

Rethinking the Rural-Urban Divide in Post-Apartheid South Africa;

Investigating social linkages between urban migrants in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth and their natal villages in the Eastern Cape Province

By: Mathijs Noij

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MASTER THESIS



Author: Mathijs Noij
Student no: 0709239

Institution details:

Radboud University Nijmegen
Nijmegen School Of Management
Human Geography Dept.
Specialisation: Globalisation, Migration And Development

Thesis Supervision: Dr. Ir. Lothar Smith - Radboud University
Dr. Paul Hebinck - Wageningen University

Cover picture (made by the author): on the road between Grahamstown and Fort Beaufort in the Eastern Cape Province, South Africa.

Preface

About two years ago, I began to feel the first aspirations of spending a certain period of my study time abroad. In my head, I already knew what ‘abroad’ would mean specifically. Since a few years, South Africa has gained my special attention – reaching its climax during the run-up of the 2010 Football World Cup, hosted by this country.

My co-student and good friend Ralph Evers expressed to have the same aspirations. Together, we decided to approach Dr. Lothar Smith for possibilities concerning a fieldwork period abroad. From this moment onwards, the project of which this thesis is an end result, has been collaboratively developed by Evers and myself and our supervisors Lothar Smith (RU) and Paul Hebinck of the Wageningen University. Eventually, this project resulted in the individual thesis by Ralph and the one you are now about to read.

First of all, a word of appreciation is directed to my supervisors for initiating this project. Lothar and Paul, your *social tie* with the University of Fort Hare in South Africa proved to be invaluable in carrying out this research project. Moreover, without your guiding this thesis would have never been realised as it has now. Especially when I was writing this thesis, you *pulled* me in the right direction, or *pushed* me to go one step further. Thank you for doing so.

Another word of appreciation needs to be directed to all interviewees in South Africa. A lot of villagers in Guquka and Koloni were willing to welcome us in their homes and provided the essential information about their lives, and subsequently, their family members in the city. The obtained contact details of their family members living in the city laid the foundation for the interviews Ralph and I conducted in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town. All respondents in Guquka and Koloni and interviewees in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town; thank you for your efforts and for sharing your life story.

Furthermore, I express my gratitude towards the University of Fort Hare, in particular the Agricultural Economics Department, for providing the assistance during our fieldwork in Guquka and Koloni. During our fieldwork here, Ralph and I were accompanied by PhD-candidate Menzezi Tshuma and two students of this department. Thank you for your crucial help in Guquka and Koloni.

In the cities of Port Elizabeth and Cape Town, research assistance came from an unexpected quarter. In Port Elizabeth, the staff of King’s Beach Backpackers not merely provided an enjoyable place of staying, but also brought Ralph and myself into contact with a Xhosa woman who was eager to help us. David, Bashier and Lungi, you made our time in *PE* most valuable. In a similar way, the local hostel in Cape Town provided the essential help to conduct the interviews in this city. Brian, you have been the best guide Ralph and I could have wished for. It was gratifying to see that your attitude towards our way of doing research shifted throughout our period in Cape Town. Moreover, it was through your efforts that we came to experience some real Xhosa culture. Thanks for that.

During the entire fieldwork period, some discussions with South African scholars were organised. In Grahamstown, Professor Chris De Wet and PhD-candidate Henning Deklerk of the Rhodes University have exchanged some eye-opening insights with Ralph and myself. In Cape Town, David Neves of the

University of the Western Cape was willing to discuss our research. Thank you for taking these efforts.

Before you are going to read this thesis, I thank Ralph for the adventurous time we had in South Africa. Furthermore, my parents deserve a word of appreciation for providing the necessary support and resources for my study time in general, and this master project in particular. Lisette, thank you for staying close to me, even during the months I spent in South Africa.

Mathijs Noij
Nijmegen, 8 June 2012

Summary

In this thesis, socio-economic ties across rural and urban regions in contemporary South Africa constitute the most central point of attention. At first glance, the relationship between urban and rural populations in South Africa is in many ways difficult to observe. Here, the continuity of socio(-economic) ties between urban migrants and their families in the rural area are investigated. Subsequently, insights are presented in the nature, value and role of these ties, in order to substantiate general claims on the proclaimed rural-urban divide, in the context of South African society. The research question was formulated as follows: *What is the influence of rural-urban migration from Guquka and Koloni to Port Elizabeth and Cape Town on the rural-urban divide in post-Apartheid South Africa?*

To provide an answer to this question, two rural villages were selected as the point of departure of this research. Guquka and Koloni, as they are named, are situated in the former Ciskei area in the Eastern Cape Province. This region is named to be the poorest region of the country and is characterised by a lack of basic facilities and a vast unemployment rate of its inhabitants. The development of deagrarianisation has been in process for a certain number of years now, implying that people increasingly find their resources from e.g. social grants and remittances. Moreover, the region could be conceptualised as a 'place of leaving' in the context of rural-urban migration patterns in South Africa.

During the empirical fieldwork period in this rural area, many villagers in Guquka and Koloni turned out to have close family members living in urban regions in South Africa. Subsequently, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth were chosen to constitute the 'urban coin' of the research. By proceeding the fieldwork in these cities, the research was given a multi-sited character. Therefore, the empirical foundation of this thesis is comprised of data which have been obtained in both the rural and the urban domain.

In Chapter 1, the research project of which this thesis is the end result, is introduced by providing some of the core insight in the migration dynamics of the South African population. Alongside the general process of urbanisation, a rural-urban migration flow is visible in South Africa as well. The research contexts, comprised of the rural Eastern Cape and the cities of Port Elizabeth and Cape Town, are also given attention here. These cities act as 'places of work' and therefore attract many job-seeking migrants from rural villages, like Guquka and Koloni. Despite this rural to urban migration flow, I move away from a one-dimensional perspective which only focuses on the flow from rural to urban, as it would fail to take cognisance of the situation of connections and multi-directional dependencies across the rural-urban divide.

In the next chapter, the theoretical framework is constructed. As this thesis elaborates on rural-urban migration from a multi-sited perspective, theories which take the interconnectedness and interdependencies between rural and urban areas into account, take a central position. Therefore, social network theory constitutes a good theoretical departure point. However, this theory in its conventional form contains some fundamental weaknesses. Because of that, the theory is refined and expanded in the later paragraphs of Chapter 2. In its basic form, social network theory focuses on the social network as the facilitating mechanism of social capital exchange between people, often

resulting in chain migration, as people tend to follow established migration directions. However, one of the weaknesses of the theory is that it implies that chain migration will continue until the last person has left the 'place of sending', which is rarely in accordance with reality. Through the social network, capitals are exchanged and, thus, it plays an important role in how people collect their daily needs. Thereby, the concept of the livelihood comes forward, which draws on a comprehensive picture of how people gain access to resources and capitals. It is useful to relate the livelihood framework to social network theory, as it emphasises that people not merely utilise physical and financial assets, but also create their livelihood by exploiting e.g. social capitals, for example through reciprocity. Lastly, this research takes identities and feelings of belonging into account – as it contains another important feature of the rural-urban divide. In the last paragraph of this chapter, some attention is given to contested intra-household ties and the subsequent changing identity of household members who have settled in the city.

This thesis is the end result of a larger whole, as has been explained in Chapter 3. The project was initiated by Lothar Smith and Paul Hebinck, who both provided contributions to the book *Livelihoods and Landscapes, the people of Guquka and Koloni and their resources* (Eds. Hebinck & Lent, 2007). This publication gives an in-depth insight in the lives and livelihoods of the villagers of Guquka and Koloni. Moreover, the empirical fieldwork on which this thesis is based was collaboratively carried out by Evers (see also Evers, 2012) and myself, which means that we both base our thesis on the same data.

Methodologically, the way of doing our fieldwork has obtained many insights from multi-sited ethnography. This approach breaks with the ethnographical tradition to conceive the research site as an independent container space. Rather, multi-sited ethnography focuses on space as being produced through interrelations and interactions between humans. Therefore, it is essential to conduct empirical fieldwork on more than one locale. In this research, multi-sited empirical fieldwork was conducted to get insight in social linkages between the rural Eastern Cape and the cities of Port Elizabeth and Cape Town – and following the multi-sited ethnography approach, it was essential to base our analysis on both rural and urban narratives. Practically, this implied that the researchers had to make a 'research trajectory' and become mobile themselves, with the purpose of gaining insight in the social linkages across the rural-urban divide.

After the methodological framework, a thorough description of the fields of research follows in Chapter 4. Firstly, a historical sketch of South Africa is provided. From the moment of the arrival of the Dutch imperial forces in the 17th century, a long period of colonialism and imperialism has affected South African society. The traditional tribes of Southern Africa were oppressed and commonly were caught up in the colonial economy as slaves. At the beginning of the 19th century, the English took over control of the Dutch 'Cape Colony', although a significant group – mostly former Dutch citizens – had already settled themselves permanently in the Cape. Tensions between the two prominent White population groups led to severe tensions, and subsequently, violent clashes. During the elections of 1948, this divide between the two main White population groups was still visible, whereas the *Afrikaner* Party took advantage of the widespread racial fears against the Black population and took administrative control. From that moment on, the Apartheid system was implemented in South Africa.

The Apartheid system had a devastating effect on the rights and freedom of the Black population in the period that followed. Cities were marked as 'no-go areas' for the Black population and increasing numbers of Black South Africans were forcibly relocated to the deep rural areas of the present-day Eastern Cape. These 'Homelands' became rapidly overpopulated, leaving its inhabitants in poverty and poor living conditions. Since the urban economy could not be sustained without cheap labour, the Black population – principally men – were given strictly regulated access to the city. In this context, socio-economic ties between household members over the rural-urban divide became significant, as the rural village constituted the security net for the urban labour migrant, while the villagers were provided with additional income through the migrant's remittances.

After the transition to democracy in the 1990's, a vast inflow of Black people in South African cities was expected, but this seemed to be incorrect. As the urban economy could not absorb a vast inflow of job-seekers, urban migrants commonly continued to maintain ties with the rural village as it improves the vulnerability position of the migrant. Moreover, the post-Apartheid city of today is characterised by a deep structure of segregation, as the Black urban population primarily resides in Townships on the outer circle of the city. Townships are highly isolated and located far away from the main employment zones in the inner city zone. Still, a large part of the Black population in urban South Africa builds a livelihood on informal jobs and reciprocity.

Consequently, Chapter 5 provides the analysis of the empirical data, which are presented in the form of migrant narratives. In the first section of the chapter, the rural-urban migration process per se comprises the centre of attention, while in the second section the implications of living in the city for one's livelihood, identity and feelings of belonging are analysed. In the first section, people's motivations and underlying institutions for the rural-urban move are identified. Firstly, the growing deficiency of jobs or other livelihood creating activities in the rural domain pushes young people to find a job somewhere else (i.e. in the city). Moreover, a moral responsibility – which is partly intentionally created by villagers – to send money can be extracted from the migrant narratives. Moreover, the perception of rural inhabitants on city life is often biased as urban migrants' stories of failure are rarely made public, because it would lead to a loss of face towards other villagers.

In what follows in the first section of Chapter 5, the role of social ties in rural-urban migration patterns are examined. Clearly, migrants follow the same route as their family members living in the city, as it helps them to put their first steps in the city. However, the rural village continues to play a role in the life of the urban migrant in contemporary South Africa as it commonly improves the migrant's vulnerability position. Therefore, a complete exodus of the rural village is highly unexpected, as would be expected from a perspective which focuses on conventional social network theories.

In the second section of Chapter 5, the proclaimed rural-urban divide is further investigated. Taking a livelihood perspective, evidence is presented for a continuing interdependency between the rural and urban domain. A transregional space can be depicted between these 'domains', in which the dynamic work of social ties are played out. As such, the converting of capitals occurs here, e.g. when a child is left behind by its grandparents in the village, while the parents enact income-generating activities. Also, information, values and ideas are interchanged between the domains, signifying a continuing relationship.

Taking a perspective focusing on identities and feelings of belonging, I emphasise the deterritorialisation of migrants' culture, identity and sense of belonging. These feelings are therefore created through both intra- and interregional interactions, transcending the divide between the rural and urban landscape. As migrants commonly feel rooted in the rural domain, a hybrid urban-rural identity is constructed. In a similar way, migrants are the transmitters of 'urbanity' to rural villages, through the spreading of urban ideas, values and lifestyles, whereas the transportation of 'urban goods' such as electronic equipment to the villages is a widespread phenomenon. Subsequently, a more critical attitude towards the proclaimed divide between 'rural' and 'urban' is advocated in the conclusions of this chapter.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Migration dynamics in South Africa

South Africa has a long tradition of dynamic population movements, and the current situation of internal migration movements is in that sense not very unique. While milestones in South African history such as the Great Trek and forced population movements during Apartheid may appear first in mind, today's internal migration dynamics are vital as well, albeit, in an obviously different context.

Migration studies in contemporary South Africa commonly take a big turning point in South African history into account, namely the end of the Apartheid regime in 1994. While the Apartheid regime applied several laws and regulations to support racial segregation, like limiting people in their freedom of movement, the population in contemporary South Africa is not confronted by such legislative rules. However, this does not imply that people who intend to migrate, will not face any obstacles on their way. For example, a certain level of social and financial resources is required to be able to migrate. As Castles & Miller (2009) emphasise, the 'poorest of the poorest' are rarely the group with the highest migration numbers, since they lack the resources and support to become mobile. Although they elaborate on international migrants, this is likely the case for internal migrants as well.

Alongside and in conjunction with the general process of urbanisation, which is visible in South Africa as well, one of the most recognised direction of migration flows in South Africa is from rural 'hinterlands' towards metropolitan areas like Gauteng and Cape Town (Cross et al., 2008). In particular the former Homelands, like Ciskei and Transkei, are well-known areas of departure. The process of de-agrarianisation of society plays a significant role in this rural to urban flow of people. A lack of job prospects drives people in large numbers to cities like Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban, which form the heartland of South Africa's economy.

Nonetheless, "it is far too simple to observe South Africa's internal population dynamics as a simplified system of push and pull; meaning that a migrant's trajectory is only dependent on the factors that 'pull' him or her into the city and factors which 'push' the individual out" (Noij & Evers, 2011). Empirical evidence (cf. Kok et al., 2003) shows that there are far more factors that pose an influence on migration patterns, like historical events, or events that suddenly happen within a person's family circle. Excluding these kind of events would fail to take cognisance of the situation of connections and networks of migrants all over the country. Furthermore, it is striking that the most dominant flow of people in South Africa is not directed from rural to urban, but within the rural domain and therefore rural-to-rural (Cross et al., 2008). This illuminates that people enact multiple strategies in constructing their livelihoods and, subsequently, rural-urban migration is just one of these strategies.

Notwithstanding the dominance of the rural-to-rural flow, the importance of urban migration has been increasing over the past decades. Through 'extended networks' (Du Toit & Neves, 2009), people all over South Africa are dependent on wage-earners in urban areas for constructing their livelihood. In particular, remittances from urban to rural areas play an important role. Increasingly, people are

seeking for other sources of income than agriculture, and therefore rely more on, among other things, their social network. The mechanism of reciprocal exchange is central in explaining the social network as a source of livelihood (Ibid.; Van Averbeke & Hebinck, 2007).

This mechanism implies sharing of benefits and costs and therefore creates interdependence of people, both in the rural and the urban domain. Rural inhabitants are increasingly dependent on remittances from a family member or other relative in an urban area, while urban migrants are commonly dependent on relatives in their rural home village through unpaid work and household reproductive labour, like taking care of children, or looking after their cattle and crops (Du Toit & Neves, 2009).

1.2 Research context

Within this context of migration systems in South Africa, the focus will be on two specific rural villages in the Eastern Cape province. These villages will form the 'rural side of the coin' and my empirical point of departure in this thesis. Guquka and Koloni, as they are named, are located in the former Homeland Ciskei (see Map 1). This former Homeland has since the abolition of Apartheid experienced a substantial outflow of people, mainly to urban areas. Two of the many rural villages in the Ciskei are comprehensively described and analysed through the efforts of the Agricultural and Rural Development Research Institute (ARDRI) at the University of Fort Hare. Eventually, years of field research resulted in the publication *Livelihoods and Landscapes, The people of Guquka and Koloni and their resources* (Eds. Hebinck & Lent, 2007). It has been developed with cooperation of research institutes in South Africa and various universities in Europe, including the Wageningen University in The Netherlands.



Map 1. South Africa, including the location of Guquka and Koloni.
Revised from: www.places.co.za

Two of the many rural villages in the Ciskei are comprehensively described and analysed through the efforts of the Agricultural and Rural Development Research Institute (ARDRI) at the University of Fort Hare. Eventually, years of field research resulted in the publication *Livelihoods and Landscapes, The people of Guquka and Koloni and their resources* (Eds. Hebinck & Lent, 2007). It has been developed with cooperation of research institutes in South Africa and various universities in Europe, including the Wageningen University in The Netherlands.

The book gives an in-depth view in rural development, resource management and livelihoods in Guquka and Koloni, on the basis of a vast collection of empirical data. Initially, the purpose of the book was to provide insight in the possibilities for improvement of communal land systems in the area, but shortly this was expanded with other issues, which are linked to the construction of livelihoods of the villagers. By doing so, the authors seek to draw a more holistic picture of livelihood construction within these villages in the former Ciskei.

What becomes clear from the book is that the villages of Guquka and Koloni “...resemble the contemporary realities one encounters across the former *Bantustans* (Homelands) of South Africa.” (Hebinck, 2007, p. 6): a decline of agricultural activities, overgrazed rangelands, high unemployment levels and lots of people who depend on social grants, like pensions, while people’s vegetable gardens provide some food security. Their livelihood cannot be constructed by agriculture alone, so people have to find other sources of income and try to find a job in the area, rely on remittances and social grants or have to decide to migrate themselves.

Increasingly, inhabitants decide to make the step to find employment in cities like East London, Port Elizabeth, Johannesburg and Cape Town. However, commonly the migrant does not decide to break up definitely with their home village, because it can serve as a ‘safety net’ in case of failure. Therefore, migrants keep ownership of their land in their village of origin, so that they maintain the possibility of returning. Furthermore, children are frequently left behind, while the parents are in the city for work. In such cases, family members, e.g. grandparents, act as care takers and are indispensable for the migrant. On the other hand, Smith & Hebinck (2007) perceive the upcoming trend – significantly in post-Apartheid South Africa – of migrating women who leave the village, with their children, to accompany their husbands in the city. This might be an indicator of loosening of ties between the migrant and their rural villages of origin.

The publication of Hebinck and Lent (2007) provides a broad understanding on the life and livelihood construction of the rural villagers in Guquka and Koloni. However, by focusing on the rural-urban link and using multi-local research methods, this thesis, together with the thesis by Evers (2012), seek to provide additional insights and therefore contribute to an even more comprehensive picture. Namely, the empirical fieldwork of this research has not been conducted in the villages only, but in the urban domain as well. It was collaboratively carried out by the author of this thesis and Evers (ibid.). Both theses draw on both rural and urban narratives and, as a consequence, shed light on rural-urban migration dynamics in South Africa from a multi-dimensional perspective rather than a one-dimensional perspective.

In 2004, 18.8 percent of the selected homesteads of Guquka and 11.9 percent of the selected inhabitants of Koloni were labelled as homesteads whose main source of income is formed by remittances (Van Averbek & Hebinck, 2007). At the same time, the majority of the other homesteads declared to receive monetary remittances as well. So, remittances constitute an important part of the livelihood construction of the villagers and therefore the question arises: what about the migrant? What drives this person to make the step to the city and to what extent will these migrants stay attached to the villages?

