

# REFLECTIONS FROM THE MARGINS

COMPLEXITIES, TRANSITIONS AND  
DEVELOPMENTAL CHALLENGES:  
THE CASE OF THE EASTERN CAPE  
PROVINCE, SOUTH AFRICA

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# Abbreviations & Acronyms

ACC	AmaDiba Crisis Committee
ANC	African National Congress
BCCMs	Black Charismatic Church Ministries
Coalition	The Eastern Cape Health Crisis Action Coalition
CYPR	couple year protection rate
DMR	Department of Mineral Resources
DPW	Department of Public Works
ECDoE	Eastern Cape Department of Education
ECDoH	Eastern Cape Department of Health
EMS	emergency medical services
EPWP	Expanded Public Works Programme
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
IQMS	integrated quality monitoring system
MMR	maternal mortality rate
MMRiF	maternal mortality ratio in-facility
MPRDA	Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act, 2002
NCDs	non-communicable diseases
NEETs	[young people who are] not in education, employment, or training
NHI	National Health Insurance
PGDP	Provincial Growth and Development Plan

SAIMD	South African Index of Multiple Deprivation
SDG	sustainable development goals
SRH	sexual and reproductive health
Stats SA	Statistics South Africa
TEM	Transworld Energy Minerals
WHO	World Health Organization

# 3

## Multiple Deprivations in the Eastern Cape

*Wanga Zembe-Mkabile, Michael Noble and Gemma Wright*

### **blue gold**

Fallow lands –  
idle hands – the famer  
entertains  
the devil’s work  
after questioning  
his worth.

Two words  
run  
incessant  
marathons  
in his mind:  
“bone dry”.

The cattle  
huddle  
herding away  
from the  
encroaching  
drought  
taken to their  
docile route  
of draughty throat.

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The acacia thorns  
prick the static air  
as the burg wind  
lifts their cracking,  
boughs forlorn.

fire.  
is.  
imminent.  
A long walk  
on perforated heels.

Edges blur, slow-ly...

Agony. Thirst. Fields.

Stalks of corn – measly mielies –  
throw their last  
battered brown leaves  
upwards  
... in the hope of  
photosynthesis.

Scorched earth.  
Resource policy.

At least wood offers  
easily  
to braai polity.

But that is all...

Water-logged  
in the search for  
blue gold.

Amy Shelver



Introduction

In South Africa, spatial patterns of poverty and deprivation are the outcome of specific historical policies. These resulted in the country being divided into formal, wealthy and well-run areas that were reserved for whites on the one hand, and remote or peripheral under-serviced areas reserved for black people on the other. Blacks stayed either in racially segregated townships around cities or in homelands. The townships were created or confirmed by the Group Areas Act 1950, and the Group Areas Act 1966, while the former homelands were created during colonial times and further promulgated under the Bantu Authorities Act 1951.<sup>1</sup> The eastern sections of the Eastern Cape province were carved up into two homelands – Transkei and Ciskei – both comprising mostly unproductive land and located far from affluent areas.

In the Eastern Cape, it is important to examine the spatial distribution of deprivation, as this aids our understanding of where the province is with regards to development relative to the rest of South Africa. It also allows us to identify areas within the Eastern Cape that are the worst affected by deprivation. Measures of multiple deprivations at the level of wards allow us to monitor the situation within the district and local municipalities. In this chapter, we utilise data from the 2011 Census and present ward level analysis, which demonstrates that multiple deprivations are still concentrated in the former homelands, particularly the former Transkei.

While this chapter considers aggregates of multiple deprivations throughout the province, an analysis of the population’s access to specific services, such as water, electricity, sanitation and housing, is also presented.

Conceptualising and defining multiple deprivation

Townsend<sup>2</sup> defines deprivation as:

a state of observable and demonstrable disadvantage relative to the local community or the wider society or nation to which an individual, family or group belongs. The idea has come to be applied to conditions (that is, physical, environmental and social states or circumstances) rather than resources and to specific and not only general circumstances, and therefore can be distinguished from the concept of poverty.<sup>3</sup>

Whereas poverty is about lacking resources to meet needs, deprivation quantifies those unmet needs. People are therefore said to be deprived:

if they lack the types of diet, clothing, housing, household facilities and fuel and environmental, educational, working and social conditions, activities and facilities which are customary, or at least widely encouraged and approved, in the societies to which they belong [...]<sup>4</sup>

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Census-based indices of multiple deprivations have a long history dating back to the early 1970s in the United Kingdom. Administrative data is, however, increasingly used as the main data source, resulting in indices that can be updated more regularly.<sup>5</sup> In the Global South, South Africa and Namibia were among the first to have census-based indices of deprivation. In these settings, indices of multiple deprivations have been used to inform policies and target resources.

