. Margeot (1988:288) describes land tenure as the relationship between groups of individuals on the one hand, and on the other, land and water as well as

the products produced on the land. Barnes (1988:285) agrees, but stresses that the study of land tenure must also examine the political, economic, sociological and administrative structures that exist within a community.

According to Margeot (Van de Wall 1988:36) systems of land tenure have developed over centuries to meet changing demands and practical needs of food and shelter which have arisen as the result of population growth. A system of land tenure may therefore be defined as the system whereby persons acquire rights with regard to land. These rights may take the form of freehold, right of use, leasehold or any other form that is legally recognised and protected.

Land tenure systems therefore reflect to a considerable extent the way in which a given community organises itself. For Margeot (1988:288) the features of a healthy land tenure system include the following: the provision of security, ensuring a permanent and accurate record of rights, giving rise to effective and economic patterns of land use, adapting to changing needs, encouraging development, preserving what is good in existing practices, being maintained by well-trained officials, and being understood and accepted by all members of the community. If the land tenure systems which prevail in rural areas are evaluated according to these features, one is bound to conclude that the systems to which certain groups in South Africa are subjected are anything but effective.

The variety of land tenure forms is virtually endless. Formal categorisation is at best a simplification of social reality. In other words, models of land tenure systems do not adequately describe what is actually happening on the ground. An additional problem, as identified by Bohannan (1963), is that rural inhabitants have different perceptions of land tenure relations than do westernised urban people. Generally, in most if not all developing countries, there is more than likely to be a pronounced discrepancy between the respective ways in which local inhabitants on the one hand, and academics, planners and state bureaucrats on the other, perceive or understand land tenure. The following is a good case in point: Jeppe (1980:11) points out that the term ''communal'' or ''common'' ownership of land can easily be oversimplified, and this may lead to misunderstanding the indigenous rights to land. Not only do *communal rights* to land stem from the community's right to land, referred to above, but members of the tribe can also obtain and exercise strong *individual rights* to land. However, these individual rights differ considerably from the Western concept of private ownership.

In South Africa, for a variety of historical and political reasons, land tenure and land use show an uneven pattern. Settlement patterns, discriminatory legislation and regulations, economic circumstances and innumerable other factors contributed to making land and land tenure one of the biggest problems in the country. Some people are of the opinion that the problems of land tenure can be solved by simply repealing existing discriminatory laws and making land available to all. The right to possess one's own land is indeed an elementary human need that must be respected, but problems relating to the possession of land have so many social, political and economic implications that they go far beyond the mere possession of land. Other aspects that play an important part in land tenure and land tenure reform include agricultural development, urbanisation, environment conservation, housing, job opportunities, community development and systems of land registration.

ACTIVITY 6.1

Read the following excerpt from a work by the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO 2002:7–12) for additional information on land tenure, and make notes for yourself.

What is land tenure?

Land tenure is the relationship, whether legally or customarily defined, among people, as individuals or groups, with respect to land. (For convenience, ''land'' is used here to include other natural resources such as water and trees.) Land tenure is an institution, i.e., rules invented by societies to regulate behavior. Rules of tenure define how property rights to land are to be allocated within societies. They define how access is granted to rights to use, control, and transfer land, as well as associated responsibilities and restraints. In simple terms, land tenure systems determine who can use what resources for how long, and under what conditions. Land tenure is an important part of social, political and economic structures. It is multi-dimensional, bringing into play social, technical, economic, institutional, legal and political aspects that are often ignored but must be taken into account. Land tenure relationships may be well defined and enforceable in a formal court of law or through customary structures in a community. Alternatively, they may be relatively poorly defined with ambiguities open to exploitation.

Land tenure thus constitutes a web of intersecting interests. These include:

- Overriding interests: when a sovereign power (e.g., a nation or community has the powers to allocate or reallocate land through expropriation, etc.)
- Overlapping interests: when several parties are allocated different rights to the same parcel of land (e.g., one party may have lease rights, another may have a right of way, etc.)
- Complementary interests: when different parties share the same interest in the same parcel of land (e.g., when members of a community share common rights to grazing land, etc.)
- Competing interests: when different parties contest the same interests in the same parcel (e.g., when two parties independently claim rights to exclusive use of a parcel of agricultural land. Land disputes arise from competing claims.)

Land tenure is often categorised as:

- Private: the assignment of rights to a private party who may be an individual, a married couple, a group of people, or a corporate body such as a commercial entity or non-profit organization. For example, within a community, individual families may have exclusive rights to residential parcels, agricultural parcels and certain trees. Other members of the community can be excluded from using these resources without the consent of those who hold the rights.
- Communal: a right of commons may exist within a community where each member has a right to use independently the holdings of the community. For example, members of a community may have the right to graze cattle on a common pasture.
- Open access: specific rights are not assigned to anyone and no-one can be excluded. This typically includes marine tenure where access to the high seas is generally open to anyone; it may include rangelands, forests, etc, where there may be free access to the resources for all. (An important difference between

open access and communal systems is that under a communal system non-members of the community are excluded from using the common areas.)

- State: property rights are assigned to some authority in the public sector. For example, in some countries, forest lands may fall under the mandate of the state, whether at a central or decentralised level of government.

In practice, most forms of holdings may be found within a given society, for example, common grazing rights, private residential and agricultural holdings, and state ownership of forests. Customary tenure typically includes communal rights to pastures and exclusive private rights to agricultural and residential parcels. In some countries, formally recognised rights to such customary lands are vested in the nation state or the President "in trust" for the citizens.

6.3 LAND TENURE REFORM

Land tenure, particularly the use of land, has become a cardinal issue of survival in many countries in Africa. The population increase has placed tremendous pressure on the available agricultural land, and in particular on the capacity of the land to meet the food requirements of a steadily growing population (Russell 1986:30). Land tenure reform has an important role to play in addressing these problems.

6.3.1 Definition of land tenure reform

Land tenure reform involves an important change in institutionalised relationships between people with respect to land. Land tenure reform can take a variety of forms depending on the situation to be remedied (Abbot & Makeham 1980:146). It means different things to different social classes and to the different countries affected by it (Montgomery 1984:4). De Janvry (1981) stresses that there is no general agreement on the definition of land tenure reform, and distinguishes nine major types. Raup (1967) suggests that it generally involves the redistribution of land — either breaking up or consolidating holdings — followed by the provision of support services for agriculture. The final aim is to achieve both an improvement in rural welfare and an increase in total production. Raup (1967:297) argues as follows:

> Above all else, land reforms are major cultural events. It is too simple to call them political. They shake roots, not branches ... . Land reform is often appropriate for attacking agricultural production problems caused by defective social and political structures. It is seldom an appropriate tool for the solution of the poverty problem among the poorest sectors of the rural population.

Keep this important statement by Raup (1967) in mind as you progress through this study unit.

According to Jeppe (1980:208), land tenure offers the opportunity to use land to pursue a career and agricultural activities, and it also offers the necessary security which is linked to such tenure. The arrangements relating to land tenure therefore give effect to the rights and obligations of people towards one another with regard to the acquisition and use of land. In the light of this, Jeppe (1980:208–209) defines land tenure reform as follows:

Land tenure reform, therefore, refers to the different ways in which these opportunities for land utilisation, as well as the mutual rights and obligations of people on the acquisition and use of land, can be changed, and it can include one or all of the following: land redistribution; change of tenure (rights of ownership) and rights of use; settlement on the land; consolidation of units; systems of cooperative, collective and state farming; administration of reforms; and regulations on inheritance of rights to land. Related but separate aspects are the implementation, improvement or change of training, community development, agricultural extension, tax on land and rights, labour arrangements, marketing, granting of credit, farming techniques, cooperatives, agricultural research, arrangements with regard to acquisition and alienation of rights to land, etc.

According to Dorner (1972:18), the essential meaning or core of land tenure reform lies in purposeful changes in land tenure — changes which affect the ownership and/or control of land and water resources. In other words, he focuses on land reform in its narrower meaning of property rights reform. Among the possible measures in this regard are the following:

(1) expropriation of large estates and the distribution of land among former tenants and labourers, whether for individual or collective ownership and production
(2) abolition or improvement in tenancy conditions by converting tenants into owners or by reducing rental payments
(3) granting of land titles to cultivators to provide them with greater security
(4) transformation of tribal and other customary and traditional forms of tenure in the interest of the cultivators of the land

ACTIVITY 6.2

Summarise section 6.3.1 (the definition of land tenure reform) in not more than two pages.

File your answer for future reference.

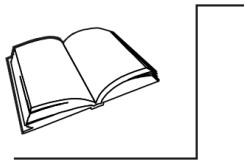
6.3.2 Prerequisites for land tenure reform

It is important to note that it is necessary to comply with certain prerequisites before a new system of land tenure may be implemented.

Politically and emotionally, the whole issue of land tenure reform is very sensitive. There is probably no other area in which the conflict between traditional values and economic concepts is more difficult to reconcile than in the case of land rights. Van de Wall (1988:39) puts forward the following prerequisites for successful land reform:

- The rural population must accept the principle of land reform.
- Large-scale land reform measures imply high costs in respect of surveying, registration, resettlement, and so forth, and this in turn requires a large number of qualified and trained staff.

- The central government's full commitment to and participation in the reform programmes are essential to their success.
- Economic and viable commercial farming units must be established during the reform process and farmers must be provided with financial and technical support services.
- During the implementation of reform measures it is necessary to give ongoing attention to the issue of job creation for those who abandon farming as a result of the reform, and training must be provided to enable them to utilise new (alternative) job opportunities.
- Reform measures must have as their aim the settlement of farmers who are self-sufficient and self-maintaining, and it is important that they should realise that their progress and success are dependent upon their own efforts; a system of land tenure must therefore be implemented which enables farmers to accept responsibility and take the initiative themselves.
- It is important that farmers enjoy security in respect of land rights and that legislation affords protection, and that farmers receive compensation should these rights be violated.



ACTIVITY 6.3

Read the article by Cliffe (2000) in your *Reader*.

Do you think that these prerequisites can be honoured in your country? Give reasons for your view.

Barnes (1988:285–286) points out that before a new system of land tenure can be implemented, it is important to begin by analysing the people's relationship with the land. Consideration ought to be given to the following:

- the existing system of land allocation (who controls land transactions?)
- the political system (role of the state)
- the existing administrative structures
- the financial arrangements with regard to land (land banks, land tax, mortgage fees, etc)

Bohannon (Barnes 1988:286) proposes a model of land tenure reform based on the following three principles or guidelines for the analysis of land rights within a particular cultural framework:

(1) People's view of land in the sense of their perception of size or measurement, for instance the Western idea of hectares or acres.
(2) The concept of the relationship between a human being and the physical environment.
(3) The spatial regulation (dimension) of the social system expressed in some way in words and deeds, such as the Western laws of contracts and succession which regulate social relationships relevant to land.

On the basis of these principles a ''phased'' approach is, according to Bohannon, (Barnes 1988) required for the design of a land tenure system which reduces abuse to the minimum and promotes development to the maximum degree.

Thus it is necessary to look not only at two or three exclusive systems, but rather at a flexible system capable of taking into account all the different phases of land tenure from traditional land tenure up to freehold. The advantage of this type of approach is that it is flexible enough to accommodate the various perceptions of land tenure.

6.4 LAND TENURE REFORM AND DEVELOPMENT

Studies of development currently focus on provision of food, agricultural development and the position of peasant and subsistence farmers.

This emphasis may be ascribed to the famine in many countries of Africa and the growing realisation that the capital needed to bring about development will not be generated from the urban industrial sector alone. Africa is characterised by critical shortages in all sectors of the economy, and by corruption and oppression, leading to the demoralisation of both urban and rural areas. In this difficult situation it is the farmers who have the least chance of aid or even essential services, particularly in view of centralisation policies and a shortage of funds, labour power and services.

The majority of Africa's exports are unprocessed agricultural products, the prices of which have been declining since the 1970s, forcing Africa to sell more and more while earning less and less. As exports earn less, it becomes increasingly difficult to import essential goods for the agricultural and manufacturing sectors. The effect on Africa's industries and agriculture has been disastrous.

Another problem is population growth. Despite population development policies, Africa's population growth rate is still dangerously high. The urban population, however, has grown twice as fast as the national growth rates. In 1970 only 22,9 per cent of the population of Africa was urbanised, in 1990 the figure was 28 per cent, and it is estimated that by the year 2010 it will be 41,8 per cent (Kasarda & Parnell 1993:4). In 1960 there was only one city with more than a million inhabitants in Africa. In 1980 there were 14, and it was estimated that by the year 2000 there would be 171 (Kasarda & Parnell 1993:7). However, at the time of writing (2005), approximately half of the world's population was still to be found in the rural areas. Added to this is the fact that the rural areas must produce food as well as cash crops. This points to the direct link between land tenure reform and rural development.

6.4.1 Rural development

Third World governments must accept the need for rural development arising from the following factors: firstly, the need for increased food production and improved agricultural productivity; secondly, the interests of social justice and national economic progress; thirdly, the fear that uncontrolled urban growth may lead to a subsistence urbanisation, and that demands for job opportunities, housing, transport, sanitation and social services may rise to levels beyond governments' capacity to satisfy. Thus governments are committed to opposing a state of overurbanisation through, among other things, high figures of migration.

The dimensions of the problem are appalling. The majority of rural inhabitants of sub-Saharan Africa are poorer than they were 30 years ago, food production is not keeping pace with rural population growth, income differentiation between rural

and urban areas is increasing and urban job opportunities have not kept pace with urban population growth (Fair 1990:451).

Land tenure reform has a direct bearing on questions of development. As we have pointed out, land tenure systems embody legal, contractual and customary arrangements whereby people in various kinds of farming activities gain access to productive opportunities on the land. Land tenure institutions encapsulate the rules and procedures governing the rights, duties and liberties of individuals and groups in the use and control of the basic resources of land and water. Adams (Kepe & Cousins 2002:2) argues that lack of clarity in respect of tenure rights to land and natural resources is a major obstacle to development, and that it also contributes to inappropriate land use and management practices, and to ineffective rural governance. Lack of tenure security can constrain new forms of enterprise, such as ecotourism or community forestry, which often involve partnerships with outsiders.

In short, land tenure institutions help to shape the pattern of income distribution in the agricultural sector (Dorner 1972:17). However, it is important not to view land tenure institutions in isolation. The dimensions and prospects of farming opportunities are crucially influenced by labour, capital and marketing facilities. Kepe and Cousins (2002:2) maintain that although land reform is necessary for rural development, it will only be effective if it is embedded within a broader programme to restructure the agrarian economy. Infrastructure for transport and communication, and support services such as extension, training and marketing advice, are also essential. These are largely absent in the communal areas at present, and are inadequately provided for in most land reform projects. Government should play a central role in planning and implementing such programmes, but must work closely with other agencies such as NGOs and the private sector, and in partnership with communities and enterprising individuals.

Without a degree of security of tenure, land users will apply only those socioeconomic inputs that may bring immediate benefits; they will have no real interest in preserving the fertility of the soil or in acquiring equipment to make the land more productive, which in turn would add to the capital resources of the country. This is the case not only for inputs such as fertilisers which leave the soil more fertile after the crop has been taken; it applies also to the use of labour. The improvement of water supplies, terracing and drainage, maintenance of farm buildings and fencing, and a number of similar tasks are often undertaken in what would otherwise be leisure time, provided there is security of tenure (Abbot & Makeham 1980:143). A land tenure system should ideally also provide optimum scope for entrepreneurial and management skills.

In the majority of developing countries great emphasis is placed on the need for land reform as an important prerequisite for agricultural development. It is widely acknowledged that agricultural development is one of the key factors in the achievement of successful economic development, and that agricultural development can be achieved only if the traditional system of land tenure is drastically reformed (Van de Wall 1988:36). This is also supported by the South African government (see the *Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy* 2000).

Jeppe (1980:218–219) also voices this opinion and points out that the general economic development of developing countries is only possible:

> if the agricultural sector provides food, labour and a portion of the reserves of

> gradual industrialisation. The part played by land tenure reform in economic development can be to remove all obstructions in the way of agricultural production and to promote a new climate of expectations by laying a new foundation for identifying renumeration [sic] with effort and for balancing expenditure with yield. The prerequisite for development in less-developed countries, is to organise agriculture in such a way that (a) agriculture offers incentive for productive labour and investment and, (b) that a combination of production factors is used in agriculture which is compatible with the expense and availability of these factors at a given time.

