
Pursuing Rural Development Whilst Maintaining Ruralism: A Case Study of Qunu (Empa), Eastern Cape South Africa and Tsholotsho (Hwange, National Park), Zimbabwe

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Abstract

Robert chambers pointed the world to the injustice of the urban bias. Investments, education, socio-economic prosperity, are all associated with the city, thus leaving the rural as a passive participant or factor in the economies of nations. Development theory has also neglected the question of rural development, with the assumption that for development to be achieved within rural settlements, they must be modernised and urbanised. Overall, Third World Nations have had to live up to the expectations of modernisation, with this being undertaken under pressure to catch up with the “modernised” world. Countries such as South Africa and Zimbabwe have adopted development policies that promote development in the sense of modernisation, as opposed to development in a holistic manner. Thus, for such countries rural development has been limited to attempting to urbanise rural settlements. This paper looks at the association of development with modernisation and urbanism, whilst alternatives rural development models remain insignificantly explored. Ultimately, the paper aims to propose a harmonious rural development model that recognises the unique and specific needs of rural populations and economies, without compromising the rurality of such settlements.

Keywords: urban bias, development, modernisation; rural development; ruralism, rural development models.

1. INTRODUCTION

The concept of development has, over the years, been narrowed down to the idea of massive urbanisation and commercialisation of spaces. This may be the result of the history of development having occurred through modernization (where, as seen in the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century in Europe, the abandonment of traditional society, rural society, led to this industrialization (and thus modernization) to be seen as the optimal form of socio-economic development and prosperity.). Willis (2011:2) states that for many people, ideas of development are linked to modernity. Modernization can be seen as the general mechanism by which the social transformation from agricultural dominance to domination by trade and industry takes place, and the permanent continuation of this process. (Charlton &Andras, 2003:5). This is when the traditional sense and function of society is taken over by massive industrialisation, thus society abandoning traditional and primary activities of society.

The less developed countries such as countries in Africa and Asia, which industrialised a little later than Europe wanted to follow suit. In the 1950s industrialization was seen as key to progress for the underdeveloped countries, (Chambers, 1997:16). 'They (the civil servants) want to modernise fast; they rightly observe that rich nations are non-agricultural and that their own agriculture is poor ; and they wrongly conclude that rapid industrialization at the expense of agriculture can produce rapid development'. (Lipton, 1978: 65). They want to avoid rural administration. They believe that it is more difficult to plan for thousands of small farms than for a few big urban firms and that planning has little scope for changing rural life. This has resulted in continuous efforts to commercialise rural spaces and settlements, essentially compromising the rurality of such spaces.

This has not only resulted in commercialisation of rural spaces and settlements, but also, complete negligence of rural developmental needs, thus great rural depopulation and rural urban migration rates. This because, development and innovation has now been centralized and concentrated within non-rural settings. Where people found better living conditions, with economic opportunities, employment, access to better housing. In his book, Chambers (1983: 4), chambers notes the extremes of differences in rural livelihoods to those of urban livelihoods. He deems this phenomenon as the

“urban bias”. In comparing the differences he states that, “At one end there coexist rich, urban, industrialised, high status cores, and at the other, poor, rural, agricultural and low status peripheries.” Therefore, in light of this, this study shall look at the development quest, in view of establishing development methods that seek to retain rurality, one that will not impose the ideals of modernisation in the pursuit of rural development.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Defining Development

In strictly economic terms, traditionally development has meant the capacity of a national economy, whose initial economic condition has been more or less static for a long time to generate and sustain an annual increase in its Gross National Product (GNP) at rates of 5%-7% or more. Todaro, 1997: 13. Thus Todaro goes on to define development as “the process of improving the quality of all human lives.” He then points out the three important aspects of development, which are: 1. Raising peoples living levels-their incomes and consumption levels of food (which implicates the ideals of modernism-massive consumption), medical services, education etc, through relevant economic growth processes; 2. Creating conditions of conducive to growth of people’s self-esteem through the establishment of social, political, and economic systems and institutions that promote human dignity and respect; and 3. Increasing people’s freedom by enlarging the range of their choice variables, as by increasing variety of consumer goods and services. Thus, Peet and Hartwick, 2001: 1, note that development means making a better life for everyone. In the context of a highly uneven world, a better life for most people means essentially, meeting basic needs: sufficient food to maintain good health; a healthy place in which to live; affordable services to everyone and being treated with dignity and respect.

From the definition of development above, we can therefore assert that, rural development entails the betterment of rural livelihoods. Chambers notes that rural development has been identified variously with economic growth, with modernization, with increased agricultural production, with socialist forms of organization, and with services for basic needs such as health education, transport and water supply. He

continues to note that, the development thinking has shifted from the understanding that growth and modernization would be enough, stating that, sometimes growth and modernization make the poor poorer. Essentially, modernization and growth remain favouring the urban poor.

Singh (1986: 20) states that the term rural development connotes overall development of rural areas with a view to improve the quality of life of rural people. It is a comprehensive and multidimensional concept, and encompasses the development of agriculture and allied activities, village and cottage industries and crafts, socio-economic infrastructure, community services and facilities, and above all, the human resources in the area. Where, The World Bank Sector Paper on Rural Development 1975, defined rural development as “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.

2.2. Development, Modernisation and Rurality

“Development cannot be defined in a universally valid manner, because development is a normative term. In other words, development is subjective and discursively constructed (Foucault, 1970). The term also carries different connotations for different people, countries, and scholars. Singh (1999:19) states that development is a subjective and value loaded concept, and hence there cannot be a consensus to its meaning. Many a times, development has been closely linked to economic growth, however, Singh (1999:22) points out that, while economic growth is an essential component of development, it is not the only one, as development is not a purely economic phenomenon.

Development in relation to modernisation has meant that, in order for societies to develop, they must abandon their traditional ways of being and completely modernise, which essentially means urbanise. Coetzee, et al, 2001, asserts that, modernisation refers to the total transformation that takes place when a traditional or pre-modern society changes to such an extent that new forms of technological, organisational, or social characteristics appear. De beer and Swanepoel, 1997 grant that, Walt Rostows views on the stages of economic growth is one of the classical examples of the application of the modernisation theory, which they point out that, the basic departure

of this school of thought is that poor countries will become developed if they follow the path of taken by northern countries before them. Development is therefore equated with the universal process of modernisation where Western values, production systems, technology and consumption patterns have to be simulated by poor countries in an attempt to modernise their societies along capitalist lines.