The Index of Multiple Deprivation is made up of different dimensions or domains of deprivation experienced by individuals and is expressed at an area level. As such, with the index it is possible to state that a proportion of the population of a particular area experiences a particular form of deprivation while another proportion experiences a different form. The methodological approach is set out in Noble et al.<sup>6</sup> but, in brief, it involves the following set of principles:

- Dimensions of deprivation must be clearly identified;
- Dimensions must be measured as accurately as possible with indicators that pass specific tests of fitness;
- Problems of the unacceptable standard error must be dealt with;
- Indicators must be combined to form domains in such a way as to best measure the construct in question;
- Domain scores must be capable of being ranked to generate a relative picture of that form of deprivation;
- Domain ranks must be standardised and transformed in a way that allows their weighted combination into an overall index; and
- Appropriate domain weights should be selected.

The South African Index of Multiple Deprivation (SAIMD) has seen several iterations beginning with the Provincial Index of Multiple Deprivation 2001 (PIMD 2001) at ward level.<sup>7, 8</sup> This index was followed by the SAIMD 2001 at sub-ward (data zone) level,<sup>9</sup> and a modelled SAIMD 2007 at data zone level.<sup>10</sup> Most recently, the ward level SAIMD 2011 was<sup>11</sup> constructed, the findings of which are presented in this chapter for the Eastern Cape.

The SAIMD 2011 has four dimensions or domains. These are material deprivation, employment deprivation, education deprivation, and living environment deprivation (see Table 3.1). The domains are measured separately and then are combined with appropriate weighting into a single measure of multiple deprivations. Each of the individual domains of deprivation is, however, also

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expressed as a domain-specific index of deprivation, enabling the use of the domains individually for policy purposes in instances where the overall index may be less appropriate.

In some domains, deprivation is measured at the household level (for example, in the material deprivation domain), whereas in other domains they are measured at the individual level (for example, in the education deprivation domain). People (or households) may be counted as deprived in one or more domains, depending on the number of types of deprivation experienced. Within each domain, however, there is no double counting. The overall SAIMD 2011 combines each of these individual domains of deprivation using equal weights.

The domains selected in respect of the SAIMD 2001 in all its various configurations influenced the selection of the domains of deprivation for the SAIMD 2011.<sup>12</sup> The choice of indicators included in some of the domains was influenced by a nationally representative study which sought the views of South Africans on essential items and possessions necessary for an adequate standard of living,<sup>13</sup> as well as by the availability of data in the 2011 population census.

The domains do not represent a lack of income to obtain certain goods or services. Instead, each of the domains either represents lack of possession of certain assets (material deprivation), lack of access to services (living environment deprivation), exclusion from the labour market (employment deprivation), or lack of access to a human capital enhancing public service such as education (education deprivation).

The indicators and denominators for the domains were extracted from the ward tables from the 2011 population census<sup>14</sup> using the SuperSTAR tool and imported into Stata for further analysis. Simple rates were used to create each of the domain indices. In line with good practice, however, statistical procedures were undertaken to deal with small numbers in the denominator in some wards. The SAIMD 2011 at ward level was calculated as the combined sum of the standardised and exponentially transformed domain scores.

In summary, the SAIMD 2011 has five ward level measures, that is, the four domain measures and one overall SAIMD 2011. These five measures are each assigned a rank. The most deprived ward for each measure is given a rank of 1, and the least deprived ward is given a rank of 4 277. The ranks show wards compared to all the other wards in South Africa.



**Table 3.1**     **SAIMD domains and indicators**

Material Deprivation Domain	Employment Deprivation Domain	Education Deprivation Domain	Living Environment Deprivation Domain
<p>% of households with:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• no fridge, or</li><li>• no cell and no landline, or</li><li>• no TV and no radio</li></ul>	<p>% of working-age people who are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• unemployed (narrow definition), or</li><li>• unemployed (broad definition)</li></ul>	<p>% of 18-64-year-olds who:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• have no schooling at the secondary level or higher</li></ul>	<p>% of the total population who:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• have inadequate water supply, or</li><li>• have inadequate sanitation, or</li><li>• do not use electricity as the main source for lighting, or</li><li>• live in a shack.</li></ul>

**Setting the Eastern Cape in context – province and national level comparisons**

One way of summarising the ward level SAIMD 2011 at province level is to calculate the population-weighted average rank of the wards for higher-level geographical units. Table 3.2 presents the population-weighted average ward rank of the SAIMD 2011 for each province in South Africa. The lower the population-weighted average rank of the wards in the province, the more overall multiple deprivations there are in that area. From this table the Eastern Cape is shown with a population-weighted average rank of 1 572, making it the most deprived province in South Africa, followed by Limpopo and North West.