Basic to all this is Van de Wall's (1988:36) demand for a drastic land tenure reform attempt.

ACTIVITY 6.4

Study the article by Kepe and Cousins (2002) in the *Reader* entitled ''Radical land reform is key to sustainable rural development in South Africa''. Make a summary of their arguments and then explain in your own words the link between land tenure reform and rural development.

6.5 ZIMBABWE: A CASE STUDY

Von Blanckenburg (1994) discusses the attempts at land tenure reform in Zimbabwe. To a large extent land tenure reform in Zimbabwe is characterised by redistributive measures, from commercial (white) farmers to landless peasants. This is also the case in Namibia (Amoo 2001). (This is be dealt with in activity 6.4.)

Redistributive land tenure reform usually has political, social and economic objectives. In the case of Zimbabwe the political objective is important: the 4 800 big landowners whose farms were distributed have little political clout in a total population of nine million; on the other hand, land was the central issue in the Zimbabwean liberation war and in all the general elections following independence (Makunike 2000). The social objective of the Zimbabwe reform was to create more independent jobs for the rural people. However, it is doubtful whether the land redistribution has achieved much in this regard. In most redistributive campaigns the economic objective is to ensure more economical use of the land. However, in Zimbabwe this became a problem in view of the remarkable efficiency of the big landowning farmers and the weak performance of the newly created settlement farms.

Von Blanckenburg (1994:24) concludes as follows:

> It is obvious that the Zimbabwe reform is atypical compared with other redistributive reforms, especially those in Asia. Its peculiarity is that the intended redistribution will not affect a semi-feudal estate sector of low productivity, but one of the most efficient subsectors of the economy. The resulting problem for the government is to find ways to minimize the economic costs of the programme.

Since the publication in 1994 of Von Blanckenburg's case study, the land question in Zimbabwe has not been resolved: in fact, it worsened with the occupation of commercial land by so-called war veterans from 1999. Development volatility has become a feature in Zimbabwe over recent years. At the time of writing (2005), the land issue remained unresolved, agricultural production was under threat, income and job opportunities were waning, foreign investment was dwindling and fuel prices were rising — all of which contributed to social, economic and political unrest during the period 1999–2005.

Under these circumstances, and mindful of the statement by Raup (1967:297) that land reform is seldom an appropriate tool for the solution of rural poverty, it is doubtful whether the present attempts at land tenure reform in Zimbabwe will bear positive results.

Namibia and South Africa, with their social and economic similarities, may face the same problems with land tenure reform, and should be mindful of the lessons to be learnt from the Zimbabwe experience.

ACTIVITY 6.5

Make a thorough study of the article by Von Blanckenburg (1994) in the *Reader*. Also study the article by Amoo (2001) in the *Reader*. Then do the following activity:

Write an essay in which you compare land tenure reform in Zimbabwe and Namibia. Comply with the following requirements:

- Use the seven prerequisites for land tenure reform identified by Van de Wall (1988) in section 6.3.2 to evaluate the processes in Zimbabwe and Namibia.
- Your essay should not exceed five pages and you must file it for future reference.

6.6 CONCLUSION

It is evident from the above discussion that the issue of land tenure reform cannot be considered in a vacuum. The political, economic, sociological and administrative structures within a community have a major influence on systems of land tenure and possible land tenure reform. Land tenure and utilisation of land are among the most important issues in the development process, and in South Africa and other countries these issues are characterised by an unequal pattern as a result of historical and political factors.

In view of the need for increased production, equality and sustainable development, it is necessary to give careful consideration to existing systems of land tenure and land utilisation, and it is assumed that the reform of systems of land tenure is essential.

It is clear that the issue of land tenure reform and the need for productivity, equality and sustainable agriculture within the context of general development, and more specifically agricultural development, is an extremely difficult one and makes tremendous demands on policy-makers and politicians.

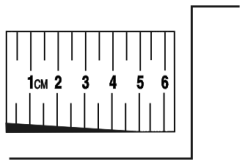
6.7 LEARNING OUTCOMES CHECK LIST

Use this check list to test yourself on this study unit.

Outcomes	Can do	Cannot do
(1) I can explain the concept of land tenure reform.		
(2) I can list the prerequisites for land tenure reform.		
(3) I can write an essay on land tenure reform in Zimbabwe.		
(4) I can write an essay on land tenure reform in Namibia.		
(5) I can compare land tenure reform in Zimbabwe and Namibia.		

STUDY UNIT 7

INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT



LEARNING OUTCOMES

When you have worked through this study unit, you should be able to

(1) describe the historical development of integrated rural development
(2) explain the concept of integrated rural development
(3) discuss the obstacles in the way of successful integrated rural development
(4) draw up an agenda for integrated rural development

7.1 INTRODUCTION: THE GENERAL PROBLEMS OF THE RURAL AREAS

Continuing rural poverty is still the greatest problem in the Third World. There is barely an institute or government in the world that does not pay attention to this problem and try to make some contribution to its solution. In the meantime the situation is not improving. Indeed, there are indications that it is deteriorating. The following may be suggested as the main reasons for the deteriorating situation (Abbott 1992:122):

- Population growth resulting in a steadily increasing demand for food and employment.
- Economic recession with lower prices for export goods, lower capital inflow and heavier burdens of debt.
- Structural adjustment programmes imposed by the World Bank, leading to reduced government spending, higher food prices and a general deterioration of the economic position of those who are not exporters.
- Successive years of drought and persistent civil war or military violence.

It is generally recognised that agriculture is still the most important activity and generator of revenue in rural areas. Indeed, in many African countries, for instance Zimbabwe, it is the primary economic activity. For this reason it was the trend for many years to try to commercialise agriculture in order to produce export products. In general, however, these efforts were not very successful. The main reasons, as mentioned above, have been economic recession, a decline in world market prices, the systems of land tenure under which farming had to take place and successive droughts. Unfortunately these conditions have also contributed to a decline in the peasant farming system which had been largely responsible for food production. Peasants (particularly in Africa and therefore in South Africa as well)

received little aid for the crops they cultivated, the credit they needed, the marketing system that had to sell their products and the technology they had to use to ensure a surplus harvest (Longhurst 1987:113). The peasants had little or no negotiating power, chiefly because they were unorganised, and their products were undervalued as a result of unnaturally low food prices. The official rhetoric and the development programmes had virtually no effect. Hendry (1987:3) summarises the crisis situation in agriculture as follows:

> More than three decades of efforts by developing nations to upgrade the productivity of their traditional agricultural systems have not, despite the support of bilateral and multilateral aid programmes, produced the desired results. A great many countries have become even more ... dependent on imported staple foods, which they have either purchased with scarce foreign exchange or received as food aid ... . Now, some 20 years after high-yielding varieties first showed their promise, we know that the yield increases obtained in a few key staple crops ... were nearly meaningless to the great majority of Third World peasants, who relied on rainfall on often marginal soils, and whose access to credit, extension, and inputs was usually minimal.

A major problem that is reflected in this quotation is the fact that Third World countries (and by implication African countries as well) are no longer able to feed their populations. While rapid population growth is being experienced everywhere, food production has declined or has failed to keep pace with the increased rate of population growth. Accordingly the governments of these countries have no choice, as Hendry (1987) rightly says, but to import food on a large scale. Where food purchases are no longer possible due to economic bankruptcy, populations become dependent upon food aid, which places them in a permanent and deteriorating relationship of dependence with the outside world.

ACTIVITY 7.1

Summarise in one page the negative situation in Third World rural areas.

Also read the *Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy* (ISRDS) (2000) in the *Reader* in this regard.

7.2 INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT: THE EARLY STAGES

Consensus means agreement. If you and I agree about something, we have consensus.

The popularity of integrated rural development may be ascribed to international *consensus* on the need for such an approach following radical changes in developmental thinking since the seventies (Coombs 1980:1).

Dissatisfaction with the outcome of earlier efforts to expedite development in the Third World, as explained in the previous section, and the search for strategies to narrow the gap between rich and poor countries, contributed to the achievement of this consensus. More specifically, it may be said that the poor results of the first development decade of the sixties gave rise to some rethinking.

The first development efforts in the Third World were intended to expand industrial investment, expedite modernisation and increase food production. While some countries did show an increased GNP, few countries achieved real success in realising their development plans. In fact, the economies of several countries declined. These poor countries had to face many problems. The income gap between rich and poor widened, the population growth rate was so rapid that all economic growth was neutralised, imports exceeded exports, and severe balance of payments problems prevented these countries from generating capital for investment (Rondinelli & Ruddle 1978:2). Not a single sector of their national economies performed well.

One of the major problems requiring attention was the increasing inequality in income both among and within countries. Awareness of this steadily growing inequality was one of the most important reasons for generating new ideas in regard to development in the Third World.

During the early 1960s, Third World governments came under growing pressure to increase production and agricultural exports to meet the food requirements of their growing urban populations and to meet foreign exchange demands (Lacroix 1985:10). It was clear that previous efforts to develop the Third World had been unsatisfactory and that there was a need for new strategies to narrow the gap between rich and poor. This gave rise to the reconsideration of existing strategies, which brought new insight.

Certain assumptions underlying the conventional concepts of GNP and economic growth were seriously questioned. Among these assumptions were the following (Coombs 1980:9):

(1) that focusing development efforts on industrialisation and the modernisation of the urban areas would have a ripple effect which would extend to the rural areas and would start a dynamic, self-supporting process of rural development that would eliminate the need for government to invest directly in rural development
(2) that agricultural development (measured in terms of increased outputs of export and cash crops) is the essence of rural development which should be the first priority in the event of investment in the rural areas
(3) that economic and social development were two separate processes and that significant progress in the former was a prerequisite for significant progress in the latter
(4) that territories and communities were all more or less the same and that solutions for one would also work for another
(5) that the most effective and efficient method of organising rural services was to use individual specialists, each providing his or her own service in a sectoral, top-down fashion

ACTIVITY 7.2

Before reading further, explain in one paragraph why, in your opinion, these assumptions were questioned.

Various weaknesses in existing strategies were pointed out, including the following (Coombs 1980:10):

(1) They gave rise to expensive bureaucratic competition and resulted in duplication of development efforts.
(2) They placed great pressure on scarce resources, particularly by way of top-heavy administrative superstructures, while too few resources were being offered at ground level.
(3) The rural inhabitants received confused, fragmented and disjointed, and often contradictory, messages as to what they ought to do with their lives.
(4) The benefits of government programmes went mainly to those who needed them least.
(5) The inflexibility and highly standardised services of a centralised structure meant that important differences in needs and preferences of the various rural areas were ignored.
(6) The *authoritarian* and *paternalistic* attitude of the top-down approach created a spirit of dependence rather than autonomy.
(7) The cost involved in the top-down single-purpose approach was so high that the majority of governments of developing countries were financially totally unable to launch development programmes that would have a wide-ranging impact.

Authoritarian means expecting people to obey authority and rules. People are therefore not allowed the freedom to do what they want.
Paternalism means government as if by a father. A paternalistic attitude therefore means that rural inhabitants are regarded as being children and are prevented from taking responsibility for their own lives.

The realisation that approximately 20 years of development efforts based on the assumptions mentioned above had achieved precious little necessitated a reconsideration of theory and strategies, in the course of which new insights were achieved. Coombs (1980:11) accurately describes this turnabout as follows:

> The GNP had been dethroned as the cardinal definition and measuring-rod of national development in favour of a much broader, more humanistic and more egalitarian view that defined development in terms of meeting the ''basic needs'' and ''improving the quality of life'' of the people themselves, especially the most disadvantaged. The discredited ''trickle-down'' approach to rural development, and the artificial dichotomy between economic and social development, were discarded in favour of the view that the two were interdependent and therefore a combined attack on the economic and social roots of rural poverty was imperative. Recognition of the severe shortcomings of conventional rural delivery systems led to the demand for a more ''integrated'' and more ''community-based'' approach to rural development.

Attempts were therefore made in many quarters to increase agricultural production and keep rural populations on the land. In Latin America the 1961 Punta del Este manifesto of the Organisation of American States stated that attention must be paid to a more integrated approach to rural development in which land ownership reform would receive specific attention. These ideas were solidly based on the work of Raoul Prebisch, an economist and supporter of the dependency school, who had for many years made influential contributions to the development debate (Lacroix 1985:10).

ACTIVITY 7.3

Assess your knowledge of the historical background to the beginnings of integrated rural development by summarising this section up to this point, in your own words, and without referring to the study guide.

In India the origins of integrated rural development may be traced back to the recommendations of the Ford Foundation during the drought of 1965. It recommended that intensive, integrated attempts be made to stimulate India's agricultural sector. A 10-point programme was proposed to achieve this aim, involving the following concerns and activities:

(1) adequate agricultural supplies for use by rural inhabitants
(2) sufficient agricultural credit
(3) intensive educational programmes
(4) prospects for individual farms
(5) stronger local institutions
(6) a guaranteed market and set prices for agricultural products
(7) reliable marketing facilities
(8) rural public works
(9) evaluation and analysis of actions during development programmes
(10) a co-ordinated approach

Mutually reinforcing activities are activities that strengthen one another. Such activities would therefore be actions which would make one another more effective by adding to one another.

The basis of the 10-point programme was that a number of *mutually reinforcing* activities were applied in a specific area in order to increase the productivity of the peasant farmers and to bring about more effective government support for rural development (Cohen 1987:13).

Integrated rural development arose from these elementary ideas about a more integrated approach to rural development. The Comilla project in Bangladesh probably received the most publicity in this regard. It was successful in respect of the distribution of agricultural technology, the mobilisation of local resources for improving the villages and the development of cooperatives. This project was also used as an example for the establishment of other projects (Ruttan 1984:395).

For the South African situation, refer to the *Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (ISRDS)* (2000), specifically section 1.

7.3 THE CONCEPT OF INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT

A major problem with ''integrated rural development'' is the vagueness of the concept. Cohen (1987:25), for example, remarks: ''No systematic analysis of integrated rural development project characteristics exists.'' In the literature there is often confusion between ''rural development'' and ''integrated rural development'' and even ''agricultural development''. A relatively common distinction drawn between rural and agricultural development is that agricultural development refers to the production of certain commodities, while rural development refers to the improvement of the standard of living and quality of life of the rural population as well as an increase in job opportunities outside agriculture. The concept of integrated rural development usually presents problems since it is

difficult to determine or prescribe the ''correct'' interrelationship among the many sectors.

The concept of integrated rural development includes all the subsystems of rural communities: economic, social, cultural, institutional, administrative, as well as environmental and humanitarian facets (Jeppe 1986:47). Because integrated rural development is applied differently in many different countries, and authors have different opinions about it, there is no generally accepted definition of it.

According to Moris (1981:11), the original meaning of integrated rural development is linked to the coordination of various components necessary for development within a given area. He also mentions that the concept was connected at a later stage to multisectoral programmes and that the World Bank finally linked it to the fact that all segments of the population have to be involved with such a project.

Coombs (1980:15) identifies the following five areas of integration:

(1) integration of national planning for rural development
(2) integration of the components of a programme
(3) integration of similar activities found in various programmes
(4) horizontal and vertical integration
(5) integration of the various attempts of different organisations

Coombs (1980) therefore regards integration in rural development as a combination of naturally related components into a more cohesive and unified whole in order to enhance their collective cost-effectiveness (we may add their general effectiveness too).

Integrated national planning is essential for successful integration at local level. It is a fairly common mistake to integrate only the implementation of rural development. This cannot succeed unless the foundation is laid at a national level.

When provision is made for only one component of a programme, the danger is that it may fail for lack of a supporting system. The component of production, for example, must be coupled with that of marketing. Lack of integration among components results in many failures and much frustration when participants realise that their acquired skills and newly established organisation cannot remedy their poverty problem.

All activities at a local or even a regional level must be harmonised, hence the need for regular discussions among the parties involved in all development activities in a certain area. One service or activity complements the next. A less urgently needed activity can only hope to succeed if it is associated with a more essential one. Vertical integration is equally important since local participants are not able to do everything themselves. They require outside assistance. A local group, for example, may be very keen and organised, but without budgetary assistance at regional or national level their efforts will be of no avail. As in the case of having too many programmes, the involvement of a large number of organisations is also confusing and is experienced negatively by rural inhabitants. The existence of organisations frequently depends on their ''success''. They must produce or accomplish something concrete. To this end they will vie with one another for scarce resources and the support and acceptance of the rural population. In order to ensure meaningful rural development, aid organisations, government agencies and government departments must restrain this natural tendency to compete and exclude others.

