

## **Situated Knowledge and Self-Reliance in Local Economic Development: A Life History of a Businessman in Sandanezwe, South Africa**

Keywords: Cultural Anthropology, Economics, Development Studies and History

Yes	I hereby grant permission for World Learning to include my ISP in its permanent library collection.
Yes	I hereby grant permission for World Learning to release my ISP in any format to individuals, organizations, or libraries in the host country for educational purposes as determined by SIT.
Yes	I hereby grant permission for World Learning to publish my ISP on its websites and in any of its digital/electronic collections, and to reproduce and transmit my ISP electronically. I understand that World Learning's websites and digital collections are publicly available via the Internet. I agree that World Learning is NOT responsible for any unauthorized use of my ISP by any third party who might access it on the Internet or otherwise.

Nana Asare

August 22, 14

Advisor: Professor Dianne Scott

School of International Training: Community Health and Social Policy

Durban, South Africa

**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

1. Abstract.....	3
2. Introduction.....	4 - 6
3. Theoretical Framework.....	7 - 8
4. Context.....	8 - 12
5. Methodology.....	13 - 17
6. Becoming a Self-reliant businessman: Mr. Mbanjwa's story.....	18 - 24
7. Learning from Mr. Mbanjwa's story.....	26 - 28
8. Conclusion.....	29 - 30
9. Acknowledgements.....	31 - 32
10. References.....	33 - 34
11. Appendices.....	35 - 39

**LIST OF FIGURES**

1. Divisions of the ten native homelands under apartheid
2. Map of Ingwe Municipality
3. Lineage of the Mbanjwa family (extended)
4. Lineage of the Mbanjwa family (nuclear)

**LIST OF TABLES**

1. Business Timeline of Mr. Mbanjwa

**LIST OF PLATES**

1. Learning about Livestock keeping with Mr. Mbanjwa
2. Mrs. Betty Mbanjwa and her home-helper
3. Mr. Mbanjwa fixing his broken down kombi
4. A day in Donnybrook with Mr. Mbanjwa as he buys provisions for his tuck shop
5. Mr. Mbanjwa's modern Zulu family home that he reconstructed
6. A trip to Ixopo where Mr. Mbanjwa purchased several bags of processed corn for his tuck shops
7. One of the main roads to Sandanezwe being cleared for further construction
8. A view of Blue Sky, one of the sparse settlements in Sandanezwe

## 1. ABSTRACT

This paper highlights the past and current plight of communal rural areas in South Africa, in which deep poverty and underdevelopment are embedded. Past political policies such as the Native Lands Act and apartheid are the main roots of this situation. However, there are also historical and cultural factors originating from rural communities that play additional roles in the poor local economic development. The study is an attempt to explore the historical effects of social and political marginalization on self and community development in Sandanezwe, a former homeland of KwaZulu-Natal.

This study was conducted by exploring the life history of Mr. Mathanzima Mbanjwa, a self-made businessman, as a situated account of rural underdevelopment and self-reliance, considering how past and present issues prevalent within the community originated as a result of the apartheid regime. The narrative of Mr. Mbanjwa will evoke an understanding of self-reliance and development through his use of acquired skills and also serve as a counterpoint to claims about the lack of self-empowerment among rural inhabitants. A previous visit to the community of Sandanezwe to inquire details on community based assets led to the meeting of Mr. Mbanjwa.

The learner stayed with Mr. Mbanjwa while gathering his narrative, observing and asking questions about the historical and current issues within the community. Other sources of primary data from members within the community were collected and triangulated with the overarching themes within Mr. Mbanjwa story. Secondary sources also provided a theoretical framework for understanding the possibility of self-empowerment as a method mitigating social issues in a rural community. These issues include structural, racial inequality and unemployment. The study shows that in the face of apartheid, and particularly the hardships and inequalities imposed by the homeland policy, people have the ability to mitigate hardships through self-reliance. In this particular case, Mr. Mbanjwa today is evidence of self-reliance through his current status as a small-scale businessman.

## 2. INTRODUCTION

As an anthropologist, I have a penchant for working in local communities in order to experience the daily lives of people and their culture. With several portions of the SIT program being dedicated to rural homestays and experiences, I felt my anthropological needs gradually being met. When I first arrived in Sandanezwe for a rural homestay visit on March 6<sup>th</sup> 2014, I immediately felt drawn to the place and its atmosphere, a traditional Zulu community in a sparsely populated setting with beautiful mountainous terrain. While the purpose of my three-day stay in Sandanezwe was to gather information for a community situation analysis project, I found myself returning shortly afterwards for a much deeper experience. I collected a substantial amount of information about my homestay brother, Mr. Mbanjwa for a section of my project titled “contributions of others to the community”. The information gathered was in the form of an informal conversation, which allowed me to gain an insight into the life of my informant. Coupled with my interest in gaining a deeper anthropological experience in South Africa, I informed Mr. Mbanjwa about the possibility of returning to the community and conducting a study around his life history- which he promptly agreed to. Therefore, by learning about Mr. Mbanjwa’s life, I hoped to fully understand the past and current situations within the community as well as be able to convey an emic<sup>1</sup> and etic<sup>2</sup> understanding of development in rural communities.

In efforts to understand the lived realities of people experiencing poverty due to underdevelopment in rural areas, this paper uses an ethnographic approach in exploring the chronological embeddedness of rural underdevelopment in the life of one local South African businessman. The key to undertaking an ethnographic study appears to be to build relationships of trust with people to gain privileged insider status, for without that insider status one learns less (Tope, Chamberlain, & Crowley, 2005). The life history explored in this study offers insightful knowledge on rural underdevelopment and coping strategies employed by the people living in this context. Gaining an account of the situated knowledge of a successful local businessman aims to provide an understanding of rural

---

<sup>1</sup> The perspective or understanding of an insider

<sup>2</sup> The perspective or understanding of an outsider



underdevelopment within South Africa, while also serving as a compelling position from which the effectiveness of current developmental strategies can be critiqued.

Segregation was a foundation stone of South Africa at the moment of its creation in 1910, and that it remains its foundation stone today, one hundred years later (Westaway, 2010). One of the most significant, yet condemning Acts of the 1910 government that led to the creation of deep segregation within South Africa was the institution of the Native Lands Act in 1913, which also served as a stepping-stone for the apartheid regime in 1948. Under the 1910 government, the policy of the Native Lands Act led to the creation of self-governing territories known as Bantustans or native reserves for blacks, which constituted only 13% of South African territory (Feinberg, 1993). The Act ensured that black South Africans were limited in terms of land acquisitions and social mobility, which in turn affected any form of development in the Bantustan areas while the large and minority controlled portions of lands in the country were for the benefit of White South Africans in terms of development. As echoed by Feinberg, the British and Afrikaner land owners and industrialists set in motion a process that would consolidate their wealth while excluding Black people through legislative means (Feinberg, 1993, page 69). Additionally, the small portions of lands reserved for blacks succumbed to the strain of rapid population growth and soil erosion, which affected black indigenous methods of living and development, predominantly agriculture.

The apartheid era which commenced in 1948 further consolidated what had been set in motion by the Native Lands Act by implementing policies that contained blacks in their assigned native lands. This was because the Bantustans or homelands became characterized with severe poverty and underdevelopment due to their legislated neglect in terms of social and economic development. The concept of separate development promoted by apartheid policies fostered a skewed form of development that benefited mainly white South Africans. For instance, the policies involved incentives, laws and institutions that favored large farms and discriminated against smaller, labour intensive farming systems which were mainly owned by black farmers in native homelands (Lipton & Ellis, 1996). Thus, agricultural development under apartheid was more beneficial for White farmers because they had the necessary incentives and governmental support. Such is the history of underdevelopment faced by rural communities like Sandanezwe under the

apartheid regime until 1994. This is a history of marginalization and poverty through underdevelopment.