Uchendu Eugene Chigbu, 2013, in his paper titled: *Rurality as a choice: Towards ruralising rural areas in sub-Saharan African countries*, asks a fundamental question, do rural communities want development (in the modernisation sense) that erases their very heritage or identity? He continues to note that, this critical question deserves a thorough debate, and practitioners should have their own answers ready before undertaking any rural development projects. However, this is not always the case. Their inability to answer this question undermines rurality as a possible choice for SSA communities – that is, their ability to follow a rural path rather than simply accept any development vision imposed on them.

To define what constitutes a rural setting also poses some challenges, this because, largely, what is rural is often looked at from the basis of what isn't urban. A natural definition of rurality is to define it by exclusion, as that which is not urban, where urban is defined on the basis of population agglomerations. (Anríquez&Stamoulis 2007). Ward & Brown (2009:1239) identified rural areas as 'places of tradition rather than modernity, of agriculture rather than industry, of nature rather than culture, and of changelessness rather than dynamism'.

This shows again that studies towards rural settlement development and planning remain limited, and in the few cases where they are undertaken, it is often merely comparative to the urban. Thus ruralism, also has been somewhat neglected. Uchendu Eugene Chigbu, 2013 note the tendency of rurality being associated with backwardness and poverty, thus, very little attention being given to the concept as a favourable condition for development to occur within, ".....rurality is viewed more as a challenge than as a positive condition or choice in the development process."

2.3. Mainstream Development Theory and Rural Development

Singh, K looks at theory as a “tool” expected to perform two major functions, which are to explain and predict. From this, it can be asserted that development theory is expected to explain and predict development trends, paths and possibilities. Whilst, Pieters, 2010, asserts that, Theory is the critique, revision and summation of past knowledge in the form of general propositions and the fusion of diverse views and partial Knowledges in general frameworks of explanation. Pieters goes on to point out that, In modern development thinking and economics, the core meaning of development was *economic growth*, as in growth theory and Big Push theory. In the course of time mechanization and industrialization became part of this, as in Rostow’s *Stages of Economic Growth* (1960). When development thinking broadened to encompass *modernization*, economic growth was combined with political modernization, that is, nation building, and social modernization such as fostering entrepreneurship and ‘achievement orientation’. In dependency theory, the core meaning of development likewise was economic growth or capital accumulation. Its distorted form was dependent accumulation which led to the ‘development of underdevelopment’, and an intermediate form was ‘associated dependent development’.

In rural development, there has been a gap with regards to “tools expected to explain and predict”, or “general frameworks” as theory is explained above. Thus predictions and explanations about rural development have remained at the mercy of explanations and predictions of urban areas. Essentially, this meant that answers to developmental questions of rural settlements meant modernization and/or urbanization. The most prominent rural development theory in Africa is that of Ujama Villages. This model was adopted in Rural and Agricultural Development Policies in Tanzania. It represents a form of co-operative agricultural production characterized by a combination of traditional African co-operative and socialist elements (Baum 1971:37). The concept of Ujama Villages, as proposed by Tanzania’s former president, was a concept that viewed development as a people centered endeavor. “... People cannot be developed; they can only develop themselves. For while it is possible for an outsider to build a man’s house, an outsider cannot give the man pride and self- confidence in himself as a human being. Those things a man has to create in himself as a human being (Nyerere, 1973). This model therefore, promoted bottom-up approach to rural

development planning, where people were seen as the catalysts of their own development.

However, even with such progress, over the years, rural development theory and policy remains lately influenced by the western modernistic ways of development theory. In South Africa today, policies such as the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act, 2015 (SPLUMA), which seeks to create a standard legislation for land development across the country, as opposed to those legislations enacted by the former apartheid government, which differed based on which areas were occupied by which race. SPLUMA, in the first instance, serves as a national Act to direct the activities and constituent processes of spatial planning and land use management across the country as a whole. (Green Paper: Spatial Planning and Land Use management Act, Eastern Cape Province, 2016).

With its “inclusive” and standardization ideals, the act ignores the spatial differences of South African settlements. With particular reference to rural settlements, the act seeks to formalize them. This ignores the organic nature of rural settlements and compromises the already existing traditional land use management systems. In that it seeks to impose modernistic ways of land use management. For instance, Amankwah-Ayeh, grants that, pre-colonial African towns minimized the feeling of congestions while making use of urban space. The planning principles behind the form and structure (organic and/o militaristic) of pre-colonial African towns reveal tight clustered layouts around compounds.

2.4.1. Rural Development in South Africa and Zimbabwe

With particular regard to rural development, both countries having have a history of British colonialism, models applied to both countries, have been similar, from rural reserves under colonial and apartheid governments, to land reform under independence and democracy. However, having obtained independence for a longer period now, Zimbabwe has done extensive work in with regards to rural development. Amongst numerous rural development strategies, Zimbabwe introduced Growth Pole Centres (which, to the contrary were used by the apartheid government

in South Africa), rural industrialisation, through industrial decentralisation, the development of secondary cities, as well as the adoption of John Friedmann's development model. (Chazireni, E: 2003).

Under colonial rule, in both, colonial governments designated separate settlements and towns on the basis of racial differences. The majority of black South Africans were confined into merely 13% of the entire country's land. This 13% comprised of what was formerly known as Homelands or Bantustans, Namely; the Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, Venda. These areas were largely rural and underdeveloped. They were not seen as worth any form of development, instead were sustained as sources of cheap labour for mines and white owned farms.

At the wake of independence, both countries centered rural development on land reform and redistribution, where much of the land reform process in Africa is based on bringing balance to the spatial imbalances created by former colonial administrations, Clout notes that in European countries, such as Italy, the objective of land reform were of a social and political nature, namely to provide farms for landless agricultural workers, thereby creating a "rural democracy", and to enlarge existing smallholdings through the division of massive under-used estates. Whilst, Where, Singh, k, notes that a sound land reforms policy can contribute significantly to agricultural and rural development, and therefore deserves high priority, (Sachikonye, 2005), (Davies, 2005), cited by Sam Moyo, note that of late, the conflict of unequal distribution of land is not based on racial differences, rather on societal class differences. Zimbabwe's fast track land reform has been considered to be an odd aberration (Bernstein, 2002), contrived for political electoral advantage Thus, the poor remain last in the line.