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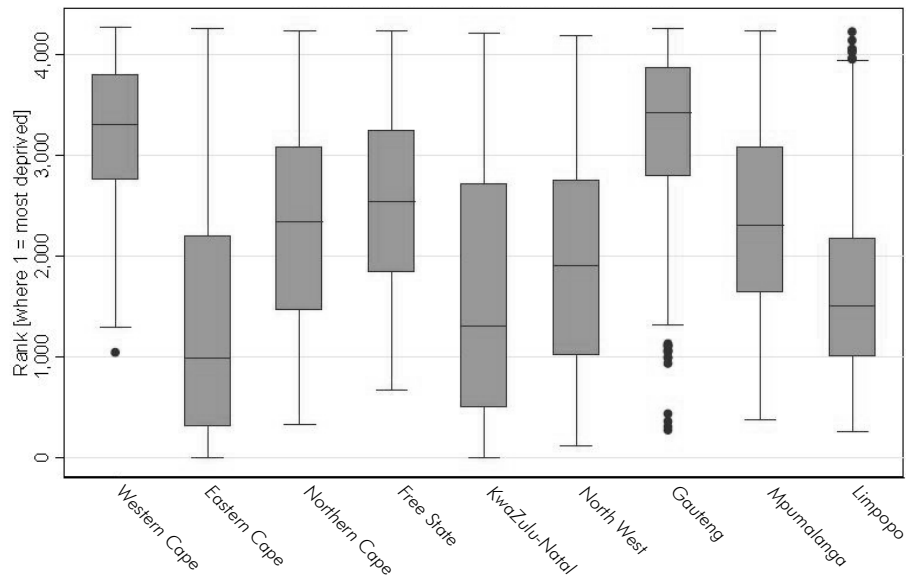
**Table 3.2** Population weighted average ward rank of the SAIMD 2011 for each province in South Africa

Province Name	Population weighted Average Rank	Rank Order where 1=most deprived
Eastern Cape	1572	1
Limpopo	1772	2
North West	2016	3
KwaZulu-Natal	2020	4
Northern Cape	2312	5
Mpumalanga	2318	6
Free State	2611	7
Gauteng	3275	8
Western Cape	3339	9

Another way in which to summarise the ward level SAIMD by province is to depict the ward level ranks using box plots (Figure 3.1).

In these box plots and those that follow, the range of deprivation is illustrated by the vertical line (with outliers shown as dots). The Eastern Cape’s most deprived ward was Ward 11 in the Port St Johns local municipality in the former homeland of the Transkei, and was ranked number 1 in the country (where 1 = most deprived). The Eastern Cape’s least deprived ward was Ward 4 in the Buffalo City Metro area and was ranked 4 267 (where 4 277 = least deprived). The extensive range of deprivation in the Eastern Cape is clearly shown, with wards at extreme ends of the spectrum, that is, the most deprived ward and the eleventh least deprived ward nationally. These numbers reflect the high levels of inequality in the Eastern Cape and how its apartheid geography continues to determine the spatial pattern and distribution of multiple deprivations in the province.

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**Figure 3.1** Ward-level SAIMD 2011 interquartile range by province

Source Zembe-Mkabile, W., Noble, M., Wright, G. & Avenell, D. (2014). *A Diagnostic Evaluation of Poverty and Relative Deprivation at Small Area Level for the Eastern Cape Province*. Report produced by SASPRI for the Office of the Premier, Eastern Cape Provincial Government.

The interquartile range (IQR) is ‘a measure of dispersion calculated by taking the difference between the first and third quartiles (that is, the twenty-fifth and seventy-fifth percentiles). In short, the IQR is the middle half of a distribution’ (Vogt, 1999:143). The grey box indicates the range of the middle fifty per cent of wards in the province (the interquartile range) while the horizontal line in the box is the median ward’s rank. The box for the Eastern Cape is relatively long, indicating that the Eastern Cape wards occupy a wide range. In contrast, the Western Cape and Gauteng have compact interquartile ranges, most wards being concentrated in the least deprived part of the national distribution.

While the deprivation rates were below forty per cent for three of the domains at the national level, wide variations can be seen across the provinces for each domain. Limpopo, the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and North West had higher rates of deprivation than the other provinces in each of the domains, while the Western Cape and Gauteng generally had the lowest rates of deprivation in each of the four domains.

The Eastern Cape was more deprived than the national average on all four domains. Furthermore, it was the most deprived province in the employment deprivation domain (47 per cent) and the material deprivation domain (52 per cent), and the second most deprived province in the living environment deprivation domain (60 per cent).

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Table 3.3 provides information for each domain, expressed as simple percentages, by province and for South Africa as a whole.

**Table 3.3** Provincial rates of deprivation for the four domains of the SAIMD 2011

	Material Deprivation %	Employment Deprivation %	Education Deprivation %	Living Environment Deprivation %
Western Cape	24.8	25.1	16.8	19.1
Eastern Cape	52.0	47.3	28.5	59.6
Northern Cape	39.5	34.1	30.0	32.1
Free State	33.3	38.9	23.4	32.9
KwaZulu-Natal	43.0	42.3	23.4	55.3
North West	41.7	37.9	28.7	55.4
Gauteng	30.8	29.8	12.6	21.5
Mpumalanga	34.9	38.2	24.4	54.5
Limpopo	40.2	46.4	24.3	71.9
South Africa	37.1	36.0	20.9	43.8

Deprivation in the Eastern Cape's district municipalities

There are 52 district municipalities in South Africa (including the metro municipalities), of which seven are in the Eastern Cape. The ward level SAIMD 2011 was summarised at district municipality level by calculating the population-weighted average ward rank for each district municipality, and the results for the Eastern Cape are shown in Table 3.4. The most deprived district municipality in South Africa was given the rank of 1, and the least deprived a rank of 52.