Post-apartheid and new leadership under the African National Congress (ANC) ushered in democratic governance and a chance to correct many of the developmental iniquities affecting rural communities. According to May (1998), after coming to power, the ANC government adopted a broadly pro-poor policy framework. Since the new democratic era, there has been an increase in the focus of government expenditure going to infrastructure and social services to help alleviate the struggles of people under poverty. For instance, there was the introduction of the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP), which was essentially a basic-needs program with focus on the provision of infrastructure, housing, free and compulsory schooling, electricity, running water and toilets, health care and land to the poor (Lundhal & Lennart, 2009). Although new governments and policies promoted development and poverty alleviation, there still remain several concerns about sustaining these policies for the longer term in areas that were hardest hit. In a research project on beekeeping as a method of local self-reliance in rural South Africa, Illgner, Nel, & Robertson (1998) concluded that in the context of regional economic constraints and underdevelopment, self-reliance strategies that draw on local knowledge and skills take on a renewed importance.

The aim of this paper is to explore the deeply entrenched effects of historical marginalization and current socio-economic inactivity. The project involves my interactions observations and interviews with community members, among others, Mr. Mathanzima Mbanjwa, a self-employed businessman whose life experiences and opinions within Sandanezwe serve as the main subject of this paper. I mobilize Mr. Mbanjwa's life history as a situated account of underdevelopment and poverty within Sandanezwe. The paper takes into context how underdevelopment and poverty has been implicated in the life of Mr. Mbanjwa's, revealing how he has and continues to empower himself to be self-reliant and self-developed in the community despite facing these overwhelming social issues.

### 3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Self-reliance is one of the bases of effective rural development in South Africa as it is in most of Sub-Saharan Africa. Actually, the concept of self-reliance is located within the discourse of community development and is connected to related concepts like capabilities, self-help, indigenous participation and rural development. It is proposed that self-reliance supports the need for people to improve their situations using local initiatives and resources in their own hands. This notion has been widely accepted as a feasible track on which an ecological form of community development can be achieved. The pervasive acceptance of this concept in many countries gives it the possibility to provide motivation and consistency in broad and individual developmental planning (Anyanwu, 1992). The emphasis of self-reliance in rural development demands that community members or individuals apply their knowledge and skills to the opportunities at their disposal. Additionally, utilizing acquired skills and attitudes enables an individual to become self-reliant and reduces his or her dependency on external agencies such as governments. In fact, from a fundamental perspective, self-reliance is defined as a state of mind that regards one's own mental and material resources as the primary stock to draw on in the pursuit of one's objectives (Fonchingong & Fonjong, 2003).

The concept of self-reliance ties into Amartya Sen's (1990) economic theory of capabilities as a developmental approach. Sen's theory serves as a distinctive approach to evaluating well being in terms of an individual's freedom to achieve the kind of lives he or she have reason to value, and development as the expansion of that freedom. The freedom being discussed is analyzed in terms of an individual's ability to perform essentially valuable activities such as engaging in several economic activities. As specified by Sen, "In situations of long-standing deprivation, the victims do not go on weeping all the time, and very often make great efforts to take pleasure in small mercies and to cut down personal desires to modest—"realistic"—proportions" (Sen, 1990, p. 45). In instances of poverty and lack of community development, people are capable of becoming empowered by taking measures (self-reliance) to ensure their survival and sustenance. This can also be understood as taking matters into one's own hands to ensure one's well-being. Additionally, Sen states that the ability to exercise freedom may, to a considerable extent, be directly

dependent on the education we have received (Sen, 1990). Thus in the case of rural underdevelopment, an individual's ability to become self-reliant can be related to how he utilizes the indigenous and other knowledge he possesses.

#### **4. CONTEXT**

##### **Context of apartheid**

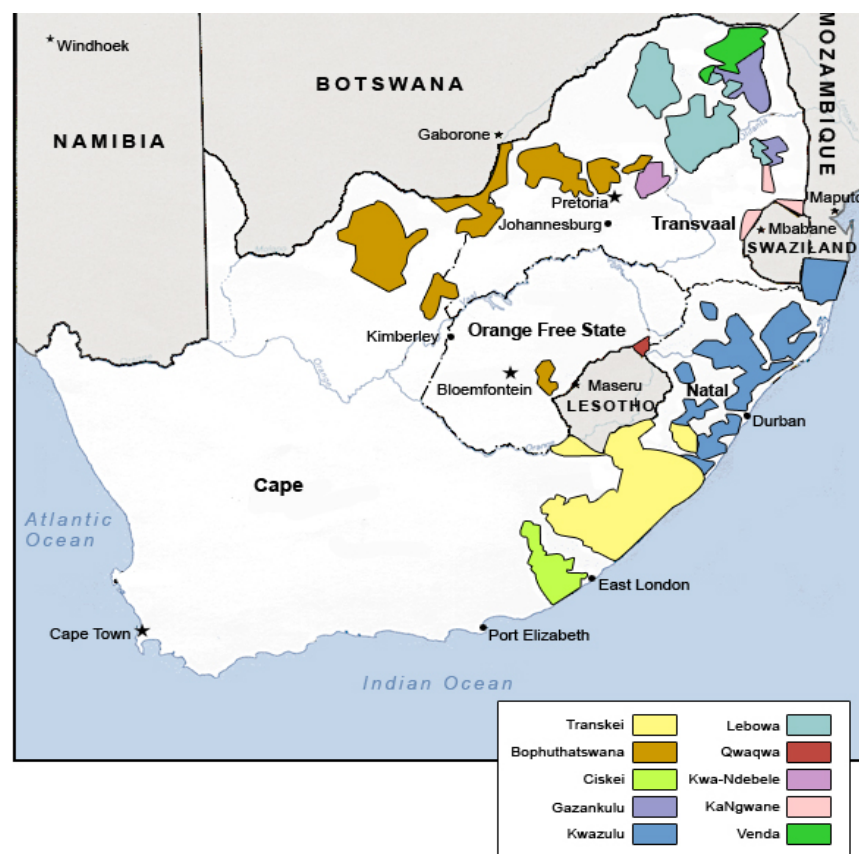
The English and Dutch colonized South Africa in the seventeenth century. Following independence from England, an uneasy power sharing between the two groups held sway until the 1940s, when the Afrikaner National Party was able to gain a strong majority. Strategists in the National Party created the political system of apartheid as a means to cement their control over the economic and social system (South African History Online). In 1948, the National Party, representing ethnic nationalist Afrikaners, won the national election on a platform of racism and segregation under the slogan of "apartheid"- or "apartness" in the Afrikaans language (South African History Online). With the enactment of apartheid laws in 1948, racial discrimination was institutionalized in every facet of life.

The apartheid policy was highly effective of achieving its goal of preferential treatment for whites. For instance, under Bantu Education Act of 1953 the annual expenditure on education per pupil during apartheid was approximately 450 Rand for Blacks and 6,960 Rand for Whites (Michigan State University). Implemented racial laws also touched every aspect of social life, including a prohibition of marriage between non-whites and whites, and the sanctioning of jobs to favor Whites and other races above Blacks. Initially, the aim of apartheid was to maintain white domination while extending racial separation but starting in the 1960s, a plan of "Grand Apartheid", the Homelands policy, was executed, emphasizing territorial separation and police repression (Michigan State University).

##### **Context of the Homeland policy**

In 1951, the Bantu Authorities Act established a basis for ethnic government in African reserves, known as "homelands". These homelands were independent states

to which Africans<sup>3</sup> were assigned by the government according to the record of ethnic identity, which was often inaccurate. The idea was that the Africans would be citizens of a homeland, losing their citizenship in South Africa and any right of representation within the South African Parliament which held complete hegemony over the homelands (Butler, Rotberg, & Adams, 1977). In accordance with the idea, ten homelands were created for all of South Africa's Black citizens, thus also opening the way for mass forced removals of Blacks from outside of these allocated areas into them (South African History Online; Figure 1). Each of these ten homelands had a number of local leaders or chiefs who were controlled by the apartheid government so they were not able to develop the local economics or foster development (Butler, Rotberg, & Adams, 1977).