2.5. Barriers to Rural Development

Urbanisation is a main feature of development processes. The two concepts often go hand in-hand in sociological discourse, as development typically implies an increase of population living in sizeable urban centres. (Requen, 2015). This universal connotation of development has been the main driving force of stunted rural development. Lu & Chen, 2014 express a similar sentiment, by attesting that, in most

countries, urbanization correlates to development. Not only has this influenced the understanding of development, but it has also influenced development policy making. Public policies at national level and resource mobilization at both national and international levels have not always recognized the multiple potential of the rural economy. Public policies and investments in developing countries have historically favoured industrial, urban and service sectors at the expense of agricultural and other rural sector development .Anríquez and Stamoulis, 2007.

2.5.1. The Urban Bias

The green paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use management, 2016 in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa, looks at issues associated with Land Use Management. Being a predominantly rural province, the paper recognises urban bias as one such issue relating to Land Use management. The paper states that, Legislation, regulations and bylaws catering for land use management have been structured to respond mainly to urban land use scenarios within the statutory regulatory environment (focus on urban land use definitions and terminology, surveyed cadaster, freehold title, formal administrative systems etc.), leaving a large vacuum as far as the reality in informal settlements and rural parts of the province is concerned, in terms of the following:

- Local community structures and traditional practices (protocols) around how consultation takes place and agreements are reached.
- The way land is administered in terms of occupation rights and use rights (tenure).

Todaro 1997: 726 defines the urban bias as, “the notion that most LDC governments favour the urban sector in their development policies, thereby creating a widening gap between the urban and rural economies.” Jones, 2010: 2, gives a much similar understanding of the phenomenon , where, he describes it as, “the notion that development policies in the global south have been systemically distorted in favour of the interests of the urban areas and against the (in most cases) majority of rural population.” This of course stems from the notion that, investment in industrialisation, urbanisation and modernisation, as opposed to ruralist and subsistence development is the sole path in which a state can undertake to ensure development.

The urban bias remains particularly evident in the LDCs around the world. Where, De Beer & Swanepoel note that, one of the problems of Third world development was the struggle between the interests of the urban areas and those of rural areas. The question was always either/or....they, grant the problem of rural underdevelopment, thus the urban bias to this “either/or” approach, where they also note that, the approach has not only stagnated the development of rural areas, but continues to pose significant developmental impediments to urban areas as well

However, the urban bias, has also been proven not only a threat to rural development, but also to the imagined urban developmental state, as it poses threats to the overall regional development, and ultimately creating regional inequalities.“ ..the either/or approach has failed to really benefit the urban areas because of the greater movement to urban areas it has triggered. This is due to urban areas being part of one system with the rural areas and thus they cannot escape the harm done through urban bias.” De Beer & Swanepoel 2002: 19.

Rural development, also as an academic pursuit has been somewhat neglected. Ward & Brown, ask the question, what is the place of rural areas in regional development? Noting that, Urban and regional development studies have tended to focus on urban centres as the driving forces in innovation and growth, with surrounding rural areas cast in a passive and residual role. In the few cases, where rural development studies are pursued, Resina, grants that these studies are “ruralist”, as opposed to being “rucentric”, the difference, being that ruralist is for rural development, however not centred around rural realities.

2.6. Alternative Development Models

The first contributions to the study of rural settlement in tropical Africa were the work of colonial administrators. Their efforts reflect western cultural conceptions and a preoccupation with fixed locations and linear progression rather than with the multidirectional African processes. Silberfein, 1995. Singh, K, 2001: 75, emphasises this with particular reference to the Modernisation Theory, by stating that, “ in a nutshell, the Modernisation Theory presented the ‘American way of life’ as the epitome of modernity. It envisages that development can be achieved only through

industrialisation and urbanisation, along with technological transformation of agriculture- an insight validated by the experience of newly industrialised countries of EastAsia.

Olsson, 1974: 16, therefore advises that, if we continue along the methodological and manipulative path we have been following thus far, then we run the risk of increasing those social, economic and regional inequalities, which the planning initially was designed to decrease. This therefore calls for development theories and models that bring answers to questions of social, economic, regional, and spatial inequalities and injustices.(Potter et al. 2003),therefore notes that, In reaction to the failings of top-down approaches to development, a series of 'alternative' theories and practices emerged from the mid-1970s, focusing on the basic needs, equity in development, and later 'participatory development' (Binns et al. 1997; Potter et al.

In countries such as India, Strategies initiated included the; Growth Oriented Strategy, Welfare Oriented Strategy, Responsive Strategy and the Integrated Strategy. In on the broader context, these include; sustainable development, VijjivyaUjamaa (socialist villages), globalisation, Asset Based Community Development (ABCD), the Feminist Theory. etc. Although these, (with the exception of Ujama Villages) have had substantial influences on the development discourse (with regards to sustainability, gender equality, participation, etc), they still maintained rural development as a passive part of regional economies, thus, creating regional inequalities, with rural populations being the worst affected.

2.6.2. Reflections on the Pre-colonial African settlement

If to seek rural development models that do not compromise rurality of African rural settlements, by imposing western modernisation ideals, reflections on pre-colonial African settlement growth and planning must be made, Amankwa-Ayeh, grants that, several great cities and towns had arisen and fallen in Africa, long before the arrival of foreign influence on the continent. He mentions such examples as, Kumasi, Tmbuktu, Goa etc. Contrary to common belief that settlement planning is a foreign concept to Africa, it has been proven that planned settlements in African societies existed way before the arrival of Europeans on the shores of Africa. Amankwah-Ayeh, further notes

that, perhaps planning needs to take cognizance of research done over the past two centuries by geographers and historians who worked tirelessly to reveal the truth about the African continent, so as to show that the pre-colonial towns of Africa were built on sound town planning, design and architectural principles.

To look at past settlement patterns in this study is essential in order for better understanding of what it would take to better rural settlement planning today. Silberfein grants that, the matter of origins would seem to be particularly relevant to a study of the many relationships between settlement patterns and rural development since the settlements we inhabit today are all embedded in past experiences. They are the result of decisions taken about where and with whom to live in order to resolve two fundamental issues: how best to harness environmental resources and how to organise social life in advantageous ways. This therefore calls for communal use of resources and the establishment of harmonious living environments. Looking at pre-colonial towns, such as M^zab in Maghreb, according to Zghal and Stabouli, the town had its own legal system (land use management systems), its own market (for economic activities), as well as a “strong moral consensus binding the members of the community to each other”, thus creating socially viable settlements.