Alfred Nzo was the most deprived district municipality in the Eastern Cape – and South Africa as a whole, with a population-weighted average rank of 559. Within the Eastern Cape, Nelson Mandela Bay metro area was the least deprived (with a national rank of 44).

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**Table 3.4** Population weighted average ward rank of the SAIMD 2011 for each district in the Eastern Cape

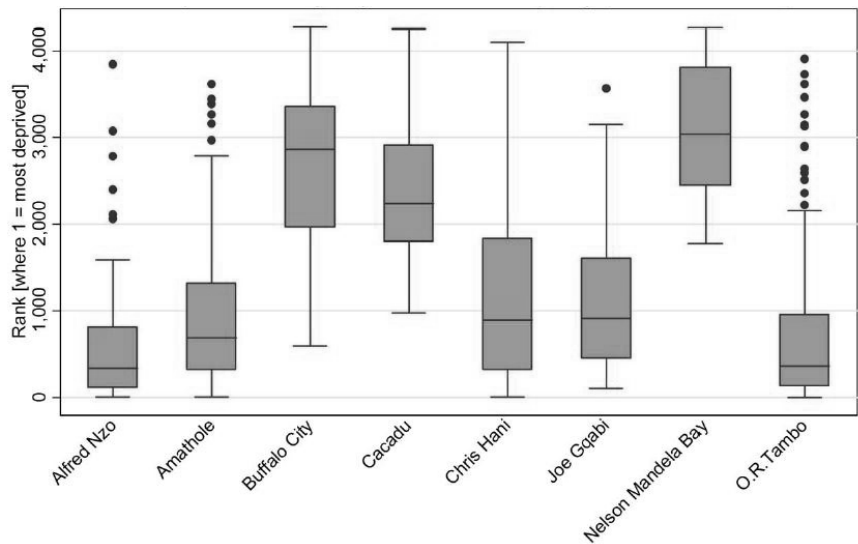
District Code	District Municipality Name	Population weighted average rank	National Rank where 1 = most deprived
DC44	Alfred Nzo	559	1
DC15	O.R. Tambo	785	3
DC12	Amathole	913	5
DC14	Joe Gqabi	1 132	7
DC13	Chris Hani	1 244	11
DC10	Cacadu	2 369	29
BUF	Buffalo City	2 630	36
NMA	Nelson Mandela Bay	3 069	44

Figure 3.2 presents box plots of the ward level SAIMD 2011 by district municipality. Alfred Nzo and OR Tambo districts have a narrow interquartile range focused entirely at the deprived end of the spectrum, along with wards in the districts of Chris Hani, Amathole, and Joe Gqabi. On the other hand, the interquartile ward ranges in Nelson Mandela Bay, Buffalo City, and Cacadu were concentrated mainly towards the least deprived end of the spectrum. Deprivation was concentrated in wards in the former homeland areas of the Eastern Cape.

**Table 3.5** District municipality and metropolitan area rates of deprivation for the four domains of the SAIMD 2011

District Code	District Municipality Name	Material deprivation %	Employment Deprivation %	Education Deprivation %	Living Environment %
BUF	Buffalo City	38.3	41.5	16.3	36.1
DC10	Cacadu	41.1	30.8	30.5	29.7
DC12	Amathole	61.6	57.2	35.0	79.2
DC13	Chris Hani	55.7	51.3	36.4	62.2
DC14	Joe Gqabi	58.8	46.1	38.4	67.4
DC15	OR Tambo	67.1	57.4	35.6	85.8
DC44	Alfred Nzo	74.4	57.7	38.0	91.6
NMA	Nelson Mandela Bay	28.5	41.9	14.1	14.4

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**Figure 3.2** Ward-level SAIMD 2011 Eastern Cape Province interquartile range by district municipality (national ranks)<sup>15</sup>

Source: Zembe-Mkabile, W., Noble, M., Wright, G. & Avenell, D. (2014). *A Diagnostic Evaluation of Poverty and Relative Deprivation at Small Area Level for the Eastern Cape Province*. Report produced by SASPRI for the Office of the Premier, Eastern Cape Provincial Government.

Table 3.5 presents district municipality level deprivation rates by domain. Alfred Nzo was the most deprived district municipality in the Eastern Cape across all the domains, except for education deprivation where it was slightly less deprived (38 per cent) than Joe Gqabi district municipality (38 per cent).

The Alfred Nzo district had especially high rates of deprivation in the material (74.4 per cent) and living environment (91.6 per cent) domains. In sharp contrast, Nelson Mandela Bay had the lowest rates of deprivation in all domains, except for employment deprivation, where Cacadu (30.8 per cent) had the lowest deprivation rate. The contrast is starkest when looking at the living environment deprivation rate – in Nelson Mandela Bay a mere 14.4 per cent of the district’s population lacked access to essential services compared to Alfred Nzo’s 91.6 per cent. Other districts with high living environment deprivation rates in the Eastern Cape were the OR Tambo (85.8 per cent) and Amathole (79.2 per cent) districts. All these three districts (Alfred Nzo, Amathole, and OR Tambo) contain former homelands (either Transkei or Ciskei) within their boundaries.



