

African Government has shirked its responsibility for the causes of many of the existing development problems of the homelands.

Turning now to decision making within Transkei, a number of discrepancies with the previously stated criteria are evident. Firstly, there has been little devolution of fiscal control away from Central Government. In fact since the chiefs represent two thirds of the TNIP (Klopper and Krone, 1984) they are merely a local level extension of Central Government. The fact that the chiefs are directly representative of Government is not the real problem though. More critical is the fact that the Chiefs are not trusted in many instances (Beinhart and Bundy, 1978) and that they have abused their power to the detriment of the rural population (Southall, 1983; Haines et al, 1984; Baskin, 1984). Secondly, the use of group farming and co-operatives has occurred in Transkei (Southall, 1983) but with little positive impact in terms of local decision-making. The author's contention is, however, that this has been a result of insufficient Government support. Wakelin and Haines (1986) point out that in their surveys, the locals are very dissatisfied with Government extension services. Dewar et al (1984a) touch on a more important issue, in questioning whether those currently benefitting from the existing institutional system are likely to allow a degree of decentralization of decision-making. Certainly the Planning Priorities document (1983) was notable for its exclusion, of any policies relating to the decentralization of decision making.

Thirdly, although official policy has stressed the importance of rural development, Thomas (1984) has pointed out that actual budgetary support has been absolutely minimal.

What these three points lead up to, is that if Transkei is to promote rural development, and the argument put forward by Rondinelli (1986), Stohr and Taylor (1981), Penonil (1981), and Friedmann and Weaver (1979), that rural development and urban development requires decentralized decision-making is accepted, then Transkeian institutional arrangements requires a number of changes.

THE PROMOTION OF GRASS ROOTS DEVELOPMENT AND DECISION MAKING IN TRANSKEI

Official policy in Transkei emphasises the central role to be played by agricultural development in boosting the Transkeian economy. To support rural and agricultural development, it is important to consider a number of policies that must be used in the promotion of 'grass roots' decision making.

To this end it is necessary for the Central Government to reorientate public spending towards the rural sector. This will support the emphasis placed by Wu and Ip (1981) and Aremo (1983) on a consistent government policy supporting rural development, and avoid the unnecessary wastage of funds currently channelled into industrial incentives and infrastructure (Dewar et al, 1984a).

Related to the promotion of rural development would be a decentralised decision-making with respect to the community or co-operatives and to existing NGO's.

It is necessary to work through self-help groups and co-operatives societies. Rural development is people's development of themselves, their lives and environment (Arema, 1983, 18).

Arema (1983) goes on to explain that in terms of studies done in Africa that NGO's have tended to select projects that meet the true needs of the people. Projects are usually small, easy to manage and easy to implement. This would offset a problem, identified by Dewar et al (1984a) where the Transkeian and other central governments have tended to promote large capital intensive schemes for politically motivated reasons. Similar criticism has been forthcoming from numerous authors including Hakin (1982), Blaike (1981) and Boisier (1981) to name only a few. In Transkei, such organisations would include those government sponsored NGO's such as TATU. However Arema (1983) emphasises that it is important that these organisations conduct their own affairs.

Arema (1983, 17) also indicates that NGO's have the ability to "create awareness among the communities". That is, "they have proved to be channels through which the people increase their awareness about their depressed situation and the need to tackle their problems through their own efforts". In the Transkei TATU has managed to evoke similar response from the local communities (TATU, 1986). Thomas (1984) has indicated that government departments in Transkei have found it difficult to initiate grass roots based development efforts, because of staff shortages, lack of a countrywide network of offices and a lack of senior management. If the above arguments are valid, then to a significant degree,

decentralization will relieve the load on the Department of Agriculture and Forestry, and place the onus of local level initiative.

McCullum (1980) expresses the importance of government appointing development officers, to co-ordinate service provision, at the local level.

The field manager should be capable of providing leadership of a well articulated team comprising both directly employed ministry/department staff and the inputs from the more autonomous agencies such as agricultural input corporations, credit banks and marketing boards (McCullum 1980, 39).

The use of government seconded officials has been used in Malaysia and studies by Chann-Onn (1985) suggest that the impact of such an approach has been positive. However, Wakelin and Haines (1986) suggest that the use of extension officers in Transkei has had a very limited impact. A notable difference in approach between the Transkei and the Malaysian FELDA approach is that the service offered in Transkei is inefficient and, only a periodic one. Furthermore, the costs of finding suitable staff in sufficient quantities is an additional problem for Transkei, not to mention the costs that would be incurred from locating extension officers in each village or commune. What would ensure better access to extension services in Transkei, would be the promotion of group farming and the use of co-operatives. Bratton (1986) and Sinha (1984) indicate that it is far easier for services to be provided to a group of farmers at one particular location than to various individual farmers. Also of benefit, and indeed of vital importance is that extension staff are of a high quality and well motivated. McCullum (1980, 39) suggests that the

"problem of getting competent staff is not so great as finding well motivated staff".