Koppel (1987:213–214) supports the points set out by Coombs (1980) which we have discussed, but goes further and states that integration also involves consultation:

> "If principal actors in the program are involved enough, in at least a consultative mode, to know what the program is trying to do, cooperative efforts to support these objectives are more likely to be forthcoming."

An element of integrated rural development implicit in the above discussion may now be mentioned specifically. We quote Ahmed (1980:461):

> Integrated rural development ... requires a focus on the participant population ... . The implication of this premise for national rural development efforts is that, instead of attempting to reach the rural population with vertical sectoral programs, a means must be found to form local organisations of homogeneous interest groups and make them serve as the instrument for integrating and managing the sectoral activities of the beneficiary population.

Popular participation and involvement are not merely variables in the rural development model. Such participation is crucial to the integrated approach and we examine it in more detail further on.

Malhotra (1980:21) introduces a new dimension of integration. He contends that integrated rural development refers not merely to the *integration of programmes and activities*, but also to the *integration of objectives*. He supports his statement by arguing that a programme or project can be tackled on an integrated basis only if the objectives of the contributing components are integrated. He states that the objectives of a programme must be presented as a single package.

Integrated rural development is therefore an approach which is not only based on theoretical aspects, but has a direct, practical influence on planning for development. Abasiekong (1982:21) says that integrated rural development is

> A comprehensive and coordinated approach of all persons and agencies concerned, aimed at involving rural people in determining policies and planning and implementing programs that are designed to improve their economic, social and cultural conditions and enable them to make a positive contribution to national development.

ACTIVITY 7.4

Make a summary of the views on integration of the following authors/ document:

Coombs
Koppel
Ahmed
Malhotra
The *ISRDS* (2000) in the *Reader*

Now that you have an idea of what is meant by integration, it is necessary to also look at what is meant by rural development. There are numerous definitions of rural development. We start with a basic definition and try to gradually expand on it.

Lele (1975:20) defines rural development as follows:

> ''Rural development is defined as improving living standards of the mass of the low-income population residing in the rural areas and making the process of their development self-sustaining.''

This definition contains three basic elements:

- improvement of living standards
- low-income population
- self-sustaining development

To a greater or lesser extent all definitions contain these three elements because they are seen as basic requirements for successful rural development. The first element appears to be economically oriented, but in actual fact it embraces far more than mere economic improvement, and involves other aspects such as social services. The second is an extremely vague reference to low-income population. The important question is who is referred to and what standards are used to determine where this group fits in. Lele (1975) talks of low-income areas, plainly a reference to all persons in certain geographic areas. The third element is a direct reaction to the fact that in the past, rural development often had no life of its own and continued only while external agents kept it going.

The World Bank's (1975:3) definition is as follows:

> Rural development is a strategy designed to improve the economic and social life of a specific group of people — the rural poor. It involves extending the benefits of development to the poorest among those who seek a livelihood in the rural areas. The group includes small-scale farmers, tenants and the landless.

This definition specifies in more detail the reference in Lele's (1975) definition to living standards, that is economic and social life, and is particularly useful in describing the target group of rural development. First it speaks of a specific group of people, the rural poor, and then it goes on to identify this group as the poorest among those trying to eke out a living in rural areas. To make sure that we are able to identify those who make up this group, they are mentioned by name: small-scale farmers, tenants and the landless.

Bryant and White (1982:3) add to the World Bank's definition by identifying the function of rural development in respect of the target group as follows:

> Thus our concept of rural development is that of empowering the rural poor so that they might improve their standards of living and make that process self-sustaining.

The description of rural development by Obaidullah Khan stimulates much thought. Firstly he says what rural development is not (Obaidullah Kahn 1980:57):

> [It is] not the development of an area arbitrarily called rural, nor is it development of agricultural production with a component of improving social services.

He then defines rural development as follows (Obaidullah Khan 1980:57):

> It is a fundamental process of social, economic and political transformation of a peasant society in which the main actors are the majority members of that society themselves.

Obviously Obaidullah Khan is against the practice whereby governments and agents identify an area in which they wish to launch their ''rural development'' by using a strategy of agricultural development. He also condemns the establishment of social services such as schools and clinics. He sees rural development as a *fundamental process of transformation*, not just improvement, nor aimed at only one or a few sectors, but at the *whole life* of rural peasants, namely their social, economic and political life. This drastic change in the situation not only has far-reaching consequences for rural inhabitants, but also for the governments of Third World countries.

This definition is also the only one quoted here that does not describe rural development as a strategy but as a *process*. Defining it as a strategy gives the impression that it is an effort from outside the rural area, an endeavour on the part of governments and agencies who decide the destinies of the rural inhabitants. While one cannot deny that governments and agencies play a significant role in rural development, Obaidullah Khan (1980) puts the emphasis in the correct place by identifying the rural inhabitants as the main actors.

It is clear from his definition that Obaidullah Khan (1980) regards rural development as an *integrated multisectoral process* and that there should also be *integrated roles.*

ACTIVITY 7.5

Summarise in your own words the ideas of Obaidullah Khan (1980) on rural development.

ACTIVITY 7.6

Define in your own words the concept of integrated rural development. Don't be satisfied with your first effort. Try it over and over again until you are satisfied.

7.4 OBJECTIVES OF INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Malhotra's (1980) reference to objectives (refer back to section 7.3) raises the question of what the objective or objectives of integrated rural development are. From what has been said thus far, we can already define a general objective.

This general objective is multiheaded in the sense that it strives towards a total transformation of life in rural areas by addressing the problems of poverty, housing, infrastructure, social amenities and labour (Thapliyal 1983:287). We can say therefore that integrated rural development has a number of related but different purposes. Perhaps the World Bank (1975:83) puts this objective more clearly. It identifies a dual objective for rural development, namely to bring about a rise in income through greater productivity and improved employment, and at the same time to fulfil the basic requirements of shelter, food, education and health. Below we endeavour to explain the diverse objectives of integrated rural development by referring to the works of various authors.

(1) Increasing agricultural production and productivity to change the rural areas' subsistence economy to a commercial economy (Danoewidjojo 1980:390; Malhotra 1980:18). Brown (1975:13) sets his sights much lower, and speaks of increasing the local supply of basic commodities.
(2) Raising the income of the rural poor (Danoewidjojo 1980:390). This may be achieved by creating job opportunities to enable people to overcome absolute poverty (Brown 1975:13). Providing employment may be seen as a means to an end and a goal in itself. It can improve productivity, ensure higher incomes and foster human dignity (Malhotra 1980:19).
(3) Stimulating agricultural processing industries and agriculture-oriented business enterprises in an effort to diversify the economy, create job opportunities and encourage internal demand for locally manufactured products (Danoewidjojo 1980:390).
(4) Striving towards a fair distribution of the profits of development, bringing about equality of distribution to satisfy the basic needs of the poor (Malhotra 1980:18, 19). In other words, to make social services, facilities, technology and infrastructure more available to the poor so as to improve health, nutrition, literacy and family planning (Danoewidjojo 1980:390; Brown 1975:13).
(5) Relieving urban population pressure (Brown 1975:13) by making social services and facilities more available, also in the rural areas (Danoewidjojo 1980:390).
(6) Implementing new land ownership rights to afford families greater security (Brown 1975:13).
(7) Conserving soil, forests and other natural resources for the future (Brown 1975:13). This may also be regarded as maintaining the ecological balance between humankind and nature, and requires ecologically responsible use of scarce resources (Malhotra 1980:20).
(8) Promoting popular participation. Although popular participation sounds more like a means to an end, it should also be seen as a goal in itself. In social and political terms, it is the basic necessity of development (Malhotra 1980:19).
(9) Promoting self-sufficiency. This is the implicit goal of rural development. Self-sufficiency means that people have the will to use their own resources and to depend on these for self-sustaining development (Malhotra 1980:20). The independence of the population at national and local level should be seen as the ultimate aim of integrated rural development.

(10) Creating employment. This links up with the previous point, as independence is promoted when people are working and able to meet their needs. Integrated rural development must therefore also address the problem of job creation and employment in order to provide the poor with an income and to achieve the final objective of integrated rural development mentioned in (9) above.

ACTIVITY 7.7

Without referring to the study guide, make a list of the objectives of integrated rural development and explain each of them in one sentence.

7.5 FRAMEWORK FOR INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT

The framework below is made up of the *agenda for, the actors in*, and the *action of rural* development.

7.5.1 Agenda

Integrated rural development in the Third World is chiefly concerned with the problem of poverty. Not only is an effort made to alleviate and reduce poverty, but due consideration is also given to that kind of ''development'' which causes the gap between rich and poor to grow, and which increases rather than reduces poverty. Development that exhausts the natural resources and harms the environment ultimately also leads to greater poverty and dependence. So, integrated rural development also tries to correct the wrong kind of development.

The basic needs approach flowed from the struggle against poverty and the apparent inability of large-scale economic development to eradicate poverty. Within this approach there was an almost immediate difference of opinion between those who first wanted to help the poor and only then allow them to participate in the development process, and those who wanted to ensure that the poor participated in the development process from the outset. Some were in favour of relief first before turning the attention to release from the poverty trap. Others wanted release from the poverty trap first before anything else (Swanepoel 1996:96).

Notwithstanding this difference (and the fact that it exists to this day), the basic needs approach was the beginning of the swing towards needs-oriented development, self-sufficiency, and empowerment.

Against this background a number of existing issues are regarded as problem areas in regard to rural development. The purpose of rural development programmes is sometimes also to deal with problems of this nature, whether directly or indirectly. Aspects such as the following are at issue:

- *Equal treatment.* This has to do with the problem of distribution, enrichment of the elite, corruption, empowerment, equal opportunities, and so on.
- Land tenure. The relationship between different systems of land tenure and rural development, access to land tenure, and land tenure reform is a complex

one. Land tenure is also related to issues such as migration, population pressure, elitism, equal treatment and economic relations.

- *Migration and population pressure.* Rural-urban migration is closely related to both rural and urban development. There is also an interaction between migration and rural production capacity. Migration, population pressure and land tenure systems are also interrelated, which as a complex of problems has an effect on sustainable development. Where population pressure is too high, alternative paths to agricultural development have been pursued, for example industrialisation in the countries of Southeast Asia, and the exploitation of non-renewable resources in the Amazon region.
- *Economic and political relations.* Relations at a variety of levels are at issue here, for example international relations between the so-called northern and southern countries (the haves and the have-nots of the international community), rural-urban relations and the contention that the urban areas are in a privileged position at the expense of the rural areas, and relations among a variety of social groups, such as the owners and non-owners of land, the rich and the poor, and the powerful and the powerless.

ACTIVITY 7.8

Try to reproduce the points on the agenda by writing brief notes about them.

7.5.2 Actors

A variety of actors are active in the field of rural development:

- *International organisations.* International aid organisations such as the World Bank and a large number of international NGOs are present in virtually all Third World countries. In addition, international aid is provided by certain states which have founded organisations for this purpose, such as the United States Agency for International Development.
- *The state.* Many regard the national bureaucracy as still the biggest single role-player in development. It is convenient to class under this heading project organisations, local government and field administration. When dealing with these actors, administrative reform is an important theme throughout.
- *Nongovernmental organisations.* NGOs are extremely important mechanisms in rural development. They not only play a role in the implementation of development, but are important alternative sources of policy formulation on development.
- *Informal organisations.* Spontaneous movements aimed at development, or even at blocking development, are encountered worldwide and may be of shorter or longer duration or may in time take the form of formal organisations.

7.5.3 Action

The shift in development thinking from large-scale economic development and industrialisation to small-scale, sustained, self-sufficient development also requires adjustments in the implementation of rural development. This does not mean that industrialisation and actions usually associated with economic development, such as physical and social infrastructural development, no longer take place or ought to

take place. The difference is that a shift in emphasis takes place in which the knowledge, abilities, needs and interests of the poor are put first by means of a process of empowerment. This means that people's basic needs, as defined by the people themselves, are satisfied and that social security is provided — things which necessarily take place at community level. In order to ensure sustainable development, each person and community must handle its own resources and environment with the necessary care.

7.6 OBSTACLES TO INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT

The obstacles to development in general also affect integrated rural development.

The first obstacle is the *problem relating to participation.* Although participation is the one aspect of rural development which is emphasised by everyone, the problem of differing interpretations of participation remains. The issue of risk, the rural traditional decision-making structures, and the fact that rural inhabitants are accustomed to top-down decision making on their fate by the national government, are only some of the factors contributing to the difficulties often experienced in getting rural inhabitants so far as to participate in development programmes. The interpretation attached to participation also makes it difficult to determine whether people are really participating at grassroots level. Some interpretations want the people to participate reactively at grassroots level when the government approaches them with plans and strategies for their development. In this sense the cooperation or even the goodwill of the rural population is interpreted as participation and the population is regarded as a junior partner in the programme. This view of participation is identified as the technocratic approach. However, there is also the view that without decision making, the population cannot really participate. That is regarded as the radical or strong view. The power to make decisions immediately implies political power (Swanepoel 1996:96), and by now we have already come a long way from cooperation and goodwill. Now the local population are at least equal partners, if not senior partners. We gain some idea of what participation in this sense implies when we read Gow and Vansant's (1985:107) view that it

> ''implies local autonomy through which potential beneficiaries discover the possibilities of exercising choice and thereby become capable of managing their own future.''

An even stronger view of the strong or radical approach is provided by Wisner (1988:49) when he says the following:

> The process described so far is political. Politics is about conflicts of interest. The organisational expression of women's, rural landless people's and urban squatters' interests are [sic] at the heart of the strong needs approach. This approach is about confrontation, not harmony. It is about the day-to-day definition of needs and the next steps people take in demanding the conditions so that they can fulfil these needs.

There is, however, a further difference of opinion in regard to participation which causes problems. In the first place, there is the view that participation in decision making should be by way of the local representatives. Participation in implementation may in fact take place at a broader level, but decision making is a matter for the small group of elected or traditional leaders. The other opinion is

that this method of participation is elitist and that it in fact prevents assets from being equally distributed, and prevents those who have the greatest need from benefiting by rural development. Accordingly this view favours the mobilisation of the poor against the elite (Bryant & White 1984:3). This approach is well summarised by Gow and Morss (1981:13) as follows: ''There is a role for local organisations — but primarily a revolutionary one — in effecting the fundamental redistribution of assets.''

Swanepoel (1996:96) says the following on this issue:

> We must still not be satisfied with some vague reference to representatives of the people. It is essential that the poorest of the poor are part of the decision-making process to ensure that they get their fair share of the fruits of development and that the principle of equity is maintained. The democratic right of participation is not limited to the few. Every individual adult, whether relatively poor, poor or the poorest of the poor, has the right to be part of the decision-making mechanism regarding his or her development.
>
> Thus it is clear that we are a long way from achieving finality about participation, which may be regarded as the basis of integrated rural development. This may be attributed to a difference of opinion, but it may also be the result of the complexity of the design of integrated rural development projects and their technical sophistication. Because of this the target group is effectively excluded from the decision-making process when the project is formulated.

The second obstacle is the *problem of diversity.* The majority of views on integrated rural development that have contributed to the existing consensus are inclined to give rise to somewhat simplistically expressed opinions on the rural areas of the Third World. The existence of major differences between rural areas in general, and also in particular, is often ignored. The rural areas of Southeast Asia and of Africa cannot be treated in the same way. However, there are also differences within a region such as southern Africa, and indeed there are differences within a single territory that may be regarded as a geographic unity. As Huntington (1980:15) observes:

> ''From afar one may see in rural Africa an equality and uniformity born of poverty. But such uniformity does not necessarily entail unity. Quite the reverse, such uniformity is often bitterly competitive.

The first conclusion we may draw is that there can be no uniform prescription for rural development. At most there can be broad guidelines within the ambit of which planning and action must take place, bearing this diversity in mind. The other aspect that stems from this is that a great deal more needs to be known about the existence and effect of this diversity. Local and situational research is therefore necessary before integrated rural development can come into its own.