Deprivation in the Eastern Cape's local municipalities

The Eastern Cape has 39 local municipalities. Population weighted average ranks for the local municipalities in the Eastern Cape are presented in Table 3.6. Ntabankulu, Port St Johns, Mbizana, Ngquza Hill, and Engcobo were the five local municipalities with the lowest population-weighted average ranks and were therefore the five most deprived local municipalities on the overall SAIMD 2011 in the Eastern Cape. Each of these local municipalities contains part of the former Transkei homeland and, notably, they fall within the group of the ten most deprived local municipalities in the whole of South Africa. The five least deprived local municipalities in the Eastern Cape on this measure were Buffalo City, Kouga, Camdeboo, Makana, and Nelson Mandela Bay.

**Table 3.6** Population weighted average ward rank of the SAIMD 2011 for each local municipality in the Eastern Cape

Municipality code	Municipality Code	Population-Weighted Average Rank	National Rank, where '1' = most deprived
298	Ntabankulu	280	2
291	Port St Johns	304	3
297	Mbizana	395	6
290	Ngquza Hill	399	7
284	Engcobo	449	9
270	Mbhashe	455	11
282	Intsika Yethu	520	13
286	Elundini	589	16
293	Mhlontlo	615	17
283	Emalahleni	664	22
292	Nyandeni	674	23
296	Umzimvubu	689	24
295	Matatiele	835	33
271	Mnquma	847	34
274	Ngqushwa	938	39
287	Senqu	1 083	48
272	Great Kei	1 132	52
273	Amahlathi	1 155	54
285	Sakhisizwe	1 170	55

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**Table 3.6** Population weighted average ward rank of the SAIMD 2011 for each local municipality in the Eastern Cape (continued)

Municipality code	Municipality Code	Population-Weighted Average Rank	National Rank, where '1' = most deprived
279	Tsolwana	1 221	60
294	King Sabata Dalindyebo	1 335	68
276	Nkonkobe	1 451	74
280	Inkwanca	1 553	80
266	Sundays River Valley	1 823	98
289	Gariep	1 882	103
277	Nxuba	1 969	113
265	Ndlambe	1 980	115
263	Ikwezi	2 011	119
262	Blue Crane Route	2 049	123
267	Baviaans	2 067	129
269	Kou-Kamma	2 157	136
278	Inxuba Yethemba	2 397	154
281	Lukanji	2 408	155
288	Maletswai	2 423	156
260	Buffalo City	2 630	174
268	Kouga	2 681	181
261	Camdeboo	2 757	185
264	Makana	2 769	188
299	Nelson Mandela Bay	3 070	209

Table 3.7 presents rates of local municipality level deprivation for the four domains of the SAIMD 2011. Looking at the material deprivation domain, in 13 of the local municipalities in the Eastern Cape more than two-thirds of their populations experienced material deprivation. In general, all the local municipalities with high rates of deprivation across the four domains were exclusively located within the Transkei former homeland. In sharp contrast, local municipalities and metros which did not have the legacy of the former homelands, such as Nelson Mandela Bay Metro, had relatively low deprivation rates across the domains (28.5 per cent for material deprivation, 41.9 per cent for employment deprivation, 14.1 per cent for education deprivation, and 14.4 per cent for the living environment domain).

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**Table 3.7    Local Municipality rates of deprivation for the four domains of the SAIMD 2011**

Local Municipality Code	Local Municipality Name	Material Deprivation %	Employment Deprivation %	Education Deprivation %	Living Environment Deprivation %
260	Buffalo City	38.3	41.5	16.3	36.1
261	Camdeboo	33.2	34.5	29.8	14.8
262	Blue Crane Route	44.6	38.2	36.8	23.3
263	Ikwezi	45.1	28.7	40.0	22.2
264	Makana	33.6	39.3	21.6	24.3
265	Ndlambe	42.2	38.3	32.9	40.2
266	Sundays River Valley	55.7	19.9	35.5	47.7
267	Baviaans	45.9	37.2	36.0	21.6
268	Kouga	36.5	25.8	26.7	30.5
269	Kou-Kamma	49.2	19.1	35.7	27.9
270	Mbhashe	77.1	58.7	42.7	94.8
271	Mnquma	68.1	57.0	31.5	85.2
272	Great Kei	54.5	46.4	38.5	71.5
273	Amahlathi	53.1	51.7	36.1	68.1
274	Ngqushwa	46.2	67.1	34.7	75.5
276	Nkonkobe	45.9	61.5	27.7	58.6
277	Nxuba	41.3	50.7	30.2	38.8
278	Inxuba Yethemba	36.2	33.5	34.1	13.9
279	Tsolwana	48.4	50.7	41.8	44.9
280	Inkwanca	45.9	48.2	39.7	16.0
281	Lukanji	36.3	46.9	23.5	30.6
282	Intsika Yethu	69.8	62.0	41.0	90.0
283	Emalahleni	59.6	61.5	44.0	77.9
284	Engcobo	76.8	60.2	45.3	90.9
285	Sakhisizwe	55.7	48.7	36.5	69.1
286	Elundini	74.8	53.9	40.9	85.4
287	Senqu	53.0	48.9	38.1	71.6