With this research I intend to shed light on these questions. As two of the most important destinations for migrants from the Eastern Cape, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth were selected as the ‘case cities’ in our research and therefore they constitute the ‘urban side of the coin’. These cities could be perceived as places of arrival for migrants, but, as I want to emphasise, I intend to overcome binary notions of the migratory process. It is one of the aims to acknowledge the dynamics of internal migration networks and to reach beyond ‘push and pull thoughts’. This would draw this thesis back to neoclassical thoughts on migration, which regard migrants as homo-economic, rational

beings which are fully informed and base their decision on the estimation of the difference between costs and benefits (cf. Kok et al., 2003).

Cape Town, the so-called 'Mother City' of South Africa, is the legislative capital of the country, a popular tourist destination and the economic core of the Cape provinces. On the other hand, its urban population is highly unequal in terms of socio-economic positions and living standards. Among the around three million inhabitants of the city, poverty is widespread and a substantial part lives in informal settlements. While the pro-poor intentions of city-planners are noble, they mainly seem to invest in the position and competitiveness of the city in the global financial arena (Lemanski, 2007).

Port Elizabeth is the largest city of the Eastern Cape and acts as an important place for the region as it provides lots of jobs, e.g. in the motor vehicle industry and in the harbour. In addition, the city acts as a considerable tourism hub in South Africa (Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality, n.d.). As is the case in Cape Town, the townships in Port Elizabeth are characterised by widespread poverty (cf. Rogerson, 1999). They are also situated at a considerable distance from the city centre and show a totally different appearance than the touristic areas, located around the southern beaches and 'tourist hub' Addo Elephant Park.

1.3 Relevance

During the Apartheid era in South Africa, people were restricted in their mobility and choice of place of living. During the transition to democracy, these legislative rules were abolished and people now have the opportunity to experience the freedom of movement. This process has laid the foundation for the changing migration dynamics which have consequently shaped contemporary South African society in a fundamental way (Todes et al., 2010). A lot of efforts have been made to grasp understanding in the context of migration processes as it constitutes a major factor in shaping various elements of society.

As Castles & Miller (2009) emphasise, migration shapes societies on both the sending as the receiving end; it causes changes in demographic, economic and social structures. They also elaborate on the transnational feelings of consciousness and identity international migrants adhere to, pointing at their feelings which transcend the borders of a nation state. Notwithstanding the fact that this thesis elaborates on *internal* migration, the debate revolving around transnationalism provides some vital insights in the social dynamics of identity within South Africa as peoples' identities commonly transcend the demarcation line between 'rural' and 'urban' (cf. Bank, 2011).

In addition to these statements by Castles and Miller, other scholars stress the importance of migration within the framework of society as well. For example, Bank & Kamman (2010) elaborate on significance of internal migration in the South African context as it has a great impact on the need for basic service delivery, housing delivery and infrastructure in the country. Yet, in another contribution, migration has been related to the spread of the devastating HIV/AIDS pandemic and food security (Crush & Frayne, 2007).

With regard to policy making in South Africa, the link between poverty reduction and internal migration is in particular relevant as poverty reduction is one of the key dimensions on the agenda

for policy makers in South Africa (cf. South African Government, 2008). Therefore it is essential that governmental bodies gain insight in population dynamics and migration trends as they need to base their policies on e.g. social welfare programmes and service delivery for the poor on these insights. By focusing on the interrelatedness between rural inhabitants and their relatives in the urban domain through social linkages, this research provides insights for poverty reduction in both rural and urban locations. The extent to which the urban and the rural domain maintain socio-economic linkages will inevitably have implications for livelihood construction as remittances continue to play a role in this sense.

The rural-urban linkages are complex though, as it is not straight-forward to say whether the rural domain acts as a safety net for the urban migrant, nor can we say that 'the urban migrant' enhances living conditions in the rural domain by transmitting a part of his earnings to his rural kin. Moreover, the amount of remittances sent within South African borders tends to decrease over time (De Wet, personal communication, 12 April 2011). Naturally, this thesis will not predict the future flows of mobility in South Africa. However, by stressing the social dimensions within the internal migration process, in combination with its socio-economic features, insight in the mechanisms and underlying dimensions of the 'internal migration – development nexus' will be provided.

With regard to its role in the progress of social science, this thesis contributes to the development and refinement of social theories, within the framework of internal migration in South Africa. The retrieved empirical data will be presented and, subsequently, be compared with existing theories of migration. By doing so, this thesis is of reflective value as it questions social theories of migration as explanatory tools for describing migration patterns and, subsequently, its impact in the sphere of rural-urban social linkages.

Within this research, social network theory will take an important position. In short, it focuses on the social network as the facilitating mechanism of social capital exchange between people, often resulting in chain migration, as people tend to follow established migration directions (Gregory et al., 2009). However, this does not mean that I will restrict this thesis to this theory. As, for example, De Haas (2010) emphasises, the social network theory is far from sufficient to draw a holistic view of the migration process, since the theory contains some fundamental weaknesses (see chapter 2 for a comprehensive explanation on network theory). Nonetheless, this thesis takes social networks as the starting point because it is through this mechanism of transferring – among other things – resources and ideas that the rural-urban divide is existent or not. Nevertheless, my theoretical framework needs more depth, by taking important concepts such as identity construction and belonging into account. Hereby I will provide more insight in the capability of the existing literature in examining the proclaimed 'divide' between the rural province of the Eastern Cape and urban Cape Town and Port Elizabeth.

1.4 Thesis structure

Thus far, I provided an introduction to this thesis, by describing the dynamics of internal migration in South Africa – and the way this research fits therein. In Chapter 2, I will lay the theoretical foundation of this research. After a short historical sketch, I will mainly elaborate on social networks theories, the livelihood framework and the role of changing identities in the context of the rural-urban divide.

Also, my conceptual framework is presented here, visualising the main structure of my argumentation in this thesis.

In Chapter 3, I elaborate on the research questions and objectives of this research. Initially, this thesis originates from a 'collaboration project' between myself and a co-student (see Evers, 2012). I will explain how this took place and what implications it brings along. Furthermore, the methodological framework is presented here. The empirical fieldwork was highly influenced by the insights of the multi-sited ethnography approach, and therefore, an introduction to this strategy will be provided here. Next, more concrete methodological choices will be substantiated here, while the chapter is brought to an end by some critical reflections on the empirical fieldwork of this research.

Consequently, Chapter 4 will provide an comprehensive picture of the fields of research, which, on the macro level, is constituted by South Africa. The exceptional historical events which took place in this country will gain attention here, as its legacy on migration patterns and society as a whole is yet clearly visible. The era's of colonialism, segregation and Apartheid are now part of South Africa's past, and are replaced by the New South Africa, in which people e.g. experience the freedom of movement. However, as I also stress here, the post-Apartheid cities of Port Elizabeth and Cape Town are characterised by various struggles, regarding local inequality, crime, segregation, unemployment and more. As these cities provided the urban landscape of the multi-sited fieldwork, I will describe their urban contexts here.

The obtained empirical data will be presented and analysed in Chapter 5, with the purpose of exploring the rural-urban divide in South Africa. This chapter could roughly be divided into two sections: the first section deals with the migration process per se and the role of migration networks in the rural-urban migration flow. The second sections deals with the implications of the migration flow for livelihoods constructions, culture and identity and the (dis-)continuity of rural-urban ties.

The empirical findings and analysis are followed by the conclusions of this research in Chapter 6. Here, I will revert to the previous chapters and seek to answer the research questions which I formulated in Chapter 3. Also, a brief reflection on this research will be provided, while I will formulate some recommendations for further research.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Introduction

2.1.1. *Theoretical focus*

Migration is a great force in shaping societies and can be subjected to research from a wide range of disciplines and approaches. This thesis fits into the framework revolving around the ‘internal migration – development nexus’, focusing on the social ties between the rural Eastern Cape and urban Port Elizabeth and Cape Town. As this research elaborates on migration from a multi-sited perspective, theories which take the interconnectedness and interdependencies between these domains into account, will take a central position.

Since the analysis of this research project will be on internal migration, it will exclusively deal with migration within the borders of the nation-state of South Africa. Moreover, in this thesis the notion of a ‘migrant’ will be used to refer to the people who made the residential move from the rural domain (i.e. Guquka or Koloni) to the urban domain (i.e. Cape Town or Port Elizabeth). This implies that I regard the rural and the urban domain as two separate ‘migration-defining areas’. As Kok et al. (2003) argue, migration is defined as a residential relocation in combination with the crossing of a boundary of a predefined spatial unit; in this case the crossing of the boundary between city and countryside.

This chapter will provide the theoretical framework for making my arguments in the later chapters of this thesis. To a certain extent, it will be presented in a chronological order, as I will begin by a brief description of conventional economic theories of migration. These theories have played a major role in the historical progress of migration theory, but were limited in their purely economic perspective. Breaking with this limited view, social theories became more important in explaining migration patterns. In this context, the social network, which will take an important positions in this thesis, became recognised as a migration-facilitating unit. However, social network theory in its conventional form became heavily criticised as well. By portraying this historical progress in network thinking and migration studies I aim to position and refine my own theoretical perspective and ensure to contribute to the contemporary theoretical debate in migration studies.

2.1.2. *Chapter structure*

Neo-classical migration theory came up during the end of the 19th century and is being regarded as the first attempt to grasp the dynamics of migration into a theory (cf. Kok et al., 2003). This – economic – theory of migration has rapidly expanded over time, and I will provide a brief overview of key theoretical developments in paragraph 2.2.

A significant break from theories which solely took economic factors into account, occurred with the rise of migration network and system theories. These theories describe the migratory process as for a great part driven by social connections between the place of arrival and the place of origin. Through these connections, resources can be exchanged – e.g. financial remittances, values or information – which can influence the migratory process in the future. Transnationalism plays a role here as it provides insights regarding the identity and consciousness of migrants within networks. A further elaboration on migration network and system theory will be provided in paragraph 2.3.

Yet, the existing literature on migration networks and systems still lacks some fundamental weaknesses regarding 'contextual feedback mechanisms', as De Haas (2010) explains. More attention needs to be laid on these contextual factors which shape, and are shaped by, migration. For a comprehensive explanation of the argument made by De Haas, read paragraph 2.4.

Furthermore, as one of the central concepts in this thesis, the debate revolving around the construction of livelihoods needs attention in this chapter. Livelihood construction takes up an increasingly dominant position as it is a 'human-centred' approach, which aggregates different socio-economical theoretical concepts such as vulnerability, sustainability, assets and capitals into one framework. I will elaborate on this in paragraph 2.5.

The contested notion of the household will be put central in paragraph 2.6. In this paragraph I will elaborate on the range of literature which describes the growing divide between migrant identities and their rural kin. Thereby, the contemporary household unit also becomes increasingly acknowledged as geographically stretched, porous or even imagined.

Finally, the conceptual framework of this research will be presented in paragraph 2.7. This framework is constructed to present the underlying presumptions of my argumentation, and therefore, will outline the structure of my empirical analysis.

2.2 Historical progress: economic theories of migration

Migration theories have emerged in order to grasp insight and make sense of migration processes. To give a brief overview, I highlight some of the main streams in migration thinking, mainly based on the overviews provided by Castles & Miller (2009) and De Haas (2007). By doing so, I will be able to link up as well as contrast these streams of thinking with my own perspective.

Ravenstein is regarded as the founder of the first stream of migration theory, which evolved through neo-classical thinking. Statistical laws of migration are central in this way of thinking. Neo-classical theories of migration see individuals as utility-maximisers, who are fully informed about conditions in place of living and place of destination. Therefore, they are able to make a rational choice, between financial costs and benefits, on which they will base their decision (Castles & Miller, 2009). Neo-classical theory sees the internal flows of migrants from rural to urban areas as an inevitable process of development in which surplus labour in the rural domain will 'automatically' shift to the growing industrial economy in the city (De Haas, 2007).

This stream in migration thinking has been heavily criticised for being incapable of explaining migration processes in a realistic way. Migrants are most often limited to a bounded rationality due to their limited amount of information and those who migrate are rarely the poorest (Castles & Miller, 2009; *ibid.*). To come closer to reality, the theory was expanded through the dual labour market theory, which put more emphasis on institutional factors, race and gender in explaining market segmentation. It makes the division between highly skilled 'primary' workers and low-skilled 'secondary' workers (*ibid.*). This theory partly explains the polarisation in urban centres like Cape Town.

Critics on the focus on the individual migrant led to the emergence of the new economics of labour (cf. Stark & Bloom, 1985). This theoretical insight puts more emphasis on “the complex and diverse realities of the migration and development interactions” (De Haas, 2007). The social context of the migrant becomes important, with the most concrete implication of a shift in the unit of analysis from the individual towards the household. Households diversify their resources and livelihood construction, notably to decrease economic vulnerability.

The theories discussed so far are mainly focused on the economics of migration. Although any study would acknowledge the importance of economic factors in migration processes and dynamics, the recent trend in migration thinking considers economic factors alone to be insufficient for explaining migration patterns. Social factors do play a significant role in determining migration patterns, as I will show in the next chapters. The social context is particularly essential in this thesis as I elaborate on the rural-urban divide by focusing on the *social* linkages between migrants and their rural contacts, while taking changing identities into account. I will focus on two theories in particular: migration system theory and migration network theory.

2.3 Migration systems and networks

In the literature, patterns of migration are seen as major drivers of further migration – in the same direction – in the future (De Haas, 2007). When a certain number of migrants have settled at a certain place, the threshold for potential migrants to take the same route, will be less high, as they can make use of information and assistance which is provided by pioneer migrants. This development over time exemplifies the substantial value social factors play in migration processes. In this sense, the migration system plays an important role. A migration system can accordingly be defined as “a set of places linked by flows and counter-flows of people, goods, services and information, which tend to facilitate further exchange, including migration, between the places” (ibid.). The migration system theory is applicable at different geographical scales, e.g. to explain international migration between two countries (cf. Castles & Miller, 2009) or migration on micro or meso level between certain regions (cf. De Haas, 2007). In migration system theory, the flow of people from a rural area to a certain city is considered to potentially become self-perpetuating, once sufficient people have arrived in the city and begin to create a social structure in which subsequent migrants arrive more easily. By creating a certain urban social structure, a particular culture and lifestyle often comes into being, which will be transmitted to rural contacts ‘at home’ (Massey et al., 1993).

Sociologist Douglas Massey had an important role in the development and refinement of the system theory. He identified several additional feedback mechanisms, which had been neglected in the original theory (Massey, 1990). Those mechanisms include contextual issues on both the sending as receiving end to a larger extent which subsequently might provide an impact on migration behaviour. For instance, through the combination of remittances and network effects, the aspirations for migratory behaviour may increase significantly. Remittances cause regional inequalities in ‘sending areas’, while social networks increase people’s ability to migrate. Moreover, as Massey (ibid.) illuminates, migration often leads to a lower level of development in the sending region, which increases the aspirations for migration by people left behind. After all, the migrating group generally

contains more financial resources and is higher educated and therefore the absence of these people could result in a higher degree of underdevelopment. Last, Massey et al. (1993) make the argument that the arising of a migrant culture could lead to feelings of failure by people left behind. In the context of rural-urban migration, this might indicate for a growing divide between the rural and urban domain, as it exemplifies a devaluing of the rural village and growing aspirations for integration in the urban domain.

To further understand the dynamics revolving around migration systems, I follow the insights of Castles & Miller (2009), who see the migratory movement as a result of macro and micro-structures, with intermediating mechanisms 'in between'; the meso-structures. In the case of rural-urban migration, the macro-structure could e.g. consist of the labour market, and the geographical distribution of jobs in a country. Micro-structures revolve around the personal practices, beliefs and attitudes of the migrant, together with his or her social network. The meso-structure, as defined by Castles & Miller (2009), consists of 'the migration industry', facilitating the trajectory between place of departure and destination, and is therefore less relevant in this aspect, since my research is about internal, rural-urban migration, in opposition to international migration.

Social network theory contains substantial overlap with migration system theory, but does not stress the aspect of migration systems theory that migration "restructures the entire societal – or 'developmental' – context of the concrete spaces in which migration takes place" (De Haas, 2007). Rather, social network theory focuses on the social network as the facilitating mechanism of social capital exchange between people. Economists lay attention on the question whether these mutual aid systems are caused by self-interest or altruism, or as according to Du Toit & Neves (2009), this 'helping each other' involves an inner logic of reciprocity (on the one hand, person A is willing to assist person B, but at the other hand person A makes a claim on person B, which could help person A in constructing his livelihood or improve his social security position). In fact, social reciprocal exchange systems can have very inequitable outcomes as people are not eager to help another person when they cannot expect to gain something in return for it (ibid.).

In this sense, various sorts of capital come into play. These capitals are perceived as potentially enabling, meaning that it 'makes things possible' (Coleman, 1988). In the context of rural-urban migration networks, social capital constitutes the most relevant capital, following the definition of De Haas (2007), which states that the social network facilitates the exchange of social capital. Social capital is described by Bourdieu (1979) as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition or in other words, to membership in a group". With regard to migration, this results in the need for people for a certain level of social capital to be able to become mobile and settle themselves elsewhere.

In this respect, the discussion around transnationalism provides additional theoretical insights. Although it stresses the implications of international migration, insights can be obtained which are relevant for internal, rural-urban migration as well. Central in this debate is that it observes the *sustained* ties of migrants with – generally – their kin in the natal village and it analyses the transferring of various sorts of capitals through these ties (Faist, 2000). The notion of sustained ties refers to the multiple feelings of consciousness migrants still have (See also Castles & Miller, 2009).

Consequently, Faist (2000), talks about transnational social spaces, which “are constituted by the various forms of resources or capital of spatially mobile and immobile persons”. Although he speaks with regard to international migration, similar ‘transregional’ social spaces through which capitals are transferred can be identified in the framework of rural-urban migration networks. These insights provide an additional dimension to conventional social network theory.

Moreover, transnationalisation, or in the case of rural-urban migration, ‘transregionalisation’ could in some cases be seen as a strategic form of survival and personal betterment (ibid.). By integration in urban social structures, while maintaining strong ties with the rural kin, migrants could potentially expand their range of social capital on which they can rely on. However, by the adherence to multiple social ties, the chance of ‘being claimed’ inevitably increases as well.

2.4 Beyond migration systems and networks

Network and system thinking has been widely recognised as a major contribution in the understanding of the fact why migration processes can become self-perpetuating over time. However, more recently, critical notions have been placed with regard to conventional network thinking. One of the most comprehensive and valuable contributions in this sense has been developed by De Haas (2010). According to De Haas, existing theories of networks and systems contain some fundamental weaknesses. I will elaborate on his arguments here.