The third obstacle is the *problem of cost.* The cost involved in integrated rural development is an important obstacle to its implementation. Owing to a lack of funds, governments prefer to tackle a single project that is highly visible and will produce results in the short term. This kind of project is also more likely to attract support from financiers in the West. The fact that long-term integrated projects are ultimately more self-sufficient, and will therefore be cheaper for the government, apparently does not weigh as heavily as the short-term benefits such as the prestige

value derived by the government, and the interest on the part of financiers that it brings about. The involvement of financiers immediately entails other problems, since such agencies can make demands which are not good for integrated rural development. A further problem relating to cost is that financing for integrated rural development may be suddenly terminated or drastically reduced, which not only results in the failure of the effort, but also causes internal frustration among rural inhabitants whose expectations have been raised by the project.

The fourth obstacle is the *problem of established structures.* The structures responsible for rural development are many. Firstly, there are traditional authorities such as South Africa's tribal authorities; secondly, there are the government departments; and thirdly, there are semistate and nongovernmental organisations. All of these structures have characteristics that make it difficult for them to initiate integrated rural development and put it into effect.

Traditional authorities are not only elitist, but are as a rule not keen to encourage a total transformation of their populations since doing so could threaten their positions. Government departments possess the characteristics of their colonial predecessors that were geared to law-and-order functions. Moreover they are organised for sectoral top-down action, which, to a considerable extent, bedevils any integrated bottom-up action. Most nongovernment agencies were established at a time when it was still believed that large-scale investment in industries and the rapid commercialisation of agriculture were the answer to Third World problems. These agencies usually prefer limited programmes which are production-oriented rather than people-oriented. Therefore it appears that comprehensive structural change is necessary for integrated rural development to succeed (Swanepoel 1996:100).

The fifth obstacle is the *problem of attitudes.* Structural change in itself cannot eliminate all the problems. A change in attitude among the bureaucrats in particular, and also among the politicians, is necessary. Bureaucratic action is characterised by paternalism and places emphasis on concrete results at the expense of human development. As a result of comprehensive planning and implementation there is a natural tendency towards a top-down blueprint approach. This has two detrimental effects. Firstly, there is a gap between the perception of realities in poor rural areas by designers of projects and programmes, and the perceptions of those who have to implement the projects or programmes. In the second place, population participation is confined to what is permitted by bureaucratic intervention. Policy and strategies leave no room for real decision making at ground level. A major problem frequently arises from inadequate political support and failure by central government to commit itself to rural development. This problem should be viewed against the background of the political instability and vulnerability of most Third World governments. Their legitimacy bases are often unstable, and governments prefer to launch development programmes and projects in areas where they are assured of support. This brings about reluctance to decentralise, in spite of the fact that decentralisation is vital for any attempt at rural development (decentralisation is discussed in study unit 2). Integrated rural development can also make considerable demands on the political system, since measures such as land ownership reform may threaten the interests of the rich elite. It is clear that a change in attitude in the bureaucracy will have to be preceded by a national political commitment to integrated rural development, with optimum opportunity for local participation.

The sixth obstacle is the *problem of capacity.* Integrated rural development requires such comprehensive action that the capacity for implementation is usually lacking in the countries where it is most needed. This includes serious problems as regards coordination of all the institutions involved. A more serious, but related, point of criticism is that the basis of knowledge that was available for comprehensive rural development programmes in the 1970s was inadequate to provide for the proper design and successful implementation of many projects launched at the time. A final point of criticism is that ordinary people lack the knowledge and expertise and are therefore excluded from participation. Integrated rural development projects tend to be large and sophisticated, and Gran (1983:288) says that

> the larger the project the less likely it is that the poor will be protected in practice by the institutional linkages designed for that purpose. Large projects are prone to supply inappropriately large-scale technology, creating new dependencies and reproducing further social and economic inequalities..

The seventh obstacle is the *problem of monitoring and evaluation.* This aspect deserves to receive a great deal more attention, both in theory and in practice. Information is often poorly documented. This means that important lessons which have already been learnt cannot be taken into account when new projects are launched. Evaluation is also not ongoing, so the necessary adaptations are often not made during the course of the project. Evaluation and monitoring also have political implications, since problems which are identified may have an important impact on political and financial support for a specific project.

ACTIVITY 7.9

Can you remember all the obstacles discussed here? Summarise in two sentences each of the obstacles to integrated rural development.

7.7 FOCAL POINTS FOR IMPROVING THE STANDARD OF LIVING AND QUALITY OF LIFE OF THE RURAL POOR

ACTIVITY 7.10

Read Swanepoel (1989) in the *Reader.* Make a list of all the agenda items he discusses.

Against the background of the obstacles or problems discussed in section 7.6, we can now look at some items that need special consideration.

7.7.1 Human orientation

One of the primary goals of rural development must be to improve the quality of life of the rural poor. There may be many entirely legitimate reasons for rural development efforts, such as a region's contribution to the national welfare, the inclusion of rural communities in the national political system or increasing the capacity of the rural areas to absorb excess population in the cities. All these and similar reasons, whether practical or not, are essentially secondary to the main reason, namely the improvement of the quality of life of the rural poor. For this reason rural development is not the development of a region which is arbitrarily described as rural (Obaidullah Khan 1980:57). It focuses on people and seeks to benefit them. The development of the region is not nearly as important as the development of the people, since human development is self-sustaining. Gran (1983:2) is therefore right when he remarks that "development, in its broadest meaning, is the liberation of human potential". This does not mean that all efforts at human development lead to sustainable development. Nor does it mean that the development of the region is not important; however, it should not be done at the expense of the people living there. In this regard Swanepoel (1985:100) comments,

> "Although area plays an important role, it is primarily the people living in an area who are to be developed ... . In this sense rural development is humanistic, it aims at the development of human beings."

In the Third World there are many examples of unsophisticated, human-oriented, ground-level development efforts that reach millions of people and improve their quality of life. One need only journey through the rural areas of South Africa to see how horticultural, agricultural and manufacturing projects by small groups of women and men are having an effect far beyond the lives of those directly involved.

7.7.2 Government commitment

Successful rural development needs a strong commitment by government (Swanepoel 1989). It must be a long-term commitment so that rural development can enjoy the attention it needs within the security and advantageous climate of a government commitment (Sussman 1982:106).

Government commitment means that certain demands must be met, such as the following:

(1) *National policy support.* Isolated rural development projects cannot have the same impact as integrated projects supported by a national policy. A national policy means that a government's total approach to the objectives of rural development must be focused (Rondinelli & Ruddle 1978:152).
(2) *Administrative support.* A national policy commitment without administrative support is mere rhetoric. A bureaucracy must be geared to rural development. This means that urban areas must not be accorded priority to the detriment of the people in rural areas. The bureaucracy must also, therefore, be in favour of a human orientation. There must be no confusion between the provision of services and the development of people. This attitude must be present in the top management, but also among the middle-level management and the ground-level workers.
(3) *National planning and programming.* Purposeful central planning and programming is necessary to bring about ground-level development

(Rondinelli & Ruddle 1978:144). It provides a sense of direction and makes development at ground level possible. There is no question of blueprint planning here. National policy-makers and planners must weigh up local implementation requirements and comply with them in their planning and programming so that development efforts at ground level do not fail. In other words, purposeful central planning makes purposeful decentralised planning possible.

(4) *Ability to coordinate.* The successful implementation of integrated rural development requires that all efforts be centrally coordinated. Integrated development must be a joint and harmonious effort if it is not to lapse into chaos and confusion. Without coordination, rural development becomes divided against itself and little comes of its objectives.

7.7.3 Co-operation between government and nongovernmental organisations

NGOs are playing a growing and increasingly important role in rural development. In addition, the majority of Third World countries are unable to undertake the tremendous task of development on their own. Therefore there is good reason for NGOs to bear part of the responsibility for rural development.

This optimism about the involvement of NGOs is due largely to the following factors:

- There is a greater awareness of the limitations of direct government intervention as far as development activities are concerned.
- There are a number of success stories relating to the involvement of NGOs in development efforts, which indicate their greater flexibility and their potential to reach the poor masses on the ground.
- NGOs have the capacity to reach the rural poor as well as the remote areas of a country.
- They also have the capacity to promote participation in development activities at local level.
- Their capacity to function at low cost is also an advantage. Often the services of personnel are provided free of charge and such personnel are often more motivated than public servants.
- They have a greater flexibility and ability to act innovatively than bureaucratic institutions. Their capacity for adaptation is often far greater than that of government departments.

It cannot be denied that in certain instances there is room for cautious optimism regarding the role of specific NGOs in development actions. However, the subject cannot be approached blindly. In this regard the following cautionary observations are particularly important (Cernea 1988:17–18):

- NGOs comprise a very diverse group of institutions and not all of their activities are development-oriented. Many NGOs primarily serve a specific interest group.
- For some NGOs it is functional to oppose the government because of the interest groups they serve.

The following problem areas of NGOs deserve mention (Verhelst 1990):

- *Limited self-reliance.* Many NGOs struggle to maintain projects over a long term without foreign aid.

- *Limited technical capacity.* The staff of NGOs is often limited owing to the limited scope of their activities.
- *Individual launching of their activities.* The activities of NGOs seldom form an integral part of activities within a specific development programme. There is therefore a minimum of coordination.
- *Lack of sensitivity to local culture.* Foreign NGOs that become increasingly involved in Third World countries are often not sensitive enough to the cultural environment in which they function. Inappropriate values and criteria are often applied to the target population.

Despite these problems, it remains a fact that, in general, NGOs succeed in involving the ordinary people in their projects (Streeten 1987:92). NGOs may also play an important role in limiting the growth of government structures. Chambers (1977:135–136) rightly warns against the constant creation of government institutions:

> As a government persistently tries to do too much and proliferates its organisations ... the overburdened, under-staffed and under-experienced machine becomes dysfunctional, demonstrating a spastic condition in which orders from the centre produce if anything unpredictable and often contrary twitchings in the extremities of the limbs. At the same time, the governmental bureaucracy continues to expand and lies as a deadening weight on the economy and the taxpayer.

It is extremely important that a partnership evolves between governmental and nongovernmental structures (Swanepoel 1996:98). The government cannot simply accept the existence of NGOs while otherwise ignoring them. On the other hand, the government is still the most important development agent in the rural areas, and for that reason NGOs cannot simply act as if government institutions do not exist. There must therefore be cooperation in one form or another, without either of the two parties having to forfeit anything substantial.

7.7.4 Popular participation

The idea of popular participation has been so popularised that it belongs largely to the rhetoric of governments, political institutions and providers of aid. This fact, however, does not make popular participation less important or urgent. We have to agree with Gow and Morss (1981:14) that it is important "to think beyond the participation slogan to something that is both practical and beneficial".

Usually four reasons are advanced to show that participation in development is essential (Swanepoel 1989):

(1) It is important to make use of local skills. Without local participation, planning is inadequate since the skilled local inputs are lacking (Bryant & White 1984:10).
(2) Participation is a prerequisite for sustained development. Through participation the local community makes a contribution which inclines them to also maintain what has been brought into being (Bryant & White 1984:10).
(3) Participation is essential for equitable development. It is argued that it is only through participation that the rural poor can ensure that they are accorded their rightful share of development (Gow & Morss 1981:13).
(4) Participation is, in essence, democratisation. Here the focus is on the need for

the poor to gain *control*, and this is linked to political power (Bryant & White 1984:8). This demand for empowerment is motivated by Gran (1983:2) as follows:

> To best develop and best use finite resources, humans need the maximum practical **control** that is socially feasible over all aspects of development, most particularly over those goods and processes necessary for meeting basic human needs and security. The poor must participate effectively in political and economic terms. Without this empowerment, significant economic advance is impossible.

Without discussing the merit of these four arguments, it is clear that the issue of participation by the population in rural development must be accorded serious attention.

7.7.5 Integration of development

In the early years of development there was a tendency to benefit the urban areas at the expense of the rural areas. Together with the disillusionment about the fruits and inevitability of economic growth, came the realisation that rural areas should be developed. This caused attention to shift to the rural areas. The problem is that the urban and rural areas are to a great extent in competition with each other for ''development attention''. This points to a simplistic view of the problems of urban and rural development. Rondinelli (1986b:238) is correct when he says the following:

> Analyses of development problems based on the ''urban-rural dichotomy'' or on urban or rural bias ... often lead to development policies and aid programmes that not only misrepresent the relations between urban growth and agricultural development but also overlook or ignore the mutually beneficial linkages between them.

What is necessary, then, is an integration of urban and rural development (Swanepoel 1997:53, 54). This is a single development problem and the solution cannot be sought at the expense of either urban or rural areas. The urban areas must be developed to be capable of serving rural development, and vice versa.

7.7.6 Co-ordinated action

Integrated rural development should be regarded as a total transformation (Obaidullah Khan 1980:57). Development must address life as a whole as well as the total environment. For this reason integrated rural development should be understood as a total systems approach (Armor, Honadle, Olson & Weisel 1979:276) in which all participating organisations and institutions, be they government or nongovernment, have the same objectives which they pursue in an interdependent, integrated programme. While it is impossible for one institution to be responsible for all rural development, it is an unhealthy situation if several institutions carry out overlapping work among the same people without coordinating their actions. The question is, however, whether the government apparatus, which is sectorally structured, is capable of coordinating such actions. Is it possible for an institution to coordinate when it works on its own, has autonomous decision-making powers, has no formal links with any other

institutions, and has its own field staff that are accountable to it alone and who are not bound by rules or regulations? Uncoordinated action results in a waste of resources, competition among participants, duplication of work and confusion among the population.

ACTIVITY 7.11

Read Sections 4, 6 and 7 of the *Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy* (2000) in your *Reader*. Also read the article by Gumbi (2002) in the *Reader*. Write an essay of five pages on the theory and practice of integrated rural development in South Africa. File it for future reference.

7.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter focused on one of the central issues in the theme of rural development: integrated rural development. First we discussed the history of integrated rural development and clarified the concept. Then we reflected upon the objectives. Following this, the framework for integrated rural development was discussed and we arrived at one important conclusion: integrated rural development is complicated and is a huge task that depends on many issues, but stakeholders and coordination are two central variables in what we would like to call successful integrated rural development aimed at improving the poverty situation in rural areas specifically.

7.9 LEARNING OUTCOMES CHECK LIST

Use this check list to test yourself on this study unit.

Outcomes	Can do	Cannot do
(1) I can describe the historical development of integrated rural development.		
(2) I can explain the concept of integrated rural development.		
(3) I can discuss the obstacles in the way of successful integrated rural development.		
(4) I can draw up an agenda for integrated rural development.		
(5) I can write an essay on the theory and practice of integrated rural development in South Africa.		

THEME C

KEY ISSUES IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Urbanisation is one of the major social transformations which Third World countries, particularly African countries, are undergoing at present. Urban as well as rural areas are subject to its influence. The large concentration of (especially) the poor in the cities makes the question of development even more salient in cities than in the rural areas.

For a variety of reasons, economic motivation probably being the most important, people are migrating from rural areas to cities and also to areas between cities. The economic motivation, namely to find employment, is reinforced by the search for better social services such as schools, clinics and facilities, and by the very poor conditions in the rural areas — all playing a part in creating a strong incentive for migration to the urban areas.

Third World migration has brought people streaming to the capitals or main economic centres. In Africa this has led to the creation of what is known as primate cities. Primate cities are created when the population in a single city or, exceptionally, two cities, grows at such an alarming rate that the city doubles in size. The basis for the growth of primate cities may be found in the colonial past when development was concentrated mainly in the administrative centres. In view of the shortage of natural resources, among other considerations, very few ''growth centres'' were established which could develop into cities. As a result, the national economic assets have been concentrated in cities, where the national development question of poverty is most evident.

Policies usually reflect the most pressing issues, especially those that may have an adverse effect on the popularity of governments. The policy followed is usually aimed at urban development, a phenomenon known as urban bias, which creates the conditions that bring about further migration and therefore intensifies the urban development issue.

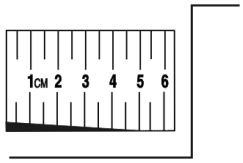
At a practical level, the problems which arise and which policy needs to address are those of employment opportunities, housing and social services. National policy, for instance on regional development, provides the broad framework within which the practical policies are formulated.