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**Table 3.7** Local Municipality rates of deprivation for the four domains of the SAIMD 2011 [continued]

Local Municipality Code	Local Municipality Name	Material Deprivation %	Employment Deprivation %	Education Deprivation %	Living Environment Deprivation %
288	Maletswai	40.2	33.9	31.1	28.0
289	Gariep	42.5	34.7	40.1	27.8
290	Ngquza Hill	74.7	65.4	41.5	95.6
291	Port St Johns	76.5	69.2	45.9	93.2
292	Nyandeni	68.4	58.6	37.8	88.2
293	Mhlontlo	69.3	61.8	35.7	90.0
294	King Sabata Dalindyebo	58.4	49.0	28.5	73.8
295	Matatiele	71.0	49.1	35.4	84.5
296	Umzimvubu	73.4	59.1	32.5	88.9
297	Mbizana	73.7	60.5	40.9	97.4
298	Ntabankulu	84.8	67.9	45.4	94.2
299	Nelson Mandela Bay	28.5	41.9	14.1	14.4

**The Eastern Cape's most deprived wards**

For each province, Table 3.8 presents the number and percentage of wards in the most deprived decile (ten per cent) and quintile (twenty per cent) nationally. As can be seen, the Eastern Cape had the highest number of wards in the worst ten per cent of wards nationally (222 wards or 31.1 per cent of its wards). The Eastern Cape also had the highest percentage of wards in the most deprived quintile (336 wards or 47 per cent of its wards), followed by KwaZulu-Natal (38 per cent).

**Table 3.8** The percentage of each province’s wards in the most deprived decile and the most deprived quintile of the SAIMD 2011

	Number of Wards	Number in 10% most deprived	Number in 20% most deprived	Percentage in 10% most deprived	Percentage in 20% most deprived
Western Cape	387	0	0	0	0
Eastern Cape	715	222	336	31.1	47.0
Northern Cape	194	3	18	1.5	9.3
Free State	317	0	3	0	0.9
KwaZulu-Natal	828	173	313	20.9	37.8
North West Province	383	20	74	5.2	19.3
Gauteng	508	3	4	0.6	0.8
Mpumalanga	402	2	19	0.5	4.7
Limpopo	543	4	88	0.7	16.2

Table 3.9 lists the ten most deprived wards in the Eastern Cape. The Eastern Cape was at the top of the rankings in terms of the ten most deprived wards nationally and provincially. It had the most deprived ward (in Port St John Local Municipality) both nationally and within the province, and for the rest of the nine most deprived wards, the national and provincial rankings are very similar. As can be seen, and as is reflected elsewhere, all of the Eastern Cape’s most deprived wards are in former homeland areas. A more detailed analysis of deprivation in the former homeland areas in the Eastern Cape is presented further on in this chapter.

Eight of the ten least deprived wards in the Eastern Cape were in the Nelson Mandela Metro, and the remaining two were in Kouga and Buffalo City respectively, showing that in the Eastern Cape the least deprived wards were concentrated in a handful of areas (mainly metro areas) and were not distributed across the province.

The geography of deprivation across the Eastern Cape Province is now presented for the SAIMD 2011 in map form. The wards have been divided into national (South African wide) deciles of deprivation – ten equal groups. On the map, the thin dark grey lines depict the ward boundaries; thicker black lines are the local municipality boundaries. The most deprived ten per cent of wards nationally are shaded grey, and the least deprived ten per cent of wards are shaded light grey.

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Table 3.9 The ten most deprived wards in the Eastern Cape province (SAIMD, 2011)

Ward Code	Ward Number	Local Municipality Code	Local Municipality Name	National SAIMD 2011 Rank (where 1=most deprived)	Eastern Cape SAIMD 2011 Rank (where 1=most deprived)
21504011	11	291	Port St Johns	1	1
21307005	5	284	Engcobo	4	2
21201017	17	270	Mbhashe	5	3
21507025	25	294	King Sabata Dalindyebo	6	4
24404003	3	298	Ntabankulu	7	5
21507027	27	294	King Sabata Dalindyebo	8	6
24403012	12	297	Mbizana	9	7
21503024	24	290	Ngquza Hill	10	8
21504018	18	291	Port St Johns	11	9
21307020	20	284	Engcobo	13	10