**Figure 1:** Divisions of the ten native homelands under apartheid  
Source: South African History Online

<sup>3</sup> It is important to note that only black Africans were subject to this law as Indian and 'Colored' people were allowed to remain in the cities and buy property there.

Within these homelands were deep issues of underdevelopment and unemployment, which forced the majority of the population to serve as cheap labor for white agriculturalists and industrialists outside the homelands. Moreover, due to the structure of the homelands, the people living there were dependent on South Africa for funding of infrastructure, services and facilities, while others also served as migrant laborers in South African cities in order to send money home to their families in the reserves or homelands. The homelands also lacked adequate education due to underfunding and neglect by the national government, which would have benefited the youth. For instance, in 1978, the ratio of teachers to pupils in Bantu schools was about 1:60 (South African History Online), which meant that the chances of young Blacks becoming educated was very minimal.

### **Current context of Sandanezwe**

Having spent about the past four months studying in this country, I have realized that many South Africans do not know about the existence of many rural communities like Sandanezwe, which is in the former homeland area of KwaZulu. While researching the historical background of this area, I became aware that the community is seldom located on the map of KwaZulu-Natal or any other locational documentation. After deeper research and inquiries, I finally discovered the location and positioning of Sandanezwe within the broader and current South Africa.

Sandanezwe is situated within Ingwe Local Municipality and falls under the Sisonke District Municipality, which borders the Eastern Cape and Lesotho (Statistics South Africa, 2014) (Figure 2; Ingwe Municipality, 2013). Sisonke is divided into five local municipalities (Figure 2). The towns of Ixopo, Creighton and Donnybrook fulfill the role of being the main service centers for Ingwe and act as the commercial centers for this district. The rest of the Ingwe municipality, apart from these towns, consists of tribal areas under tribal authority such as Impendle and Nxamalala. Within the Ingwe municipality, the Sandanezwe area is referred to as Ward 6, since it is one of sixteen other wards created after the 2001 census

(Statistics South Africa, 2014)<sup>4</sup>. The current population of the Ingwe municipality is approximately 100,548, with the population in Sandanezwe 9,275 people and a very high population density of 50.9 people per square kilometer (Ingwe Municipality, 2013). Although the community is represented by an elected councilor for the Ward, there is a traditional chief who maintains social order within the community.



**Figure 2:** Map of Ingwe Municipality  
Source: (Ingwe Municipality, 2013)

Finding specific information relating to Sandanezwe is very difficult since all information data gathered from the community is combined with the other wards to represent the Ingwe Municipality. However, speaking to several community members allowed me to attain a sense of the community layout and demographics. Sandanezwe is sparsely populated and grouped into nine separate sections all of which fall under Ward 6 and the guidance of the chief (See appendix III, Plate 8). The majority of the houses in the

<sup>4</sup> As part of the administrative reform of South Africa after 1994, the country was divided into 'wall-to-wall' municipalities, each municipality combining where possible former towns, commercial farming areas and homeland areas. The boundaries of the municipalities were redrawn and in May 2011, eight metropolitan municipalities, 44 district municipalities and 226 local municipalities came into being.

community are a mixture of traditional rondavels made of mud and straw roofing, and western style houses made with cement and aluminum sheets. Since the community is situated in a hilly terrain, the houses are constructed on hillsides and slopes. There are several infrastructural issues within the community such poor roads that either muddy or dusty based on the weather, there is also lack of hospitals and clean water among others (See appendix III, Plate 7).

The majority of people are unemployed and solely dependent on government social grants since there are no actual formal job opportunities within the community. Besides the social grants, some of the other ways people acquire money is by working for their neighbors as home-helpers, herders or farmhands (Plate 1 and 2). A few community members engage in agricultural activities, the majority of the foods in the community are acquired from tuck shops or commercial centers. Since there are no jobs in the community, with the majority of the youth often migrate to nearby commercial centers or Durban to find jobs to support their families. There are numerous primary schools within the community but there is only one secondary or high school. Additionally, the entire community just received access to electricity and running tap water about a year and a half ago so the development in the community is long overdue. The issue of underdevelopment has been and is evidently severe in Sandanezwe. Nevertheless, in situations of severe underdevelopment such as this, there are always unique stories that emerge to suggest that there is hope for future development.





**Plate 1:** Learning about livestock keeping with Mr. Mbanjwa



**Plate 2:** Ms. Betty Mbanjwa (right) and her home-helper (left)



**Plate 3:** Mr. Mbanjwa fixing his broken down kombi



**Plate 4:** A day in Donnybrook with Mr. Mbanjwa as he buys provisions for his tuck shop

## 5. METHODOLOGY

This independent study draws on a research project that employed the notion of ‘situated knowledge’ as a tool for understanding the implications of the EU sugar regime in the life of a local Caribbean farmer (Richardson-Ngwenya, 2013). This approach locates the life history and knowledge provided specific actors as being ‘situated’ within a particular social, economic and political context. My interest was to learn about the lived experiences of underdevelopment and poverty within Sansanezwe, as a former apartheid homeland,

with particular focus on the situated knowledge of Mr. Mbanjwa. The concept of situated knowledge as coined by Haraway (1988, cited in Richardson-Ngwenya, 2013) reflects the particular perspectives of the subject in terms of offering a more adequate, richer and better account of their world. Situated knowledge production also considers how people may understand the same object in different ways that reflect the distinct relations in which they stand to it (Anderson, 2012). Thus situated knowledge takes into context the beliefs, skills and embodiment of the particular knower.

### **Preparations**

In preparation for the project, I researched the historical contexts on the construction of former Homelands<sup>5</sup> as well as the effects of apartheid on rural development. Along with the historical contexts, I also researched the statistics of the municipality in which Sandanezwe is situated to gain a current context of the community in this area. This preliminary research helped me to formulate questions to use a personal guide in acquiring deeper information on the situated knowledge of Mr. Mbanjwa and other possible informants. Additionally, I researched and read a substantial amount of secondary data relating to topics like unemployment and the reemergence of indigenous knowledge within rural areas. For instance, I found the website Statistics South Africa to be very useful because it provided current statistics of topics relating to the prevalence of developmental problems. Gathering this initial information helped me devise multiple ways through which I could acquire good fieldwork data.

### **Participant Observation/Informal Interviews**

The first phase of my fieldwork was unexpected in the sense that shortly after a five hour car ride to Sandanezwe, I met with Mr Mathanzima who was very excited by my arrival. He made me aware that I will be staying at his mothers house but for the duration of my study but he will pick me up every morning to spend the day with him as he conducted his business. After I dropped my belongings at the house, I was invited by my informant to follow him to his workplace to spend the rest of the day with him. Although I was tired, I could not pass up the opportunity to get started with my fieldwork process. At his workplace, we engaged in a lengthy conversation on topics relating to his personal life

---

<sup>5</sup> The homelands act of 1951 was established with the goal of creating a white republic in which Blacks did not feature as citizens

and the community as a whole while he continued his work. As the conversation proceeded, I wrote down several important details that emerged, I also included my personal observations and reflections of the details. When I returned home that evening, I transferred my fieldnotes onto my computer and included deeper reflections on all information I acquired. This unexpected beginning set the tone for my entire fieldwork process for the duration of the study. Using participant observation daily, I was able to acquire and check for both verbal and non-verbal forms of data while learning about Mr. Mbanjwa's life.

Participant observation allowed me to establish a deeper rapport with my informant, which brought forth more organic and revealing information for a richer primary data. My daily observations and reflections allowed me to acquire a chronological understanding of the situated account of Mr. Mbanjwa's daily activities and life experiences within the community as well as the overarching topic of rural underdevelopment. There were not many confidentiality concerns while gathering data but Mr. Mbanjwa was aware that any information acquired would be protected to ensure his privacy. For instance, I made sure to ask for his permission before taking a picture of him or his assets for the purpose of my study (Plate 4). During data gathering, I also had to employ mainly a conversational method of interacting with my informant because he was always doing a task such as driving or repairing an equipment. However, this method proved to be effective and appropriate because he was a busy man and I did not want my presence as a researcher and a guest to affect his daily workflow.