Policy formulation and implementation do not take place in a vacuum. Apart from government institutions, such as local governments, there are other groups, organisations and movements that influence policies for the benefit of their own interests. The ''invasions'' of South American cities and the organised occupation of land currently experienced in South Africa are examples of ''movements'' whose actions have a decisive influence on policy formulation and implementation. The contributions of all the above groups are important when studying the poverty issue in Third World countries.

The above issues are discussed under this theme. Your task is to study the issues and to determine their interrelatedness.

STUDY UNIT 8

URBANISATION AND CITY GROWTH



LEARNING OUTCOMES

When you have worked through this study unit, you should be able to

(1) discuss the urbanisation trend in the Third World and point out its consequences
(2) explain the relationships between causes of urbanisation, dependent urbanisation and urban primacy
(3) explain the debate regarding the relationship between the formal and informal sectors

8.1 INTRODUCTION

According to Dr Carl Bartone (Pugh 2000:x), Principal Environmental Engineer of the World Bank, for the first time in history one-half of the world's population is living in cities. It is estimated that more than two-thirds will be urban dwellers by 2025. While urbanisation is a global phenomenon, the fastest growth of cities is taking place in the developing world, where more than 90 per cent of the new urbanites will settle.

In line with the above, Tannerfeldt and Ljung (2006:1) suggest that in a world that is now more than half urban and likely to become increasingly so, poverty alleviation efforts need to focus on urban settlements. These authors argue that the principles they propose for guiding urban poverty alleviation will create impacts that will reduce rural poverty at the same time. In its latest (2009) development report, the World Bank even goes so far as to suggest to South Africa that the emphasis of the government's development programme should fall on urban rather than rural development (Smit 2009:23).

Yet there is no agreed definition of the concept "urban" in its African context. In Gabon, for example, areas with more than 1 000 inhabitants are classified as urban, whereas in Kenya and Zaire the norm has been fixed at 2 000. In Ghana, 5 000 is the criterion, but in Nigeria it is 20 000, with the added proviso that a city or town should sustain a nonagricultural economy. Although the United Nations defines "urban" as relating to populations of 20 000 and more, on a continent as relatively unurbanised as Africa, a concentration of 5 000 people in any one area may well qualify as "urbanised" (on account of the sparse population of the continent, the small number of cities and so on).

However, the size of the population is not the only criterion for defining a city. If you agree with this statement, you will also agree that it is no easy task to arrive at a satisfactory definition of the term ''urban''.

In attempting to establish precisely what is meant by this term, we can identify a number of characteristics (or criteria) which have been used in different approaches. These characteristics include: size, population density, the permanence of the settlement, social heterogeneity, autonomy, community, the presence of an educated elite, clearly differentiated institutions, mental stress, deviant sub-cultures, and conditions that could stimulate social change and class conflict. You will be able to identify some of these characteristics in any urban area which you can think of and, in fact, with a minimum of research you will be able to verify them.

In this study unit we take a brief look at the scope of urban growth. With Gilbert and Gugler (1984) as our guide, we study the causes of urbanisation in the Third World. Your previous studies will have made you aware of the two main approaches to the study of development: the modernisation approach and the dependency approach. Throughout this study guide you will come across the different viewpoints of these schools of thought, and your task is to weigh them up and draw your own conclusions. Do bear in mind, however, that the dependency theory is facing increasing criticism and has taken on so many guises that, as Gilbert and Gugler (1984:17–18) observe:

> differing strands of Marxist and neo-Marxist thought have created a position where there is no such thing as dependency theory, probably no longer a single dependency approach, and conceivably not even a recognizable dependency school.

Nonetheless, if the dependency approach is currently undergoing a process of reformulation and adjustment, this does not detract from the valid contributions it has made to our field of study. The most important insight in this context is that the *developed* and *developing* countries of the world are not independent, but function within and have grown from the same framework. In our discussion on urbanisation we examine *dependent urbanisation* in detail.

8.2 THE STUDY OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Has the city a role to play in the development of the Third World? This is a valid question, bearing in mind the poverty and misery to be found in many Third World cities. One may argue, however, that since the greater part of the Third World's population lives in rural areas, any attempt at development should concentrate on these areas. Nevertheless, the pace of urbanisation in the Third World, especially in Africa, is such that it is impossible to study development without considering the role the city plays in this process and, bearing in mind its growth rate, the increasingly important role it should be playing in the development of the Third World.

This is not to say that we should underestimate the important contribution made by the rural areas in the development process. The concepts ''rural'' and ''urban'' are, after all, two sides of the same coin.

8.3 THE SCOPE OF URBAN GROWTH

Today, Africa has the world's fastest annual rate of urbanisation. According to Tibaijuka (2004:2), Executive Director of Habitat Debate, the annual average urban growth is 4 per cent, twice as high as that of Latin America and Asia. Already 37 per cent of Africans live in cities, and by the year 2030 this rate is expected to rise to 53 per cent.

In global terms, it is the countries of East, Central and West Africa that are experiencing the most rapid growth in their urban populations at present. More than half the people of North and southern Africa already live in urban areas.

While population density in Africa is low (18 per km^2) (Timberlake 1985:39), the carrying capacity of the land is also low and, as a result of various factors, is decreasing at an alarming rate. Food production has deteriorated to the extent that grain products have to be imported in an attempt to combat the malnutrition that affects 60 per cent of the African population south of the Sahara (Timberlake 1985:15). Wood for fuel is becoming scarcer, so women have to spend much more time and energy gathering wood.

The rural areas are experiencing two negative trends simultaneously: the means for subsistence are being depleted, making the struggle for survival much more difficult; at the same time, population growth is constantly accelerating. While the necessity for rural development may feature prominently in the rhetoric of politicians, the fact is that urban bias still predominates in the spending of development aid. Thus, while more and more schools, clinics and other services are being provided in urban areas, the under-serviced rural areas are left neglected. In this situation many rural dwellers see cities as places of opportunity: places to find employment, better schools and more readily available medical care, and in any case, places with a better future than the rural areas. Those arriving in the city seldom find the going easy, but because of their many links with city dwellers the situation usually does not come as a surprise (see study units 1 and 4).

African cities developed primarily as colonial centres of administration and trade. While colonial administrators and entrepreneurs were the generators and holders of power and wealth, little attention was paid to the development of an indigenous process of urbanisation. On the contrary, various attempts were made to implement influx control. Africans who succeeded in finding jobs in the civil service or in commerce were generally housed in compounds or in heavily subsidised government houses. As a result of colonial domination, African cities developed very much along the lines of modern European ''garden cities''. After independence, the newly created ruling class opted for a continuation of the former colonial policy on urbanisation. Among the measures that this entailed were the eviction of people and the demolition of shacks, as well as the imposition of high and often inappropriate building standards.

8.4 THE PRIMATE CITY AND URBAN BIAS

Historical, economic, political and spatial factors are indicated as some of the reasons for the creation and growth of primate cities. A city that is growing exceptionally rapidly (sometimes at double the rate of the next largest city in the same country) and that wields the economic and political power in a country is usually regarded as a primate city. In Africa, the largest cities (usually the

capitals) are (at least) twice as large as the next largest cities in the countries concerned and are therefore primate cities. A primate city is like a burning candle attracting moths. As Preston (1990:16) puts it:

> Primate cities in developing countries are said to be drawing a disproportionate influx of population from other areas. Their rapid growth is alleged to result from biases in patterns of government expenditure and employment, in part resulting from the undue political influence of these agglomerations.

Preston (1990) is referring to urban bias, a theme to which we return later on. To illustrate the rapid growth of cities, let's look at the urbanisation trends in Africa.

The tendency in Africa since 1960 has been for the larger cities to grow faster than the smaller ones. The percentage of the urban population living in cities of more than one million people increased from 0,0 per cent in 1960 to 1,6 per cent in 1980 and 7,2 per cent by the year 2000.

Rondinelli (1986b:233) talks of a pattern of urbanisation in the Third World that is ''far more concentrated'', where ''large percentages of the urban population are found in one or two very large metropolises''.

The point we wish to emphasise is that, while urbanisation is a worldwide tendency:

> there are major variations between regions and that the forms of this urbanization vary considerably between the developed and less developed nations and indeed within the Third World itself (Gilbert & Gugler 1984:8).

Urban bias has already been mentioned as a reason for the excessive growth of primate cities in the Third World. We will highlight this concept briefly, as discussed by Gilbert and Gugler (1984). Urban bias is the result of the concentration of power in the hands of urban groups. These groups use their power to benefit from the allocation of resources. This intensifies inequalities between rural and urban areas and retards development (Gilbert & Gugler 1984:164). In the words of Lipton (quoted in Gilbert & Gugler 1984:164):

> The most important conflict in the poor countries of the world today is not between capital and labour. Nor is it between foreign and the national interests. It is between the rural classes and the urban classes. The rural sector contains most of the poverty, and most of the low cost sources of potential advance; but the urban sector contains most of the articulateness, organization and power. So the urban classes have been able to ''win'' most of the rounds of the struggle with the countryside; but in doing so they have made the development process slow and unfair.

This ''victory'' has enabled the Third World city to offer certain social and economic benefits.

A striking worldwide feature of urbanisation is that there is a direct link between income and urbanisation levels. In countries with advanced industrial market economies, almost 80 per cent of the population lives in urban centres. In middle income countries, as defined by the World Bank, over half the population is urbanised, and in low income countries little more than 20 per cent of the population, on average, is formally urbanised. The industrial market economies have a low population growth rate (1,3 per cent per annum in the period 1970 to

1980). Low income countries, on the other hand, have a very high population growth rate (approximately 5 per cent per annum in the period 1970 to 1980), while middle income countries, of which South Africa is one, had a growth rate of 3,8 per cent per annum for the period 1970 to 1980 (Webber 1985). Bear in mind that an annual growth rate of 5 per cent is equivalent to doubling a nation's urban population every 11 years, a rate too rapid to be accommodated by even a wealthy nation (Webber 1985).

Like individuals and families, industrial and commercial entrepreneurs tend to find city sites, particularly sites in large cities, the most attractive locations. There they have ready access to a skilled labour force, to developed and emerging markets and their associated social organisations, and to a wide variety of suppliers, customers and services. The more advanced a national economy is, the more complex its markets tend to be, and hence the more dependent its institutions are on specialised services of all sorts from accountants, lawyers, insurance underwriters, bankers, architects, engineers, government agencies, equipment repairmen, economists, and, nowadays, computer programmers and analysts. All these services generally require a skilled and available labour force. As Webber (1985:2) explains:

> A metropolitan complex is, in effect, a massive communications switchboard through which all sorts of specialists are connected to each other — through which their interdependencies get satisfied ... . Indeed, the only reason cities exist is that they supply connectivity between interdependent establishments and at lower costs than are possible elsewhere. Persons and business firms congregate in cities only because costs of interaction with others over space are less where distances between partners to transactions are short. That's why millions of people are willing to crowd into a small space and to suffer the costs that attach to high density and congestion.

It is not surprising that there is generally a direct relationship between contemporary urbanisation and industrialisation. An urban location for industry, according to Dewar, Todes and Watson (1984:70–71), facilitates three important functions which affect the viability of the industry. Firstly, it provides crucial back-up services — repair and maintenance services, communication and transport services, and adequate utility services, such as water and power. Secondly, it provides a readily available supply of reliable, trained labour. Thirdly, it provides a market for products. Together, these functions provide "economies of agglomeration" — a clustering of industries for the mutual benefit of all concerned. These economies, in turn, attract the establishment of further industries. Growth, once started, tends to become self-perpetuating.

Whereas current theory in many fields assumes that cities are built upon a rural economic base, the reverse is also true: that is, rural economies, including agriculture, may be built directly upon city economies and city growth (Jacobs 1969:7).

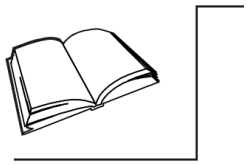
The following can be said about agriculture:

> [A]griculture is not even tolerably productive unless it incorporates many goods and services produced in cities or transplanted from cities. The most strongly rural countries exhibit the most unproductive agriculture. The most thoroughly urbanized countries, on the other hand, are precisely those that produce food most abundantly (Jacobs 1969:7).

In addition to Jacobs's observations, a recent development in certain of the developed countries is also of note: that in some areas agricultural production now has more of a peri-urban than a rural base. For instance, much of Italy's vegetable crop is grown in technologically sophisticated operations on smallholdings on the outskirts of the major cities.

In fact, agriculture does not only take place on the outskirts of cities or in the peri-urban areas. According to Rogerson (1993:33) the cultivation of food crops, particularly vegetables, fruit and small livestock, is widely practised in many Third World cities. This phenomenon holds both positive and negative outcomes for cities and their residents. The positive aspects are that jobs can be created, the household economy can be boosted and more people can be fed. The negative results are the possibility of pollution and the safety and health hazards of roaming animals in a metropolis (Rogerson 1993:37).

The fact that the food shortage can be addressed in this way is of paramount importance. Therefore Rogerson (1993:41) comes to the conclusion that ''this 'unconventional' proposal for dealing with some of the problems of the urban poor must be placed on the policy agenda for the 1990s''.



ACTIVITY 8.1

Read the article by Cohen (2004) in your *Reader*. Pay particular attention to trends in urban growth in developing countries and regional differences.

Agglomeration means a mass or a collection.

Amenities are things that can make life pleasant.

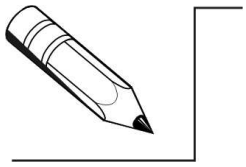
Cities also offer distinct social advantages, including, for example, a greater range of better quality services than are available in rural areas. The *agglomeration* of people makes it easier and cheaper to provide social, educational, police, sanitary and health facilities (including clinics and hospitals), and to install such services as piped water, sewage disposal, gas and electricity. Many more *amenities* are available in cities than in villages. Imported goods in the shops bring people into contact with a wider world and a high standard of achievement, and may even act as a stimulus to greater personal achievements. Education and training, which are seen as the passport to better living, are more readily available in the towns and cities. The status of women is generally higher in the cities due, in part, to a higher degree of social mobility.

Encumbrance means an obstacle or a burden.

The experience of urbanisation in the advanced capitalist nations, which goes hand in hand with better opportunities for education and a variety of recreational activities, is beginning to shape a new way of life in which children play a less important economic role. Indeed, with the introduction of compulsory, full-time education and the establishment of minimum ages of employment, children cease to be an economic asset and may instead represent an *encumbrance* to social and material advancement. These are the changes which underlie the Western experience that urban birth rates are lower than rural ones. As Mountjoy (1982:58) puts it: ''The more urban an area the lower the fertility of the population and the more rural an area, the more rapidly its population is reproducing.''

But this is still a very one-sided view of the advantages of urbanisation. There are also disadvantages, specifically as a result of rapid city growth. Rondinelli (1986c:264) lists a number of problems experienced in Asian cities:

(1) Large Asian metropolises cannot provide enough jobs for even their current work force let alone the many more flowing into these areas.
(2) Many of those who come to Asian metropolises are unskilled and uneducated and can only find informal sector jobs that provide at best a subsistence income.
(3) Growing urban populations place increasing demands on already over-strained public facilities and services.
(4) Most large metropolitan areas have a traditional and inadequate physical infrastructure to which ad hoc improvements have been made that are incapable of providing the coverage or quality of service needed to accommodate their growing populations.
(5) Weak revenue bases or inefficient revenue collection practices and the limitations on revenue raising placed on them by central government make it impossible for most Asian metropoles to keep pace with the expanding public service needs.
(6) Continued migration of the rural poor to large metropolitan areas in Asia results in greater concentrations of people in slums and squatter settlements to which basic services and facilities cannot always be extended.
(7) The heavy and continued concentration of people and economic activities in the largest metropolises often drains human, financial and natural resources from the already poor rural hinterlands.



ACTIVITY 8.2

Compare the above list of problems with the southern African situation and identify the similarities.

Definitely the most serious negative result of the rapid urbanisation of the Third World has been the dramatic shift in the incidence of poverty from the rural areas to the cities. Asthana (1994:58) says that already in the early 1990s, 50 per cent of the absolute poor were to be found in Third World cities.

As we have seen, urban bias is only part of the complex explanation for urbanisation. We now turn to some of the other explanations for this phenomenon.