First, De Haas (ibid.) argues that the focus on migration networks does not seem to incorporate so-called ‘indirect feedback mechanisms’. This argument is about the ignorance of ‘indirect feedback loops’ in the migration sending context and receiving context. Hereby, De Haas makes the argument that migration leads to a different context in both the sending area and the receiving area, and that, subsequently, this changing context could potentially result in changing migration patterns. By taking a migration system

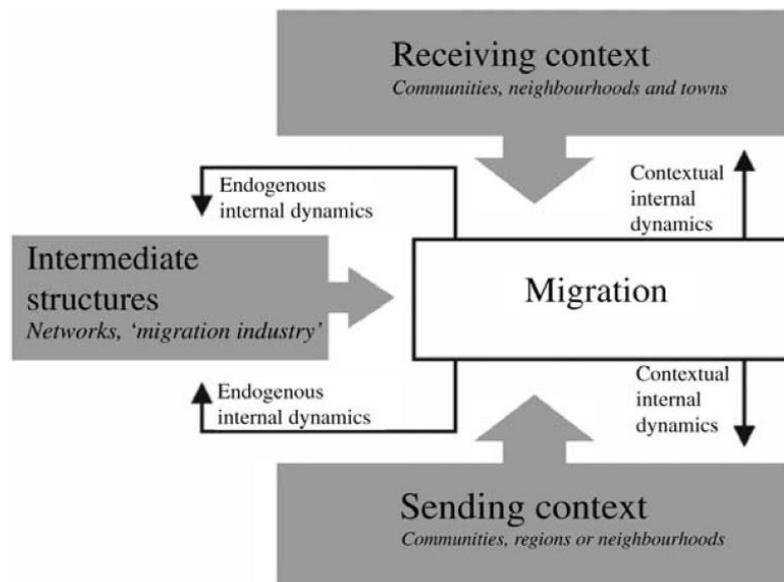


Figure 1. Feedback mechanisms of migration processes. Revised from De Haas (2010).

perspective, this would not be the case as migration would go on until the last person has left the ‘place of sending’. This argument is visualised in Figure 1.

Moreover, De Haas (ibid.) poses the question why initial migration by ‘pioneer migrants’ does not always lead to migration system formation. According to De Haas, existing theories are not able to explain why this is *not* the case. These theories would cause deterministic thinking in which every single migration move results in system formation. This is not realistic and therefore De Haas argues

that existing theories should take 'the breakdown of the migration system' into account, through a conceptualisation of the migration-undermining feedback mechanisms which counteract the migration-facilitating feedback mechanisms (i.e. cumulative causation). For example, in the context of rural-urban migration, it could hypothetically become more attractive to stay in the rural village when a lot of people moved away and the competition for jobs and land-based activities in the rural village decreases.

The logic of cumulative causation should not be taken for granted, as De Haas exemplifies by elaborating on contradictory events in this approach. For instance, cumulative causation theory stresses an ongoing impoverishment in 'sending areas', while empirical evidence indicates on the positive role remittances can play in development. The core here is that migration impacts can be both positive and negative in nature, which in any case has implications for the potential flow of migrants from A to B (ibid.).

One of the central elements within the approaches of migration systems and cumulative causation is social capital. Social capital is a binding force which sustains social relationships and therefore includes people in migrant networks. However, De Haas (ibid.) stresses the excluding factor as well; within the migrant system, migrants do not merely act as 'bridgeheads' towards future migrants, but can act as 'gatekeepers', too. Here, the quality of the tie between the migrant and the community of origin is of importance. Over time, or through excessive claims on the migrant, the 'distance' between a migrant and his community of origin is likely to increase, which could result in unwillingness of the migrant to assist future migration. Moreover, one could identify reasons why it would be in the migrant's own interest to limit the flow of arriving migrants, since it could result in a higher competition for the jobs available. With regard to the flow of rural-urban migrants, it could even be the case that migrants want to keep their rural contacts in the village, as it still constitutes a safety net for them, which they would lose when all their rural contacts would move to the urban domain.

De Haas hypothesises that the transition from 'pioneer migration' towards network or system migration can be achieved if there exists an optimal balance between 'strong intra-community ties' and 'weak ties'. Here, weak ties refer to the hypothesis of the 'strength of weak ties', formulated by Granovetter (1973). Following this hypothesis, a more extensive availability of information is achieved when somebody possesses many weak ties, because the information obtained from a close contact will be highly overlapping with one's personal information. In contrast, the information from an 'outsider' can be of highly additional value to the present information available in a certain community. Figure 2 visualises a network in which weak ties are accompanied by a little star.

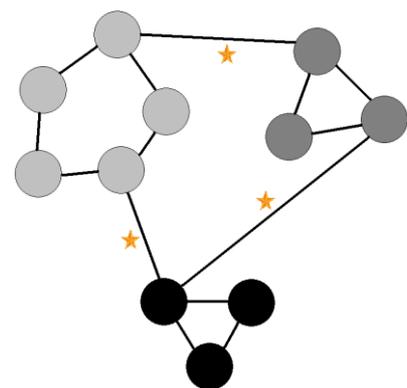


Figure 2. The strength of weak ties.

Faist (2000) also stresses the importance of diverse, large networks, in favour of homogeneous, small social networks for making people's livelihood. In the first place, he points at the greater range of available information for people who possess a more diverse network, and thus possess many weak

ties. However, more generally speaking, it also gives people more access to economic, human and social capital. Whether it is through financial remittances, care-taking activities or cultivating land, social contacts which are residentially far away can play a vital role in people's livelihood construction (Beall & Kanji, 1999). The role of social ties in creating livelihoods is central in this research and for that reason I will now elaborate more extensively on livelihoods and the role of the social network herein.

2.5 The livelihood framework

Traditionally, the perspective on the economics of 'the poor' was limited to examining what they *lack* instead of *have* to secure a reasonable level of well-being. However, in more recent times, a shift towards a focus on the assets and capabilities of the poor has been recognised (Moser, 1998). In this context, the concept of the livelihood came forward. The livelihood has now been used by several scholars and institutions as a core concept, in particular with regard to poverty reduction (see for example Eldis, n.d.). However, the concept needs to be utilised carefully, as e.g. De Haan & Zoomers (2005) emphasise that the livelihood concept is confronted by two major challenges, namely the role of access to livelihood opportunities and the role of decision-making therein. For instance regarding gender relationships, the position of women in households is commonly unequal to the position of men, resulting in dissimilar opportunities to shape one's livelihood.

Yet, the debate around livelihoods provides some vital insights in the context of the dynamics of social networks as it draws on a comprehensive picture of how people collect their daily needs, including reciprocity. The livelihood system does not solely include physical assets as people's resources, but also human assets, such as skills and knowledge, and social assets. Moreover, it highlights people's quest for security and prosperity and does not frame poverty as a one-dimensional process, since it moves away from a reasoning which simply measures the difference between production and consumption. Thus, it takes productive processes, together with reproduction, consumption and social relationships into account (Beall and Kanji, 1999).

By recognising the importance of social relationships over space, the livelihood framework shares an inner logic with the strength of weak ties argument (see Figure 2 on prior page). For instance, a household which is characterised by the 'possession' of weak ties which cover different sites in space, the sum of available information on potential livelihood constructing activities might be large. Also, in such a regionalised household, assistance is often given to family members who wish to move to another place. In opposition, people in a household which is characterised by social isolation, might have bigger troubles finding e.g. a job, as they lack the information about other places.

Vulnerability comprises a central role in the livelihood framework, as it provides insight in people's capability to deal with external events, like the death of a family member, a natural disaster or the dispossession of their dwelling. Moser (1998) identifies two dimensions of vulnerability; sensitivity and resilience. Sensitivity refers to the extent to which people are exposed to the external event, while resilience points at people's ability to cope with or recover from the event. This division is essential in determining people's vulnerability since it points both at the short-term exposure, as well as the longer-term period over which people are affected by the event.

Relating vulnerability to social networks, Du Toit & Neves (2009) point at the fact that social networks can alleviate the impact of an external 'shock' event, by the ability to share the burden it brings along. But on the other hand, the exposure of the shock event could potentially be transmitted by means of the network over distances, and the consequences of the event will be felt on more than one locale. Subsequently, the question which raises in this respect, is to what extent household members are willing to assist as it has a direct impact on their own livelihoods. Here, a certain overlap with the new economics of labour, presented in paragraph 2.2, is evident. This stream of thinking already recognised the role of social ties in reducing people's vulnerability.

This role of social ties, with regard to livelihood construction and vulnerability of people, plays a big role in this thesis. I aim to explore the rural-urban divide in contemporary South Africa, and therefore the relationship between livelihood constructions and the social network will be frequently mentioned. After all, the sharing of costs and benefits which affects people's livelihoods multiple locales, is an important dimension of the strength of ties between the rural and the urban domain. In order to grasp more insight in the functioning of social networks, I will now shift towards the debate around the significance of households as the traditional unit of analysis. Moreover, attention will be given to the diverging cultures and identities between rural and urban inhabitants in the South African context.

2.6 The household and migrant culture

Traditionally, the household contains the most important unit within social reciprocal exchange systems (Du Toit & Neves, 2009; Beall & Kanji, 1999). However, as several authors perceive it, the household unit is increasingly becoming contested as an empirical unit of societal organisation. In this paragraph, I will elaborate further on the various critical views on the household as the central unit within migration networks, expressed by several authors.

The work of De Wet & Holbrook (1997) provides a good point of departure for analysing the character of the household. They base their work on extensive empirical research on the Keiskammahoek District – a rural area less than fifty kilometres away from both Guquka and Koloni in the Eastern Cape province. During their fieldwork they were increasingly confronted with the mobility of villagers and to make sense of this, they created the division between Single Homestead Households (SHH) and Multiple Homestead Households (MHH). The SHH encapsulates households which are bounded to one home; members of such a household consider their rural natal home as the only home they have. In contrast, a MHH refers to the situation in which people have multiple feelings about their place of home. Inevitably, this has implications for the behaviour of the migrant, concerning his relationships with his rural kin. Although the migrant will most likely still maintain ties with his family in the rural village, the tie will change in nature. According to Smith & Hebinck (2007), the tie is likely to change from a tie based on socio-economic interest, to a tie which is mainly based on socio-cultural aspects, like ritual events. In addition, the probability of a permanent return of the migrant to his natal village is likely to decrease because of the multiple feelings of home places and a further integration in the urban domain.

Ngwane (2003) goes further as he even calls the household unit imagined. A household unit is a 'myth', in which the rural household is increasingly perceived as a burden instead of a boon, as the tie between rural household and urban migrant is increasingly characterised by claims the migrant does not wish to carry. In his contribution, he positions the migrant as the transmitter of 'urban narratives', when visiting the rural village (e.g. during Christmas time). The utopian household as a bonding unit cannot exist, as urban (i.e. modern) and rural (i.e. traditional) cultures will clash. The migrant frequently experiences claims he does not wish or is not able to carry, which could potentially affect the family tie. Consequently, the urban migrant turns his back to the rural village and becomes more engaged in urban social networks.

In the same respect, Du Toit and Neves (2009) consider the household in post-Apartheid South African migrant networks as 'fluid', porous and stretched. They reconceptualise the household, which formerly was used as a 'unit of analysis', but in fact should be characterised as a 'small open system'. This system is coherent, but is constituted by porous ties. Moreover, the distribution of benefits within a household is rarely based on equality, as feminists emphasise, but on 'gendered intra-household power relations' (ibid.). The 'stretched' nature of networks refers to the large distances resources flow to reach other family members.

Bank (2001) elaborates further on the implications for cultural and identity construction of urban 'new generation' migrants. He identified a trend in which young couples aggregate in so-called *ukuthlalisana* or 'living together' households in the city. New feelings arise like a "quest for independence, especially from the demand of the older generation" and "a retreat from the structural obligations associated with the multigenerational, patriarchal household, in favour of more horizontal, dyadic and voluntaristic relationships " (ibid.). By settling in the urban domain, in particular men tried to prevent claims on them by their kin and their own wives, through not marrying. As Bank emphasises, *ukuthlalisana* household were commonly still patriarchal, since men claimed their wives to act as 'customary wives' – taking care of domestic work and satisfy the sexual desires of the man – while maintaining their own independence.

2.7 Conceptual framework

Here, I present my conceptual framework (see Figure 3 below). It provides the schematic outline of the underlying presumptions of my argumentation and unravels it into different dimensions which each will gain attention in this thesis. Eventually, I seek to answer the main question of this research, and thus, to make claims on the rural-urban divide in South Africa.

The conceptual framework starts off with the intention of potential migrants to migrate to the city. As this research involves rural to urban migration, the potential migrant is an inhabitant of one of the rural villages in the Eastern Cape, i.e. Guquka or Koloni. This intention evolves from three main dimensions. First, the *perception of the rural context* in which the potential migrant is living provides the base for his wish to leave or stay. To put it straightforward; is the villager happy or satisfied with his or her living conditions? Second, the *perception of the urban context* plays an important role; will it be better to live in the urban domain? The potential migrant will estimate whether migration to the city will result in a better position, and if so, the intention to migrate will grow. Importantly, the grounds on which the potential migrant will base this information is mainly constituted by

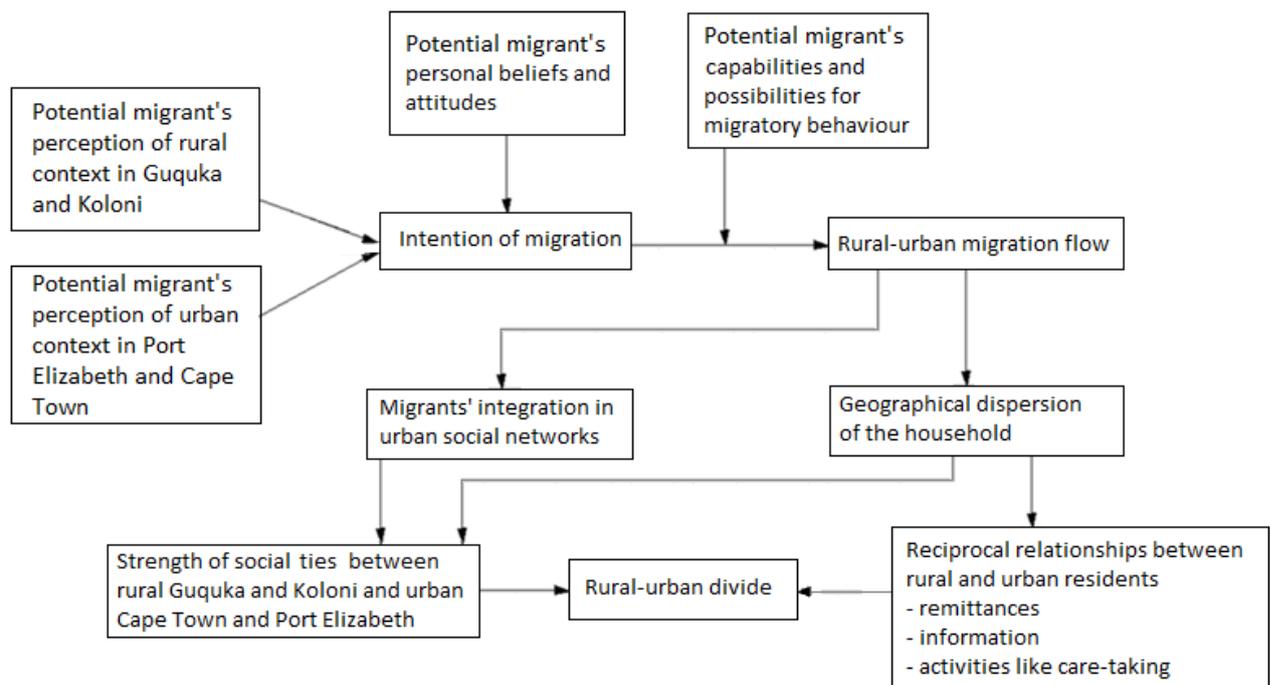


Figure 3. The conceptual framework of this research.

information provided by others, as the villager has no complete personal view on city life. This information does not need to be in accordance with reality, so a bias between the potential migrant's expectations and the actual situation might exist. The third dimension I discern is the potential migrant's *personal beliefs and attitudes* towards migration to the city. These beliefs and attitudes are inevitably affected by the general norms and beliefs of family members and other villagers. If migration to the city is perceived as something good, as one can e.g. find a job there, the likelihood to migrate will grow. Jointly, these dimensions shape the villager's intention to migrate. However, a villager needs certain *capabilities (or capitals) to migrate* and move to the city. Examples of these capitals are money, transport and social contacts in the city. If these capitals are missing, a villager who intends to leave the village, will be stuck and becomes immobile. Thus, the (dis-) possession of these capitals doesn't affect the intention to migrate, nor the migration flow per se, but it poses an effect on the number of people (of the total number of people who intend to migrate) who become mobile and migrate to the city. Most certainly, there are many possibilities to conceptualise the decision-making process of the (rural-urban) migrant¹. However, the way I constructed my conceptual framework sufficiently demonstrates the inner logic of my argumentation on the decision-making of the rural-urban migrant. Therefore, I will employ this model for providing structure in my argumentation.

What follows deals more with the consequences and nature of the rural-urban migration flow than with the flow itself. In the South African context, migration to the city traditionally involves just parts of the household rather than the whole household, meaning that some household members stay in

¹ See for example Van der Velde & Van Naerssen (2011) who constructed the 'threshold model' in which the potential migrant needs to overcome three so-called 'thresholds' before he or she will be able to make the migration step.

the village, while others live in the city. Therefore, *a geographical dispersion of the household* emerges. However, the fact that the household becomes dispersed, does not mean that the link or tie between the migrant and the rural villagers becomes irrelevant. The link commonly involves *reciprocal exchanges* of money, information, goods and other livelihood activities such as care-taking. The extent of these interdependencies logically vary per household.

At the same time, the rural-urban migration flow is constituted by former rural villagers settling themselves in the city. Most likely, the urban migrant will get to know people in his/her new environment and, consequently, will *integrate* (to a variable extent) *into urban social networks*. Hypothetically, this integration into urban networks could pose a threat to the *strength of the tie* between the urban migrant and his/her rural contacts. For example, the meaning and function of rural-urban ties could now shift towards the intra-urban social ties – implying that the rural village will become less relevant in the urban migrant's life. At the same time, the integration of migrants into urban networks will, I assume, make them subject to changes in culture and identity, which could potentially result in a growing gap between village and city.

The (dis-)continuity of strong ties and the change in culture and identity, together with the variable extent of (reciprocal) exchanges between the rural and urban domain constitute the main ingredients for a changing proportion between the rural and the urban domain. If these ties remain strong and remittances continue to link the domains together, *the rural-urban divide* is small, while in the opposite situation, one could speak of a large divide.

The way of constructing my conceptual framework provides the structure of the argumentation in this thesis. As I follow the different steps of the framework, I will be able to answer the research question and formulate conclusions of this research.

3. Research questions and methods

3.1 The 'umbrella project'; research objectives and questions

This thesis is the end result of a larger whole as the project was initiated by Smith and Hebinck, both acting as the supervisors in this project while they both played a major role in the publication of *Livelihoods and Landscapes, The people of Guquka and Koloni and their resources* (Hebinck & Lent, 2007). Hebinck operated as the editor of the publication, while both Hebinck and Smith provided contributions to the book. It forms the starting point of this research, as it gives an in-depth insight in the lives and livelihoods of the villagers of Guquka and Koloni. The fieldwork on which this thesis is based was collaboratively carried out by Evers (see also Evers, 2012) and the author of this thesis. Eventually, the project results in two individual theses.

Since the book presents a vast range of data on the lives and livelihoods of the people of Guquka and Koloni, it constitutes a perfect point to expand on. This research is fundamentally expanded since the fieldwork conducted by Ralph Evers and myself was not limited to single-site empirical research in the rural Eastern Cape, but included fieldwork in the urban domain as well. By taking a multi-sited approach in our fieldwork, our theses will elaborate on both rural and urban narratives, which jointly provide a more holistic view of migration networks and the strength of ties which constitute those networks.