In acknowledging the historical background of African settlement planning, and taking into considerations its principles, presents a possible alternative for today’s rural settlement planning, particularly those in Africa. For instance, such settlements encouraged principles such as infill development through clustered settlement designs, Amankwa-Ayeh, grants that, these were adept at maintaining a feeling of smallness and intimacy keeping strong social, economic, cultural and physical linkages even in areas of high population densities.

3. OBJECTIVES/RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The main aim of this study is to develop an alternative development model that does not compromise the character of rural settlements by imposing modernisation

on them, but one that ensures sustainable rural livelihoods and embraces rurality and ruralism.

The study sought to achieve the following objectives;

- To review existing rural development models.
- To identify the meaning of development to communities and development practitioners in Tsholotsho and Qunu.
- To investigate factors that may hinder or promote rural development in Qunu and Tsholotsho
- To propose an alternative and appropriate development model for Qunu and Tsholotsho.

4. APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

To achieve the set objectives, and in light of its main aim, the study employed a mixed methods case study approach.

4.1. DATA COLLECTION METHODS

4.1.1. SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

De Vos&Fouche, 1998 define a questionnaire as an instrument with open or closed questions or statements, to which a respondent must react. The questionnaire consisted of five sections, of which (excluding the demographic profile) were divided on the basis of the set research objectives, and were open ended. The questionnaire sections were divided as follows;

- DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE;
- BASIC SERVICES;
- QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE SPECIFIC DEVELOPMENTAL ENTITY (HWANGE NATIONAL PARK OR EMPA SHOPPING COMPLEX);
- QUESTIONS RELATION TO GENERAL VIEWS AND UNDERSTANDING OF DEVELOPMENT; AND AS WELL AS
- QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE GENERAL PERCEPTIONS OF THE DEVELOPMENTAL STATE OF EITHER QUNU OR TSHOLOTSO:

4.1.3. INTERVIEWS

Formal key informant interviews were undertaken with specific development practitioners in both study areas. The interview questions differed in terms of terms of the specific area it related to; the first one was with a development practitioner for the Tsholotsho Rural Development Council and the second one with the private investor responsible for Empa mall. The questions in both interviews were centered around the purposes of the different development entities; the mall and the park, as well as the impacts these entities have had in the developmental state of both areas. The aim of these interviews was to obtain “informed” responses in relation to development in both study areas.

5. STUDY AREA

5.1 QUNU

Qunu, is located in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. It is largely known for being home to the First President of South Africa, Mr. Nelson Mandela. Qunu is located about 37km South West of Mthatha. It lies on the N1 between Mthatha and East London. Qunu was chosen specifically as a rural area within South Africa that possesses immense potential for livable rural settlements. It lies along the main route between two major urban centers, which would mean better accessibility. It was also chosen because of its historic context, and thus tourism potential, however, specifically looking at the possibility of these potentials being utilized without compromising the rurality of the settlement.

The specific model of development chosen for Qunu was the construction of a shopping mall within the Qunu area. The idea is modernist in nature. The mall was constructed with the hope of bringing services, particularly commercially services to the area, whilst providing possible employment opportunities for local residents. It was constructed by a private developer, an interview was held with the investor responsible. The outcomes of the survey with local residents, as well as the specific interviews will be discussed in chapter four.

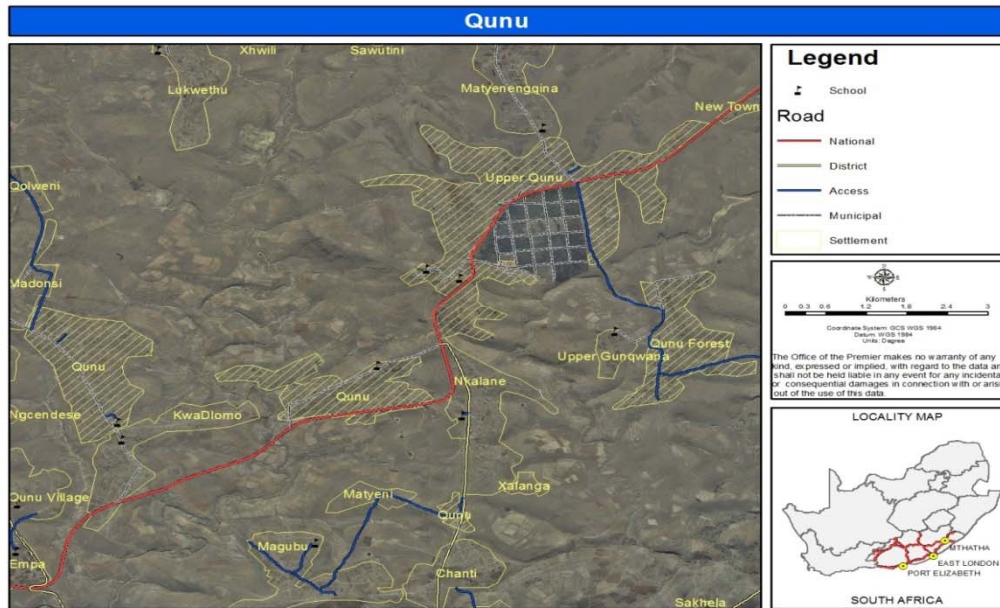


Figure 1

5.2. TSHOLOTSHO

Tsholotsho is a rural district located in central western Zimbabwe; it lies south west of Harare and 98km north-west of Bulawayo. The name Tsholotsho was derived from the San word “Holohou”, which means, “the head of an elephant. The area comprises of numerous villages and borders the south of Hwange National Park. Tsholotsho is made up of 22 Wards, each ward consisting of at least six villages. The area has a “Growth Point”, which serves as a service center for commercial, municipal and health services.