8.5 CAUSES OF URBANISATION

In simple terms, one may say that urbanisation and urban growth take place only when a central power has the mechanism to generate surpluses and to concentrate these surpluses in urban areas (Gilbert & Gugler 1984:11). According to Gilbert and Gugler, however, this above statement does not give a complete explanation of urbanisation and urban growth.

Theocratic refers to government by a god or the priesthood.

The dependence of urbanisation on a mechanism to concentrate wealth does not explain present-day urban growth satisfactorily. The *theocratic* communities of ancient Mexico and China were controlled by elites which used mechanisms such as military power and moral pressure to draw surpluses (taxes, sacrifices) from agricultural areas and concentrate them in urban areas. On the other hand, modern industrial communities make less use of power, preferring to use a complicated web of related interests as the mechanism for concentrating surpluses in cities. Consequently, Gilbert and Gugler (1984:11) draw the following conclusion:

> Capitalist societies contain elites as powerful as those of theocratic societies, but the mechanisms for generating and accumulating a surplus are clearly very distinctive — the ideology of capitalism legitimizes urbanization in terms of its contribution to the growth of the gross national product.

Evidently, these authors ascribe present-day urbanisation to the influence of the capitalist system. Logically they also conclude that "today large areas of the world are integrated into a single economy" (Gilbert & Gugler 1984:11) and the growth of a city cannot be explained only in the context of its national or local environment. Its development also depends on how it is integrated into the international system. Although one can understand this point of view, one should guard against a one-sided emphasis on the influence of the international system on urban growth. Not all cities are linked to this system to the same extent. Local factors may also have a special influence on the urbanisation process.

Gilbert and Gugler (1984) maintain that imperialism and the encroachment of European capitalism have been the main influences on urbanisation in the Third World. Not only did European contact give rise to a number of new cities; it also caused the destruction of some indigenous cities and complete changes of form and function in others. The city was seen as an instrument of conquest for destroying or changing indigenous civilisations. As Gilbert and Gugler (1984:14) observe,

> "The newly founded cities reflected the new power structure and exercised functions relevant to the interests of Europe. They were beginning to become part of a world economic and social system."

The colonial city became the seat of political power and authority while the conquered indigenous population lived in rural areas around the city. Hence the city acted as a link between the colonial hinterland and the colonial metropolis. Although Latin America achieved political independence long before Africa and Asia, Latin American communities were already integrated into the world trade system. Thus European imperialism resulted in the spread of capitalism throughout the world, thereby linking even the remotest rural areas to the metropolises of the world.

The organisation of these colonial-type cities was deeply marked by colonialism, to the extent that colonial cities are seen by some as quite distinct from industrial cities (Balbo 1993:26). This fact helps us to understand the relationship between urban and rural. Balbo explains as follows (1993:26):

> It is obvious ... that the few decades which have lapsed from the end of colonialism were not sufficient to transform what had been conceived as a dividing space into an integrated one; to overcome the inertia inherent in any spatial organisation a much longer span of time is required.

8.6 URBANISATION POLICY

A distinction may be made between macrolevel and microlevel urbanisation policy. At the macrolevel (national policy), measures may be imposed that either curb or promote urbanisation. Policy guidelines on urban development may be based on a government's preference for restricting or encouraging urbanisation. A macro-policy aimed at curbing urbanisation (such as South African policy until the mid-eighties) will contain measures to:

(1) prevent or restrict migration to cities
(2) provide a minimum of services, such as housing, in cities
(3) promote industrial decentralisation in rural areas to "bring job opportunities to the people"

In such a case, the aim of policy is to restrict urbanisation by making urban life as unattractive as possible. Tanzania's Ujamaa policy and China's Hsia Fang Movement, like South Africa's former homeland, migratory labour and influx control policies, were attempts to curb urbanisation. A belief that the growth of urban populations is undesirable underlies a "control policy". In the case of South Africa it was not a belief that the growth of urban populations as such was wrong, but rather that urban migration of a certain population group was undesirable.

It may be an oversimplification of a complex matter to speak, by way of contrast, of a policy that promotes urbanisation. What we can say is that in Third World countries urbanisation occurs spontaneously without any encouragement, or that urbanisation is hardly ever consciously promoted. Indeed, as in the case of Nigeria, it is more a problem that

> the very high pace of urban growth, estimated to be more than double the annual population growth rate of 2.8 per cent, is totally unrelated to the general level of economic development, and has outstripped the capacity to plan and manage the cities effectively (Nwaka 1989:49).

Rural people are encouraged to migrate to cities not only because policies create a better life in the cities. Rural people are also encouraged to migrate because they are pushed out of the rural areas by the extremely poor conditions there.

There is overwhelming evidence from many research reports and articles that urbanisation and the growth of urban populations in Third World countries constitute a spontaneous and irreversible process. By the mid-eighties it was clear that South Africa's influx control measures were incapable of arresting the process: urbanisation (by way of migration to cities) occurred despite efforts to stem it (see, for instance, May 1990 and Haarhof 1985).

It should be clear to you by now that macro-urbanisation policy should actually concern spatial development, for instance the creation of a hierarchy of cities and of rural growth centres. Policies should not be aimed at stopping or curbing the flow to cities, but rather at regulating it. A policy is therefore necessary to facilitate the spontaneous growth of cities, namely:

(1) to encourage the creation of job opportunities
(2) to facilitate the provision of housing in a meaningful way
(3) to facilitate and regulate the right to land ownership
(4) to create opportunities for the city to play a developmental role towards the rural areas

Rogerson (1989) makes use of Richardson's argument to warn against the wrong policy approach towards urban development. He points out that national urban policy should be an integral part of an overall development strategy and should not be treated as a narrow sectoral responsibility (Rogerson 1989:137). He also points out the necessity for a much closer integration between urban development policy and development planning in general (1989:100). He warns against a narrow definition of urban policy as aiming to slow down urbanisation or to primarily address the primacy problem (1989:137). The lesson to be learnt by South Africa, according to Rogerson (1989:140), is as follows:

> It appears particularly important to cast off the shackles of a dominance exerted by the spatial obsession of containing the growth of South Africa's largest metropolitan centres on the one hand, and of redirecting growth into peripheral growth centres on the other.

Rogerson (1989) is not against growth centres and secondary cities, but he maintains that they should not be the primary focus and objective of a policy.

8.7 URBAN SURVIVAL: THE INFORMAL SECTOR

How the ''informal sector'' is perceived holds important implications for the way in which we deal with the concept. The traditional belief of theories about the informal sector relates to the dualistic character (containing both formal sector and informal sector) of Third World cities. Brennan (Bromley 1985:43) summarises this approach as follows:

The traditional belief of theories on the informal sector relates to the dualistic character (containing both formal sector and informal sector) of Third World cities. Brennan (Bromley 1985:43) summarises this approach as follows:

> Most discussions of the ''informal sector'' take as their point of departure the dualistic character that is ascribed to the urban economy of the non-socialist countries of the Third World. This implies that the term informal sector refers to a dichotomy in which the characteristics of the two parts form each others' contrasts.

In this context, the formal sector is seen as comprising wage labour and the activities of large institutions such as government departments. Brennan (Bromley 1985:43) identifies the following criteria for the identification of the formal sector:

(1) a number of related employment opportunities forming part of a well organised labour structure
(2) working situations that form part of officially registered economic statistics
(3) working conditions that enjoy legal protection

Economic activities that do not comply with these criteria are grouped under the umbrella term ''informal sector''. This is a very vague and nonspecific term that covers an enormous amount of economic activity. The watchword of the informal sector is ''self-employment''. This is exactly where the problem lies, for in terms of this description, enterprises such as an elementary fruit-selling operation and a relatively sophisticated computer business fall within the same category, although their needs are not at all comparable.

Brennan (Bromley 1985:43) points out that the above description of the informal sector is highly unsatisfactory because it is so vague.

The second criticism of the term ''informal sector'' relates to the dualistic classification mentioned above. Using a strictly formalistic classification when referring to the formal and informal sectors makes it easy to completely overlook the intense interaction between the two sectors (Gilbert & Gugler 1984:72).

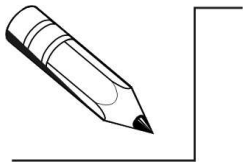
Brennan (Bromley 1985:46) summarises the problem as follows:

> ''Moreover, by interpreting the relationship in a dualistic framework and in focussing on the mutually exclusive characteristics, we lose sight of the unity and totality of the productive system.''

This statement is very important, because a holistic perspective of the operation of the economy (emphasising the necessity for an overall picture of the situation) can improve our understanding of the development issue.

Although the strictly dualistic categorisation of the economy into a formal and an informal sector has enormous shortcomings of artificiality and superficiality (as pointed out above), it does offer the advantage of highlighting the informal sector (namely the economic activities of the impoverished masses) as the absolute opposite of the formal sector. We first look at the composition of the informal sector.

Once you have completed activity 8.3, you will look at the composition of the informal sector.



ACTIVITY 8.3

Observe the economic activity in your area: at individual houses, the railway station, taxi rank and shopping centre. How many people do you notice who are not trading from a shop or an office? List the types of economic activities people are engaged in, which you regard as activities of the informal economic sector.

8.7.1 Composition of the informal sector

In the preceding paragraphs we cautioned against too narrow and superficial a classification in studying the informal sector. Studies of the informal sector are often limited to the cities, thereby ignoring labour and production ratios in rural areas. Informal activities in the urban environment are not independent of the economy of a particular region, but form an integral part of that economy. It is therefore important to study a particular region as a whole, as Brennan (Bromley 1985:49) points out. A number of practical examples are mentioned below to further illustrate this point.

Many regions are dependent on seasonal labour. Fruit farmers are particularly dependent on seasonal labour, and at a particular time each year these labourers have an important impact on the economy of the region in which they are working.

The area from which they originate may be adversely affected by this practice should labour be urgently needed there.

Lucrative means profitable.

Often, products are manufactured in the rural areas and sold in the cities which may provide a *lucrative* market for such goods. Some of the profits may be spent in the cities, but a large portion is returned to the rural areas. This creates ongoing interaction between the rural and the urban areas. Gugler (2002:21) maintains that most rural-urban migrants maintain significant ties with their communities of origin in Africa south of the Sahara. (See also study unit 4.)

Men and women in Malawi do woodwork and crocheting, respectively, and then market these products in Pretoria because they consider it to be the best outlet for their products. Transport costs are high and the profit margin small. Bear these aspects in mind when analysing the characteristics of the informal sector. In the informal sector, the risks are high and the danger of exploitation very real.

8.7.2 Characteristics of the informal sector

We have already referred to some of the problems of placing a strictly dualistic division between the formal and the informal sectors. Such a division is not only very artificial, it also ignores the close economic interaction between the formal and the informal sectors in practice. Listing the characteristics of the informal sector will give you some indication of the nature of this small-scale sector. The following characteristics of the informal sector are distinguished by the ILO (International Labour Organisation) (Gilbert & Gugler 1984:73):

(1) It is easily accessible.
(2) It is dependent on indigenous resources.
(3) The family owns the enterprise.
(4) It is a small-scale enterprise.
(5) Small-scale and adapted technology is utilised and the enterprise is usually labour intensive.
(6) Skills have often been acquired outside the formal sector.
(7) Markets are unregulated and competitive.

The following contrasting characteristics of the formal sector may give an even better perspective on the activities of the informal sector:

(1) It is accessible only with difficulty.
(2) It is dependent on foreign resources.
(3) It is in corporate ownership.
(4) It involves large-scale activities.
(5) It is capital intensive and dependent on imported and often dedicated technology.
(6) Skills have often been acquired in formal training, and foreign personnel frequently provide a major input.
(7) Markets are protected by means of fixed rates, quotas and trade licences.

Although informal sector activities in most Third World countries account for the biggest input into the economy, the activities of this sector are, by and large, ignored and sometimes even actively discouraged by government institutions (Gilbert & Gugler 1984:72–75).

The section below discusses the relationship between the informal sector and the formal sector in terms of some of the characteristics mentioned above.

8.8 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE FORMAL SECTOR AND THE INFORMAL SECTOR

When studying the relationship between the formal sector and the informal sector on the basis of the above-mentioned characteristics, one can easily come to the conclusion that the two sectors operate in reasonable isolation from each other. This assumption is not correct, because there are areas in which the activities of the different sectors are complementary. This is a somewhat neutral statement, because it is important to bear in mind that opinions differ when it comes to the relationship between the formal and the informal sectors.

Portes and Walton (Gilbert & Gugler 1984:75) provide an important starting point in this regard when they argue that the informal sector often subsidises the formal sector. The cheap labour in the informal sector provides low-cost inputs as well as inexpensive goods and services to the formal sector. The informal sector is often in a subordinate position in this relationship. Birbeck (Gilbert & Gugler 1984:75) illustrates the relationship between the formal and informal sectors by means of the following example. He refers to the activities of the informal waste collectors in Cali, Colombia. Most of the waste is collected by these people and taken to large factories. In the paper industry, waste paper provides approximately one third of the raw materials for the factories, and 60 per cent of this waste paper is provided by the informal sector. The compensation paid to the informal workers amounts to approximately one third of the salary of the lowest-paid employee in the paper industry. Apart from the fact that the informal workers do not receive a fixed income, they do not enjoy the benefits (eg pension, medical insurance) commonly found in the formal sector. On the basis of this example, it is suggested that many workers in the informal sector are indirectly employed by the formal sector without enjoying the ordinary benefits usually attached to employment.

The two main approaches to the relationship between the formal and the informal sectors may be summarised as follows.

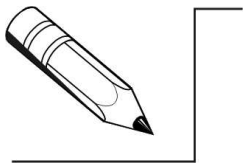
According to the first approach, the existence and growth of the informal sector are assumed to represent a phase in the development process. The emphasis is on the function of the informal sector as a buffer zone. Although the informal sector provides a living for an enormous number of people who would otherwise have no income, it must be conceded that the marginal productivity and exploitation that occur in this sector may be regarded as major causes of poverty. It would be impractical to expect policies to be formulated in support of ineffective and small-scale economic activity. The informal sector frequently makes use of nearly *obsolete* technology. Poverty can really be addressed only by expanding the formal sector as rapidly as possible to allow for as many people as possible to be accommodated in this sector (Bromley 1985:51).

Obsolete means outdated, not useful anymore.

The second approach forms the opposite pole to the above argument. The ILO and the World Bank are major supporters of this approach, which regards the relationship between the formal and informal sectors as an example of structural

inequality. The flexibility and utilisation of appropriate technology which characterise the informal sector are hampered by the more favourable market conditions found in the formal sector. The disproportionate advantages of the formal sector are often reinforced by political bias and government protection. Those supporting this approach argue in favour of refining the *reciprocal* interaction between the two sectors. They propose further that discrimination against the activities of the informal sector will have to cease. Governments will have to formulate policies to stimulate and activate the informal sector, for instance by providing credit facilities, upgrading skills, establishing marketing opportunities, providing raw materials, and so forth.

Reciprocal refers to a mutual relationship. What I do for you, you will do for me.



ACTIVITY 8.4

Describe the two approaches to the relationship between the formal and informal economic sectors in your own words. Which approach represents the modernisation school of thought and which the dependency school of thought?

Rather than becoming involved in a debate on the various schools of thought, we pose a number of questions to stimulate your thinking in this regard. These questions will also provide a background for the later discussion on policies to combat urban poverty.

A *variable* is something that changes frequently and that has an influence on the matter at hand.

(1) When a number of *variables* such as those present in the economic dilemma experienced in Third World countries are combined with the high population growth rate common to these countries, the question arises whether there is any real hope of accommodating all economically active people in the formal sector in future.

(2) Does it serve a purpose to use the notion of ''two different sectors of the economy'' as a point of departure? Should one not rather consider the needs of a region as a whole?

(3) Does stimulation of the informal sector perhaps amount to a perpetuation of cheap labour and services to the benefit of the formal sector? The structural inequality between the two sectors should also receive attention.

(4) Is the importance of a reciprocal relationship being considered out of context if one does not take into consideration the inherent conflict and competition between the small-scale informal economy and activities and the large-scale capital-intensive industries?

(5) Is ''true assistance'' to the informal sector by government perhaps somewhat far-fetched? This would amount to political decisions in favour of the poor at the expense of the wealthy. The wealthy are after all often responsible for keeping the ruling government in power.

The above are just a few questions that are important in this context. You should guard against oversimplifying the issue by emphasising certain elements at the expense of others. An overall view of the issue is very important here.