Thus, it is our common objective to include the dynamics of internal migration to range of the initial project, because of the vital role migration plays in people's livelihoods. Consequently, we also formulated an 'umbrella objective'. This common objective was formulated as follows:

(a) It is our objective to gain insight in (1) the nature and construction of social reciprocal exchange networks between internal migrants in 'the urban' and their social relations in 'the rural' and (2) the implications for the migrant's social security (b) by conducting multi-sited ethnographic research in the rural Eastern Cape and urban Cape Town and Port Elizabeth. (Noij & Evers, 2011).

Subsequently, an 'umbrella research question' was formulated:

To what extent do socio-economic linkages, between the urban migrant in Cape Town and his rural social contacts in Koloni and Guquka, play a role in the construction of livelihoods and the social security of these migrants? (ibid.)

From this point, the theses by Evers (2012) and this one have developed as two separate works, jointly aiming to provide the answer to the umbrella question above. From this common objective and question, we discerned two main dimensions, which constitute the 'divide' between the two theses. Within the formulation of the common objective, the different dimensions, which Evers and I individually elaborate on, are marked with a '(1)', the first dimension which will be elaborated here, and a '(2)', which is elaborated by Evers (2012).

However, from the moment we formulated our common objective and question, my individual focus has slightly shifted away from the initial focus. While formulating the common objective and question, the role of social reciprocal exchange networks were supposed to put central in my individual work. Nonetheless, my focus was shifted to the rural-urban divide in general, to incorporate other dimensions than merely socio-economic ties. Therefore, I formulated my individual research objective as follows:

To gain insight in the role of rural-urban migration on the (dis-)continuity of the rural and the urban domain in South Africa.

Subsequently, I formulated my research question:

What is the influence of rural-urban migration from Guquka and Koloni to Port Elizabeth and Cape Town on the rural-urban divide in post-Apartheid South Africa?

The way I formulated the research questions here, implies that there has been a group of people who originally lived in rural areas, but now is living in urban areas. In the South African context, the flow of people leaving rural areas to resettle themselves in urban areas has been recognised by many scholars (cf. Cross et al., 2008). I will therefore not seek for quantitative information on the extent of the rural-urban migration flow. However, what I do seek to illuminate is which factors and underlying institutions are at play in motivating rural inhabitants to move to the city.

Subsequently, the *nature* of the social tie between the urban migrant and his or her contacts in the natal village is of central importance, as it provides vital information on the proclaimed rural-urban divide. If the migrant remains socially attached to his or her village, I will seek for motivations for this. For example, through the social network, capitals can be exchanged and social ties could therefore play an important role in the livelihood of a person, both in the rural and urban domain (cf. Du Toit & Neves, 2009).

Furthermore, I will focus on the social network of the urban migrant *within* the urban domain, as I wish to explore the effect of a migrant's integration in urban social networks on his or her social tie with rural contacts. A potentially changing identity – as the result of the integration into the urban domain – could further increase the divide between rural and urban areas, as a diverging of identities could, hypothetically, pose a threat on the rural-urban tie. On the basis of this, the following sub-questions arise:

- *What is the rationale behind the migration from Guquka and Koloni to Port Elizabeth and Cape Town?*
- *To what extent do urban migrants sustain the social ties between themselves and their natal village? What is the role and value of these ties?*
- *To what extent do rural-urban migrants integrate in urban social networks? Does this integration make the migrant subject to a changing identity?*

Now, I will elaborate on the methods of this research. In other words, I will construct my methodological framework, through which I will be able to answer the questions I formulated above.

3.2 Methodological framework

3.2.1 Introduction

This master thesis is based on multi-sited empirical research in South Africa during the period between March and June 2011, conducted through a collaboration between co-student Ralph Evers (see Evers, 2012) and the author of this thesis. The intermingling of South Africa's unique history, integration in global processes and its internal struggles, makes it a very particular case, and therefore it provides an interesting macro context for socio-geographic research. Within the borders of South Africa, the former Homelands of the Eastern Cape in particular provide a relevant context for exploring the rural-urban divide, as it has a long tradition of people entering and leaving the region (cf. Bank & Kamman, 2010).

Although I emphasise the interconnectedness of the urban and the rural domain, I do make a subdivision between research conducted in these different domains. In this research, the rural domain is represented by two small villages in the province of the Eastern Cape: Guquka and Koloni. The urban domain is represented by the city of Port Elizabeth (Eastern Cape) and Cape Town (Western Cape). In Chapter 4, a comprehensive picture will be drawn on the research context. In this chapter, I will focus on the methodological choices and the implications of these choices.

As I aim to explore the rural-urban divide in this research, there was a fundamental need to base this thesis on multi-sited fieldwork in both rural and urban domain. It is through the interest in both rural and urban narratives, rather than using a one-dimensional approach, that this thesis provides additional insights. Therefore, I need to outline some of the main principles behind doing multi-sited empirical research (paragraph 3.2), before elaborating on the research strategies which were used in the field (3.3). Furthermore, enhancing a multi-sited research approach implies that the researcher will move to different places during the time span of the fieldwork. This research trajectory, as I call it, needs to be described and elucidated (3.4). At last, reflective remarks, and subsequently the researcher's response on these potential weaknesses, will be addressed (3.5).

3.2.2 Multi-sited ethnography

The process of migration has inevitable to do with more than one site. Within the context of rural-urban migration systems, one could – at least – recognise two sites; the place of leaving and the place of arrival. Within the context of migration networks, yet more than two sites become relevant. Because of the multi-sited character of migrant networks and the regionalisation of households, the method of multi-sited ethnography provides a central dimension in this research.

Multi-sited ethnography is a relatively new trend within ethnographic research, as it was first elaborated by Marcus (1995). He identified two modes of ethnographic research; the conventional one-sited ethnography on the one hand, and the multi-sited ethnography which examines the "cultural meanings, objects, and identities in diffuse time-space" (ibid., p.96), inspired by post-modern thinking.

According to Falzon (2009), multi-sited ethnography breaks with the ethnographic tradition which considers the research site as "the container of a particular set of social relations, which could be studied and possibly compared with the contents of other containers elsewhere" (p.1). Breaking with

this tradition, Falzon sees the essence of multi-sited ethnography to “follow people, connections, associations and relationships across space” (pp.1-2). In addition; by doing multi-sited ethnography, the researcher conceives space as formed by interrelations and constructed by interactions between humans. Therefore, space is socially produced (Massey, 2005). Within this research, this implies that space, both in the rural as in the urban domain, will be the product of human activities, perceptions and relationships. For example, the rural-urban divide is in the first place socially produced and the ‘push and pull’ mechanism is not sufficient as an explanatory tool for migration between these domains.

Evidently, multi-sited ethnography still entails strategies and beliefs which are derived from original ethnographic fieldwork. In that sense, it is an anthropological, qualitative way of research in which the researcher tries to participate in people’s lives. It is the combination of participation, observation and field techniques like interviewing which provide the research data. The researcher commonly has to participate for a longer period of time to gain trust among the people on whom the research is conducted. In addition, the researcher should enter the field with an open approach and should not simply test hypotheses formulated in advance (Flick, 2009).

However, as some argue (cf. Clifford 1997), the idea of multi-sitedness is in conflict with the idea of conducting longer-term ethnographic research. In other words, the gains of doing ethnographic fieldwork in the conventional way, will be to some extent erased by taking up multi-sited methods. So, as a researcher, one has to make a critical consideration how to organise the period of time available for doing fieldwork. In this research project it was essential to conduct multi-sited fieldwork as networks are *per se* spatially dispersed and migration is inevitably affecting two or more sites. Moreover, the aim of this research was to be able to reflect on both rural as urban narratives, instead of using a one-dimensional approach.

3.2.3 Research strategy

Within the framework of multi-sited ethnography, the multiple case study will be the research strategy. A case study is a research which aims to generate integral and in-depth insight into one or more objects or processes which are demarcated in space and time (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007). In this research I speak of a multiple form of the case study, since there are multiple research locations: both in the rural and in the urban domain we can distinguish two locations (Guquka and Koloni; Port Elizabeth and Cape Town). Nevertheless, the overarching intention is to make generalising claims about migration networks between rural inhabitants and their social contacts in the urban domain, logically in the context of the research area.

A case study is characterised by a limited number of research units, a labour-intensive approach, a focus on depth rather than ‘width’ and a selective sample. Moreover, it seeks for a holistic view of the ‘research object’ (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007). Hence it’s a highly qualitative research strategy and in line with the features of ethnographic research. Within this research, the units of observation are constituted by rural inhabitants in Guquka and Koloni, whom have family members or other close social contacts living in Port Elizabeth or Cape Town, and the urban migrants. Together, these units of observation form the social network. Consequently, the overarching aim is to make statements about this more abstract social network, and, therefore, the social network is the unit of analysis in this research.

Taking this into account, information on the units of observation was mainly obtained through in-depth interviews. The interviews in the rural domain were characterised by a semi-structured nature, in which the researchers followed a certain structure. Even though, the interviews were also relatively open as the interviewee was in the position to steer the conversation into a particular direction. This exemplifies the explorative nature of this research, as the 'research field' was relatively unfamiliar to the researcher. In addition, by adopting an open approach one acquires insight in perceptions and values of the interviewee, which can be highly valuable. At the other hand, the semi-structured nature ensured that the researchers did not end the interview before the essential data was collected.

In the urban domain, interviews were characterised by less structure and more openness. The way of interviewing in the urban domain had some similarities with the narrative interview, described by Flick (2009). Urban migrants were asked to tell them their life stories, including why, how and when they moved to the city. At the same time, by enhancing an ethnographic approach (ibid.), the researchers aimed to create a comfortable and safe environment, in which information and stories were exchanged and did not merely flow from the interviewees to the researchers. Note-taking during the interview was limited to essential information to secure the informality and open character of the conversation. Frequently, irrelevant topics such as sports were considered during the conversation as well.

As the interviews most commonly took place at the interviewee's residence, observations played a big role as well. People's material possessions and the quality of their dwellings can tell a lot about e.g. their financial well-being. Livelihood construction comprises an important dimension in this research and was therefore a much-discussed topic. Through the combination of the interview and the observation, one could obtain a great insight in the subject's financial position, and subsequently, the role of social contacts in this.

The interviews with the urban actors have been worked out in the form of migrant narratives through a collaboration with Evers (2012). These narratives do not solely elaborate on the spoken language during the interview, but will also take other factors into account, such as the researchers' observations and the migrant's feeling of comfort. These migrant narratives play a key role in the empirical character of the data analysis in this thesis. In the analysis (Chapter 5), I will employ my conceptual framework to provide structure in my argumentation. Subsequently, the migrant narratives will be presented here to provide the chapter with empirical value. By doing so, the migrant's story will be related with the argument I wish to make.

Lastly, expert interviews were organised with Prof. C. De Wet (Rhodes University) and Drs. D. Neves (PLAAS, University of the Western Cape) were organised. Both have great experience with doing anthropological research in the context of migration networks in South Africa. Also, Henning Deklerk was willing to participate in a discussion with Evers and myself, in order to exchange insights. Deklerk is a PhD-candidate under the supervision of Prof. C. De Wet and is doing similar – albeit more extensive – research on migration networks in the Eastern and Western Cape in South Africa.

3.2.4 Research trajectory

Doing multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork implies that the researcher needs to travel to different places and therefore covers a 'trajectory'. In this paragraph, the followed trajectory by Evers and myself will be presented, as the choice for the taken trajectory involves methodological choices, which need to be clarified.

The starting point of the trajectory of this research was constituted by the villages of Guquka and Koloni in the rural Eastern Cape. Guquka and Koloni are both situated in the former Homeland of Ciskei and the travel distance between them, by road, is about 50 kilometres. Within the two villages, households were randomly chosen and asked whether they had family members or friends living in cities. If this was the case, they were subsequently kindly invited to participate in the research. Households or individuals which said they did not have any social connections with people in the city were not included, since it is the link, constitutes by social ties, between the rural and the urban domain which is central in this research.

Eventually, through the collaboration of Ralph Evers (see Evers, 2012) and the author, eleven interviews were conducted and worked out. During the interviews in the rural domain, we were attended by three interpreters² which all were familiar with the culture and language of the villagers. When an interview with one or more members of a household in Guquka and Koloni came to an end, we asked for telephone numbers of their family members in the city.

Conducting the interviews in Guquka and Koloni made clear that the greatest part of urban migrants from the villages ended up in Cape Town. Other destinations were e.g. Gauteng, Port Elizabeth and East London. Because of the fact that Port Elizabeth was 'on the route' to Cape Town, the decision was made to contact the migrants in Port Elizabeth and try to meet them as well. In Port Elizabeth, two interviews were conducted with urban dwellers, with help of a South African native, who approached the migrants in their own language.

Eventually, another six interviews in Cape Town have been conducted, through the assistance of another South African native. This man always accompanied us when visiting one of the townships, with the purpose of doing an interview. On the one hand this increased the (sense of) safety and on the other he acted as the interpreter. In addition, by gaining the trust and respect of this South African Xhosa-man, co-student Ralph Evers and I were able to get in touch with Xhosa culture and townships life, as we were invited at his home place in the Crossroads township.

3.2.5 Reflective remarks

Reflecting on the period of empirical research in South Africa, the first thing to say is that through the collaboration of co-student Ralph Evers and me, a good foundation was created for both our theses. We conducted our fieldwork collaboratively, so we share a common 'data base' which is in the first place comprised of migrant narratives, but also of the expert interviews and the 'shared' experiences. Nevertheless, by the different research questions and objectives, we will write an individual thesis, which together might be able to generate a comprehensive insight in rural-urban

² The interpretation was conducted by PhD-candidate M.C. Tshuma and two Master students of the Faculty of Agriculture of the University of Fort Hare, Alice.

migration networks in South Africa. I will end this chapter by making some reflective remarks on the conducted research, which I will take into account in the analysis of the data.

First, the assistance provided in the urban domain was unprofessional, as the people who helped us were not educated in doing research or interpreting. However, they speak both English and Xhosa fluently. The interpreters were both of the Xhosa tribe, like the interviewees, which created an atmosphere in which the interviewee felt safe and comfortable. Moreover, the spoken language of the interviews was mainly English, as most interviewees in the urban domain had sufficient understanding of that language as well.

Second, the decision for incorporating interviews in both Cape Town and Port Elizabeth has implications for the analysing of data. I will always have to be aware of the differences between migrants in Cape Town and migrants in Port Elizabeth, as they differ e.g. in the distance they live away from their natal villages and the different context the two cities constitute. In particular, when speaking about the rural-urban divide, the distance between urban migrant and their natal village might potentially have implications for the quality of the social ties between him or her and the rural village.

Third, this research is qualitative of nature and very limited in its quantity. This implies that I will not be able to draw generalisations easily. So, what will be fundamental in this research is to investigate to what extent the obtained migrant narratives correspond with the existent literature. Subsequently, I need to critically contemplate on the bias between the data presented in this thesis and in the existent literature.

Fourth, I have to recognise the interpretative nature of the data. The way I will present the data in this thesis will be through personal narratives of migrants and their families. These narratives will be based on the interviews and observations with their relatives in Guquka and Koloni and, of course, with themselves. The information obtained during the interviews will thus be transformed by the researcher and is therefore subject to the interpretation by the author.

At last, I need to reflect on the cooperation between my co-researcher and myself. As we conducted our fieldwork together, one could state that our data is the result of interdependent, non-autonomous fieldwork, because we both need to write our individual thesis on the base of one collection of data. We can counterbalance this argument by stating that our theses together, by taking a different focus, provide a great source of insights concerning rural-urban linkages in contemporary South Africa. Also, collaboratively conducting e.g. interviews gave us a lot of profit as we could work in a complementary way, for instance when one of us was posing questions while the other was taking notes. As we commonly worked without taking notes during conversations, we jointly recapitulated all the migrant stories afterwards. As a duo, you predictably will retain more detailed information, compared to individually conducted research. Moreover, working together brought a lot of other practical advantages, a higher feeling of safety and moral support.

4. THE FIELDS OF RESEARCH

To understand a country's contemporary society, one needs insight in its past. The case of South Africa strikingly exemplifies that, as understanding of its history is vital to make sense of its population and society today. Therefore, an overview of South Africa's history is given in paragraph 4.1, starting from the moment when international influences initiated. From this moment onwards, the foundation was created for a long-lasting struggle between population groups divided on the base of race (4.1.1). With the implementation of Apartheid, the South African government legalised the segregation of people according to racial lines and suppression of non-whites. The policies carried out by this regime opposed a great impact on population movements and labour migration within the borders of South Africa. Forced removals from cities to townships and Homelands took place, while people's mobility was strictly monitored (4.1.2). In the 1990's, South Africa transformed in a democracy, resulting in a lifting of several Apartheid laws. How migration patterns were affected by this change will be analysed in 4.1.3.

After this first section on South African historical events and their subsequent impact on migration patterns, I turn to the actual research contexts where empirical fieldwork was carried out (paragraph 4.2). As explained before, this multi-sited research was empirically conducted in both the rural and urban domain. The rural domain is represented by Guquka and Koloni (4.2.1) and the urban domain by Port Elizabeth and Cape Town (4.2.2).

4.1 South Africa

4.1.1 From colonisation to Apartheid³

As in most African countries, European imperialism and colonisation played a big role and it is not hard to find traces of it in contemporary Africa. In the case of South Africa, imperial influence initiated with the arrival of the Dutch East India Company or *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC). At first, it was a case of temporal settling, but after a short period of time, the Dutch settlement became structural of nature. In 1652, the VOC created a provision station at Table Bay, close to Cape Town, as it formed a strategic point on the trade route over sea to Asia.

Shortly after, the 'Commander of the Cape' Jan van Riebeeck gave a group of former Dutch soldiers the permission to settle themselves in the surroundings of Cape Town and perform agricultural activities. Those people became to know as 'free burghers' or 'trekboers'. As mobile farmers, they occupied growing areas of arable land and the local Khoisan people were either increasingly caught up in the colonial system as servants, or pushed away from their lands. Furthermore, the VOC imported a high number of slaves from its Asian colonies to the Cape Colony, which frequently married white settlers.

³ This paragraph has been constructed with the purpose of providing the reader a brief historical context rather than a comprehensive insight in South Africa's past. As it does not compromise the fundamental core of this thesis, it has been based on a limited number of sources. Primarily, the publication of Thompson (1995) and – to a lesser extent – the publication of the South African Government (2011) provided the information for this paragraph.

Later on, Britain became anxious for a French occupation of the Cape Colony from the Dutch and therefore they decided to invade it themselves. In 1795, the British conquered the Cape Colony for the first time, before structurally taking over the administration in 1803. For the British, the location of the Cape was practically located as well, since they had, like the Dutch, a dynamic trade route to Asia. As the British had to deal with the native Khoisan people and the Afrikaners or Boers, they brought some law and order into being in the Cape.

In 1820 the British government decided to transport a few thousand citizens to the Cape Colony, because of the high level of unemployment in Britain during that time. Most 'Settlers', as they were called, began as farmers in the Eastern zone of the Cape Colony, but soon became active as traders or artisans in nearby cities, like Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth. The Afrikaners and the English settlers did not live in good harmony as the arrival of the British came together with more rights for the black population and slaves. Eventually, in 1838 slavery was abolished. However, this did not result in the Khoisan becoming self-sufficient to a larger extent as the productive land in the Cape was in hands of the white population. Even though, it further enhanced feelings of dissatisfaction amongst Afrikaners towards the English settlers.