Although my project started with a big boost, I began to have some downtime that I used to conduct informal interviews with people within the community (See Appendix I for list of community members interviewed). I was not sure how to find interviewees at first, but my positionality as a researcher played to my advantage because people approached me willingly in order to inquire about my purpose in the community. The interviews with my local informants were conducted in English and in a conversational format because I aimed to understand their situated knowledge to triangulate with that of Mathanzima's. During the interviews, I followed an interview schedule I devised around past and current developmental issues within the community and this allowed me to get fluid and coherent information (See appendix II). I interviewed eight people within the community and I

accomplished this also by using snowball sampling as methodology. After interviewing an informant, I inquired his or her knowledge about other community members who could speak English and are also aware of the current issues affecting development in Sandanezwe. To keep up with my note taking methodology also, I transferred and reflected on the information from my interviewees at the end of each dialogue. Although each of the eight interviewees provided useful data, I only used a few of their details for triangulation with the situated knowledge of Mr. Mbanjwa in this paper.

### **Positionality**

Gathering data within Sandanezwe posed several dilemmas for me as a qualitative researcher. I was born in America and I am thus an American citizen by birth but I moved to Ghana where I grew up until I relocated back to America and am thus an African as well. What constituted my position as an African and an American was a problematic distinction, as I did not know how my data would be affected. While conducting my study in the community, I noticed that before people spoke to me, they often assumed that I was of Zulu origin and a fellow community member. Additionally, once people discovered I was not Zulu but rather a fellow African and an American, their initial attitudes towards me often changed but mostly in a positive way. In terms of power relations, I was aware that my position within the community had several effects on the information I gathered. However, in correlation with my ethnographic methodology, I made sure to surrender any form of power I had over my informants while being vigilant to the information I received because I considered myself as a learner amongst them. I believe this had a profound effect on my study as people who volunteered to be interviewed for my study knew that I was firstly a learner and secondly a fellow African. Additionally, I believe my positionality also brought different dynamics, in terms of concerns for an emic and etic representation of my data. For instance, I knew that people might not necessarily have had the information I required but nevertheless wanted to be interviewed. I was mainly aware of such instances because I embodied both the positions of an insider and an outsider throughout my data collections so as to avoid being biased and gullible.

### **Limitations of the study**

Synonymous with most researchers, there were a number of difficulties and barriers I encountered over the course of my study. I welcomed each of the difficulties I faced because it was a learning experience that helped me better understand the context of the situation. Although the limitations did not undermine my study, it is only vital that I reflect on their impact on the project. The main limitations will be presented below.

### **Language Barriers**

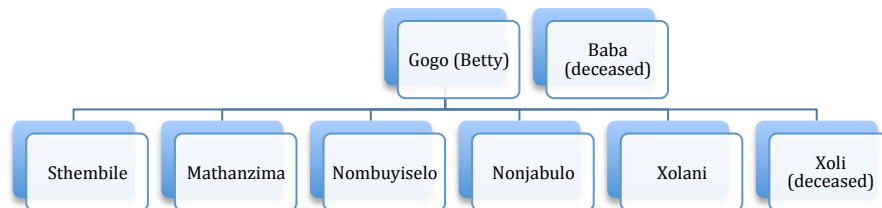
My main informant spoke a basic amount of English which made the information gathering easy. However, there were instances when he could not fully express himself in English as he would have in his native language isiZulu- which I was I was not proficient in. Also, I often had to reword my questions in a simple form to make it easy for him to understand because his english proficiency was only a basic one. Some of the local informants I interviewed also experienced this issue of difficult questions, as the majority of them told me to “change the big english to small ones”. Additionally, I believe the language barrier between my informants I prohibited me from finding more informants because I did not have a translator to help me interviewer non-english speakers.

### **Time Limitations**

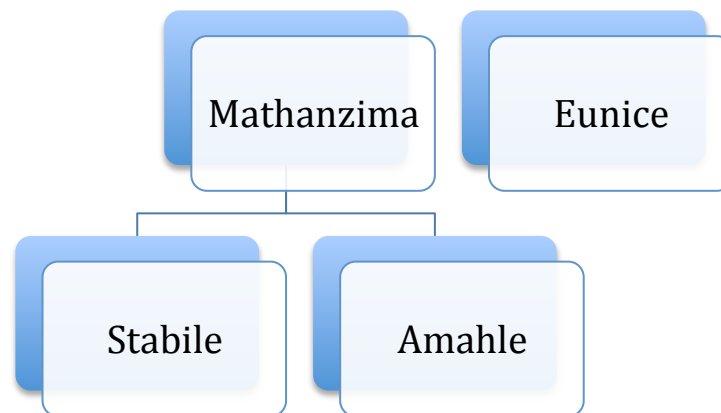
Two weeks and three days is very minimal time with which a researcher can fully conduct a study on rural derdevelopment issues. While I was always ready to begin my daily observations and interatcions with Mr. Mbanjwa, there were times when he had prior obligations, which often meant our meeting has to be cancelled. The cancellations happened more than once, which made me consider that perhaps I was stressing my informant. Additionally, some of my informants often showed up late to our scheduled interviews or had to reschedule due to family matters. To avoid being idle, I often used the free time from rescheduled or cancelled interviews to walk around the community to observe and get a first hand feeling and observation of current issues. I believe these time constraints made my research more realistic and allowed me to develop an emic and etic understanding of what it means to live in a rural community.

## 6. BECOMING A SELF-RELIANT BUSINESSMAN: Mr. MBANJWA'S STORY

Mr. Mbanjwa is a local businessman within Sandanezwe where he is amicably referred to as “Wiseman”. As a 43-year-old businessman, he is motivated to keep on working to provide for both his extended and nuclear families (See figures 3 and 4). He considers himself to be self-reliant and self-employed as he engages in several activities in and around the community to sustain himself and his family. For instance, he has opened a workshop by the his second tuck shop where he utilizes some of his acquired skills such as making building blocks for sale and repairing cars for people. He also engages



**Figure 3:** Lineage of the Mbanjwa family (extended)



**Figure 4:** Lineage of the Mbanjwa family (nuclear)

in a local 'entertainment business' where he owns multiple pool tables and jukeboxes that are rented to bars in the area for profit. He also contributes to the community by employing several people who also perform minimal jobs for him such as his herding cattle and cleaning the tuck shop as well as his family home. Certainly, Mr. Mbanjwa was not born into a wealthy family or a society with multiple opportunities; he had to struggle to achieve his current status. In order to convey the obstacles Mr. Mbanjwa went through to become a self-reliant businessman, I present a narrative of his story below.

Born in 1971, at a time and in a community where indigenous practices were very important to survival and sustenance, Mr. Mbanjwa, one of then six children learned how to farm and engage in several Zulu societal practices at a very young age. Although he engaged in traditional activities, he also completed primary and was enrolled in a local secondary school under the Department of Bantu Education<sup>6</sup>. He did not value the education in secondary school because the majority of people in the community who completed the secondary school did not do anything with the education they received. His mother was unemployed but she worked in the family garden to grow crops that she would later sell to provide for the family. His father, breadwinner for the family worked as a farmer for a white-owned farm that produced maize and milk. Due to the fact that his father worked far away from home, he was often absent and also the money he brought home was not sufficient enough to support the family. Realizing this situation, Mathanzima who was then a 17-years-old and in grade seven decided to dropout of school to support his mother on the farm. Reflecting on this information, I understood how Mr. Mbanjwa's childhood was affected by policies such as the homelands Act, which affected both his family and education.