8.9 URBANISATION IN AN INCREASINGLY GLOBAL WORLD

An important feature of the current urban transition is the fact that the nature and extent of urban growth are now more dependent on the global economy than ever before. Cohen (2004:34–35) has the following to say with regard to globalisation:

> [T]he progressive integration of the world's economies ... has accelerated over the past 30 years. Driven by an astounding rate of technological change, particularly in the areas of transportation and telecommunications, globalization has radically reduced the need for spatial proximity and reshaped the organization, management and production of firms and industries. Globalization has also been facilitated by a more favorable international political climate, the collapse of communism, and financial deregulation that has allowed capital to become more mobile than ever before. These changes have combined to produce a more integrated and global economy than ever before, characterized by a new international division of labor, increased trade and investment, growing transnational communications, and expanding crossborder alliances between businesses and industries.

8.10 CONCLUSION

Urbanisation is taking place at an increasing rate. The changes experienced by a number of South American cities in the past few years provide us with an indication of the prospects for many Third World cities. Migration represents a desperate attempt to meet basic needs. The impact of the masses streaming to the cities is not exclusively economic. Their philosophy of life has a definite impact on the city.

The urban and rural areas are not two distinct entities with no ties. On the contrary, they are woven together through socioeconomic relationships among people. The urban household extends into the rural area because it is part of an extended rural family. The same goes for the formal and informal economic sectors. Many difficulties arise when the formal and informal sectors are treated as separate categories.

The major challenges facing our cities early in the 21st century are related to the following questions: what lessons can we draw from our past development and changes in landscape and, on a more proactive note, what new directions and solutions can we explore to cope with the realities of urban development?

8.11 LEARNING OUTCOMES CHECK LIST

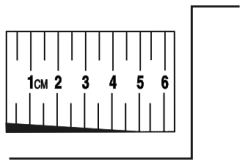
Use this check list to test yourself on this study unit.

Outcomes	Can do	Cannot do
(1) I can identify the urbanisation trend in the Third World and point out its consequences.		

Outcomes	Can do	Cannot do
(2) I can explain the relationship between the causes of urbanisation, dependent urbanisation and urban primacy.		
(3) I can explain the debate about the relationship between the formal and informal sectors.		

STUDY UNIT 9

URBAN SERVICES



LEARNING OUTCOMES

When you have worked through this study unit, you should be able to:

(1) identify the different policy options regarding urban development
(2) explain the problems associated with squatter settlements
(3) list and explain the advantages and disadvantages of various housing strategies

9.1 INTRODUCTION

Third World countries are already facing a rapid rate of urbanisation which will increase further in future. The governments of Third World countries will have to pay increasing attention to initiatives aimed at dealing with urban growth. For many social commentators the most alarming aspect of the trend towards global urbanisation, according to Cohen (2004:32), has been the apparent pace at which it has occurred. In this study unit we look at the problems surrounding balanced urban development. We do this by first looking at a number of policy guidelines for orderly urban development, then at various aspects regarding the provision of urban services, and then at housing as an example of the provision of urban services.

9.2 URBAN DEVELOPMENT POLICY

It must be borne in mind that policy in this context refers to the objectives of institutions and the methods for realising such objectives (guidelines for future action), as well as decisions on current modes of action. Policy is an umbrella concept and includes a variety of fields, situations and levels. Urban development policy therefore refers to the objectives of orderly urban growth and guidelines for achieving this.

As far as national urbanisation policy is concerned, it should be mentioned that the objectives of most governments are not very clear in respect of urban development. Hardoy and Satterthwaite (1989:57) mention that

> rather than explicit policies and projects based on careful analyses of what was causing or contributing to urban trends judged to be unsatisfactory,

national plans included a number of broad objectives like slowing migration to the major cities, developing backward regions or dynamizing rural growth points.

9.2.1 The nature of the Third World state in the context of policy making

It is important to name a few of the characteristics of the modern Third World state, because these have a major influence on policy. Our aim is therefore to outline the context within which policy is formulated. Characteristics of modern Third World states include the following:

(1) *Economic recession.* Third World countries with high debt burdens have been severely affected by worldwide economic recessions. The prices of cash crops cultivated on a large scale in these countries have repeatedly dropped on the world markets with each recession. The structural changes and reforms which are demanded by the IMF and the World Bank as a condition for rescheduling the international debt of these countries have left governments less room to manoeuvre when it comes to combating poverty although this position has of late somewhat softened. The constraints placed on these governments in respect of subsidies on certain goods and services have had disastrous political consequences. In Zambia, for example, the IMF recommended the discontinuation of the subsidy on maize meal in 1991, and this resulted in considerable political unrest. During 2000 Zimbabwe experienced urban political unrest, due to high inflation and rising food prices.

(2) *Excessive centralisation.* Decisions are, in the main, centralised and the needs of various regions are not adequately taken into account when formulating development plans (Gilbert & Gugler 1984).

(3) *The control-and-regulate approach of the bureaucracy.* The bureaucracy is seldom equipped to deal with the development demands entrusted to them. They tend to follow a technocratic control-and-regulate approach (McCurdy 1977).

(4) *Imitation*. Western models are often followed without any adaptation and there appears to be an inability to formulate policies and strategies that are specific to the needs of a particular region (McCurdy 1977).

(5) *Conservatism.* There is often an unwillingness to experiment with new ideas. Politicians and bureaucrats are frequently the culprits in this respect and prefer to follow a control-and-regulate approach (Hardoy & Satterthwaite 1989).

9.2.2 The nature of the Third World city

The Third World city differs in many respects from its Western counterpart. The Western city is a system that generally works well consisting of many interlocking parts which participate in forming a single whole. The spatial structure of the city is homogeneous. The city is ordered according to an original master plan based on an idea of space which is the same whether in Europe or North America. When master planning is executed in regard to Third World cities, grave problems arise, especially at the level of implementation. The reason is that the Third World city differs totally from the Western city described above. With the help of Balbo (1993), we are going to look at these differences and their meaning for policy making.

Balbo (1993) says that the Third World city is made up of parts which do not make up a homogeneous whole. He says that the Third World city is one "of fragments, where urbanisation takes place in leaps and bounds, creating a continuously discontinuous pattern". He shows at length why the Third World city cannot be master-planned, and concludes that it comes down to the following:

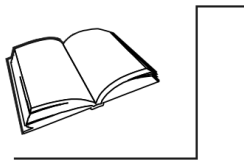
> The city of the master plan is made of finished products, while the city in developing countries is by and large a city in progress, where very little is completed and very much is used in a way different from that for which it had originally been designed (Balbo 1993:29).

The way policy is made and the type of planning action will therefore differ completely for the Third World city compared with Western cities. It requires what Swanepoel (1996:100) calls "a total mind change". Already-established frameworks are out. At the starting point there is only an empty agenda (Korten, as interpreted by Swanepoel 1996). Blueprint planning must make way for an adaptive approach characterised by experimentation. This kind of approach, says Swanepoel (1996:100),

> requires a change in organisation and procedure. ... Management should be fluid, changeable, therefore adaptable and adhocratic. Structures should provide space for manoeuvring and should themselves be flexible to allow new actions if necessary.

These new actions can, according to Henderson (2001:338), fashion viable new alternatives for urban service delivery, focusing primarily on collective action solutions. He contends that an implicit bias in favour of indigenous rather than imposed solutions may be detected, as well as an acknowledgement of the influence of the public choice. In this regard Drakakis-Smith (2002) agrees with Henderson (2001:338) that the poor are being encouraged to use their own initiatives to create employment and satisfy housing, health care and many other basic needs.

9.3 URBAN DEVELOPMENT POLICY GUIDELINES



Activity 9.1

Read the article by Henderson (2001) in the *Reader*. This article attempts to give examples of past and current alternative efforts in urban service delivery. Note the emphasis on alternative delivery approaches.

Third World countries are faced with a crucial challenge, which is to meet the growing demand for basic social services, infrastructure and public facilities in the cities (Rondinelli 1988:19; see also Rondinelli 1986a). We have already looked at the exceptional city growth experienced in the Third World (including Africa). This means an increased and ever-increasing demand for urban services. This demand is not going to be met entirely through rapid and substantial increases in central or municipal government expenditure. The administrative and financial capacity to meet the service needs of the poor is still weak (Rondinelli 1988:27). We agree with the following statement by Rondinelli (1988:28):

Clearly, innovative combinations of policy alternatives and organisational arrangements will be needed to reduce urban service deficiencies in the face of rapidly growing urban populations and the increasing concentration of the poor in cities.

Rondinelli (1988:27–50) suggests seven policy options that we mention here, but do not discuss. The discussion appears in Rondinelli's contribution in the *Reader.*

(1) Policies that expand direct government provision of urban services by building up municipal government capacity:

   (a) Strengthen the authority of municipal governments to raise adequate revenues to meet rising urban services needs.
   (b) Help municipal governments to strengthen their technical, administrative and organisational capacity to deliver urban services.

(2) Policies that use "market surrogates" to increase the organisational efficiency and responsiveness of service-providing public agencies:

   (a) Encourage direct competition among public service institutions.
   (b) Encourage the active marketing of government services.
   (c) Use performance agreements for public services delivery.

(3) Policies that lower the cost of providing services through changes in regulations and methods of delivery:

   (a) Adopt urban development and service delivery regulations that are tailored to the conditions of developing economies and that are more appropriate to the needs of the poor.
   (b) Control urban land uses, land prices and speculation practices that tend to have a strong impact on service delivery costs and on the access of the poor to services.
   (c) Design service extension and delivery programmes for multiple purposes and to local standards.

(4) Policies that actively support self-help and service improvements by the poor:

   (a) Support programmes that assist community and neighbourhood groups to improve their own housing conditions through site-and-service, core housing and shelter upgrading projects.
   (b) Provide minimal services or essential preconditions to allow self-help programmes to operate effectively.

(5) Policies that promote public-private cooperation and private sector participation in service delivery:

   (a) Encourage administrative practices and organisational arrangements that allow voluntary and community groups to participate effectively in improving services in poor neighbourhoods.
   (b) Design service extension programmes so that they create opportunities for private sector participation or so that market mechanisms can be used to provide services and facilities where appropriate.

(6) Policies that increase the effective demand of the poor for services, employment and income generation programmes:

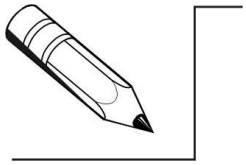
(a) Design service improvement programmes to generate as much employment as possible for the beneficiaries of those services.
(b) Develop programmes that increase the capacity of the informal sector to provide appropriate services and to strengthen the sector as a source of employment.
(c) Provide services and assistance to encourage small-scale enterprises in and near slum and squatter communities as a source of employment and income.

(7) Policies that change urban population distribution:

(a) Channel migration to intermediate and small cities.

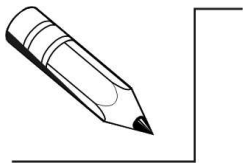
The implementation of policy guidelines presupposes a high degree of decentralisation and a well-trained administrative corps that is sensitive to the needs of the poor. This is seldom found in practice. In this regard Choguill (1994:936) says the following:

> Most governments and urban authorities have struggled heroically over recent decades to overcome the problems which have resulted. It has been, however, an uphill struggle and governments have been constrained by lack of finances, lack of experience in urban administration, in some cases by lack of will to solve the problems of the rapidly growing number of new urbanites and by the mere scale of the problems which need to be solved.



ACTIVITY 9.2

Consider the usefulness of Rondinelli's (1988) seven policy options for improving service delivery in your city (or the city closest to where you live). Use suitable examples to show how they could contribute to providing shelter, urban services and urban employment.



ACTIVITY 9.3

With Rondinelli's (1988) policy framework in mind, make a study of the article by Choguill (1994) in the *Reader* and identify the authorities' problems with providing shelter, urban services and urban employment.

9.4 A CASE STUDY ON TACKLING URBAN PROBLEMS

There are many opportunities to address urban poverty, inequality and environmental management in an integrated way, according to Beall, Crankshaw and Parnell (2000:833).

The specific case study that we examine is about integrated slum improvement in Visakhapatnam in India. This project emphasised the role of community participation, organisation and initiative, and undertook a wide range of activities, including environmental improvements, income generation schemes, health and education development and self-help housing (Asthana 1994:57). Aspects that Asthana highlights are the following: it became clear that there was a need for a coordinating mechanism, especially to coordinate the engineering staff with the community development staff; ''hard'' needs such as housing generated more participant interest than ''soft'' projects relating to health and education; clienteles were widespread and vertical links with politicians were actively sought by slum leaders; land speculation could take place as a result of the project; and women were marginalised by male leaders into the ''softer'' aspects of community development.

Asthana concludes her case study as follows (1994:69):

> Despite increasing support amongst health and development planners for an integrated approach to urban deprivation, care must be taken in assuming that integration can be easily achieved. The experience of Visakhapatnam suggests that whilst the creation of an umbrella organisation for the coordination of different sectors is a prerequisite of successful integration, a number of other factors need to be taken into account. Because of the high priority given to physical improvement programmes, it is likely that the urban community development approach has better hopes for success when different project components are phased. Thus, community and social development programmes should provide the entry point for project involvement, housing and infrastructure only being implemented after community organisation has been strengthened.

ACTIVITY 9.4

Read the article by Asthana (1994) in your *Reader*. Note in particular the key issues she identifies.

9.5 URBAN HOUSING

There is a relationship between the provision of housing and the rise of squatter settlements in the Third World. Taking into consideration that squatter settlements in many of the larger cities in 1982 already accommodate between 30 and 60 per cent of the urban population (Altmann 1982), it is clear that the terms *housing* and *squatting* cannot be defined separately. In this section we look at housing conditions, the incidence of squatting and the provision of housing.

9.5.1 Housing conditions in Third World cities

Gilbert and Gugler (1984:82) make three statements which should be borne in mind when judging data on housing conditions. First, they state that services in Third World cities are an improvement on those in the surrounding rural areas. For this reason one should guard against overreacting to urban poverty and

romanticising the rural lifestyle. Secondly, one should realise that most of the criteria by which housing conditions in Third World cities are judged are highly subjective and ethnocentric. For example, as there is often a greater need for food than for anything else (greater than the need for piped water in the house), the standards of the developed regions of the world are frequently irrelevant to the Third World situation.

The third statement made by Gilbert and Gugler (1984:82) is that

> ''judgments about housing conditions must also take into account different cultural, social, and environmental conditions within Third World cities.''

In Latin America, it may take years before city dwellers obtain electricity in their homes, while in Africa they may obtain it in only highly exceptional cases, if ever. Housing standards may be similarly influenced by indigenous circumstances. In the climatic conditions of Asia, a house constructed of wood or bamboo is probably a more practical dwelling than one built of bricks and cement.

Housing and squatting in the Third World should be viewed in the light of the circumstances and reservations outlined above.

9.5.2 Extent of squatting

In Third World cities, shortages of suitable housing and related services are directly responsible for the rise of squatter settlements. This tendency may also be observed in Africa where squatters constitute an even larger percentage of urban populations. By 1999, up to 90 per cent of the new dwellings in Lusaka were being erected in squatter or informal settlements. In Gaborone (Botswana), 70 to 80 per cent of the inhabitants are classified as low-income earners (less than R300 per month) who find shelter in squatter settlements. Officials in Harare (Zimbabwe) claim that low-income earners account for 69 per cent of the housing need in the city (De Beer 1991). As pointed out earlier, this process of urbanisation must inevitably have far-reaching socioeconomic implications in regard to job opportunities, and for the authorities in charge of urban areas as a whole.

In South Africa the squatter situation is comparable with the rest of Africa. If we define squatting as illegal and haphazard living in crude structures made of unsuitable materials, with inadequate services, then South Africa has an estimated squatter population of 2,2 million families (Department of Housing 2000:2UF). This figure is estimated to increase by 20 400 families annually (Department of Housing 2000:2UF).

Factors such as drought-related unemployment in rural areas, overpopulation of the homelands, the abolition of influx control in 1986 and the political liberation in 1994, all contributed to accelerated urbanisation and an increased demand for housing in the cities of South Africa. The economic recession of the eighties, exacerbated by international sanctions, contributed to unemployment and increased urban poverty. In addition, the authorities were unable to develop adequate land and services in the cities. The above should provide you with a clear picture of the causes of squatting. As a result of the shortage of housing in formal townships, newcomers to the city (together with those people who left their backyard dwellings) have created new townships — squatter camps.