Ultimately, the general discontent with the British rule, made the Afrikaners leave the Cape Colony to establish themselves in the north-eastern parts of present South Africa; this migration between 1835 and 1840 became known as the Great Trek. Here, they founded the Afrikaner republics Transvaal and Orange Free State, which in the 1850s became officially recognised by the English state. At the same time, the British expansion continued, as they invaded Natal in 1843 and Lesotho in 1868.

From the 1870s onwards, the discoveries of sources of gold and diamonds had an extensive impact on South African society. These events were part of what we now call the Mineral Revolution and led to a great influx of people to the Boer Republics, where the sources of minerals were situated. The mineral discoveries formed, subsequently, a great motivation for the British to gain power over the Republics. The tension between the Afrikaner Boers and the British resulted in the beginning of the South African War or the second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902). Even though the British outnumbered the Boer army by far, it didn't end in an easy victory, as was expected by the British beforehand. During the war, native Africans were on the British side, as the British made black people believe that their lives would improve when the Afrikaners would not be in power anymore. Nonetheless, the end of the war, conversely, laid the foundation for an expanding institutionalisation of dissimilarity and inequality on racial grounds.

After the South African War, the former Republics were re-given some sovereignty, as it was given a parliamentary government, albeit with a 'whites-only' franchise, in 1907. Three years later, the Union of South Africa was established, which was constituted by four provinces; the Cape, Natal, Orange Free State and Transvaal. Also, South West Africa (nowadays Namibia) was regarded as a province after the First World War as it was formerly ruled by Germany. Thus, the Union of South Africa was a self-governing entity, part of the British empire, in which governmental power was exclusively in the hands of the white population. Nowadays, the establishment of the Union of South Africa has been acknowledged as the beginning of the 'segregation era' (cf. Thompson, 1995; Maylam, 2001).

When the Union of South Africa was established, its population was extremely diverse. Black people originated from several African tribes, the white population could be distinguished between British and Afrikaner, while another population group was comprised of people from diverse origins which could neither be labelled white, nor black. Their descendants diverse from former inhabitants of Asian colonies, the Khoisan and white Europeans.

During this time, racist beliefs were spread out over the whole African continent, including South Africa. In this context, the Union's administration classified its population in the first place according to race. This meant that Afrikaners were, like the British, superior to non-whites. The manual work was mainly done by black people, while the average wage of white labourers in the mines was more than ten times higher than the work in the mines by non-whites. Together with land shortage, increase of the population and taxation policies, black South Africans became rapidly impoverished, struggling to survive. For education, they were dependent on missionary schools. On the other hand, as we know today, white Afrikaners eventually reached a similar level of prosperity as the English-speaking white population in South Africa.

In the first decades of the 20th century, increasing numbers of black Africans moved into towns. In particular men, who temporarily found work in the mines, left their rural homes to become labour migrants. Even though government policy was directed at keeping black Africans out of the cities, it could not prevent black South Africans of building shacks at the outer circle of the city's borders. Johannesburg, 'the city of gold', particularly experienced an enormous inflow of job-seeking migrants. The shacks were concentrated around the south-western areas outside the city which came to know as Soweto. People creatively found jobs as informal workers and a particular township culture became existent in this time. For example, the informal taverns called *shebeens* became important places of social interactions in this context.

Shortly after the Second World War, the domestic South African politics tended to a more liberal model. A small group of white intellectuals saw the need for a more anti-racist and just system, in which black Africans should be treated more equally, e.g. in terms of wages. In the commercial sector, they pointed at the need for a stabilised work force, which did not exist merely of temporal migrant workers. At the same time, decolonisation was set in process on a global scale and international pressure on Western imperial policies grew. This resulted in some reforms, like a slight increase of wages for black mine workers, the creation of a small pension for the elder and easing of the pass laws, which restricted mobility for black Africans.

In this context Afrikaner nationalism increased significantly, as some were extremely worried about the racial relationships in South African society. Ironically, the pressure for more rights to native Africans thus induced increasing feelings of white supremacy among a substantial group of 'white South Africa'. In the upcoming of the elections of 1948, the current government was portrayed as extremely liberal in their policies, which exacerbated racial fears. Moreover, the main Afrikaner party, the National Party, presented a policy statement, demonstrating the blueprint for their policy, in case they would gain power. In this blueprint, which mainly elaborated on the relations between different racial populations groups within South Africa, they demonstrated their plans for a further divide between the different racial groups. For example, the African reserves had to be maintained as the exclusive living space for native Africans, political power should be preserved to white people

only and missionary schools should be abolished. With regard to the labour system, the government should strictly regulate the inflow of black Africans in the city, whilst providing the urban economy with sufficient black labour (Posel, 2003).

The National Party won the elections of 1948 after a close victory over the ruling party. From this point onwards, South Africa would be ruled under the label of *Apartheid*.

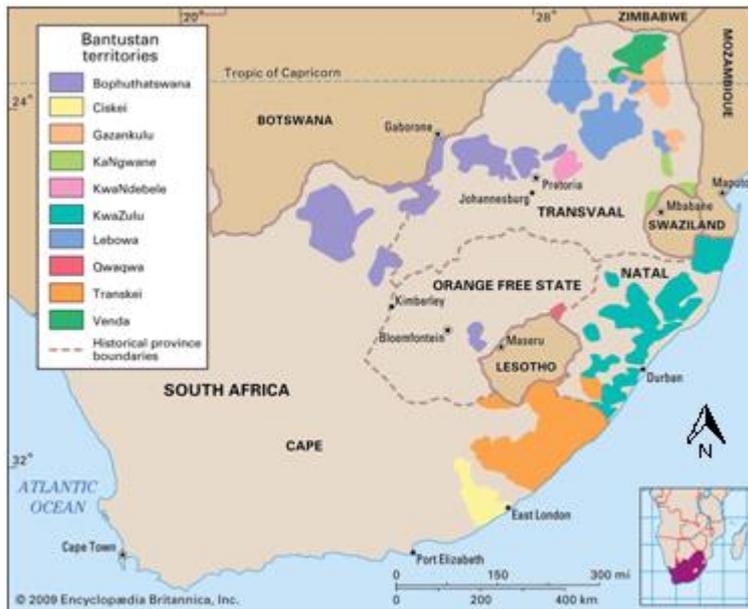
4.1.2 Apartheid and the labour migration system

With the National Party reaching power in South Africa, the regulations of segregation and discrimination on the base of race, became more formalised. It did built on the already existing structures of segregation and dispossession, but changed the directions (Gregory et al., 2009). The first decades of Apartheid were used to *Afrikanerise* the complete political system in the country, leaving no space for any involvement of 'Blacks' or 'Coloureds' in the political system. At the same time, the gap in economic prosperity between English-speaking whites and Afrikaners became smaller, by intervening strategies of the government. Under the rule of Hendrik Verwoerd, Dutch-born prime minister of South Africa from 1958 to 1966, South Africa transformed from a dominion of the British Empire to a republic, and thus, gaining full independence (Thompson, 1995).

Shortly after the introduction of Apartheid, the intentions of the government were carried out by the implementation of several legal acts. The Population Registration Act (1950) formally implemented the division of the population into four categories: white, black, coloured and Indian. Marriages or sexual behaviour was restricted to couples within the same category. In public premises, people were divided into different demarcated spaces, as implemented by the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (1953), to prevent contact between racial groups (ibid.).

From the 1950's onwards, the spatial structure of South Africa was being re-planned significantly. An important aspect of Apartheid existed in the idea that cities were restricted to the white population. Only through strict control of the inflow of black migrant workers, the urban economy was provided with the vital unskilled labour. This control was legally carried out by the Groups Area Act (1950), which distinguished urban zones according to racial lines. This implied that every zone belonged to one of the four racial groups, in which they were able to live and work. The defining of the different zones happened according to the will of the government, and commonly despite of the relocation of whole communities. People were forcibly removed to the townships, which were highly regulated and classified according to race. Its residents were treated as visitors, which temporarily visited the city to provide labour.

The 'home spaces' of black South Africans during Apartheid were artificially created by means of the implementation of 'Homelands', or 'Bantustans'. Black South Africans who were neither located in the city to work, nor were required at white rural areas, were seen as providers of 'surplus labour' and therefore compulsorily relocated to one of the Homelands (Aliber, 2003). In practice, this commonly meant that the man of the black African household was in the city to work, while the other members of the household lived and worked in one of the Homelands. In the Homelands, rural poverty was a widespread phenomenon, as great numbers of families had to live in dense settlements and the availability of fertile land was insufficient to provide a stable food-security. In the period between 1960 and 1983, it is estimated that more than 3.5 million people were relocated



Map 2. South Africa under the rule of the apartheid regime.
Source: www.Britannica.com.

to one of the Homelands, resulting in the fact that at the end of this period more than fifty percent of the black African population lived in one of the Homelands (Thompson, 1995). The locations of the Homelands are visualised on Map 2.

Under the rule of Hendrik Verwoerd, one of the leading figures behind the design and implementation of Apartheid, the South African government began to declare Homelands self-governing and, afterwards, independent. Hereby, black South Africans were

evicted from their South African citizenship and, officially, belonged to their Homelands. The Homelands remained highly dependent on subsidies from the South African government though. Moreover, the government installed collaborative chiefs on the highest administrative functions in the Homelands to secure cooperation. Most Homelands were announced independent between 1976 and 1981, including the Transkei and Ciskei, after being declared self-governing in the years before (ibid.).

In her contribution, Walker (1999) describes the role of the homestead within the context of the Apartheid era. According to her, the homestead was during this time seen as “a harmonious unit in which all members were united in maximising resources and resisting threats to its integrity” (p.177). At the same time, the labour force was constituted by men only, because their spouses were not able to move with them. In this context, the household started to become fragmented and remittances began to play a role in the livelihood construction of the rural household.

As Posel (2003) emphasises, one needs to be critical regarding the view of the household as ‘one productive unit’. One needs to look beyond the concept of altruism when examining migrants’ motivations for starting to remit money. During this time, migrant workers had no certainty regarding the duration of their jobs, while they could not settle permanently in urban zones. Therefore, the need for a strong tie with their rural household was essential, as it provided a security net on which they could fall back on in case of relocation or when they lost their job. At the same time, rural communities realised that migrants could potentially play an important economic role, and therefore, all sorts of moral obligations were created to sustain the tie between the migrant and his family. As long as the migrant worker felt bounded to his rural household members, the flow of money would be ensured.

As comprehensively described by historians such as Thompson (1995), the Apartheid state started to confront some real troubles after the economic success in the 1960s and early 1970s. The maintenance of the Apartheid state was extremely costly, while highly skilled workers increasingly

found their ways into other countries. Black resistance against the government endured resulting in demonstrations and violent behaviour against the state. At the same time, foreign criticism grew, as e.g. the Homelands of South Africa were not recognised by any other state. In 1977, the United Nations declared an international embargo on the export of arms to the Apartheid state, following several other trade barriers in the 1980s.

These internal struggles, combined with international sanctions against South Africa, led to several policy reforms. The blacks population was increasingly allowed to settle in cities, segregation in public premises was partly abolished and the reservation of jobs for white workers was recalled. At the same time, this happened with a growing fear among the white population towards the transformation taking place in South Africa. Government officials became more free than ever to use violence against anti-Apartheid activists, while in the late 1980s hundreds of activists were arrested (ibid.).

The transformation from Apartheid to a non-racist democracy was spurred by the inauguration of Frederick Willem de Klerk as the new President of South Africa. He lifted the bans of anti-Apartheid movements, including the ANC and, consequently, the leader of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, was released from prison. During the last years of imprisonment of Mandela, the government already had several private meeting with him to discuss the transformation of South African's governmental body, which were continued by meetings after his releasing. Eventually, all racial groups in South Africa had the right to vote during the elections of 1994, resulting in an enormous victory by the ANC and the installation of Mandela as first black president of South Africa (South African government, 2011).

4.1.3 Migration patterns in post-Apartheid South Africa

Since the abolishment of the Apartheid regime, South African citizens don't find any legal obstacles regarding their decision-making on questions such as where they wish to live, work or settle. During Apartheid, the government strictly regulated the inflow of black job-seeking migrants, as they conceived the city as a white-only area. However, the reality was that urbanisation was taking place within the borders of South Africa under Apartheid and the government, thus, could not stop the persistent migration flow to the cities. But with the elimination of legal barriers for the black population, it was highly expected that the flow of black migrants, aiming to settle themselves permanently in the city, would dramatically develop in size (Todes et al., 2010).

Posel (2003) elaborates on the consequences the changing character of migration – from a temporal to a permanent nature – would imply. At the one hand, one could expect a enormous growth of informal settlements and the socio-economic problems these settlements brings along, as the Apartheid city could never cope with a vast inflow of 'newcomers'. Housing provision, basic service delivery and the supply of available jobs were far from sufficient to provide each migrant a decent life. At the other hand, the flow of remittances from urban migrants to their rural kin – which had started to play a significant role for the rural village during Apartheid – was at risk. Namely, as Posel (ibid.) emphasises, remittances principally play a role in the context of circular migration, and – at least to a lesser extent – in the case of permanent migration of whole families.

However, statistics prove this expectation to be illegitimate. The overall migration rate has been rather constant around twelve percent of the population (Kok & Collinson, 2006), which, strikingly, was for the greatest extent composed of migration within the rural domain and, thus, not contributing to the process of urbanisation (cf. Bank & Kamman, 2010). Furthermore, the out-migration from the 'deep rural areas', i.e. the former Homelands, was nothing more than a modest 3.72 percent between the moment of the lifting of the influx control in 1986 until 1998. At the same time, the out-migration from the former Homelands still contained a lot of temporal or circular migrants. As demonstrated by Posel (2003), the phenomenon of labour or temporal migration even increased in the 1990s. In line with this, the proportion of rural household that reported to retain economic ties with an urban migrant increased (ibid.).

Urbanisation in South Africa could well be characterised according to certain directions. The in-migration was mainly directed to the cities experiencing economic growth, i.e. the Gauteng region and, in particular regarding migrants from the Eastern Cape, Cape Town. However, the Apartheid regime blurred the hard lines between rural and urban areas, since it created semi-urban locales of employment in the former Homelands, to which a lot of people were compulsorily relocated (Todes et al., 2010). These semi-urban locations commonly provide the first step for migrants from rural areas, before heading further to one of the metropolitan areas in South Africa. In this sense, step migration has played an important role in the recent history of urbanisation in South Africa (Bank & Kamman, 2010).

But the question which remains is why the nature of rural-urban migration in post-Apartheid South Africa did not change overnight, as expected. In fact, the amount of temporal labour migrants even *increased* in the 1990s. According to Posel (2010), 'deeply entrenched migration patterns', established during Apartheid, simply need time to change in nature. She expects that the transition from a temporal to a more structural nature will occur, but simply not in the rapidity people expected beforehand.

The fact that the proportion of migrating women is steadily increasing during the last two decades (cf. Williams et al. 2011), seems in favour of Posel's argument. Smith & Hebinck (2007) describe the growing trend of women migrating to the cities to accompany their husbands, which might indicate for a more permanent nature of migration to the city, as from that point whole families, instead of just a part of it, will be living in the city. Interestingly, women start to play a larger role regarding labour migration as well, as the statistics learn that the proportion of female labour migrants compared to male labour migrants has risen from 29.7 to 33.7 to 37 percent in the periods 1993-1999 and 1999-2008 (Posel 2003; Posel 2010). However, this only indicates for a greater participation of women regarding temporal migration and does not imply a loosening tie with the village. But, as Williams et al. (2011) emphasise, it could signify two important trends. First, the larger level of sovereignty women experience, regarding gender relations and, thus, a weakening of patriarchal control over women. Second, a worsening situation in the rural village, pushing males *and* females into the city.

At the other hand, the labour market – predominantly situated in cities – could not absorb the vast amount of job-seeking migrants after the breakdown of Apartheid. The abolishment of the urban influx control resulted, as expected, in an enormous increase of labour supply and, consequently, a

increase of competition for jobs (ibid.). In this context, the theoretical insights of De Haas (2010) are relevant, as the high competition for jobs and the great risk of being unemployed, constitutes a 'migration-undermining feedback mechanism'. Subsequently, this provides a good explanation for the strong rural ties people hold on to, in particular during the first decade after Apartheid. The uncertainty urban migrants experienced during Apartheid had simply not been eliminated along with the abolishment of Apartheid as a whole, and the rural village thus continued to play a significant role (Williams et al., 2011).

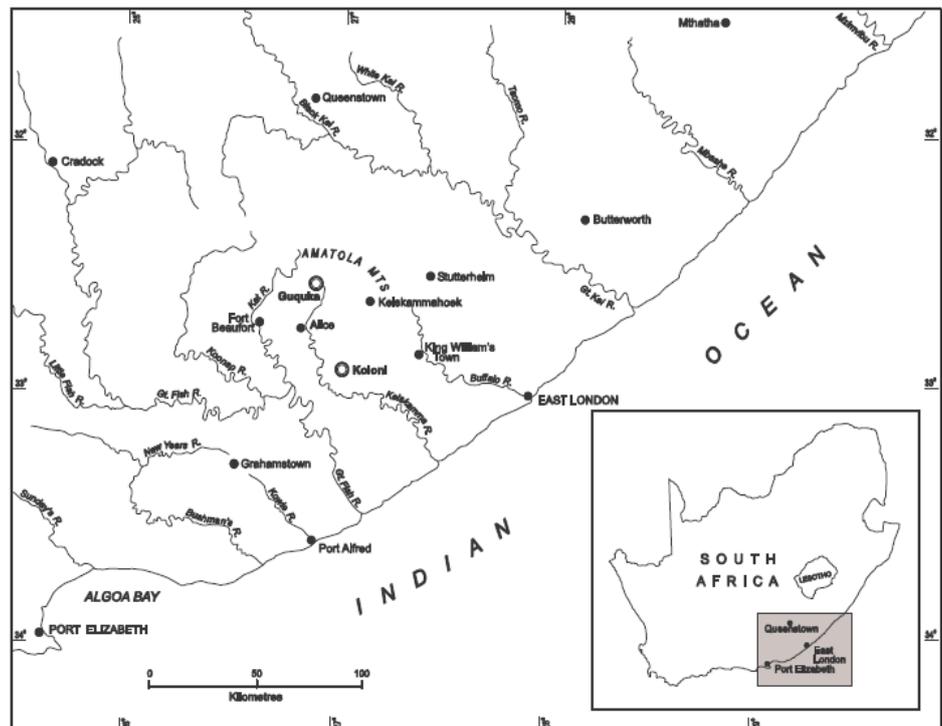
A central dimension which over the years became evident regarding migration studies in South Africa, has been the recognition of the intermingling character of the rural and the urban domain (see for example Todes et al., 2010). The divide between rural and urban areas is not always easy to draw in the context of South Africa, which can partially be explained by historical events. Moreover, the rural and urban 'pole' are linked by means of all sorts of remittances and migrants commonly adhere to multiple identities which have both rural and urban foundations. This changing relationship between the 'rural' and 'urban' is central here, while I aim to seeking for indicators which might affect this 'rural-urban divide' in the future.

4.2 Introducing the multiple sites of research

As extensively elaborated before, this thesis is the result of multi-sited empirical research in South Africa, in both rural and urban areas. In chapter 3, I explained that the rural domain, represented by Guquka and Koloni, acted as the 'place of departure' of this research, while during the fieldwork period the decision was made to conduct further research in the cities of Port Elizabeth and Cape Town, which act as the 'urban side of the coin' of this research. Here I will briefly introduce both 'domains'.