When he dropped out, his mother was furious with him but she also knew that the help he would provide her was much needed. Part of the reason he dropped out was because traditional views he learned as a child did not place any importance on the value of education. While he helped his mother in the farm, he also worked on the farms of older women in the community who did not have enough strength to work extensively. He made a good amount of money from helping the women because a lot of men in the community

---

<sup>6</sup> All schooling in the homeland areas fell under the Department of Bantu Education which offered education inferior to that in White, Colored and Indian Schools in the national system of separate education systems.

were away working outside the area on large farms since there were no actual jobs locally. This was his first business. As time progressed, he saved the money he earned from ploughing and planting on fields to buy a cow, which he used with the plough to work on bigger farms for more money. It became clear that he was able to profit by using the indigenous skills he learned growing up. At that point, he decided to invest some money into a small business selling goats and chickens. I believe this aspect of the narrative indicates one of the many ways Mr. Mbanjwa became self-reliant; he was always thinking and planning ahead of time about how to support himself.

Venturing into the livestock business turned out to be a good decision for Mathanzima since he was able to acquire substantial amount of income to help his family. This was because a lot of people found it easier to buy items like chicken and eggs from him rather going into the next town, given that poor roads affected transportation to and from the community. Additionally, he observed that people in the community often spent money on buying items that they would have access to if they utilized their indigenous knowledge. For instance, people chose to buy milk in cartons instead of waking up early to milk their cows. With this insight he increased his livestock to profit off of capital coming from within the community as the people began to rely on his services. However, price hikes in chicken feed caused the number of customers to decline. As a result, the livestock business became unprofitable. In addition to these economic factors, many people in the community started to get jealous<sup>7</sup> of his success to the extent that he feared for his life; others accused him of using magic to acquire money. He was not sure what to do next after the collapse of this business but having saved some of his earlier profit, he was able to look after his family while searching for another means of making money.

Due to the overarching effects of apartheid that hindered the mobility of black people, as a 20-year-old secondary school dropout, Mathanzima lacked information about other parts of South Africa beyond Sandanezwe. On a visit to Durban, he was fascinated by the differences between the city and his home community; in particular, the structure of the buildings and homes in Durban really struck him. When he returned to the community,

---

<sup>7</sup> The topic of jealousy was very prevalent in my discussions with Mr. Mbanjwa. Through my reflections, I discovered that this notion of social jealousy might also be related to the lack of social mobility in terms of overcoming similar developmental struggles



he decided to use the knowledge he had on making traditional rondavels<sup>8</sup> to start a brick making business. He knew that the traditional rondavels in which most community members lived were made out of mud that only lasted about two years before being destroyed by the weather. Knowing this, he purchased a brick-making machine that he used to make bricks to gradually reconstruct his family home (Plate 5). When people saw that his home was now modern, Zulu styled house made with bricks, cement and aluminum sheets, they were very impressed and hired him to build brick houses for them. He woke up early every morning to start making bricks; he made more than 30 bricks every day. Not only did he profit from the labor costs, but he also made money by using his own materials to make the bricks, well aware of the fact community members would not have access to the materials themselves. Accurate timing was also important in helping Mr. Mbanjwa's construction business prosper; he was able to usually construct one room in a rondavel in about 4 days. Although the brick making business financially sustained him and his family, he wanted a new challenge and experience. So, he decided to move about 160km away to Durban to stay with a family member while searching for job opportunities.

In the midst of political transformation in early 1994, growing rural to urban migration and personal family matters, Mr. Mbanjwa decided to explore work opportunities in Durban. While in Durban, finding a job was difficult because he did not possess any of the required skills for the job market or even a sufficient educational background. Using connections he had with other rural migrants, he acquired a job as an undocumented construction worker. Working with the construction company was also a boost in his sense of self-reliance because he could apply his skills from making bricks and houses in Sandanezwe. On reflection, it was clear that his repertoire of skills seemed to be customizable since he could apply it to several situations to support himself. However, the job was not easy for him, as he often faced racism from supervisors who were not so keen about the growing diversity in the workforce and also his minimal paycheck affected the support he could offer to his family back home. Being a 23-year-old breadwinner for his family in Sandanezwe was becoming a huge burden for him.

---

<sup>8</sup> The rondavels are round or oval in shaped African house that is traditionally made with materials that can be locally found in raw form.

Despite the adversity he faced under many of his superiors, he remained a dedicated and punctual worker. As a result one manager, a white man, really liked his work ethic and asked him to move into his house for free in exchange for doing chores around the house. Living with his boss gave him to chance to acquire new skills such as learning how to drive and increasing his English proficiency. He tried numerous times to acquire the documents required to be a fulltime construction worker, however, he was continuously declined this opportunity. This was because the construction business required people with some evidence of an educational experience such as a matric certificate<sup>9</sup>. Frustrated, he decided to leave the construction business and move closer to home to find another means to make money.

With the newly ushered democracy in 1994 came several changes in the social and economic context. There was an introduction of several regulations and inflations in taxes for businesses. Life in the city was not all that he expected it to be because the amount of money he had to spend on necessities started to outweigh the income that he made. Looking back on how he used to live in Sandanezwe, he realized it was easier to use his local knowledge to make money. So he moved to Bulwer, a commercial town that is situated between Durban and Sandanezwe. In Bulwer, he became involved in importing livestock cheaply from Lesotho in order to trade it at a higher price. The poor status of the economy in Lesotho made people establish a system of barter trade where livestock was exchanged for items such as boots and clothes. This business was successful but as the new democracy began to develop after 1994, the tariffs on imports and other regulations decreased the profit in the business. Additionally, the regulations placed on businesses after the rise of the new democratic government continued to affect him in multiple ways. For instance, he opened a towing business and repair shop in Bulwer that was profitable because there were not many other mechanics. Returning from a visit to Sandanezwe, Mathanzima's car broke down so he had to call the only business in Ixopo, which was about 60km away. With this knowledge and his entrepreneurial thinking, he decided to open a towing shop in the area. However, the business did not last very long because the tax rates

---

<sup>9</sup> The matriculation certificate is issued after completing twelve years of school

affected his income level. Additionally, his towing business suffered because he lost a lot of his equipment when was attacked in an armed robbery that was never solved.

At age 28, he permanently relocated back to his home in Sandanezwe where he became married. Getting married was easy for him because he had acquired enough money over the years to pay a handsome dowry (*lobola*) for his wife. When he returned to the community, he observed that nothing had really changed, there were people that continued to live in extreme poverty and also there were not many signs of development. The majority of the people had also abandoned their traditional ways of living and had adopted modern but unsustainable ways of living. For instance, some people preferred to spend the day drinking Zulu beer and being idle instead of ploughing and planting on their farms. This new change in the traditional attitudes<sup>10</sup> people had was influenced by the fact that the majority of the community members were receiving social grants from the government. Since he did not qualify for any of the grants, he was not dependent on these grants like other members in the community. He opened a small convenience store (tuck shop) in front of his home for his wife in 2001 while he worked as a taxi driver in Ixopo (Plate 3). The taxi business was profitable because there were very few forms of transportation to and from Sandanezwe, so he profited from driving people to commercial centers like Ixopo and Donnybrook. He abandoned this business because it became very risky; he almost lost his life after being stabbed while operating at night.

His tuck shop was successful because he sold several items that people could not get access to unless they went to the commercial centers. Also in the community, there were no taxes or regulations on microbusinesses like tuck shops, thus his profit was substantial<sup>11</sup>. Along with the tuck shop, he opened a bar (*shebeen*) that included a pool table and a jukebox. The bar increased the number of patrons at not only the *shebeen* but also the tuck shop. This increased the profit he received daily since there were a number of unemployed people in the community who always spent their money and time at the *shebeen*. Realizing how easy is to make money in a rural areas, he acquired a portion of land<sup>12</sup> in another part

---

<sup>10</sup> Based on my reflections, I also believe that the attitudes of the people related to the fact that since they are no longer under a system where they do not have access to the outside world, they felt the need to explore new attitudes that are beyond their social spectrum.

<sup>11</sup> I believe this shows how Mathanzima navigates the local economy within the community to establish his forms of businesses. He also seems to take into account very cost effective measures when establishing his businesses.