The conduct of the Chiefs as representatives of the rural population in Transkei has been criticised extensively (Baskin, 1984; Klopper and Krone, 1984; Haines et al, 1984). The major areas of criticism are the allocation of land and a lack of representation by the Chiefs, of the rural poor. Vink (1984), suggests that the Chiefs powers over the allocation of land, specifically the rights of expropriation must be curbed. This would provide a degree of security of tenure for the farmer. Also necessary though, is to improve the legitimacy of the Chiefs. To this end, the introduction of democratically elected Chiefs would be advantageous improving the representation of the rural population, by the Chiefs.

However, a degree of centralized control becomes necessary at the regional and national level. Such a ministry in the Transkei would be the Department of Agriculture and Forestry, and its function would be to monitor the balance or imbalances between various regions in Transkei.

It should have the prime responsibility for co-ordinating the implementation of agricultural development plans, irrespective of whatever other government ministries, agencies or autonomous bodies are involved (McCullum, 1980, 39-40).

CH. 9 CONCLUSION

In terms of choosing a suitable planning strategy for Southern Africa, neither top-down or bottom-up strategies constitute a comprehensive approach to tackling the problems of underdevelopment (Stohr and Taylor, 1981). Both approaches have their advantages and disadvantages. Top-down strategies have tended to overemphasize the importance of economic factors in the selection of projects and the gauging of a projects success. This type of approach has tended to benefit those who are already in a dominant position, be they the urban dwellers or farmers occupied in commercial farming practices (Blaikie, 1981; Hebbert, 1984). The rural poor have, to a large extent, been ignored, and their poverty stricken status has remained, and in some cases even been worsened (Stohr & Todtling, 1978).

The bottom-up theorists have quite correctly pinpointed the faults of not tackling social issues such as public participation, health, welfare and housing which play an equally important role in project implementation, the relief of poverty, and the improvement of the quality of life for the poor sectors of the population. Social issues will need much greater consideration when designing projects for predominantly rural regions, more so than for regions which are predominantly urban, because the urban areas tend to be better provided with social infrastructure than the rural areas. Where top-down strategies have been effective in promoting industrialization and urban growth, increased GDP's and the centralized control, over regional planning and project implementation have failed to promote

rural development. Nor have they provided anything like the amount of employment required, or involved the local communities in grassroots level participation in the planning process (Rondinelli, 1986). Bottom-up approaches have, however, concentrated on decentralization of decision-making powers and the promotion of public participation in rural development (Stohr, 1981; Almeyra, 1983). To a large degree, they have ignored the role of urbanisation as a prerequisite for rural development. Bottom-up theorists have not paid sufficient attention to the practicalities of decentralizing decision-making powers away from existing governments (Hebbert, 1984), of providing a wide range of services in the rural areas and of explaining how national planning will be co-ordinated within a framework of numerous mini-economies and mini administrations.

If used together however, they have the ability to supplement each others strengths and offset each others weaknesses, whilst actively tackling both urban and rural development problems (Renouil, 1981).

Development planning within Southern Africa has been predominantly of a top-down nature, the major policy instrument being the establishment of growth centres. Far less comprehensive have been rural development strategies - the implementation of Betterment Schemes in Southern African having shown poor results.

The application of the growth centre concept in South Africa has been based primarily on political criteria, with economic criteria being of secondary

concern (Zille, 1983a, 1983b; Wellings and Black, 1986). The dominance of political criteria within the past strategies implemented in Southern Africa have weakened the ability of the strategy to achieve the perceived benefits (Kok, 1986).

In terms of rural development, the continued underdevelopment of the rural areas can be attributed to the lack of definite policies aimed at alleviating rural poverty (Stohr and Taylor, 1981). Grindle (1986), and Sinha (1984) amongst others previously mentioned, emphasise the importance of the provision of services and infrastructure for the effective functioning of rural agriculture. Clearly these criteria have not been met in the Southern African context.

There can be little doubt that a major reason for the successful development of commercial agriculture in Southern Africa over the past 75 years can be attributed to the provision of institutional support in the form of marketing and pricing policy, credit and farming inputs, as well as suitable technology developed by research, all of them conveyed to farmers through subsidies by various extension agencies. Conversely, it is equally true that inadequate institutional support in the less developed areas has, in general, failed to provide the necessary incentives for small scale producers (Bembridge, 1986, 26).

The importance of decentralized decision-making lies in the fact that it encourages greater participation in the development process at the grass-roots or community level (Ayazi et al, 1978). The importance of this is that by giving control to the local communities, one can prevent prescriptive planning from above, one can prevent unfair terms of trade, local communities can determine their own

priorities, and projects can become more effective. However, such a decentralization of decision-making power is not equally beneficial at the national and provincial levels of planning (Hebbert, 1984). At these levels, it becomes impractical to attempt the grass-roots type of public participation. Thus decisions at this level are made by relatively few people. However, this becomes far less of a problem if the local authority does have a degree of autonomy (through the use of discretionary budgeting), thus allowing decisions regarding local matters to be made by the local inhabitants (Rondinelli and Nellis, 1986).