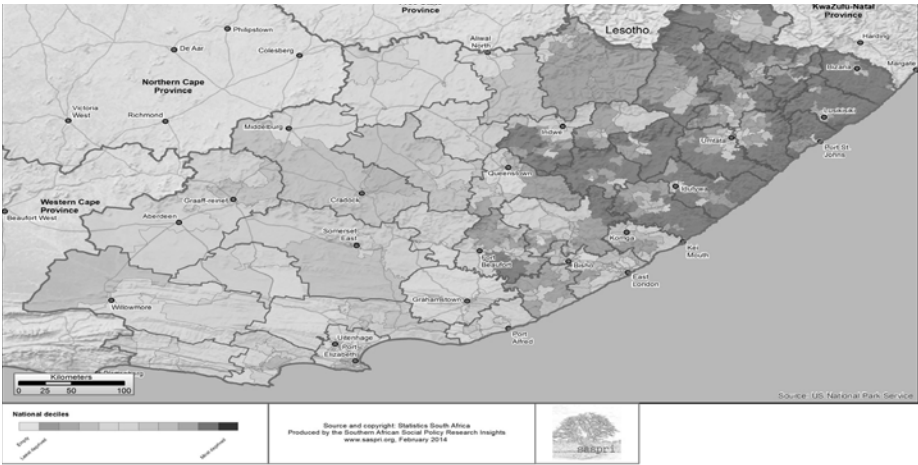


Figure 3.3 Ward-level SAIMD 2011, Eastern Cape Province

As already attested by the previous data presented in this chapter, Figure 3.3 shows that the former homelands have the largest share of the most deprived wards (shaded progressively darker shades of grey) in the Eastern Cape.



Former homeland analysis

It has been a recurrent theme in this chapter that even in 2011 deprivation in the Eastern Cape continued to be concentrated in the former homeland areas.

Table 3.10 shows deprivation rates for the four domains in each of the former homelands as well as for ‘all former homelands’, and ‘the rest of South Africa’ (i.e. all areas that are not former homelands), and ‘all of South Africa’ (which includes all areas including the former homelands).

Table 3.10 Deprivation in the former homelands in 2011

	Material Deprivation %	Employment Deprivation %	Education Deprivation %	Living Environment Deprivation %
Former Bophuthatswana	38.1	46.8	26.0	67.0
Former Ciskei	41.5	56.2	24.3	50.5
Former Gazankulu	36.9	58.3	28.9	77.6
Former KaNgwane	33.7	47.2	29.1	71.4
Former KwaNdebele	29.0	45.9	27.6	65.0
Former KwaZulu	48.7	54.5	27.0	67.4
Former Lebowa	38.7	57.2	23.3	81.9
Former Qwa Qwa	36.8	56.0	22.8	61.4
Former Transkei	69.0	58.4	37.2	87.8
Former Venda	36.9	54.5	24.0	77.0
All former homelands	46.4	53.8	28.0	73.7
Rest of South Africa	33.0	30.1	17.9	27.6
All South Africa	37.1	36.0	20.9	43.8

The two former homelands, which are contained mainly within the Eastern Cape province, are shaded grey. Table 3.10 shows the Eastern Cape’s former Transkei as having the highest rates of deprivation across the four domains. When analysing the ‘rest of South Africa’ separately from the former homelands, deprivation rates drop dramatically, with only 28 per cent deprived in the living environment domain, 18 per cent in the education domain, thirty per cent in the employment domain and 33 per cent in material deprivation domain. Former homelands, therefore, continued to carry most of the burden of multiple deprivations in South Africa, and the former Transkei was the most deprived of them all. This picture remained little changed from the position in 2001.<sup>16</sup>

**What accounts for high levels of multiple deprivation in the Eastern Cape?**

The legacies of colonialism and apartheid continue to plague the Eastern Cape. In particular, the creation of Bantustans or Homelands continues to shape the spatial patterning of deprivation and poverty in this province. One writer has likened the ‘skewed-ness’ of the Eastern Cape’s economic development along former homeland boundaries as:

[...] akin to that of Germany before the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. The communist eastern part of the country (formerly East Germany) was underdeveloped and poor, while the capitalist western section (formerly West Germany) was highly industrialised and prosperous.<sup>17</sup>

As shown in this chapter, the eastern part of the Eastern Cape which is primarily made up of the rural former Transkei homeland, accounts for most of the high levels of multiple deprivation observed in this province. The western part is a thriving economic hub of the province, housing large motor vehicle manufacturing plants which produce 51 per cent of South Africa’s motor exports and account for thirty per cent of manufacturing employment in the province.<sup>18</sup>

Hamann and Tuinder<sup>19</sup> note that the legacy of apartheid, corruption and continued economic failure in the former homeland parts of the Eastern Cape have:

[...] resulted in spatial dualities and inequalities within the Eastern Cape Province, such as urban industrial areas versus marginal rural areas, often locked into dependence on social grants and remittances from migrant labour, and the well-developed commercial farming sector contrasted with struggling subsistence farming.<sup>20</sup>

Du Toit and Neves<sup>21</sup> note that for centuries the Eastern Cape province has existed mainly to assist other economies around the country in its role as a labour reserve. They observe that for centuries in the province:

[...] colonial and Apartheid policy worked to disrupt the agrarian economy of Xhosa society; how this helped make workers available to labour in the mines and factories of Johannesburg, East London and Cape Town; how policy aimed to subjugate and co-opt elites and structures of traditional authority to serve the needs of settler society; how redundant workers were dumped back into the rural economy when the decline of mining and manufacturing meant that ‘unskilled’ and manual workers were no longer needed.<sup>22</sup>

The confluence of all these historical factors has led to a particular type of spatial configuration of the former homelands, one defined by persistent dependency on other regions and economies and a sluggish economy.<sup>23, 24</sup>

REFLECTIONS FROM THE MARGINS: COMPLEXITIES, TRANSITIONS AND DEVELOPMENTAL CHALLENGES

Added to the challenges of migration, unemployment, and a stagnant economy is the problem of governance in the Eastern Cape. Poor service delivery is mainly linked to the issue of governance. Poor governance in the Eastern Cape, particularly in the former homeland areas of the province, has been identified as one of the key reasons behind the failure of service delivery.<sup>25</sup> In popular media, corruption and lack of capacity have been highlighted as the main governance challenges facing the Eastern Cape. One journalist opined:

More than 23 years after South Africa's first democratic elections, many Eastern Cape residents still live in dire poverty – held hostage as much by incompetent officials as corrupt ones.<sup>26</sup>

Alfred Nzo Municipality, which was shown as the worst-performing district in terms of the Living Environment Domain in the SAIMD 2011 in this chapter, is also a municipality that has been repeatedly placed under administration because of poor performance and financial irregularities.<sup>27</sup> Outlining reasons why corruption persists at all spheres of government, Skenjana et al.<sup>28</sup> highlight seven contributing factors:

- Lack of political will;
- Ineffective criminal justice action about corruption cases;
- Lack of management expertise and skills resulting in inadequate management systems;
- Lack of financial resources resulting in inadequate resource allocation;
- Lack of cross-sectoral and strategic coordination;
- Weak civil society resulting in limited institutional mechanisms to deal with corruption; and
- Weak oversight systems about local government.

The relative autonomy with which municipalities that only came into existence post-1994 are run – with considerable budgets at their disposal – has also been identified as contributing to poor governance and corruption.<sup>29</sup>

Poor governance has resulted in many mass protests for service delivery in the Eastern Cape province. Between January and September 2018 a record 198 service delivery protests were recorded across municipalities in South Africa, with the Eastern Cape having the largest proportion of protests (19 per cent) during this period, compared to Gauteng (17 per cent), the Western Cape (16 per cent) and KwaZulu-Natal (15 per cent) (Municipal IQ Municipal Hotspots Monitor, 2018).

On a more theoretical and methodological note, the concepts and techniques used to profile area-level deprivation are inevitably key. Using the same data source – the 2011 Census – Statistics South Africa recently calculated a poverty

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headcount for the Eastern Cape of just 14 per cent, using the Multidimensional Poverty Index approach.<sup>30</sup> The objectives behind SAMPI’s construction differed, but in a context where sixty cent of the population in the Eastern Cape was found to be deprived in the living environment deprivation domain, it is evident that SAMPI underplays the widespread deprivation that occurs in the province. Notwithstanding this fact, Ntabankulu and Port St Johns were identified as the two most deprived local municipalities in the Eastern Cape using both the SAMPI<sup>31</sup> and the SAIMD 2011, implying that whatever the measures used, the extreme levels of deprivation in the former homelands are inescapable.

**Conclusion**

The SAIMD 2012 powerfully demonstrates – perhaps as few policy measurement tools have – the extent to which the Eastern Cape has been ‘left behind’ in the growth, development and recovery of the rest of South Africa from the effects of apartheid. The former homeland areas of the Eastern Cape continue to bear a disproportionately higher burden of deprivation than any other part of South Africa. Former homeland areas of the Eastern Cape repeatedly come up as the most multiply deprived, no matter what spatial scale is used – be it at the province, district or local municipality level. In this way, the ward level results in the Eastern Cape province further reflect the high levels of inequality in the province and how its apartheid geography continues to determine the spatial pattern and distribution of deprivation in the region.

When compared to the rest of South Africa, the former homeland areas of the Eastern Cape stand alone as a stark reminder of the persistent effects of apartheid on the country’s geography, more than twenty years after democracy.

Several factors, closely linked to the historical legacies of apartheid and colonialism in this part of the world, likely contribute to the desperate state of poverty and deprivation in the Eastern Cape. As briefly discussed in this chapter, these factors likely relate to the marginalisation of the former homeland areas of the province, migration dynamics, high unemployment rates, a sluggish economy, lack of capacity, poor governance, and lack of resources. However, the analysis presented in this chapter on multiple deprivation in the Eastern Cape points to an urgent need to conduct further research to tease out the precise drivers of underdevelopment in the Eastern Cape. Why has there been so little change in former homeland areas? What is helping to maintain the status quo? What needs to be done to change the picture? These are the questions that need to preoccupy high-level decision-makers, policymakers and implementers in South Africa.

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