4.2.1 The rural domain

The rural domain is represented by the two villages Guquka and Koloni, which are both located in the former Homeland of Ciskei, in the Eastern Cape province (see Map 3). The distance over road is about forty kilometres from one village to the other. Guquka is situated north of Alice at the foot of the Amatole mountain, while Koloni is situated between Alice and King Williams Town.



Map 3. Location of Guquka and Koloni. Source: Hebinck & Lent, 2007, p. 4.

The closest city is East London, some 110 kilometres from Alice.

In 2004, the rural villages comprised of 125 homesteads in Guquka and 133 homesteads in Koloni (Hebinck, 2007). To estimate the exact number of inhabitants is difficult as the mobility of the people in the villages is highly dynamic. The villages are commonly used as temporal places of living, while the 'visitors' have a house in another city or town. Temporal visitors are most frequently born and raised in the village and stay at the family's house, where e.g. their parents live.

At the same time, lots of houses in the villages are unoccupied, abandoned and give the villages a desolate impression (in Picture 1 and 2, photographs of both Guquka and Koloni are presented). This seems to demonstrate the outflow of people the villages experienced in the last decades. The reason for this outflow lies within the fact that people are very limited in the availability of activities to build their livelihood on. In the villages they can merely construct a livelihood through land-based activities and the very limited scale of available jobs, like construction work, domestic work and agricultural work for others (ibid.). In this sense, people were pushed out of the village and needed to establish themselves in locales of employment, like South Africa's metropolitan zones and nearby towns and industrial zones.



Picture 1. Guquka

This process is in line with the general process of deagrarianisation. Hebinck and Van Averbeke (2007) thoroughly elaborate on the changing role of agriculture in Guquka and Koloni. They observe the shift from a dependency on land-based activities in the past, towards multiple sources of livelihood as villagers now rely heavily on migratory labour, remittances and social grants. This changing process can for a substantial part be explained by historical events. The African people of the Eastern Cape have – since colonisation – been confronted

with imperialistic forces which drove them from their lands. During Apartheid the Eastern Cape experienced a great influx of people, while the fertility rate of the land was far from sufficient to provide all these people in their needs. Also, the upcoming of industrial capitalism eliminated small scale producers' chances to construct a livelihood on land-based activities (ibid.).

In this context of deagrarianisation, the value of social grants should not be underestimated. From the transition in 1994, South Africa developed a comprehensive system of social welfare aiming to alleviate poverty and reduce inequality. From that point onwards, families started to rely heavily on social grants and in recent years, the total amount of spending on grants is dramatically



Picture 2. Koloni. Photo by: Lothar Smith (2000).

increasing. In 2001, 1.9 percent of South Africa's GDP was spent on social grants, which increased to 3.3 percent in 2008. In the same period, the number of people receiving a grant increased from 3.0 to 12.4 million nationwide (Armstrong, Lekezwa & Siebrits, 2008).

In accordance with these numbers, the reliance on social grants in Guquka and Koloni is significant, as 42.4 percent (Guquka) and 44.8 percent (Koloni) of the villagers' livelihood was in 2004 for the greatest part constituted of social grants. These grants are mostly comprised of old-age pensions, disability grants and child support grants (Van Averbeke & Hebinck, 2007) and provide a large group of people with financial security. Social grants have contributed significantly in the delimiting of extreme forms of poverty (Armstrong, Lekezwa & Siebrits, 2008).

However, the distribution of grants inevitably results in local inequalities as well. Local inequality is not hard to perceive in the villages, as e.g. the quality of the houses and the materialities people own differ significantly per household. At the same time, some express their critique on macro policies targeting on poverty alleviation, while development of rural areas has gained too little attention (Bank & Minkley, 2005). The first decade in post-Apartheid South Africa, did not bring any changes in the appearance of the former Ciskei and Transkei, as the omnipresent informal settlements and imploding small towns are situated in a context which is mainly characterised by low-quality infrastructure and lacking basic services (ibid.).

Yet, Guquka and Koloni both have the provision of free water and electricity. Also, they both have a primary school and Koloni even has a secondary school. During the empirical research my co-researcher and I were learnt that Koloni particularly used to operate as a regional centre. It provided people from other villages in their need for a hospital, church and school, while the village possessed the knowledge of some prominent agricultural techniques.

However, through the outflow of people from the region, these institution's value decreased significantly. Strikingly enough, Koloni today cannot even be reached by a regular car, as one needs a four-wheel drive to be able to cope with the deprived state of the roads. In the villages, all basic facilities are lacking or very low in quality. Simultaneously, the very limited scale of available jobs continues to push people out of the village, to seek for different sources of livelihood construction.

Next, the urban domain of this research will be introduced, which is represented by the cities of Port Elizabeth and Cape Town.

4.2.2. The urban domain

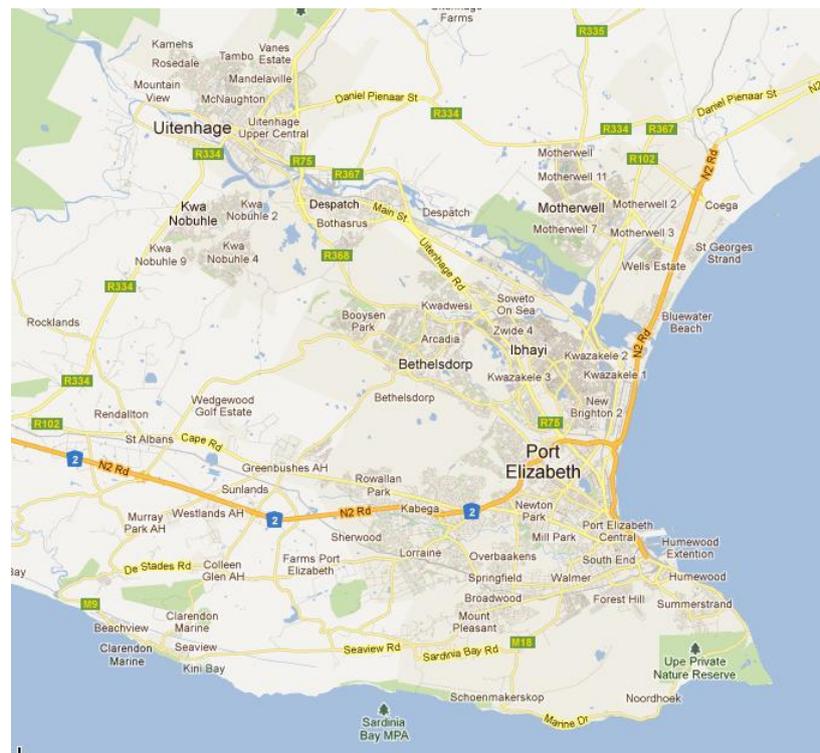
The cities which represent the urban domain in this research are Port Elizabeth and Cape Town. Apart from the fact that both cities differ in size, one could perceive some evident similarities, as they both experience the legacy of Apartheid today. Also, globalisation seems to encourage local policymakers to concentrate on the position of the city in the globalising world, while the urban population is put aside.

Port Elizabeth is the administrative capital of the Eastern Cape province and the metropolitan area is home to around one million people. It was established by the British settlers in 1820 after which it developed in a commercial hub, as traders and job-seeking migrants found their way into the city.

The legacy of this time is still present, as the old city centre is full of buildings in the colonial architectural style. Also, the city of Port Elizabeth seaport is one of the most important seaports of Southern Africa (Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality, n.d.^B).

Furthermore, Port Elizabeth is a ‘tourist hub’ in South Africa. In particular the area adjacent to the Southern beaches is mainly constituted of touristic accommodations and attractions, while it only provides living space for the well-off. Port Elizabeth has mainly developed in a touristic city because of its long-stretched sand beaches, pleasant climate, and its location: a lot of tourists find their way into Port Elizabeth as a start or end point from the well-known Garden Route, west of Port Elizabeth. Moreover, popular wild parks such as Addo Elephant Park are within reach of the city and offer tourists another attraction (Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality, n.d.)

Also, The Greater Port Elizabeth region or Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan Municipality as it is officially named, is home to a vibrant motor vehicle industry, as Volkswagen established the biggest vehicle factory of whole Africa close to Uitenhage. Together with the city’s seaport and tourism industry, it forms a major source of jobs in the region, thus, constituting a ‘pull-factor’ for job-seeking people from other regions (cf. South Africa Info, n.d.).



Map 4. Greater Port Elizabeth. Source: Google Maps.

However, the living standards of most inhabitants of Port Elizabeth are rather poor. The proportion of people living in informal settlements lies around 23 percent, while 42 percent of the households in the urban region have to survive with an income of less than 800 ZAR per month (Befile, 2009). Most of the townships are situated along the northern coastline all the way to the Motherwell settlements, as well as more inland towards the Despatch and Uitenhage towns (see Map 4).

Walking through Port Elizabeth, one is struck by the fact that Port Elizabeth is simply put a ‘city under construction’. Redevelopment and construction sites are everywhere, which for the greatest part are involved in the Integrated Development Plan, which aims for “a globally competitive city that works together with the people” (Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality, n.d.^C). It seeks to “enhance service delivery and fight poverty”(ibid.). However, as Befile (2009) argues, the community was not able to participate in the formulation of the plan and the way it has been carried out did not bring many jobs for the poor. Also, Rogerson (1999) came to the conclusion that urban development plans in Port

Elizabeth have mainly been characterised by top-down planning. Therefore it appears that urban planners in Port Elizabeth have mainly focused on the city's economic competitiveness, which hardly ever is of direct benefit to the poor.

Cape Town is South Africa's legislative capital and forms the economic heart of the Cape provinces. It was the founded by the first 'strangers on the coast', when the Dutch East India Company took control of the South-Western tip of Africa. Now, the city is home to around 3.5 million people and therefore it's the second-large city of South Africa (Small, 2008). The city is build up around the Table Mountain range and surrounded by beaches, which gives it a spectacular setting and makes it a touristic hotspot for both national and international tourists.

However, Cape Town is also described as a divided city (Western, 2002). Traditionally the city was, more than other South African cities, of 'mixed' nature, meaning that a large proportion of the inhabitants was living in multi-racial areas. This mixed nature was brutally eliminated by the Apartheid regime, when large groups of people were relocated to single-racial districts or, in the case of the black population, the Homelands. When Apartheid ended, the lifting of city influx control resulted in an enormous run of black Africans into the city. Logically, the city could not absorb this vast inflow of jobless people, resulting in a dramatic growth of informal settlements at the edge of the city (ibid.).

Cape Town's contemporary city structure still reflects the restructuring developments which took place in the 19th and 20th century (Wilkinson, 2000). It is highly segregated according to race, in line with the structure which was implemented by the Apartheid regime (Smith, 2005). The major racial group in Cape Town, the Coloureds, are for the greatest part living in townships on the Cape Flats, like Mitchell's Plain (see Map 5). On the Cape Flats, one finds traditional African Townships as well, however, most black South Africans reside on the more recently constructed townships, which were formed when the influx control was lifted. The biggest African Township in Cape Town is Khayelitsha, meaning 'new home'. The socio-economic position of Capetonian 'Whites' is generally speaking much higher than those of 'Coloureds' and 'Blacks'. City areas which are mainly home to a white population are the Northern and Southern Suburbs (ibid.).



Map 5. Greater Cape Town. Source: Google Maps.

In accordance with global trends, the economy of Cape Town has experienced a shift away from the industrial to the services sector. Furthermore, the city is increasingly attracting international business, which mainly locate at the City Bowl, an

area in the heart of Cape Town which is dominated by skyscrapers. The importance of the financial sector of Cape Town is significant as it provides 32 percent of the Gross Value Added for the city (Lemanski, 2007). The contrast of the highly developed city centre of Cape Town and the townships at the edges of the city are sharp, where unemployment rates are sky high and people need to find an income in the informal economy or have to rely on others. This problem does not seem to end quickly since Cape Town seems to be growing in population numbers. Due to natural growth and immigration, Cape Town's population grew from 2.5 million people in 1996 to 3.5 million in 2007 (Small, 2008). As this process goes on, the city is seriously challenged to provide more jobs, basic facilities and houses to its citizens, while fighting the high crime numbers.

Lemanski (2007) and Turok (2001) express critical views on the policies carried out by the Capetonian local government. They enhance both pro-growth as pro-poor strategies, but mainly seem to invest in the competitiveness of the city on a global scale. A clear example of this are the municipality's investments in the inner city centre, aiming to upgrade it and make it more attractive for tourism and business activities. But by laying the focus on the city centre, the divide between the city centre and the townships on the edge of the city will further increase, resulting in a growing polarisation of population groups (ibid.).

To conclude, one could state that both Cape Town and Port Elizabeth face some enormous challenges in the years to come. As post-Apartheid cities, they are highly segregated on the base of racial categories and local inequalities are evident. Townships are located far away from the city centre while they lack the basic facilities and infrastructure to develop. Both cities attract (international) businesses, but this does not seem to be of any direct profit for the poor population. Moreover, local governments are, first of all, interested in the competitiveness of their cities in the global arena, aiming to attract foreign investments, while pro-poor policies are rarely seen as the highest priority.

What I have done in this chapter is giving an outline of South Africa's history and providing insight of its impact on recent migration patterns in the country. Also, a sketch was provided of the context where the empirical fieldwork of this research was conducted. In this chapter, the rural and urban domain were separately described, and therefore does not stress any relationship between city and countryside. However, by investigating social ties in chapter 5, the relationship between these domains will take a central position. In this chapter, the empirical data which has been obtained in both the rural and urban domain will be presented and analysed. On the base of this empirical analysis I will seek to formulate the conclusions of this research in chapter 6.

5. Exploring the rural-urban divide in South Africa

5.1 Introduction

5.1.1 Space and place

This research can be framed in a theoretical debate which is fundamental to human geography, namely the conceptualisation of space and place. These 'building blocks' of the geographical discipline, have both been contested in the past and present from different angles. Until the 1970's, space was the principle focus of (positivist) geography, as it was seen as more universal and abstract which made it subject to scientific law (Escobar, 2001). The break from this view of thinking came together with the growing attention for humanistic thinkers (cf. Tuan, 1977). According to humanistic geographers, space is organised into places which are created through the meaning people attach to them. They see places as bounded or territorialised settings in which identity and social relationships are created. In other words, "the world is primarily the sum of human experiences through their encounters with 'external reality', which cannot be accessed other than through the human mind" (Gregory et al., 2009, p.357).

Despite the efforts of humanistic geographers, the notion of space has dominated the current geographical debate (Escobar, 2001). The globalisation discourse implies an erasure of place ('placelessness'), and a supremacy of space. The work of Manuel Castells is probably most striking in this respect, as he sees the world as a 'network society' which is organised through the spaces of flows (Castells, 2010). At the other hand, a number of scholars confront the increasing ignorance of place. According to Casey (2001), place is "the immediate environment of my lived body" (p. 683), while he lays attention on the 'self', which can be equated with agency and identity formation of the human being. Consequently, the body of the human being links the self with its environment and positions them into landscapes (Ibid.). Landscapes are created through human experience, which begins in places and is being linked up to others through spaces (Tilley, 1994). Another contribution in this sense is the work of Escobar (2001), as he conceives culture as embedded into places. Simply put: "culture is carried into places by bodies – bodies are encultured and, conversely, enact cultural practices" (Ibid., p. 143).

The space-place dichotomy is hotly debated, but I will not delve any deeper in this discussion here. What I will do, however, is relate some of the core insights from this debate to my case: the rural-urban divide in post-Apartheid South Africa. Speaking about the rural-urban divide does not imply that I perceive the rural and the urban domain as separate, independent places. Although difference between the physical presence of the landscape between the rural Eastern Cape and South Africa's biggest cities is obvious, social linkages between them are prevalent. Also, the mobility of people between city and countryside remains high (Smith & Hebinck, 2007; Bank & Kamman, 2010), which might indicate for a strong relationship. In more abstract terms, I do not see the rural and the urban domain as two strictly territorialised 'containers', but concentrate on the exchanges, linkages and dependencies between rural and urban residents. Moreover, I see identities as not necessarily bounded to places but as constructed through social relationships. For example, an urban migrant who does not integrate in urban social networks and strongly remains attached to his contacts in his natal village has not necessarily changed in identity. Conversely, a migrant who is characterised by

weak ties between him/her and his/her rural village but who strongly integrates in urban social networks will most likely adjust in identity.

5.1.2 Chapter structure

In this chapter the rural-urban divide in post-Apartheid South Africa will be investigated, by presenting and analysing the data obtained during the empirical fieldwork in South Africa. To make my main argument and present the conclusions of this research I need to unravel the rural-urban domain into different dimensions, which each will be elaborated here. The way of unravelling the rural-urban divide is most clearly demonstrated by my conceptual framework, which I presented in chapter 3. So, this conceptual framework represents the general outline of the way I aim to come to my conclusions. The way I constructed this framework implies an inner logic of chronology, as it can be split in two parts: the first part deals with the decision-making process of the potential migrant between Guquka/Koloni and Port Elizabeth/Cape Town, while the second part focuses on the impact of the migration flow on the rural-urban divide in South Africa. My argumentation, and thus the structure of this chapter, will be created according to this split in two parts, as the first part of the conceptual framework represents paragraph 5.2, while the second part of the conceptual framework is represented by paragraph 5.3.

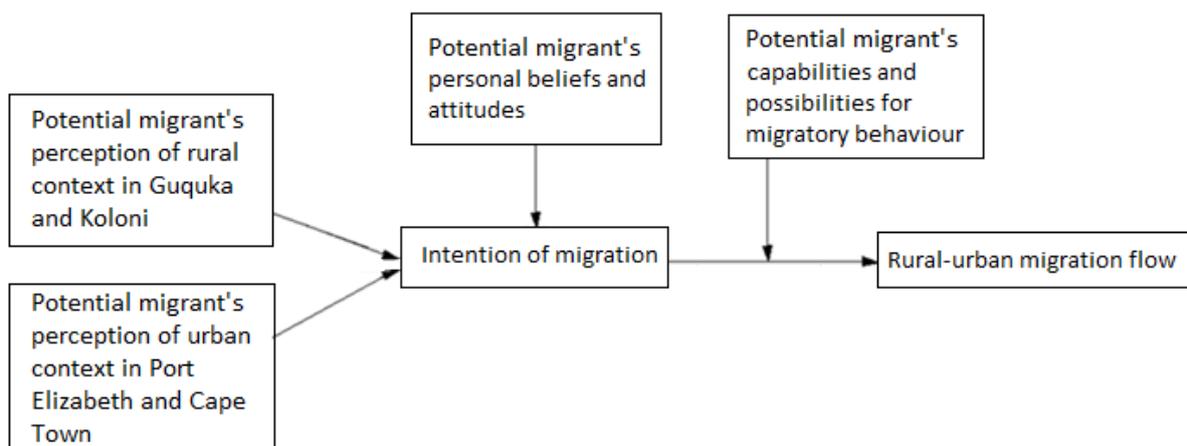


Figure 4a. The first part of the conceptual framework focusing on the decision-making process of the potential migrant.

In Figure 4a, the first part of my conceptual framework is presented. Following this first part, the focus in the first section of this chapter will be laid on the migration flow from Guquka and Koloni to Port Elizabeth and Cape Town. Here, I need to elaborate on the intention of migration, which is shaped by personal beliefs and attitudes on migratory behaviour and the (perceived) context of the place of leaving and arrival. Subsequently, people need the capabilities to become mobile and take the step to the city; these capabilities can be distinguished between financial capital, e.g. the capability to buy or rent a house, and non-financial capital, e.g. possibility to move in with a family member. Therefore, insight in the process of migration is provided, including the institutions which are underlying to migratory behaviour and the (dis-)possession of certain capitals which make people (im-)mobile.