Of paramount importance is to consider the ability of regions (especially local level communities) to utilize decentralized decision-making powers. Hebbert (1984) isolates a number of important issues that would constrain/limit the effectiveness of decentralized decision-making powers. He notes that some regions would be better equipped to make use of their autonomy, and that the already strong regions would gain greater benefits, whilst the weaker regions might find their existing disadvantage reinforced by self government. The main reasons for this are that firstly, the decentralization of responsibility for public finances would be more advantageous to prosperous regions already able to generate internal resources. Further, with fiscal decentralization, the Central Government would have less resources to redistribute to less prosperous regions. Secondly, some regions will be better equipped with skilled personnel (traditionally in short supply in Third World countries) to administer planning and finance. Thirdly, any move towards federalism establishes a field of political

competition between regions - competition that could penalise the representatives of weaker regions. The weaker regions tend to be predominantly rural areas, whilst the stronger regions tend to be more urbanised (Haddad, 1981). If Hebberts (1984) argument is correct, and it certainly is convincing, then without at least a degree of centralized decision-making, the co-ordination of various regional programmes will be very difficult, and regional inequality could become further entrenched, to the detriment of the rural areas.

The development of rural service centres as a means of encouraging rural development in outer peripheral areas is perceived to have three main advantages: to stimulate agriculture and agro-industry; to absorb surplus rural population displaced from the land, and to provide greater accessibility to social and utility services (Dewar et al, 1984a; Vandeverre et al, 1985). However, a number of constraints must be borne in mind when implementing such development. Firstly, agro-industries are dependent on a rural surplus to operate (Dewar et al, 1984a; May, 1985). Secondly, unless the service centre has a market for agricultural goods it cannot become economically viable, thus it cannot generate employment opportunities. Thirdly, simply enforcing a rigid hierarchy of service centres can result in dissipating limited funds over a wide area and providing a low level of service provision thus providing little benefit (Dewar et al, 1984a). It is preferable to allow small urban settlements to develop as a result of economic forces rather than attempting to create economic forces after establishing an urban service centre, and risk this investment being underutilized (Vandeverre et al, 1985).

The poverty situation in the Homelands and specifically rural poverty in the Homelands has, within the South African planning policies, been viewed as a problem that must be solved by the appropriate Homeland and within the designated boundaries of that Homeland (Wellings and Black, 1986: Tomlinson, 1984). This has fundamental problems, when one considers, that these regions have overpopulation problems which prohibit effective agriculture (Buthelezi Commission, 1983). Furthermore, the inability of the Homelands to attract urban/industrial investment (Tomlinson and Addleson, 1984) means that few of the surplus rural population can be absorbed by the urban areas. Thus Homeland economies are in a 'stale mate' situation - there is no significant self-sustaining urban development, and rural development is stifled by massive overpopulation and insufficient central government support (Bembridge, 1986; Thomas, 1984).

The economic stagnancy of the Homelands is, however, to a large degree, a politically imposed situation (Tomlinson, 1984). The responsible administration is the South African Government who instituted, and continues to maintain legislation that restricts the free movement of Blacks in Southern Africa (Hindson, 1986). By forcing a large number of people to live in independent Homelands not large enough, or well enough endowed with natural resources to support so large a population, the South African Government has failed to recognize that the South African and Homeland economies are interlinked, and that to solve problems of regional underdevelopment one must plan for the whole Southern African economy (Tollman, 1984: Tomlinson, 1984).

It is critically important that national planning does not preoccupy itself with trying to duplicate or recreate a number of independent economies in the various homelands. More important is that there is a balance (Sinha, 1984) between the various regions within the Southern African space economy and that together, these regions contribute to one national economy. Thus the goal is one of optimising the potential of each region, for the benefit of the national economy rather than trying to establish separate economies. It is important that economic forces are not ignored - some locations are suited to the promotion of urban and industrial growth and others to rural development and agricultural cropping. Further, the problems of underdevelopment of the outer periphery should not be blamed on the development of the cores. The outer periphery is inherently weak in terms of natural resources and provision of basic infrastructure and services.

To offset these weaknesses, greater emphasis must be placed on rural development, that is the provision of required infrastructure, services and decision making structures (Grindle, 1986: Sinha, 1984: Rondinelli, 1986). The targetting of investment must be commensurate with the needs of the respective regions, and should be aimed at exploiting those regions' relative development advantage. Thus in Transkei the emphasis would be placed on the promotion of agriculture and agro-industry, whilst in the metropolitan and secondary cities the emphasis should be placed on the promotion of industry. Thus whilst promoting rural development, the continued economic growth of the core is in no way constrained.

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Author De Beer G R M (Geoff R M)

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