The method in this area is that of using nature based entities in order to pursue development. The entity being Hwange National Park (wild life to be specific). To do this, the area adopted what is known as the CAMFIRE (Community Areas Management Programe for Indigenous Resources) project. The project emerged in the mid-1980s, with the recognition that as long as wildlife remained the property of the state no one would invest in it as a resource. CAMPFIRE includes all natural resources, but its focus has been wildlife management in communal areas particularly to those adjacent to to national parks, where people and animals compete for resources. CAMPFIRE begins when a rural community, through its elected representative body, the Rural District Council, asks the governments wildlife

department to grant them the legal authority to manage its wildlife resources and demonstrate its capacity to do so...CAMPFIRE makes wildlife valuable to local communities because it is an economically and ecologically sound land use. (Tsholotsho Rural District council).

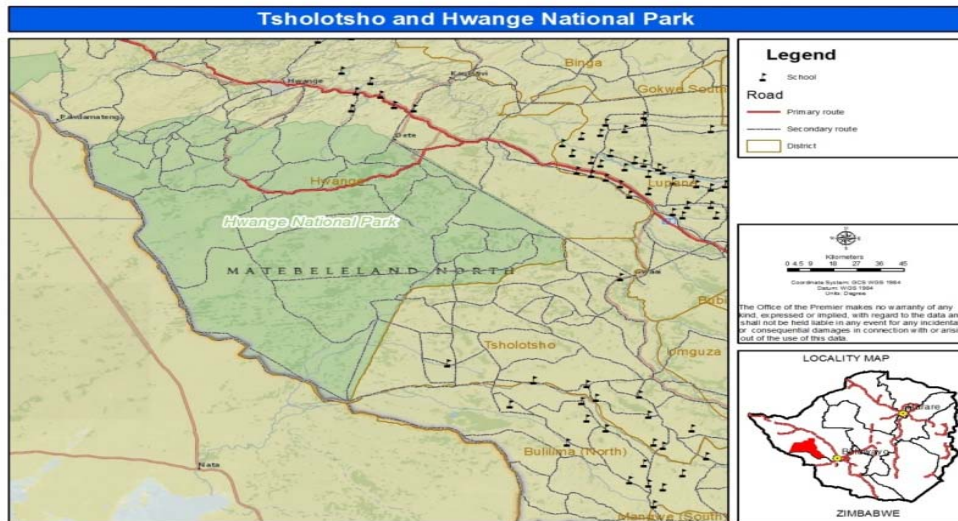


Figure 2

6. RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

To undertake the study, thirty participants/respondents were selected in both Qunu and Tsholotsho. The highest turnout of respondents was observed within the youth group which falls under the economically active group 18-35, followed by the group from 36-65, which is still part of the economically active group. However, from age 65 and above, the population reflected a significant decline. This has negative implications with regards to the life expectancy amongst populations in both areas, and thus implications on the health facilities available within the two settlements.

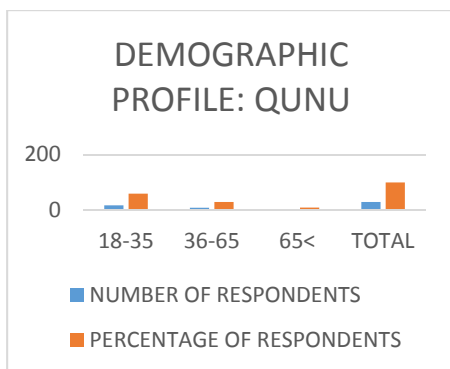


Figure 3

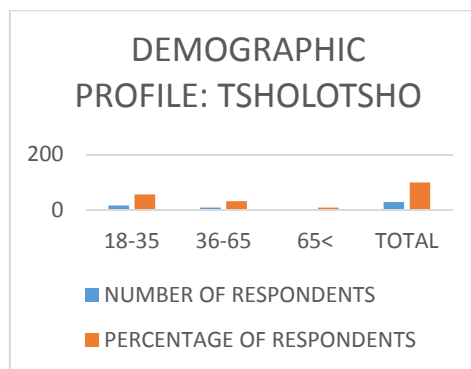


Figure 4

LITERACY PROFILE

Although the United Nations recognizes that primary school enrolment improved in Sub-Saharan Africa from 52% to 80% between 1990 and 2015, 43% of the respondents in Qunu expressed that they had, whilst 50% of the respondents in Tsholotsho said they had received basic primary education. This poses negative implications of the actual availability or access to primary as schools, as reflected on the basic services available, in both areas, respondents expressed that primary schools were accessible in the area. However, this could also be because of the difference in ages between the respondents and the current school going age group. The numbers show a decline with regards to access to tertiary education; this could be attested to issues such as high rates of school drop outs and unaffordable tertiary education, which comes not as a surprise. It is typical of rural populations to have to

seek other means of making a progress in life outside of education, this could be, for instance urgent needs to make incomes to support families.

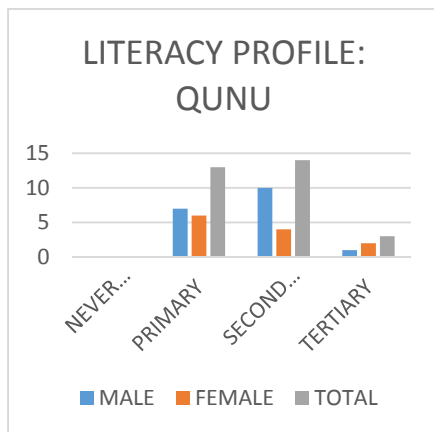


Figure 5

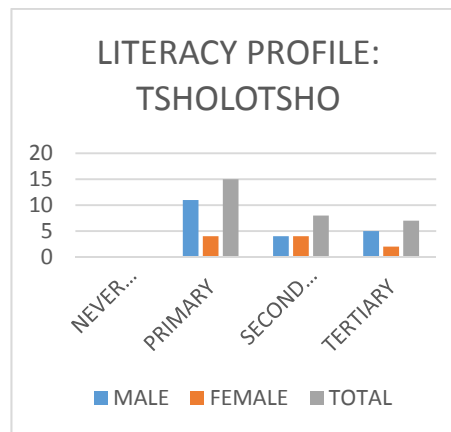


Figure 6

EMPLOYMENT PROFILE

The United Nations recognizes that, top employers within developing nations such as South Africa are, agriculture at 64%, services at 26% and industry at 10%. However, Qunu, and the surrounding areas do not have a significant agricultural sector, sufficient to maintain employment. Of the respondents interviewed, 90% makes up the economically active group (18-65 years of age), of which 48% is employed, the remaining 52% is unemployed, and merely 5% of which is still in school. The remaining 47% is unemployed and lives on support by family or will find odd jobs to survive. This therefore implicates that such populations live on much less than \$1.25 a day, which is regarded as the standard measure for the poverty line.