Yet, the process of migration and the underlying institutions of this process are still observed from a rather one-dimensional and one-directional perspective in which one can distinguish a rural and urban pole, and a flow of migrants linking these poles in the direction from rural to urban. However, by doing so, I provide the foundation on which I will further investigate the rural-urban divide in South Africa, by taking up a multi-dimensional and multi-directional perspective. I will seek for characteristics of the social linkages connecting urban migrants from Guquka and Koloni to their rural contacts in the villages, which could signify for the extent to which the rural and the urban are linked, dependent and inseparable, or conversely, growing in its discontinuity.

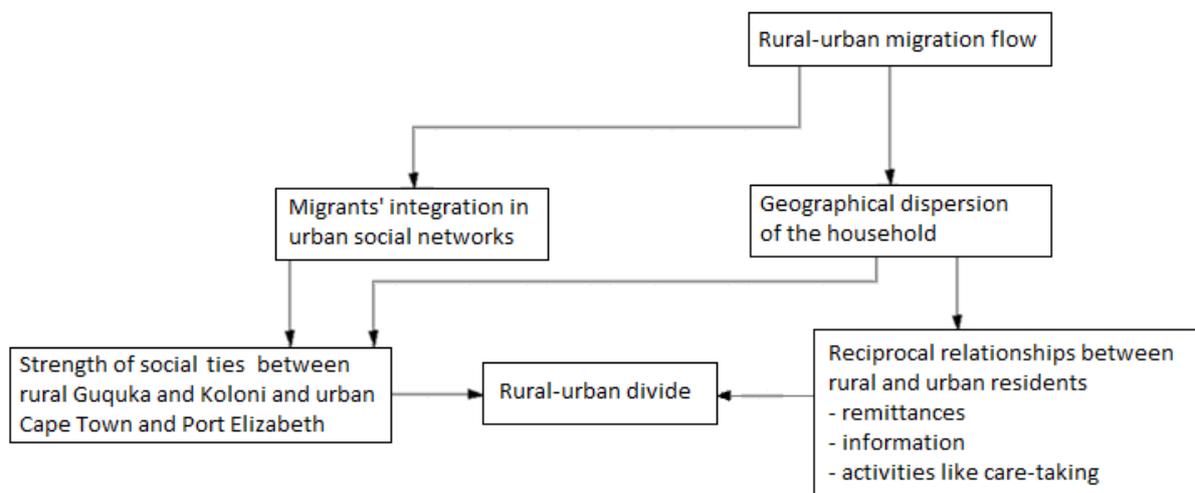


Figure 4b. The second part of the conceptual framework focusing on the impact of the rural-urban migration flow on the rural-urban divide.

In Figure 4b, I present the second part of my conceptual framework which I employ as the structural outline of this chapter. Starting point here is the fact that a certain number of people made the residential move from the rural Eastern Cape to the cities of Port Elizabeth and Cape Town. This inevitably results in two factors which play a central role in my analysis. First, the phenomenon of rural-urban migration in the South African tradition most commonly leads to a geographical dispersion of the traditional household unit, as a part of the household will be living in rural areas, while another part will be living in urban areas. Despite this dispersion, migrants still remain attached to their rural household members through reciprocal relationships. Second, as people move from the countryside to the city, they will integrate (to a variable extent) in urban social networks. This creates a potential impact on the identity of the migrant and, consequently, it could result in a changing role of social ties between the urban migrant and his rural social contacts. In paragraph 5.3, implications for livelihoods and identity constructions in the context of internal migration dynamics in South Africa are further investigated.

5.2 From rural to urban: the migration process

Migrant narrative⁴ - Mnonopheli Mzoli⁵

Together with Lungi, our female guide and translator, the researchers travelled to Joe Slovo, one of Port Elizabeth's townships. We are calling Mnonopheli (35) several times, while driving through the township, because at first he gave us a false address that did not exist within Joe Slovo. Lungi has to explain we are no police officers and that we only are students interested in his life as a Koloni migrant in the city. We agree to meet at a local shop. From there he leads us to his 'shack'.

Mnonopheli seems to be more interested in Lungi's charming approach, but eventually the researchers got his attention. He lives in a government-built house of stone, equipped with a fridge, two benches, a stove, a sink and a separate bathroom. Though, we also perceive a huge and quite new boom-blaster (radio/disc-player).

He has been married for three years and lives together with his wife in the township. They have twins of about 1 year old who also live in the house, and a daughter (6 years old) who lives and goes to school in Koloni with Mrs. Mzoli, Mnonopheli's mother. "I love my mother very much. I need to see her after not seeing her for a couple of months.", he says. Father Mzoli died two years ago. Mnonopheli's sisters are married, "...so they are not part of the family anymore.", and further he has one brother, with whom he neither has any contact because of a family conflict – a financial issue. He does not want to talk about this any further.

Mnonopheli migrated to Port Elizabeth in 2006 – paid by his parents' savings. There was no possibility for him to stay in Koloni: then he would be dependent of his mother, who only receives a social grant. In PE he was received by his sisters, who had reached the city with help of their uncle. Though, Mnonopheli had to find a job and an "...own place to live, because my [his] sisters got married and I [he] had to be a real man, who is not dependent of his sisters." In the Xhosa-culture, he explains, it is important for a man to be able to start a family and take care of that family. A man should take care of women, but before he should pay the girl's parents if he wants to marry her. The more educated and/or 'beautiful' the girl, the more the man has to pay. Therefore, he does not want his mother to support him, because he should be the one supporting her. Reciprocity is not directly 'part of the culture' or an obligation, Mnonopheli says, but if you care about your parents and other family members, you will help them.

Unfortunately, Mnonopheli has never found "...a real job...". He worked some weeks as a security guard, but because of a gun battle when he was on duty, he quitted. He does have a driving license, but he is still not able to find a job. Taxi driving is not the job he wants, so now he is hopping from one short-contract job to another.

⁴ All migrant narratives have been co-written by Ralph Evers as the fieldwork was collaboratively conducted. The data therefore belong to the both of us (see also Evers, 2012). In Appendix II, a list of all interviewees in the urban domain is presented.

⁵ Joe Slovo Township, Port Elizabeth [Saturday 16 April 2011, afternoon, about 60-90 minutes]. Connection with Koloni: He is Mrs. Mzoli's son (Koloni interview #5).

Another important aspect of his culture, seems to be 'honor'. Mnonopheli feels very depressed about the fact that he is so poor and that his wife has to work as well – to be sure of sufficient income. He will never show his state of poverty to other Koloni-migrants in the city, so that is why he does not have any contact with them. He is afraid that those fellow Koloni-people will tell his 'story of failure' in the village, which would cause enormous loss of face, he explains. Mr. Mzoli, Mnonopheli's father, had saved money during his lifetime so that his family was able to pay for his funeral in the future. His father had also bought a piece of land in Koloni for Mnonopheli to be able to build a house there. Today Mnonopheli does not have the money to build a proper house, so he built a shack on the property. He adds that if he would leave the land untouched for five years, the village committee would seize it due to negligence of the property.

When we ask for Mnonopheli's image of his future, he says that there will be a time in which he earns enough money to build a house in Koloni. After his retirement he will be able to return to the village. He misses Koloni every day, but he knows he is ought to his family to find a job in PE. Emotionally, he is strongly attached to the village; the fact that everyone knows each other and greets each other, is something he likes very much. As soon as he has collected enough money for a taxi drive to Koloni, he goes (about 150 Rand one-way). This decision does not depend of holidays, just whenever he is able to. He then also pays for his wife to visit her family in Koloni.

Many of the factors which play a role in the migratory process are illuminated by the story of Mnonopheli Mzoli. The factors which are extracted from this narrative include the socio-economic situation of the migrant and his family, emotional feelings towards his natal village, moral expectations from rural villagers towards urban migrants, cultural norms and values and the migrant's future aspirations. Jointly, these cover a substantial part of the decision-making process of the migrant, as I will show in this paragraph.

5.2.1 Perceptions and underlying institutions

Before my co-researcher and I focused on urban migrants within our fieldwork period, we interviewed many parents, grandparents, brothers, sisters and other kin-related contacts of people living in the city. By doing so, we aimed to get a fruitful insight in the ideas, values and perceptions of rural inhabitants regarding the phenomenon of migration to the city. In other words, we aimed to identify the general perceptions on rural-urban migration and the underlying institutions⁶ determining the flow of migrants in the direction of the urban domain (see also Evers, 2012).

Speaking to the rural villagers and asking them about the relationship with their relatives in the city, several insights about the perception on 'the step to the city' were obtained. Analysing the retrieved data in the rural domain (see Appendix I), learns that rural villagers most commonly perceive the migration step towards the city as something good, since the availability of jobs is too small in the region around Guquka and Koloni, while the role of agriculture has decreased over time (Hebinck & Lent, 2007). Among the interviewees in Guquka five out of six people and in Koloni four out of five

⁶ By using the notion of underlying institutions I follow the definition of Evers (2012) who puts it as follows: "any (social, economic, cultural etc.) mechanism that governs the behaviour of people, can be understood as an institution in the context of this research" (p.59).

people expressed an obvious positive point of view on rural-urban migration. The village is a place where is nothing to do, while the city is symbolised as a 'place of work'. Only one person shed a clearly different light on the city, as "it is far away from Guquka and one is not always sure of work", whereas "one can also find a job in the village" (Guquka interview #6).

At the same time, the interviewees in Guquka and Koloni commonly expressed a view on the reciprocity principle between urban migrants and their rural kin. From the total collection of 'rural data', six (out of eleven) people strongly stated that an urban migrant *should* take care of his or her rural family members by sending money. Another rural villager said that a migrant should do so, but only if he or she is capable of doing so, while one person also stated that sending money is surely not a 'moral obligation'. Three people did not express any views on the principle of reciprocity. This illuminates the general feeling among villagers about rural-urban migration and their expectations of the migrant. In particular, the expectations towards male migrants are high, as for example Colbert Thambo (Koloni interview #2) states that "the city is a distant place to find work, and that's what a man should do". He adds: "reciprocity is not so important, it is about a man who should take care of his family". His views are in line with the statements made by Mnonopheli, living in Port Elizabeth who explained to the researchers that a real Xhosa-man does not rely on his family members, but needs to be independent and should take care of his family. Here, the issue of pride and honour are very much at stake.

So far, general perceptions of rural inhabitants and the principle of reciprocity provided two underlying institutions which have a positive effect on the rural to urban migration flow. Which also needs to be addressed is the context of both the rural domain (i.e. certain push-factors) and the urban domain (i.e. certain pull-factors), contributing to the flow of migrants. As the contexts of both rural and urban research locales are thoroughly described in chapter 4, I will not elaborate further on that. However, the *perception* on the city might not be in line with reality, and therefore, a potential bias might be present.

Migrant narrative - (Phumlani and) Thanduxolo⁷

After a couple of phone calls about the exact location where we had agreed to meet, the researchers together with Phumlani (28, son of Mrs. Gongqozayo, Koloni interview #4) and two friends ('brothers' from Koloni) end up in a pub on Long Street. Only Phumlani was actually invited, but he felt safer to take his 'brothers' to downtown Cape Town as well. Phumlani has a job within the 'laundry industry', but is not happy with it. Yet there are no other vacancies he can apply for. Eventually, Phumlani himself remains very reluctant to answer to our questions and mainly his friend Thanduxolo Thambo (33, who appears to be Colbert's son, see Appendix I; Koloni interview #2), does the talking.

He appears to speak English more fluently than Phumlani. Thanduxolo has a university degree in criminology (Fort Hare University and University of Cape Town), but has not found a job yet (while father Colbert declared that all his children were having a job). He seems to be the more intelligent person between Phumlani and the other 'brother' - who is also named Thanduxolo.

⁷ Long Street, Cape Town [Sunday 1 May 2011, afternoon, about 60 - 90 minutes]. Connection with Koloni: Phumlani is Mrs. Gongqozayo's son, Yolanda Gongqozayo's brother (see Koloni interview #4) and Thanduxolo is Colbert Thambo's son (Koloni interview #2).

Thaduxolo Thambo had been in Cape Town before, went back to Koloni for some months and has already been in Cape Town again for five years. He now lives in Langa, in his older brother's (named Thembelani, see one of the further interviews) house – who does have a job. He spends his time reading, watching TV and socialising with some friends who were also born in Koloni. Together with these other migrants, he watches rugby games in Khayelitsha during the weekends. Sometimes Thembelani buys a news paper for Thanduxolo, so that he is able to find work. Thembelani also pays for his brother's food for example, but it remains unclear to what extent Phumlani contributes to the household income.

Thanduxolo made the decision to move to Cape Town because his older brother already had a house there. Earlier, his father Colbert had built the house during his time in Cape Town. "My father worked as a salesman, but went back to Koloni after a couple of years." Thanduxolo perceives himself indeed as a migrant, because Cape Town is not his 'home', but a place to find work. He prefers to be in Koloni, which is not a 'boring village' at all, because everyone knows each other there. There is always someone to talk to – which is not the case in the city.

Moreover, he feels far more safe in Koloni than in the Cape Town townships, because "...in Koloni you don't get robbed. Here in Cape Town, I have been robbed many times! I don't know what it is about Koloni that I like. Maybe it's the smell of the grass." But he had to leave the village, because there were no chances to find a job near Koloni. He could stay with his parents, because he should take care of his own income, he believes. It is also 'good' to support your family in the countryside, if you are able to. That is how it should be, he says. When there are cultural activities (or: "obligations", as he calls them) he travels back to the village. Koloni is also the place where he meets other family members. During Easter for example, he travels to Koloni for the local rugby tournament. His brother pays the journey. Further, many times he phones his mother and 'brothers' in Koloni, Thanduxolo says. (After the interview, we found out that his mother died three years ago and is buried in Koloni. It is unclear who he calls 'my mother', or why he talks about her as if she is still alive.)

In the past, Thanduxolo and his 'brothers' had tried to set up a sports club, yet it failed. "Sports mentality is very important for the Koloni youth, but because we [the brothers] live at different places, very distant from each other, we couldn't organise it properly." This discussion generated other ideas from the three 'brothers' to develop Koloni: "There should come computers into the village, older computers that have been used by you [pointing at the researchers]. The people can get in touch with the big world then. Literacy levels are very low in Koloni, so we have to do something about it." Another idea comes from the 'other' Thanduxolo: "They should send well-educated teachers to the village. I remember my maths teacher often did not know the solution to my questions. And I have heard that this is still a problem, because the difference between high school and university is very big."

When discussing rural-urban social relations, he explains that he can imagine that some people move to the city and break up the contact with their parents, but Thanduxolo himself would not be able to do that. He feels that he "belong[s]" to the village, and that he is too close to his family. On the other hand, he also wants to set up an own life, with an own family in Cape Town. But then he misses Koloni too much, he expects. "So then I have to break up with my

family in Koloni.” In the end, he wants to meet a woman in Cape Town who is willing to live with him in Koloni in the future. Otherwise, he believes he has to accept the situation of being a single man without a wife and children. However, we (the researchers) had the impression that his main occupation at the moment was to find a job, and not necessarily a wife (which – to some extent – can be expected).

Last month, Thanduxolo says, his grandmother died. Thembelani has paid for his trip to Koloni. Just like Sakhumzi explained, the family had an insurance for paying the funeral, so nobody came into financial troubles due to the high costs of the ceremony. Phumlani had some experiences with such ‘shock events’ before, because he was one of the only people in the family with a job in Cape Town in the past. So in some cases he had to send money to the family in Koloni. Though, Phumlani does not want to talk about this issue. However, he adds that he does send money to his mother in the village sometimes: “I’m not obliged to do that, but I want to help my mother.”

At the end of the conversation, the researchers are invited to join a rugby match in the township.

The story of Thanduxolo reveals some of the difficulties urban migrants find on their way. In the first place, rural inhabitants leave the rural village to find a job in town, but the supply and demand of jobs in the city simply do not coincide. Even for a highly educated person such as Thanduxolo, it is extremely hard to find a job and construct a livelihood which does not depend on other people’s income. Therefore, the general perception rural inhabitants have of the city needs to be reflected. In almost every conversation in Guquka and Koloni (see Appendix I), the city was portrayed as a place of employment and income, but the story of Thanduxolo provides a clear counterweight to this view. In his story, the city is portrayed as a place where ‘one get’s robbed’ and unemployment is high.

Interestingly, Thanduxolo’s father named Colbert, who lives in Koloni, did not tell the researchers about the unemployment of his son. This could firstly indicate for Thanduxolo lying to his father about his situation in Cape Town, or secondly, Colbert gave the researchers a false impression about the situation of his son. The second scenario is more presumable here, as Colbert would, if Thanduxolo had a job, most likely receive financial aid from his son since Thanduxolo states that he would love to help his father, but he simply cannot do so. This is striking, as through the information from Colbert, a false image of the city is sustained, which logically affects the perception of other rural villagers on the city. The reason for doing so probably lies within the fact that he does not want other villagers to know that his son has not find a job in town, because it would harm the reputation of his son, and, probably, of himself. This story is in accordance with the story told by Mnonopheli (see earlier migrant narrative), who does not want to reveal his ‘failure’ to other Koloni migrants and therefore does not meet other migrants from Koloni at his shack in Port Elizabeth.

To conclude, I can identify a number of underlying institutions which are driving the flow of migration from Guquka and Koloni to Port Elizabeth and Cape Town (see Evers (2012) as well for another elaboration on underlying institutions of rural-urban migration in South Africa). Firstly, the deficiency of jobs or other activities which can shape one’s livelihood in the rural domain make villagers dependent on social grants or remittances. Therefore, young people which are able to work are

expected to find a job somewhere else, so that they construct an independent livelihood. Moreover, people feel a moral responsibility to take care of their family by sending money, particularly to their parents. However, as I explained, the perception of rural inhabitants on the city is not always in accordance with reality and the struggle urban migrants experience is rarely made public to other villagers. Hereby, the rural villagers' view on urban life remains biased, and subsequently, this process sustains the intention of (new generation) rural villagers to make the step to the city.

5.2.2 *The network: a migration-facilitating unit?*

Following social network and system theory, the threshold for potential migrants to take an established migrant route is less high than to explore new destinations, as they can obtain information about the place of arrival from people who made the residential move in the past (De Haas, 2007). The network is therefore conceived as a mechanism which transfers information from different places to different people, while the migrant system is described as "a set of places linked by flows and counter-flows of people, goods, services and information" (ibid.). In this sense, the route between rural villages in the Eastern Cape and the city of Cape Town, and to a lesser extent Port Elizabeth, could well be conceived as a migration system, as it constitutes a 'traditional' migration route which has been established since the second half of the 20th century (cf. Bekker, 2001).

Migrant narrative – Sakhumzi Gongqozayo⁸

When the researchers arrived at the address within the Kwa Nobuhle township, close to Port Elizabeth (PE), we were received by cousin Khaya (18). We shortly talked to Khaya about what he knew about Koloni and about his life in the township.

Sitting outside on the small stairs that are supposed to lead one into Sakhumzi's house, we were also observing the environment. Tarred roads with street signs, street lighting, houses made out of bricks and many houses 'decorated' with an armed-response-sign, which one normally expects to see on the houses of (more) affluent households.