Crossroads near Cape Town is one of the first squatter areas to have developed in this fashion. Today, virtually every large town in South Africa has a squatter settlement: Mshenguville in Soweto, Wheeler's Farm near Vereeniging, Swanieville, Zevenfontein. You may add to this list from your own environment. According to Smit (2009:09) there are at present about 220 squatter settlements around Cape Town and 200 in Gauteng. Rationally, it should be accepted that as a result of migration, natural population increases and deteriorating national economies, Third World countries will be faced with an increasing demand for affordable housing in urban areas for the foreseeable future. Squatting will increase rather than decrease. Outdated and expensive housing strategies will have to be replaced by more practical approaches.

9.5.3 Housing strategies

We have already seen that rapid migration to cities in the Third World has given rise to a shortage of housing. Gilbert (Gilbert & Gugler 1984:97) distinguishes five strategies or, more correctly, approaches to the housing question:

(1) *Residential segregation* is naturally not a strategy, but rather the consequence of a political or ideological school of thought and, as such, offers no solution to the housing question. Gilbert (Gilbert & Gugler 1984:98) points out that race-associated segregation dating from the colonial period is at present being replaced by segregation dictated by income and social status.

(2) *Urban renewal and slum clearance* are often expensive undertakings which go hand in hand with either alternative (and unaffordable?) housing or total neglect of the ''uprooted'' community. The social price paid for such a programme is often incalculably high. The demolition of District Six and the resettlement of its people in the Mitchell's Plain complex is one South African example of slum clearance.

(3) *Government housing* is the strategy most commonly followed by Third World governments to solve the housing problem. It is an expensive undertaking, and the people for whom it is meant often cannot afford such housing. Furthermore, it frequently happens that established communities are broken up for the sake of settlement in this type of housing. The so-called low-cost housing provided in terms of this approach is still too expensive for those who are supposed to benefit from it.

(4) *Rent control* measures offer possible short-term advantages as part of a housing strategy, but in the long term, say Gilbert and Gugler (1984:103), ''they have either cut the rate of new construction and maintenance or have encouraged the development of illegal rationing systems''.

(5) *Site-and-service schemes and upgrading programmes* are probably the best solutions in the long run. Third World governments realise that they will never be able to solve the shortage of housing and the growth of squatter settlements with large-scale housing projects — there are simply no funds for such undertakings.

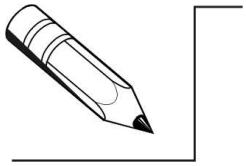
There are, in fact, two feasible alternatives. The first would be to assist existing squatter settlements by providing and upgrading services. The second would be to develop new residential areas on a site-and-service basis, where individuals would be allowed to provide their own housing.

Site-and-service schemes and upgrading programmes are also known as the *self-help approach*, which is actively encouraged by the World Bank. All over the world, individuals and families have been involved from the earliest times in creating their own accommodation.

One may add that authorities should also allow people to obtain land ownership. Ownership imparts a sense of permanence and enables people to obtain loans from financial institutions. Authorities themselves should also assist people in obtaining financing by making available subsidies on loans or subsidising the purchase price of land (known as a capital subsidy). In this way, the authorities can play an enabling role by creating the means whereby people can help themselves.

The above discussion indicates that self-help housing involves far more than a labour contribution: people who cannot lay bricks (or do not have the time to do so), but select a building contractor whom they pay to do the bricklaying, are also practising self-help housing. The freedom of the middle-class home buyer to choose and negotiate should also be extended to (poor) squatter residents.

People live in squatter settlements because they are poor, and they cannot be expected to afford middle-class housing, which is beyond their reach because it is constructed to standards they cannot afford. If self-help housing, as in site-and-service schemes and upgrading projects, is to succeed, building standards have to be adapted. They should be appropriate (in other words ensure health and safety) and affordable (by allowing alternatives to conventional building materials).



ACTIVITY 9.5

Make a list of the various housing strategies discussed in this section and write one sentence about each one. Then identify the strategies followed in your area by referring to appropriate examples.

9.5.4 From squatter settlement to informal settlement

The concept of ''informal settlement'' is sometimes used in the literature as a synonym for squatter settlements and spontaneous settlements. The more recent literature, however, attaches a positive connotation to the concept of informal settlement. Such a settlement may thus consist of shacks, but is usually legally authorised (or is, at the very least, not under threat of being demolished).

Classifying a township as an informal settlement implies the application of a strategy of site-and-service schemes and upgrading. When a squatter area is legally recognised and improved by means of an upgrading project, it changes from a squatter settlement to an informal settlement. Where a new town is developed from the outset according to the site-and-service principle (eg Orange Farm), it is known as an informal settlement.

Although this may seem like a game of semantics, one needs to understand and be able to use this distinction in order to present an argument that is academically pure. You will notice in the daily press how often Orange Farm, for instance, is

referred to as a squatter settlement, which is a totally inaccurate perception. Whereas squatting refers to the illegal occupation of land (land which is in many cases not suitable for safe occupation), informal settlements are legal and are characterised by the efforts of individuals, communities and authorities to upgrade the residential environment.

9.5.5 Some examples of urban upgrading

It is evident that many of the shanty towns (or informal settlements) within the new metropolises of the developing world are growing both larger and shabbier. These settlements pose one of the most serious development problems of all time. While no poor developing nation has sufficient resources to permit a decent standard of living for all, it is noteworthy that some recently poor nations have become relatively prosperous, and that living standards for all citizens have risen quite remarkably in some circles. In the face of considerable odds, the World Bank, the United Nations and several international aid agencies have been experimenting with a number of schemes aimed at alleviating the worst conditions (Webber 1985).

We look first at the case of Calcutta. Three to four decades ago, in the face of deplorably crowded and unsanitary living conditions, the Metropolitan Planning Organisation proposed slum improvement — not slum clearance and renewal as was traditional in Europe and America. Minimal public facilities were installed, at a low cost, in slum areas. These facilities included neighbourhood water taps and toilets, open street drains, minimal paving of walkways and minimal lighting. These reforms improved living conditions for people within the slum districts of the city. With low-interest loans supplied by the International Development Agency, this programme was intended to serve over one-and-a-half million residents of Calcutta.

The essential policy decision, as Webber (1985) stresses, was to accept lower standards for services and facilities than those regarded as minimal in middle class areas — to adopt standards in line with the financial capacity for supplying services and facilities.

The Calcutta experiment has led governments in other parts of the world to follow their example. A particularly striking case is the Kampung Improvement Programme of Jakarta, which had, at the time of writing (2010), improved living environments for more than 3,5 million people — approximately half of the city's entire population. This considerable effort cost only $37 per person helped. A subsequent evaluation of the scheme found that residents attributed "better health, better access to education, improved neighbourhood security, and overall welfare" to the project (Webber 1985).

In parallel efforts, the major aid agencies have been cooperating with municipal governments around the world in developing site-and-service schemes that enable families to build more adequate housing than they would otherwise be able to afford. In similar fashion, a number of cities in developing countries have made considerable improvements to transport, water and drainage systems and the rest of the urban infrastructure, making the best use of scarce resources in attempting to keep up with the rising demand from new migrants, and the demand from existing residents for better conditions. Improvements have generally not been

dramatic, though it is clear that a few countries have performed very impressively given the odds against them. Most notable are the Eastern Asian cities of Singapore, Hong Kong, Taipei and Seoul.

We may consider Singapore's rapid economic development as a specific example. In a relatively short space of time, a once-dependent colony has been transformed into an innovative industrial and commercial world city. Admittedly, Singapore has decided logistical advantages. Nevertheless, the government there has transformed what was virtually a city slum into a modern city of contemporary houses and up-to-date industries and businesses. As Webber (1985) argues, it did so by using both city improvement and citizen improvement as instruments of economic development. In addition, says Webber (1985):

> Singapore has shown that urbanization is itself a powerful agent of industrialization and modernization, thus disclaiming the anti-urban ideology that shapes policy in many developing countries. They have inverted the theory holding that industrialization induces urbanization; in Singapore, urbanization induced industrialization.

Most of the dilapidated housing disappeared. In addition, most Singaporeans have now acquired marketable occupational skills and are employed in the building materials industries, the construction industry, and also the many new electronics, banking, and other manufacturing and commercial establishments that either moved there or developed locally. To some extent, Singapore has developed by exploiting its poverty (Webber 1985). It has grown by linking urban redevelopment with human development — by undertaking extensive efforts to educate its population and improve its people's living conditions and life opportunities. As a result, poverty in Singapore has diminished considerably and the people are experiencing a degree of social mobility rare in the developing world.

9.6 WATER SERVICE DELIVERY

It can be said that service delivery to poor communities has become one of the cardinal focus points of local government strategies in the South. Water service delivery as well as housing remain central in measuring how well local government is meeting the needs of the poor this despite the fact that the responsibility for designing these policies is usually located at national level (Habib & Kotze 2003). It must also be noted here that access to clean water is generally conceived of as a right and an economic good.

Tempelhoff (2009: 19) maintains that of the 969 million inhabitants of Africa, 350 million still do not have access to water. In South Africa 5 million people, according to Tempelhoff, still do not have proper access. It is an accepted fact that by 2013 Gauteng will have a serious water shortage. The government is therefore at present discussing the extension of the Lesotho Highlands Project with the government of Lesotho. If the project continues, it will only be completed by 2019 — six years after the water shortage has struck Gauteng (Tempelhoff 2009:19).

Tempelhoff (2009:19) reports that Mr Trevor Manuel, South African minister of the presidency, has said at a recent water deliberation that government leaders now realise, after many years, that water is the cornerstone of all development, and that

policy-makers are now aware that water supply underlies each and every development challenge.

Read the report in the *Reader* by Nide Segal (2009:1), ''Does South Africa face a water crisis?'' for more clarity on South Africa's impending water crisis. Segal (2009:1) gives a ''big picture'' assessment of the state of the water sector in the country. The study was carried out from March to June 2009. The importance of water to human survival and the competition for access to water, locally, nationally as well as internationally, make water a sector of exceptional and increasing complexity. South Africa is rated as one of the driest countries in the world with an unusually high intensity of water usage. The problem is compounded by extensive poverty and underdevelopment (Segal 2009:1)

Direct confrontation with government over service delivery is gaining momentum in South Africa, as is evident by the sporadic national and local mobilisation around services in 2005 and in 2007. A new wave of protest over escalating service delivery charges was being witnessed in many provinces in 2008 as well (Fin 24.com.8 May 2008). The situation has unfortunately not stabilised and the intensity of protests has increased even more.

9.7 FACING THE CHALLENGES OF URBAN GROWTH

From ''growth poles'' and ''new towns'' to controls on industrial location, plans to curb and guide urban expansion have frequently produced disappointing and costly results, especially in the developing world. A growing number of economists and planners are stressing alternative strategies. They argue that, instead of drawing up models for urban growth and trying to implement them, national authorities should focus more on economic incentives and policies that influence the decisions of businesses and people about where to operate and live. Such policies may address the following:

(1) tariffs that protect certain industries
(2) terms of trade that discriminate against agriculture
(3) government structures that centralise decisions about regional and local development

Usually the unintended effect of these incentives and policies is to stimulate greater concentrations of people in the largest cities. Research over the past decade indicates that conventional efforts to engineer urban growth often fail because they do not take sufficient account of broader issues, including the effects of incentives and policies such as these. As urban economist Hamer (1986) points out:

> The size and pattern of cities in a given region or country are very difficult to pre-plan in a detailed fashion from the centre. Urban economic development usually takes place in a fairly opportunistic, open-ended way. It is shaped by the general level of economic development, national policies, geographic constraints — and by individual decisions of millions of businesses and households on where to locate and how to grow.

Incentives that prompt businesses and people to locate in one city or another are often created by policies that are not recognised as having spatial effects. And frequently, the results conflict with official government policies aimed at decentralising urban development. It is quite likely that reforms in such areas as

tariffs, agricultural pricing and government regulations, would do more to promote urban growth than the more explicit spatial schemes. The following points are particularly noteworthy:

(1) Tariffs and other trade barriers are often imposed to protect relatively disadvantaged industries — often as part of an effort to encourage local manufacture of previously imported goods (import substitution). Such tariffs frequently stimulate development in the largest cities, since industries receiving trade protection tend to be dependent on imported components, highly skilled workers and access to government officials — all of which are concentrated in major metropolitan centres. Generally speaking, a shift away from protectionist trade policies benefits secondary cities (Rondinelli 1983b).
(2) Various measures (such as price controls and import substitution policies) that discriminate against the rural sector lead to a skewed pattern of urban development. Depressed rural incomes inhibit business activities in smaller rural towns. When rural incomes are relatively low and the alternative of working in a nearby town has been removed, migration to the largest cities will be accelerated.
(3) Heavy state involvement in the economy and in the regulation of business activity provides strong incentives for businesses to locate near the centres of officialdom. The need for daily access to tax, customs and licensing officials contributes to the concentration of economic activity at these centres. This is particularly true of medium-sized businesses, which are large enough to require compliance with regulations, but too small to locate elsewhere and keep a small branch office in the capital to deal with such matters.
(4) Where banking and financial institutions are highly centralised, businesses in secondary cities generally find it considerably more difficult to raise finance. Moreover, local savings are likely to be drawn into the major financial centre to be used to finance continued expansion there, rather than in outlying areas with growth potential.

9.7.1 Investments in infrastructure

Policy reforms at national level may help to create a climate supportive of broad-based growth. However, if regional centres have poor access to national and international markets, inadequate local services and an insufficient supply of skilled workers, economic activity and growth will remain confined within a few cities. Research conducted in Sao Paulo City showed that the availability of public services (especially electric power and telecommunications links), easy access to roads and an abundant supply of skilled labour were among the priorities of firms in deciding where to locate.

Government investment in transport and telecommunication networks to connect regional centres that have good growth potential to national and international markets can play a critical role in stimulating development outside of metropolitan areas. Without such networks, opportunities for growth are severely limited, even if trade and other national economic policies are supportive of broad-based growth.

A number of urban economists have warned that the establishment of industrial infrastructure should be accompanied by the development of other kinds of physical infrastructure.

9.7.2 Role of local services

At the local level, the quality of city management and the accessibility of public services are crucial in enabling a secondary city to take advantage of new opportunities for economic growth. Reliable public utilities — water, electricity, sewage disposal and transportation — reduce the cost of business operations and make a secondary centre more attractive as a site for new or expanded economic activity.

In addition, good local services, especially education, are vital in enabling an urban centre to attract and retain skilled workers and professionals, who usually prefer to live and work in the primate cities where such services are readily available.

In most cases, changes in the financial relationships between the municipal or local authorities and the central government are required, if secondary cities and regional centres are to acquire the means to expand and improve local services and to exploit the benefits of local economic expansion. A highly centralised system of planning and financing municipal services reinforces the concentration of most infrastructure services in the capital city and other major centres.

9.7.3 Need for greater local autonomy

A shift towards greater local autonomy and responsibility for planning and financing investments in infrastructure leaves cities with a far greater degree of flexibility to respond to new opportunities for growth. At the national level, bodies such as ministries and state agencies which have a major effect on regional development are usually poorly equipped to coordinate their policies. Mechanisms for the evaluation and coordination of a wide range of policies and expenditures — from the positioning of a new highway, to agricultural pricing policies and the provision of local finance — can dramatically facilitate regional development.

9.8 CONCLUSION

In this study unit, we looked at a number of urban development policy guidelines. To be able to achieve balanced urban development, innovative combinations of policy alternatives will be needed. We also discussed the provision of urban services and housing as an example of the arrangements needed to reduce urban service deficiencies in the face of rapidly growing urban populations. What was apparent was the need for collective action in finding solutions. A bias in favour of indigenous self-help rather than imposed solutions came to the fore — the community should be involved and should use their own initiatives to minimise massive shortages in housing and other urban amenities.

9.8 LEARNING OUTCOMES CHECK LIST

Use this check list to test yourself on this study unit.

Outcomes	Can do	Cannot do
(1) I can distinguish policy options regarding urban development.		
(2) I can explain the problem of squatting.		
(3) I can list and explain the advantages and disadvantages of various housing strategies.		

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