Employment rates in Tsholotsho reflected a high. 63%, which means 63% of the respondents live on less than \$1.25 a day, which is below the poverty line. From that less than \$.25 a day, the United Nations recognizes that, the average household in developing nations spends 49% on food. However, this part of the country is largely traditional in economic activities, in that, although the population does not spend much on purchasing food, they grow their own food. This also might be compromised by the lack of access to water for irrigation (access to water will be discussed on the basic services section). Although this might be a positive, it also has some downsides, because much of subsistence food production is largely carbohydrate produce, therefore healthy nutrition becomes questionable. Also, with the land distribution

process that took place in the country, populations have seen larger yields, where the United Nation recognizes that, Sub-Saharan Africa is the only region that where food production was primarily due to increased crop area, not crop yield.

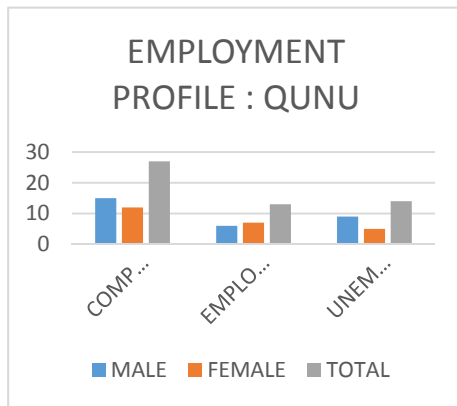


Figure 7

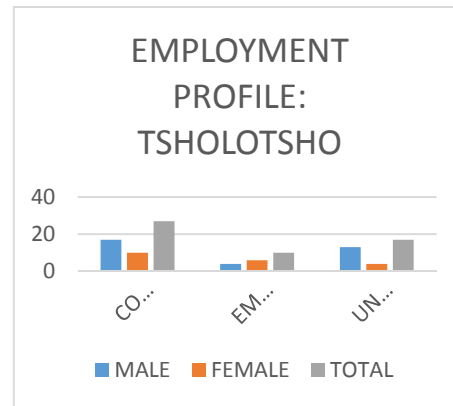


Figure 8

BASIC SERVICES

Chapter four (Economic Infrastructure) of the South African National Development Plan recognizes that, in its key points, South Africa needs to maintain and expand its electricity, water, transport and telecommunications infrastructure in order to support economic growth and social development goals. Where, its key points on Integrated and Inclusive Rural Economy, Chapter Six, one of its key points is to ensure access to basic services, healthcare, education and food security, the results reflected that, although some of these goals have been met, such as the availability of electricity in Qunu, some aspects such as accessible roads still remain unmet.

The graph below reflects that, 30% of the respondents had no access to water. In an area that is reported that, one in three people (in Sub-saran Africa have access to proper water facilities, this is not a surprising reflection. Although, less than the estimation, it remains a negative reflection. Of the thirty respondents, none of them had no access to basic education, hence the 100% reflection of accessibility of schools. This reflection also isn't surprising, as the United Nations grants that primary school enrollment in Sub-Saharan Africa improved from 52% to 80% between 1990 and 2015. On its own, South Africa emphasizes this in its basic human rights as stipulated in the 1996 constitution.

With regards to access to basic services, all the respondents in the survey expressed that there was a viable number of schools in the area. The least of services they had available to them was good roads. From the observation by the researcher, it can be attested that the roads are in the worst of conditions, thus it was observed that public transportation in the area was not so viable, which implicates lack of mobility and accessibility within the area, and also in relation to surrounding areas, such as Bulawayo. The respondents also noted that, although such services were available to them, they had to travel longer distances to make use of them.

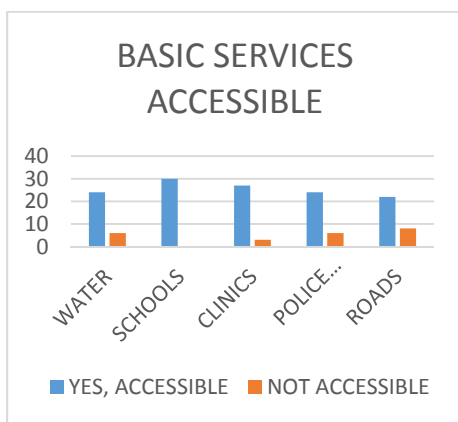


Figure 9

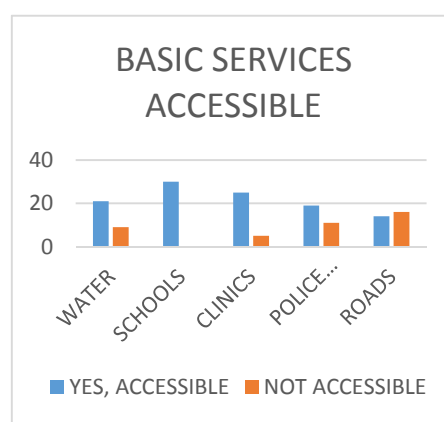


Figure 10

4.2.3 THE IMPACT OF EMPA SHOPPING COMPLEX

Of the questions asked on this section, the aim was to obtain residents' views on the impacts of the developmental entity at their disposal. In the case of Qunu, It is Empa Shopping complex. After having had an interview with the founder of the complex, the point of departure was to find what the basic idea behind the initiation of the entity was, followed by the procedures followed in the process, with regards to land acquisition, the developmental procedures followed, involvement of local residents in the process, as well as the impacts of the entity on local residents.

The basic idea behind the initiation of the complex was to create an entity that would bring about employment opportunities, as well as to promote Qunu as a Tourist destination. With the views from the residents in relation to this idea, the feeling amongst residents is that, although a handful of the local residents are employed at the mall, it has not created employment opportunities as anticipated. The demographic survey showed that, of the 83% of the population employed, 93% were employed outside of the Qunu area, either in nearby Umthatha or Viedgesville.