<sup>12</sup> Pieces of land in the communal areas of former homelands cannot be owned but are allocated by the local chief

of the community where he now has a home for his nuclear family and a bigger tuck shop (Plate 4 and 6).

In the following section below, Table 1 provides a summary of the timeline of activities that Mr. Mbanjwa has engaged in. It shows that through time, he has had approximately 16 forms of informal businesses to support his family and himself. The Table also presents some of the main challenges he faced, which were rural poverty due to apartheid, lack of employment as a result of a poor Bantu education and low income. Finally, the Table also suggests how through 'self-reliance' he was able to overcome the challenges that presented themselves to him.



**Plate 5:** Mr. Mbanjwa's modern Zulu family home that he reconstructed



**Plate 6:** A trip to Ixopo where Mr. Mbanjwa purchased several bags of processed corn for his tuck shops

<b>TIME PERIODS</b>	<b>BUSINESSES</b>	<b>CHALLENGES</b>	<b>OVERCOMING CHALLENGES</b>
1988 (Age 17)	<b>Labor for hire</b>	Poverty and lack of family income	Ploughing fields and planting corn for people to make more money
	<b>Poultry</b>	Continuous Poverty	Venture into poultry business to increase income
	<b>Livestock</b> (selling goats)		Broadening previous business to establish himself
1991 (Age 20)	<b>Construction</b>	Poor housing conditions due to lack of infrastructure	Applying established knowledge to make bricks for himself and for profit
	<b>Building Metal containers/ Constructing pavements (Durban)</b>	Rural to urban immigrant	Learning new skills to make ends meet
1994 (Age 23)	<b>Undocumented construction worker (Durban)</b>	Lack of job credentials/ racial prejudice	Using connections to acquire a job as unskilled laborer
	<b>Livestock</b> (Importing goats from Lesotho to Durban)	Low income/ taxes and regulations	Engaging new forms of businesses
	<b>Mechanic</b> (Towing)		Engaging new forms of businesses – moving back to rural area
	<b>Wholesale Buyer</b> (Buying vegetables from local areas and selling them in Durban)		Engaging new forms of businesses – looking for local opportunities
1998 (Age 27)	<b>Kombi (taxi) Driver</b>		
2001 (Age 30)	<b>Tuck Shop # 1</b>	Continuous underdevelopment within the area	Opened tuck shop to support his family
2012 (Age 41 – Present)	<b>Tuck Shop #2</b>	Finding a stability within the community	Bigger tuck shop to benefit more people in the area
	<b>Entertainment Business</b> (Renting Juke boxes and Pool game tables placed to multiple <i>shebeens</i> )		Expanded the potential of the tuck shop
	<b>Lumberjack</b> (Making wooden pallets for sale)		Seeing local markets for goods
	<b>Household furnishing</b> (Selling mattresses, fridges, tables, cabinets and decorations)		Seeing local markets for goods
	<b>Contractor</b>		

**Table 1:** Business Timeline of Mr. Mbanjwa

## 7. LEARNING FROM Mr. MBANJWA (FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS)

This narrative has implicated the effects of apartheid and the Homelands Act in Mr. Mbanjwa's life history. Although the narrative is compelling, there are several critical and fundamental factors within the story to be explored. In Richardson-Ngwenya's (2013) research from which I draw inspiration, she offers three main points on which the narrative of a local Caribbean farmer can be analyzed. Although her research was in the Caribbean, I believe it is applicable to the context I am exploring in South Africa. I will utilize her three main points to analyze and show the broad and critical factors within Mr. Mbanjwa's story. The first is the issue of relevance and representativeness of the individual in this account. When considering the historical context of apartheid and Homelands Act, it is obvious that Mr. Mbanjwa's story represents both the past and present experiences of people in former homelands. For instance, Mr. Mbanjwa expressed that many of the people in the community have stopped utilizing their traditional skills to better themselves. This particular situated knowledge was reiterated by a community development worker who stressed that "once some people in the community received social grants<sup>13</sup>, they stopped ploughing their lands like they did in the past to support themselves" (Bezuidenhout, April, 3, 2014). Additionally, the description of Mr. Mbanjwa's childhood with his father mirrored an insight I gained from Ms. Namisile Ndmhlane who said that "many women in the old days were mainly dependent on their husbands who would often go to work in distant areas because lack of jobs in the area during apartheid" (April, 9, 2014). Evidently, the situated knowledge of this local businessman is similar and embedded in the collective experiences of many other people within the community. In this sense, Mr. Mbanjwa's story interestingly offers a past and current perspective of the 'living history' of a former homeland resident; showing how what has come before (apartheid, underdevelopment and poverty) has shaped and continues to shape the activities and behaviors of the present.

Mr. Mbanjwa's experiences and perspectives can be understood as constitutive of a particular way of living with poverty and underdevelopment; a way of life that represents self-reliance and a bottom-up approach to development (Table 1). His is a specific though resounding example of how self-reliance can be a useful developmental tool for people in

---

<sup>13</sup> To receive the social grants, the people have to be either of old age, disabled or have dependent children.

rural communities; his way of life has always been through self-reliance and will continue to as long as underdevelopment and poverty persists within the community. In terms of lived experiences, his account is highly informative. But more than this, his account also connects to a broader set of economic and ethical issues, which leads to the second main point I would like to offer: Mr Mbanjwa's story is an important lesson that calls for a bottom-up approach to economic development and also disproves the myth about the lack of self-empowerment among Black South Africans. There are few chances for rural inhabitants, especially the poor and uneducated to have a say in the strategies employed for rural development. While discussing current development issues in Sandanezwe, Mr. Mbanjwa enlightened me on the fact that "many people in the community have never been in school so even with the help of the Ingwe municipality, they do not know what to ask for" (April, 10, 2014). Another informant, Mr. Sboniso Sithole added that due to poverty and lack of better education, people in the community are 'one dimensional' in terms of communicating their needs, "they only know how to ask for money but not how to help themselves get that money" (April 11, 2014). Mr. Mbanjwa's perception of this issue presents the claim that many people in rural communities cannot comply with the structured (top-down) platforms provided for development because they do not have the necessary knowledge about communicating their needs. His situated knowledge offers an alternative solution to this issue, which is taking matters into your own hands and using a bottom-up approach such as self-reliance.

Narrating this embedded and historically dependent life history in Sandanezwe, also provides a scope for critiquing some of South Africa's developmental policies. One of the many approaches the country has taken in dealing with these issues in South Africa is through the application of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), a visionary path for development. As stated by President Jacob Zuma in the recent MDG report, "the Republic of South Africa has experienced uneven development since September 2000 and there are some areas that show that more hard work and dedication remain necessary" (South Africa, 2013). The proposed MDGs address broad social issues, which are undoubtedly important, however, the extent to which these goals reach the local level in areas such as Sandanezwe is yet to be seen or explored. Such developmental policies do not take into account the specific situations of different persons affected by unequal development and

poverty nor do they tend to the ways of life that have become embedded in rural poverty for generations. For instance, Mr. Siyabonga-Protas Ndzimbovu elaborated that although some community leaders might manage to communicate the needs of the area to the Ingwe municipality, if the specific need is not within the annual budget, nothing will be fulfilled (April, 12, 2014). To reiterate, people have to resort to becoming self-reliant because the local municipality barely has any resources to assist them.

Thirdly, this account offers some insights in terms of methodological strategy. Linking my narrative and reflections on Mr. Mbanjwa's life history with the insights of other informants with the community through an ethnographic approach, I was able to illustrate an important perspective and an account of 'situated knowledge' within a former homeland. This also allowed for a co-production of knowledge with Mr. Mbanjwa's own words expressed clearly joining with my own to produce an understanding of his circumstances. Spending the majority of my study period gathering data with him, and recording his daily life through photographs, proved to be a useful tool for acquiring a practical understanding of self-reliance. The practical process of being around and at times completing tasks with my informant allowed for the sharing of stories beyond the scripted guidelines. Had this research been undertaken in a formal manner with formal interviews and data collection methods, the story and situated account Mr. Mbanjwa would have been rather different. Hence the informal and participatory nature of this study helped abandon any preconceived notions I had in the beginning of this study. For example, I expected his life history to mainly highlight mainly the effects of apartheid on community development. However, upon interacting and working with him, I was able to realize that the causality of underdevelopment cannot be allocated to the effects of apartheid alone, the role of traditional leaders in the past also has to come into question. Additionally, co-producing knowledge with my informant allowed me to gain a better understanding of his life history and his future ideas on being self-reliant.