In initiating the entity, the founder responded that the obtaining of the land involved the traditional method of obtaining land, where one obtains land from the local chief. This therefore means that there was no formal application followed, hence this is on communal land and out of municipal jurisdiction. However, he noted that, the residents were involved in terms of public participation, before the initiation of the project.

The most notable impact of the complex in the area is that of the availability and provision of commercial services. Respondents noted that they no longer needed to travel to Umthatha or Viedgesville for services such as ATMs (although they noted that they wished that it was not just ATMs, but complete banking branches), hardware stores, salons, and supermarkets. However, the founder noted that he has faced challenges in sustaining the entity as, particularly because of infrastructural issues such as road networks' condition, as well as telecommunication connections.

The idea behind the complex is justified. However, with observation, to sustain such an entity an area would need substantial populations to make the entity viable, Not just populations in numbers, but populations that is able to support commercial services at large scales. The employment rates in the area are low. Thus some services in the complex might not make economic sense to the service provider; therefore, they can't afford to employ more people. In the long run, some of these services might have to close down due to lack of support.

4.2.4 THE GENERAL PERCEPTION OF QUNU

This section was aimed at obtaining the views of residents with regards to their place of living. The table below illustrates responses to the following questions;

- Do you think Qunu is liveable?

- Would you like for Qunu to be turned into a city

QUESTIONS	YES	NO
DO YOU THINK QUNU IS LIVABLE?	90%	10%
WOULD YOU LIKE FOR QUNU TO BE TURNED INTO A CITY?	73%	27%

Figure 11

In traditional society, the reason for one to reside in an area is usually because of their traditional connection to the area. Of the 90% residents who believed that Qunu is livable, although they give reasons to this including the availability of basic services such as water and electricity, as well as the ability to practice subsistence farming, many noted their ancestral and traditional connection to the area. Whilst the 10% who said the area wasn't livable, their reason was mainly the lack employment prospects.

Whilst such a substantial number believed that the area is livable as it is, quite another substantial amount of them at, 73% wish that Qunu would be a city. With the recent talks of the area being turned into a city because of its historical significance, those who anticipate this believe that the urbanization of the area would implicate better lives for them. Noting that, the urbanization of the area would bring employment prospects, better infrastructure and services available to them. The 27% that said not, they would wish for Qunu to remain rural gave reasons such as that it would bring crime, and noting that the area should remain as it is in order to retain its historical significance and thus remain attractive to tourists interested in the area.

4.2.5 GENERAL PERCEPTIONS ON DEVELOPMENT

This section was aimed at obtaining what residents viewed as the state of being developed; this included a question asking if they thought Qunu was developed as it is. Many respondents expressed that they understood development as the availability of basic services, with responses such as;

- To have water or roads;
- Proper housing and safety;
- Better living conditions;

- Schools and clinics;
- Improved standards of living;
- Modernisation;
- Employment prospects;

The most common response was basically better living conditions, with specific reference to the availability of employment opportunities, water and electricity, as well as schools. The questions asked included development initiatives that have been in the area in the past twenty years. The most notable mentioned were the farming projects, the service, and the old aged centre. Many noted that they view the area as developed because they have basic services such as; Water, Electricity, as well as entities such as The Museum, The Mall, as well as A filling station. Essentially many perceived Qunu as developed.

4.2.5 OBSERVATIONS

Aside from the survey questionnaire that was used to undertake the study, the researcher undertook some general observations of the two study areas. With Qunu, what was observed was that, the area, because of its historical context and its location in relation to main routes had greater advantage and potential with regards to development prospects. The two advantages will be discussed below;

- HISTORICAL CONTEXT; the area is home to South Africa's first democratically elected president, Mr Nelson Mandela. This has meant that the area continues to receive international attention, in terms of tourism, investment and socio-economic development initiatives. Initiatives such as the Nelson Mandela Museum, and Mandela's home itself, are one of the entities in the area that attract international tourists. The area also has an old age facility, which is a socio-economic entity that looks after the well-being of the old aged in the area. Initiatives such as the old aged centre are essential initiatives for developed

societies, where the old are seen as important members of society as opposed to being marginalised. This contributes to the overall well-being of the aged, thus essentially also improving the life expectancy of the aged in a society.

- LOCATION IN RELATION TO MAIN ROUTES; as mentioned before, Qunu lies along the N1 between East London and Umthatha. This is seen as an advantage, as it is easier for populations to access services, employment opportunities, as well as prospects of their own services being accessible to passers-by. For instance, the presence of the Sasol garage in the area provides employment for locals, and the business will remain viable and sustainable as traffic between the two towns remains. The understanding within the academic space has always been that, rural areas located along main routes are always better off than those located in remote areas; the case has been in Qunu also. Schools are well developed and equipped, they have water and electricity. And ultimately, although Qunu has all these services and advantages, its rurality is not compromised in any manner. Residents still maintain their subsistence farming economies, with small garden plots within their homesteads; their community is still traditionally run by a local chief.

4.3.3 THE IMPACT OF HWANGE NATIONAL PARK

The selection of Tsholotsho for specific reference in the case study was based on its relation to Hwange National Park, and its CAMPFIRE project involvement. Much of the respondents noted the advantage of having the park particularly referring to the CAMPFIRE project. Of the advantages of being part of the CAMPFIRE projects, the respondents noted the building of schools from the CAMPFIRE project funds as well as improved knowledge on wildlife management.

Having had an interview with a development practitioner from the Tsholotsho Rural District council and attended a committee meeting for the Tsholotsho Campfire project, for the purposes of observation, it was found that, the CAMPFIRE project is about natural resources management, with the aim of empowering and benefiting local residents, in terms of how these natural resources are used, and in this case, it is the

wildlife surrounding the area. The project runs on hunting programs and redistribution of revenues.

What also stood out from the committee meeting was learning that the whole process of the CAMPFIRE project aims to largely involve women in the development processes of their community. They placed emphasis on women being elected as part of the elected committee.

4.3.4 THE GENERAL PERCEPTIONS OF TSHOLOTSHO

This section was aimed at obtaining the views of residents with regards to their place of living. The table below illustrates responses to the following questions;

- Do you think Tsholotsho is liveable?
- Would you like for Tsholotsho to be turned into a city?