## 8. CONCLUSION

By using an ethnographic method in engaging with and expressing the situated knowledges of a local businessman, this paper has demonstrated the value that individual stories have for exploring the embeddedness of poverty and underdevelopment due to current and historical factors. Mr. Mbanjwa's story summarised in Table 1 illustrates how becoming self-reliant can be a 'counterpoint' and a path through which one can personally mitigate issues of poverty and underdevelopment. For example, while he was faced with becoming the breadwinner for his family at an early age, he decided to employ his indigenous skills to engage in several activities or businesses to gain some form of income. This particular display of situated knowledge coincides with the theory of capabilities (Sen, 1990), which suggests that different people and societies typically differ in their capacity to convert income and commodities into valuable achievements. Thus in this instance, Mr. Mbanjwa's situated knowledge of poverty within his family and the community makes him capable of using self-reliant activities to acquire income, which was valuable in the sense that the family is dependent on his efforts. In addition, his story can be further understood through the lens of Anyanwu (1992) as he states that the development of related skills and attitudes of a people could enable them to satisfy their basic needs, to grow self-reliant, and to minimize precarious dependence on agencies external to their communities.

Mr. Mbanjwa's life history and situated knowledge serves as a reminder of some of the strategies policy makers need to utilize in terms of development in rural areas. Through his narrative, we can see that large metropolitan urban areas like Durban are undoubtedly ahead of rural areas like Sandanezwe in terms of development. Therefore, rural inhabitants in positions like Mr. Mbanjwa's are likely to migrate to urban areas in search of better lives and jobs. However, as Mr. Mbanjwa's story illustrates, life in Durban was not what he expected it to be, finding jobs and fitting into the social structure was difficult for a rural migrant with a minimal education and skill set. In one of our conversations, he added, "people here like everything from the abelungu<sup>14</sup>, they don't like their own things". This particular situated knowledge highlights the fact that in an impoverished community, people begin to desire westernized and modern life, which also means a growing decrease

---

<sup>14</sup> Abelungu refers to "white people" in isiZulu

in the influence indigenous culture and skills. Thus it is proposed here that policy makers need to employ and implement developmental strategies that highlight the importance of traditional and rural life. Promoting rural life will also attract developmental agencies such as agricultural companies and industrialists to invest in rural communities. This will create jobs, decrease rural to urban migration, decrease dependence on the government and increase the sense of empowerment and self-reliance among people in rural communities.

## 9. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Expanding ones paradigm and finding a suitable and worthy project to pursue in a foreign country is a situation that goes along with the saying “easier said than done”. This was certainly the case for me in the months before the ISP project began. However, with the help of two academic directors, associates and an advisor, I was able to surpass my early nervousness to conduct an incredible project. I will like to thank John (Zed) McGladdery for encouraging me to pursue an alternative form of an ISP when my earlier ideas fell short of expectations. Also, I will like to thank Clive (Gandalf) Bruzas for always being approachable and spending a substantial amount of time with me in order to set the ball rolling for this project. I cannot forget the wonderful logistics and financial duo, Thula and Hlobi for their dedicated services and friendship.

I will like to modestly and sincerely extend my appreciation to the following people who made my independent study in the Sandanezwe community possible. Firstly, I will like to thank my advisor, Professor Dianne Scott who was very quick and efficient in providing me with feedback on my proposal. She was incredible in helping me patch together many ideas and directions during the final hours of pre-ISP. Secondly, I will like to thank Mr. Mathanzima Mbanjwa, my main informant for this project, for accepting me into his home and allowing me to tag along with him everyday while gathering information. Although this is an independent study, I was mainly dependent on his cooperation and dedication to helping me gain an understanding of his story and the current state of the community. Likewise, I will like to thank my entire homestay family in Sandanezwe for being incredibly welcoming and always making an effort to establish great conversation with me despite our language barriers. Special thanks to my gogo (grandmother), for always making me the best meals and constantly showing me new aspects of Zulu culture to satisfy my anthropological needs. I will sincerely miss the moments and the atmosphere within the Mbanjwa family.

Additionally, I will like to thank all the people in the Sandanezwe that offered to be participants in my project. You were all very insightful and patient with providing me critical details on issues within the community that related to my project. I certainly feel honored to have learned a lot from you all. Last but not the least, thanks to Rachelle Sartori,

for being an amazing friend and colleague. Although we did separate projects in the community, I found our daily fieldwork discussions very insightful and helpful.

## 10. REFERENCES

### Primary Sources

- Bezuidenhout , Pinky. (2014, April 3). Informal Interview. (N. Asare, Interviewer)
- Mbanjwa , Mathanzima. (2014, April 10). Informal Interview. (N. Asare, Interviewer)
- Ndmhlane, Namisile. (2014, April 9). Informal Interview. (N. Asare, Interviewer)
- Ndzimbovu, Siyabonga-Protas. (2014, April 12). Informal Interview. (N. Asare, Interviewer)
- Sithole, Sboniso. (2014, April 11). Informal Interview. (N. Asare, Interviewer)

### Secondary Sources

- Anderson, E. (2012). *Feminist Epistemology and Philosophy of Science*. (E. N. Zalta, Editor) Retrieved April 22, 2014, from Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy: <<http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2012/entries/feminism-epistemology/>>
- Anyanwu, C. (1992). Community development. *The Nigerian perspective* .
- Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, book I, sect. 7; in the translation by David Ross, World's Classics (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 12-14.
- Butler, J., Rotberg, R. I., & Adams, J. (1977). *The Black Homelands of South Africa: The Political and Economic Development of Bophuthatswana and Kwa-Zulu*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Feinberg, H. M. (1993). The 1913 Native Lands Act in South Africa: Politics, Race and Segregation in the Early 20th Century. *The International Journal of African History Studies* , 26 (1), 65-109.
- Fonchingong, C. C., & Fonjong, L. N. (2003). The Concept of Self-reliance in Community Development Initiatives in the Cameroon Grassfields . *Nordic Journal of African Studies* , 12 (2), 1-24.
- Haraway, D. (1988). Situated knowledges: the science question in feminism and the privilege of partial perspective. *Feminist Studies* , 14 (3), 575-599.
- Illgner, P. M., Nel, L. E., & Robertson, M. P. (1998). Beekeeping and Local Self-Reliance in Rural South Africa. *American Geographical Society* , 88 (3), 349-62.
- Ingwe Municipality. (2013). *Integrated Development Plan - Reviewed for the 2013/14 Financial Year* . Retrieved May 30, 2014, from Ingwe Municipality: [www.ingwemunicipality.gov.za](http://www.ingwemunicipality.gov.za)

Lipton, M., & Ellis, F. (1996). *Land, Labour and Livelihoods in Rural South Africa. 2*. Durban, KwaZulu-Natal and Northern Province, South Africa: Indicator Press.

Lundhal, M., & Lennart, P. (2009). *Post-Apartheid South Africa An Economic Success Story?* World Institute for Development Economics Research. Lund: United Nations University.

May, J. (1998). *Poverty and Inequality in South Africa*. Report Prepared for the Office of the Executive Deputy President and the Inter-Ministerial Committee for Poverty and Inequality. Durban: Praxis Publishing.

Michigan State University. (n.d.). *The Rise of Apartheid*. (African Studies Center) Retrieved May 29, 2014, from Overcoming Apartheid: <http://overcomingapartheid.msu.edu/unit.php?id=65-24E-5&page=1>

Richardson-Ngwenya, P. (2013). Situated knowledge and the EU sugar reform: a Caribbean life history. *Royal Geographical Society*, 45 (2), 188-197.