QUESTIONS	YES	NO
DO YOU THINK TSHOLOTSHO IS LIVABLE?	60%	40%
WOULD YOU LIKE FOR TSHOLOTSHO TO BE TURNED INTO A CITY?	87%	13%

60% of the respondents felt that Tsholotsho was a livable environment, noting that they believed so because they had access to land, and water, schools and health facilities. With such services, however, they also expressed that they wished water was available at shorter distances or more boreholes were provided. Which in a way supports their perceptions on what development connotes as mentioned above. As to considerations of the area being possibly turned into a city, 87% of them said yes, this was largely supported by their general belief that a city would result in better living conditions, employment opportunities, better facilities etc. which again, shows their association of development with modernization and urbanism.

4.3.5 GENERAL PERCEPTIONS ON DEVELOPMENT

This section was aimed at obtaining what residents viewed as the state of being developed; this included a question asking if they thought Tsholotsho was developed

as it is. Many respondents expressed that they understood development as the availability of basic services, with responses such as;

- Infrastructure development;
 - Sustainable livelihoods;
 - Economic opportunities, viable farming sector;
 - Schools, water, electricity and clinics;
 - Improved standards of living;
 - Peace
 - Modernisation;
-
- Employment prospects;

The most common response was basically better living conditions, with specific reference to the availability of employment opportunities, water and electricity, as well as schools. Unlike in Qunu, in Tsholotsho, much emphasis was placed on the need for improved farming infrastructure and an expanded farming market for the community as a possible development prospect.

4.3.4 OBSERVATIONS

Again, just as was the case in Qunu, in Tsholotsho, the researcher had undertaken some observation, within the Tsholotsho growth point as well as the villages in the area. Unlike Qunu, which comprises of merely villages, Tsholotsho has some sort of “business center. The Tsholotsho Growth Point is somewhat a “town”, it provides services within the villages of the District. These services range from socio-economic to commercial services. The observations discussed here are those from the two distinctive parts of the district;

- Tsholotsho Growth Point; this seems as an attempt to “urbanise” the area. Residents in this part of the district maintain urban and modern ways of livelihoods. The main prospects of employment are informal trading. However, with its urban prospects, the area is isolated from major routes that would promote mobility and accessibility in the area. The state of the road between

Tsholotsho and Bulawayo poses limit for the movement of people between the two towns, thus making it difficult for such people to access services that they would wish to access in Bulawayo.

- Tsholotsho villages; what stood out the most about Tsholotsho rural populations is their main mode of transportation. In this area people cycle to get around. In cases where one cannot cycle, (for instance, as observed, women in a traditional society cannot cycle), they will use carts. Basically, life in Tsholotsho villages remains very rural and traditional. And again, unlike in Qunu, homesteads (houses) still take on very traditional forms; the settlements are dispersed, with almost all the families owning large tracks of land, which they use for subsistence farming. Access, however, in the form of transportation and roads to other parts of the country is very limited. Again, the state of the road, the availability of transport modes limits the mobility of people in the area.

Water and electricity seem to be the biggest problem in the area, much like with the rest of the country, the area experienced long periods of draught in 2015, thus reducing output in subsistence farming, of which really is the main source of income and nutrition for most families in the areas. It seemed most respondents see electricity as a luxury, what they seem to be interested in most is access to water, as it is essential for their subsistence economy.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECCOMENDATIONS

The questionnaire was divided into five main sections, which were enquiries into, Demographics, Basic services, that particular developmental entity (Hwange National Park and/or Empa Shopping Complex), General questions on living conditions and the views of residents about their specific area (Qunu and/or Tsholotsho), and finally the views of local residents on what development means to them. Demographics have already been discussed on Chapter 4.1; here the rest of the section will be discussed.

The questions on basic services were based on the legislations and policies of both countries, pertaining to basic human rights and needs. These legislations are as follows;

- The United Nations Development Agenda;
- The South African Constitution; the South African constitution Chapter 2 (27) grants that, all South African citizens have the right to; Healthcare services, sufficient food and water, social security, Chapter 2 (29) Education.
- The Zimbabwean Constitution;
- The South African National Development Plan

These policies were specifically referred to as they legally stipulate what governments of both countries seek to achieve with regards to living environments for their citizens, whether urban or rural.

The last three sections on the impacts of the specific entities, the general perceptions of residents about their area, as well as their general understandings of development was based on seeking to understand what constituted development for both areas, and whether or not they were satisfied with their rurality.

It can therefore be concluded that, in terms of the above stipulated policies with regards to developmental ideals, both areas are moving forward. However, improved services, such as access to education for females in Tsholotsho still need to be given much attention. At the committee meeting, an official pointed out that it was essential that women be at the forefront of the development endeavor, as they carry the most burden from underdevelopment, noting for instance that, if there is no running water in a homestead (which is mostly the case in the area), the woman carries the bucket to find the water.

In both areas, it can be concluded that, many people felt that they were comfortable with their living environments. However, as this may be the case many also felt that, they were opened to further “improvements”, through their expression of wishing that their specific areas could possibly be turned into cities. This essentially explains their general perceptions of what it means to be developed, and in this case, that being modernized.

To conclude, the objectives of this study were to;

- To review existing rural development models.

- To identify the meaning of development to communities and development practitioners in Tsholotsho and Qunu.
- To investigate factors that may hinder or promote rural development in Qunu and Tsholotsho
- To propose an alternative and appropriate development model for Qunu and Tsholotsho.

It was therefore found that, the development models in both areas differed in that, one used in Tsholotsho was that of a nature based developmental entity, and that used in Qunu was a modernistic approach to development. Development to communities in the area was largely expressed to mean urbanism and modernization, as many respondents expressed that they wished their area to be turned into a city, whilst also expressing great emphasis on the availability of basic services such as water and electricity. What they expressed a major hamper to development was the lack of economic prospects and viable farming economic environment.

Therefore, as a way forward, without absolute rejection of modernization, it is proposed that we again reflect on pre-colonial settlements. This would allow for planning of rural settlements that embraces African settlement planning, as opposed to accepting western modernization as the sole path towards developmental states. Amankwah-Ayeh , on his paper, titled “Traditional Planning Elements of Pre-colonial African Towns, grants that, understanding the functions of the structural elements of planning in in pre-colonial cities and towns may help breathe new life and inject fresh ideas into the planning and creation of new environments adapted to African culture, traditions and heritage. And as observed from the findings, a substantial amount of the respondents placed great importance on their relation to their places of living and birth, viable farming economies, and their rurality.

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