Sen, A. K. (1990). Development as Capability Expansion. In K. Griffin, & J. Knight, *Human Development and the International Development Strategy for the 1990s* (pp. 41-58). London: Macmillan.

South Africa, S. (2013). *Millennium Development Goals, Country Report 2013*. Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.

South African History Online. (n.d.). *Apartheid and reactions to it*. Retrieved April 29, 2014, from Liberation Struggle in South Africa: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/liberation-struggle-south-africa/apartheid-and-limits-non-violent-resistance-1948-1960>

Statistics South Africa. (2014). *Local Municipality | Statistics South Africa*. Retrieved March 30, 2014, from Statistics South Africa: [http://beta2.statssa.gov.za/?page\\_id=993&id=ingwe-municipality](http://beta2.statssa.gov.za/?page_id=993&id=ingwe-municipality)

Tope, D., Chamberlain, L., & Crowley, M. (2005). The Benefits of Being There. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* (32), 470-93.

Westaway, A. (2010). Rural poverty in South Africa: Legacy of apartheid or consequence of contemporary segregationism? *Overcoming inequality and structural poverty in South Africa: Towards inclusive growth and development* (pp. 1-17). Johannesburg: Border Rural Committee.

## **11. APPENDICES**

### **Appendix I: List of Community members interviewed**

- A. Ms. Betty Mbanjwa (0713937926)
- B. Ms. Pinky Bezuidenhout (079 470 6086)
- C. Ms. Namisile Ndmhlane (072 658 5789)
- D. Mr. Siyabonga-Protas Ndzimbovu (076 725 4162)
- E. Mr. Sboniso Sithole (079 429 9593)
- F. Ms. Beauty Mthembu (082 833 7760)
- G. Ms. Madrina, Mkhize (076 586 0894)
- H. Mr. Alex Mensah (0795750746)

## Appendix II: Interview Schedule

### Section A (Family/house hold structure)

- a. How many family members do you have?
- b. Can you use a map to show me your family members/family tree? How are each of the members related? Who amongst them has passed away? How did he/she pass away?
- c. Do you have a small or big family?
- d. How would you describe your life growing up in the family? How will you describe your umuzi?
- e. What did your parents do for a living? What were some of the problems your parents faced when you were young?
- f. Are you married? Do you have a wife or wives? Any children?
- g. Do you currently live with your entire family? Why or why not?
- h. Are you the breadwinner for your entire family? When or why did you start playing that role?

### Section B (Contextual History of Sandanezwe)

- a. How will you describe the community that you grew up in?
- b. What did the community have and what did it lack?
- c. What nKosi is currently ruling over this area? What is the role of the chief in the community?
- d. How did apartheid affect the community and the people around you? Give me some examples.
- e. How have people made a living here in the past and how has this changed at all?
- f. Before 1994, did the government provide for the community? If not, how did the community survive by itself? What services were provided?
- g. Can you compare the current state of the community to how it used to be in the old days?
- h. What has changed in the community? What is currently being done?
- i. What are some of the main problems in the community now?
- j. Does the community benefit from falling under the Ingwe municipality?
- k. What role does the councilor play in getting develop to the area?
- l. How does the current issues within the community affect you and your family?

### Section C (life and work history)

- a. When did you start your life as a businessman? Do you consider yourself to be self-employed?
- b. How many businesses do you have or have you had over the years? Draw a time line with person. List all businesses over time.
- c. How did you start the businesses? What were/are your motivations?
- d. What were some of the challenges you faced in each business? What does the role of being in a rural area play in your business?
- e. What are some of the successes you have gained from your businesses?
- f. What factors do you think have enabled you to do well in business?
- g. Which business has brought you the most money?



- h. Are there other people who benefit from your business? Like the community? Other family members? Employees
- i. What motivates or empowers you?
- j. In what way do you consider yourself to be self-reliant?
- k. What assets have been able to obtain due to your business success?
- l. What kind of a life do you have as a result of being self-reliant?
- m. Do you stand out as being different in your community because you are self-reliant? In what way?
- n. How do other community members feel about your success?
- o. To what extent have you developed business outside of this community area and how successful has that been?

**Section D (Current Issues within the area)**

- a. What are the three main issues in this community?
- b. Do you know how these issues have come about in this community?
- c. What is being done to fix some of these issues?
- d. Do the issues affect your business?
- e. How are you overcoming the issues if they are affecting you and your family?
- f. What is the government doing to fix some of the issues you have mentioned?
- g. Do you think the issues will ever go away?
- h. Do you have any ideas on what people should do in order to avoid the issues?

### Appendix III: Additional Pictures



**Plate 7:** One of the main roads to Sandanezwe being cleared for further construction

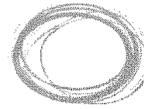


**Plate 8:** A view of Blue Sky, one of the sparse settlements in Sandanezwe

## Appendix IV: Statement of Ethics

---

### SIT Study Abroad a program of World Learning



#### Statement of Ethics

(adapted from the American Anthropological Association)

In the course of field study, complex relationships, misunderstandings, conflicts, and the need to make choices among apparently incompatible values are constantly generated. The fundamental responsibility of students is to anticipate such difficulties to the best of their ability and to resolve them in ways that are compatible with the principles stated here. *If a student feels such resolution is impossible, or is unsure how to proceed, s/he should consult as immediately as possible with the Academic Director (AD) and/or Independent Study Project (ISP) Advisor and discontinue the field study until some resolution has been achieved.* Failure to consult in cases which, in the opinion of the AD and ISP Advisor, could clearly have been anticipated, can result in disciplinary action as delineated in the "failure to comply" section of this document.

Students must respect, protect, and promote the rights and the welfare of all those affected by their work. The following general principles and guidelines are fundamental to ethical field study:

#### I. Responsibility to people whose lives and cultures are studied

Students' first responsibility is to those whose lives and cultures they study. Should conflicts of interest arise, the interests of these people take precedence over other considerations, including the success of the Independent Study Project (ISP) itself. Students must do everything in their power to protect the dignity and privacy of the people with whom they conduct field study.

The rights, interests, safety, and sensitivities of those who entrust information to students must be safeguarded. The right of those providing information to students either to remain anonymous or to receive recognition is to be respected and defended. It is the responsibility of students to make every effort to determine the preferences of those providing information and to comply with their wishes. It should be made clear to anyone providing information that despite the students' best intentions and efforts, anonymity may be compromised or recognition fail to materialize. Students should not reveal the identity of groups or persons whose anonymity is protected through the use of pseudonyms.

Students must be candid from the outset in the communities where they work that they are students. The aims of their Independent Study Projects should be clearly communicated to those among whom they work.

Students must acknowledge the help and services they receive. They must recognize their obligation to reciprocate in appropriate ways.

To the best of their ability, students have an obligation to assess both the positive and negative consequences of their field study. They should inform individuals and groups likely to be affected of any possible consequences relevant to them that they anticipate.

Students must take into account and, where relevant and to the best of their ability, make explicit the extent to which their own personal and cultural values affect their field study.

Students must not represent as their own work, either in speaking or writing, materials or ideas directly taken from other sources. They must give full credit in speaking or writing to all those who have contributed to their work.

#### II. Responsibilities to Hosts

Students should be honest and candid in all dealings with their own institutions and with host institutions. They should ascertain that they will not be required to compromise either their responsibilities or ethics as a condition of permission to engage in field study. They will return a copy of their study to the institution sponsoring them and to the community that hosted them at the discretion of the institution(s) and/or community involved.

#### III. Failure to comply

When SIT Study Abroad determines that a student has violated SIT's statement of ethics, the student will be subject to disciplinary action, up to and including dismissal from the program.

I, Alana Asare, have read the above Statement of Ethics and agree to make every effort to comply with its provisions.

Date: 3/27/14