So being in a not-classical example of a township (which is often characterised as dirty, unorganised and unsafe), in our short conversation with Khaya (who is well-dressed and speaks English fluently), he tells us that although he was born in Koloni, he has mainly been educated in Kwa Nobuhle. He even goes to a 'mixed' school; where both 'white' and 'black' people are going. His life "...is in Kwa Nobuhle", he says. "Koloni is quite boring, there is nothing to do there." The only connection he seems to have with his place of birth, is the fact that his relatives live there, which implies that he has to go to Koloni sometimes – for Christmas for example.

45 minutes later, Sakhumzi's brother arrives at the address. We are still waiting outside for Sakhumzi himself to arrive, but in the meantime, we talk to his brother (name unknown). He works for the city maintenance unit of Port Elizabeth (PE). He is married, has a certain number of children and also lives in Kwa Nobuhle with his family. Strikingly, he says that he recognises us because he was also in Koloni at the time of our research there.

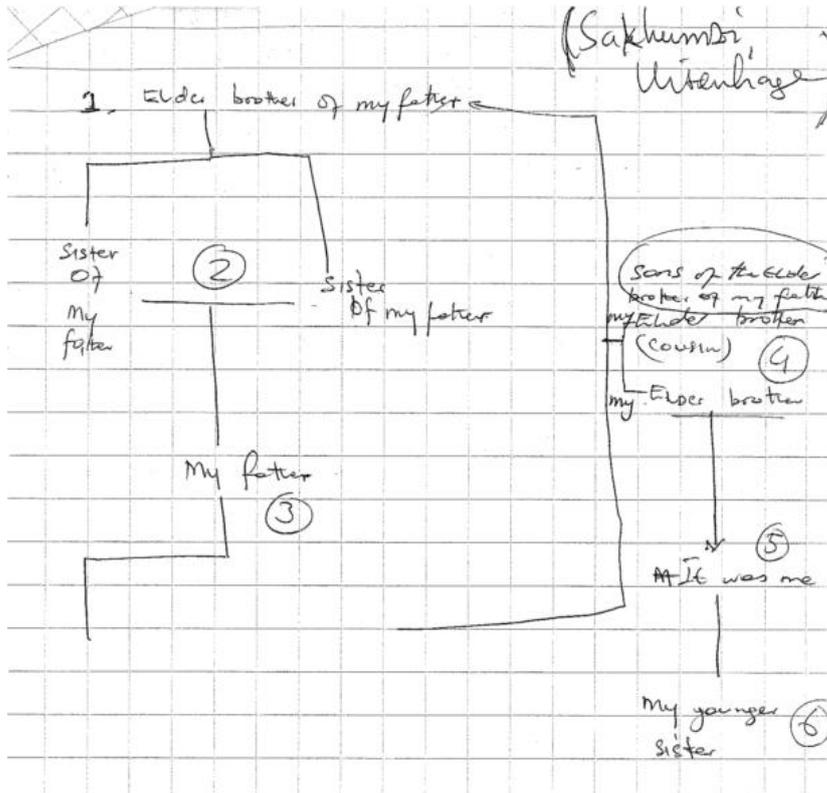
⁸ Kwa Nobuhle, Uitenhage, close to Port Elizabeth [Thursday 14 april 2011, late afternoon, about 90 minutes]. Connection with Koloni: He is Mrs. Gongqozayo's son and Yolanda Gongqozayo's brother (see Koloni interview #4).

Then Sakhumzi (35) - with whom we had made the appointment - arrives in a new-looking Volkswagen. He welcomes us to 'his' house, which actually is owned by Khaya's father – Sakhumzi's older brother. Khaya's mother seems to work in Johannesburg, while Sakhumzi's younger brother, Phumlani, lives in Cape Town (see one of the following migrant stories).

Sakhumzi, who is unmarried and dressed in jeans and a t-shirt, followed a Marketing course at Walter Sisulu University in East London. Now he is working for the Volkswagen factory in Uitenhage, for which he is studying a Master's at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University in Port Elizabeth.

He moved to PE in 2001, where he had several jobs before he ended up working for Volkswagen in 2006. He moved to this city because "...no one can find work in Koloni.". His older brother already lived in Kwa Nobuhle, so he had a place to stay. See also the genealogy tree (Figure 5), drawn by Sakhumzi, which gives an overview of the Gongqozayo migration history concerning Port Elizabeth.

Sakhumzi lives in PE because of his job. It is a place to work. He will not stay in this city forever – at the end of his career, around his 60th anniversary, he will go back to Koloni. Today, he is even thinking of building a house next to his mother's. He considers the village as his 'home', and not only because his "...ancestors and spirits are there." Furthermore, if he would stay in PE permanently, he would have to sell his mother's home in Koloni. Yet, "...I cannot do that. That step would be too big." Koloni is also a place where Sakhumzi meets up with his family, friends and other migrants. He meets his 'brothers' in Koloni, not in the city. For Koloni specifically counts that migrants travel 'home' not only for Christmas, but also during Easter. Sakhumzi



participates in the sports committee that organises a rugby and cricket tournament once a year. There are several teams per village which participate. " Many people go back to Koloni for these games."

Talking about Koloni, Sakhumzi says he thinks a lot about how his generation could develop the village. He even asks us (the researchers) how he possibly could start such a project. But eventually, after a short discussion, he concludes

Figure 5. 'Genealogy tree' drawn by Sakhumzi, presenting the migration tradition of the Gongqozayo family.

that one of the important issues is the decision-making process within the village that should change. "Decision-making at this moment is too slow. There are too many chiefs who have to decide if we are going to do something or not."

He follows up with critique on the government: "(...) When someone's cow is ill, one has to buy medication, which costs a lot of money. In the past we got this medication from the government, but today one has to buy them." Sakhumzi believes that Koloni's (socio-economic) situation has worsened. "Koloni used to be an important village in the area, with highly educated people and developed farming technologies. There was also a hospital, church and other things for which many people from other villages came to Koloni."

The relationship with his family is quite strong. He does not consider reciprocity as an obligation, but something you just 'apply' because you care about somebody, your family. "I want my family to have all the things I have as well.", he adds. In case one of his brothers is in need of money, the Gongqozayo-brothers help each other financially.

Last weekend, Sakhumzi's grandmother died. Most of the family members travelled back to Koloni, except for Phumlani, his brother in Cape Town, who is only able to come during Easter – because of the great distance. Several members of the Gongqozayo-family had saved money onto an account over the years to pay for grandmother's funeral. Funerals in Koloni are expensive, he explains. "A funeral may cost about 20.000 Rand. After my grandmother died, she had to be transported to East London; to conserve the body for one week. The ceremony itself takes a couple of hours and a lot of people come to this funeral. You should give all the guests something to eat, while you never know how many people exactly are joining the ceremony. There must be enough food. There are so many people coming to the funeral, so we can't bury her in a cheap coffin, without flowers... You cannot do that."

Sakhumzi's story strikingly exemplifies the actuality in which migrants often choose to move to particular places where social capital is accessible. By telling his story and visualising his family's 'migration history', he demonstrates that a lot of family members took the same path as their ancestors. This phenomenon is therefore in line with the conception of the migrant as a bridgehead, assisting future migrants in their move. Sakhumzi himself first moved to his brother's house, before buying an own place to live. The researchers were also told that in the future, there is much chance that Sakhumzi's little sister Yolande (17 years old during the fieldwork, and visualised as 'number 6' on Sakhumzi's genealogy tree in Figure 5, see also Koloni interview #4) will move to Port Elizabeth as well, as she is able to benefit from the fact that her brother will receive her, which consequently lowers the threshold for Yolande to make the same step. The earlier stories by Mnonopheli and Thanduxolo reveal the same picture: Mnonopheli firstly made the step to his sister's house and Thanduxolo moved to his brother's house. This illuminates that recent migration trajectories are commonly influenced by previous trajectories. In the context of South African history, 'pioneer migration' during the time South Africa was still under Apartheid law, has 'paved the way' for contemporary (rural-urban) migrants (Posel (2010) elaborates further on this, as she identifies 'deeply entrenched migration patterns' which were initiated during Apartheid).

However, network and system theories need some reflection as well, as e.g. De Haas (2010) argues. In chapter 2, I thoroughly elaborated on his argument, in which he is critical about network theory as

it does not take indirect feedback loops into account. By doing so, migration systems would eventually result in a complete exodus, until the last person has left the 'place of sending'. In practise, this rarely corresponds with reality. In the context of rural-urban migration movements from the Eastern Cape to the cities of Port Elizabeth, this would not be expected either. Here, I will identify some indirect feedback loops which counteract the unidirectional flow of people from village to city, and therefore imply an ongoing role for the rural village and the continuity of rural-urban social linkages. In other words: what is the effect of the vast number of people leaving the village to settle themselves in the city? Consequently, does this change have an effect on the migration flow in the future and on the tie between city and village?

First, the high share of unemployment in the in the townships – which is the result of the vast inflow of job-seeking migrants – has a significant impact on the urban context, and, subsequently on rural-urban linkages. A potential migrant who is considering to leave the village will most likely take the chance of finding a job in the city into account, and a high unemployment rate could potentially operate as an 'urban push-factor'. However, as I argued before, the (potential) migrant is not a rational human-being and, moreover, he or she will base the decision to leave or stay on biased information. Because of moral expectations and a false perception on urban life, the likelihood that a migrant decides to leave, grows. At the same time, people do not see any alternatives for rural-urban migration, as the chance of finding a job in the rural village is even smaller.

However, the fact that a lot of people most commonly *do* decide to leave the village and move to town, but simultaneously are not able to integrate in the urban economy in a successful way, is central in the nature of rural-urban linkages and continuing role of the village. Commonly, migrants are neither able to build a 'robust livelihood' in the city, nor in the village. In this regard, this phenomenon of the rural-urban drifter comes into play. It refers to people constantly commuting between city and countryside, as a way of survival (Hebinck et al., 2007). Those migrants 'drifting' between the city and the village provide the evidence that the rural village still constitutes an important element in rural-urban networks and livelihood constructions. In this context, the village could be portrayed as a safety net, as migrants utilise it to fall back on (see also Du Toit & Neves, 2009^B).

The urban landscape is, as I explained, characterised by at the one hand opportunities and employment, but at the other hand, the vast inflow of migrants into the city results in the presence of a large group of people whom have not been able to adapt to this new environment. This large group embody the high unemployment rate in the South African city. Focusing on this high unemployment rate, together with other 'urban troubles' like corruption, local inequalities and the deficiency of basic facilities to provide a decent human life, give the city a tough and unpleasant character (cf. Demombynes & Özler, 2005). These problems might at least partly be seen as the result of the 'overpopulation' of the city, as the phenomena of widespread unemployment and inequality seem to contribute directly to social problems like crime and violence (ibid.). This could potentially counteract the intentions of people to leave the village for the city, or in case of settlement in the city in the past, to stay in the city. The big role of crime and feelings of unsafety were regularly expressed during interviews in the cities of Port Elizabeth and Cape Town, e.g. during the conversation with Thanduxolo (see earlier migrant narrative) and with Nothembaletu and her husband Patrick, as demonstrated below.

Migrant narrative - Nothembaletu Dibela and her husband Patrick⁹

Driving into Khayelitsha for the first time, we experienced a different appealing township than all the townships we visited before. The classical ideas of a township, full of dirt, unorganised street traffic and terrible living conditions? That's the B section of the biggest township of Cape Town. When we stop the car at a busy pavement so that Brian (our interpreter) can ask for the direction to go, a woman is just slaughtering a dozen of chicken, while we get a lot of surprising faces from people passing by. What are those Mlungu's [literally: 'white people'] doing here?

When we are close to Nothembaletu and Patrick's home, Nothembaletu picks us up and leads us through a small alley to their shack. Obviously, this is a more 'serious' part of Cape Town, as basic services and proper houses are missing. Everything is made of old materials and the shacks are as big as a proper garden house in Europe. Nothembaletu is definitely not comfortable with the situation, and neither are we, including Brian. However, Nothembaletu invites us into her home and tells us she will look for her husband.

The place where she lives with Patrick is some 10 meters away from the main road. The physical conditions of the surrounding shacks are also very low. Nevertheless, as we hear later, Nothembaletu and Patrick know their neighbours very well and there is a lot of social control, which makes things more bearable. "Lots of kids are playing around the shacks, people don't need to look after them all the time.", they will tell us later.

Although Nothembaletu appeared slightly uncomfortable, her husband Patrick does even more. He is highly suspicious and not friendly at all. At least, in the beginning, because after our introduction and a small talk with Brian, he seems more relaxed and starts to tell. He speaks better English than his wife, who mostly remains silent during the interview. He has been in Cape Town since 1996 and he has two children. One of them is with Nothembaletu and one with another wife. Their mutual child is three years old and is being raised by Patrick's mother, living in Guquka.

Patrick and Nothembaletu send money to Guquka for their child, just as for Patrick's other child. But at the same time: "I want to so send more, because my mother is only getting a grant from the government because she takes care of our child. She does not have a lot to spend." The income Patrick and Nothembaletu receive is from the small wages they earn in Cape Town. Apparently, the security sector creates a substantial amount of jobs in Cape Town, as Nothembaletu is working as security servant and Patrick sells security equipment. Interestingly, Patrick and his brother recently sent some materials to their mother in Guquka, like a refrigerator. According to Patrick, this is a widespread phenomenon: "It happens a lot and we were lucky as a friend of mine drives a mini taxi and could drive it to Guquka."

Their relationship with Guquka, and thus their child, is limited to one visit each year, around Christmas time. Only in particular cases, they visit the village during the year, e.g. when they

⁹ Khayelitsha B Section, Cape Town [Saturday 14 May 2011, 9.30 AM]. Connection with Guquka: Patrick is Mrs. Tabeni's nephew (Guquka interview #1).

attend a funeral. They do not own a house in Guquka, but they will inherit it from Patrick's mother. Accordingly, the possibility of returning is there.

Consequently, their 'social life' is in Cape Town. All their neighbours are originally from the Eastern Cape and, moreover, they regularly meet other migrants from Guquka living in Cape Town. For example, Mpumi Tabeni, our interviewee on 13 May, and her family are acquaintances of Nothemba lethu and Patrick.

We ask Patrick how he actually ended up in Cape Town: "My father died and I had to earn money for my mother. I had a cousin already living in Cape Town so I could join him for a while." After this period, he built an own shack, the shack where he is now living with Nothemba lethu. First, he worked as a farmer in Cape Town, before he could work in the security store. Patrick also stresses the fact that all men are supposed to go to the city to find a job: "We all do that".

About their life in Cape Town, they tell us that the availability of jobs is the only factor why Cape Town is a better place than Guquka to live: "There is more work here, and the wages are higher", but at the same time "...it is very unsafe and the roads are dirty and full of litter", emphasising the many assaults which take place during the night in Cape Town. Armed gangs make the place during night time very unsafe. "When it's dark, we go inside and close the doors", they tell us. Cape Town is nothing like home, which is the Eastern Cape. Nothemba lethu would like to go to Guquka as well, because the roots of Patrick are in that village. On the other hand, they want their child to go to school in Cape Town, because of the low quality of schools in the Eastern Cape.

Eventually, we ask them about the upcoming elections. They respond: "Why should we vote? Politicians never deliver on their promises, look at this place!". Patrick does not care about a change in the government, as it will not improve his life. For example: "There are not enough toilets here, we have to share one with all our neighbours. The government should take care for this!".

When we leave, Patrick and Nothemba lethu appear differently than at the moment of our arrival. He even thanks us and expresses the hope that something good will be done with the information.

In the story told by Nothemba lethu and Patrick, the aversion against living in the urban domain is clearly expressed. In the earlier migrant stories, this aversion was evident as well (see e.g. Thanduxolo's narrative). At the same time, urban migrants express warm, almost romantic feelings about their natal village. This over-romanticising of the village, I argue, could directly be linked to the failure of building an independent livelihood and the living conditions in the urban domain. For instance, Thanduxolo expresses his love for the village as 'one can still smell the grass'. Moreover, as Potts (2011) explains, the production of food, or agriculture in general, gains more appreciation in this respect as it provides people with the security of food and survival, even in the case when not receiving any financial income. Thus, independence of one's own livelihood, is a common aspiration of the urban migrant. When not able to construct such an independent livelihood in the urban domain, feelings of romance and appreciation towards the rural village arise.

A last remark on the continuity of rural-urban linkages takes the village, or more general, the maintenance of the village as an important place for urban migrants, into account. As I assume that the rural village does play a role in the life and livelihoods of a lot of urban migrants, there is a need for the rural village to be maintained and protected in its role. A complete outflow of people from the villages to other places, would imply that the village would lose its function, i.e. reducing the vulnerability of the urban migrant. To preserve the function of the rural village, agricultural activities need to be carried out, as well as care-taking of cattle, maintaining rural buildings and facilities et cetera. As long as a great number of urban migrants do not find themselves successfully integrated in the urban economy, the need for this 'rural base' remains there. In the future, this could encourage urban migrants to resettle themselves in the rural village, e.g. when they reach pension age, and preserve the function of the rural village.

In the context of 'indirect feedback loops' of migration networks and systems, De Haas (2010) also elaborated on gatekeepers, as opposed to bridgeheads, aiming to limit the flow of migrants from e.g. the rural to the urban domain. Whilst the empirical data does not provide evidence for this phenomenon, the fact that the rural village needs to be maintained, could hypothetically lead to urban migrants' aspirations to 'keep' household members in the village and preserve the rural base.

What I illustrated in this paragraph, is the role social ties play in rural-urban migration patterns. Clearly, migrants follow the direction of family member migrants, which helps them to put their first steps in the city, and therefore, the metaphor of the migrant as a bridgehead is applicable to this situation. However, the rural village continues to play a role in the life of the urban migrants in contemporary South Africa. I also identified a number of reasons why this is the case, including the role the village plays in the reduction of the migrant's vulnerability and the failure of a lot of migrants to integrate successfully in the urban economy. As a result, the circular mobility between village and city remains a way of survival for those who are not able to construct a robust livelihood based on one locale. Moreover, the struggle urban migrants experience in their living environment keeps the perception on 'the rural' as ideal form of life in existence, while job opportunities and moral expectations keep most migrants in the city. Although the obtained data does not provide evidence for a situation in which urban migrants act as gatekeepers, one could expect that in certain scenario's, urban migrants aim to keep family members in the village, as it sustains the village as a place to fall back on in case of e.g. urban failure or shock events.

5.3 Being (r)urban: implications for livelihoods, identities and feelings of belonging

Migrant narrative – Mzwanele¹⁰

On the day of our planned interview with Mzwanele (31), our guide and interpreter Brian had promised another twelve hostel guests to take them into the townships, and so, our interview had to be combined with this touristic trip. This resulted that we drove into Khayelitsha Rugby stadium with our rental car and an infamous South African mini taxi, full of other young people from the USA, Canada and Europe. As such, this was a quite bizarre situation, but while the

¹⁰ Khayelitsha Rugby Stadium, Cape Town [Sunday 22 May 2011, 12.30- 13.00h]. Connection with Koloni: Mnonopheli's cousin and best friend (family name unknown).

other hostel guests watched a rugby match, we were able to meet Mzwanele, at the other side of the field.

As we arrived somewhat later than promised, Mzwanele was already wearing his rugby outfit. "The match will start in half an hour", so we knew we had to get to the point quickly. Fortunately, Mzwanele appeared to be an intelligent, fluently English speaking man, so we did not lose any time translating or having misunderstandings. The fact that all his teammates – "...good friends, all from the Eastern Cape." – are observing our conversation from some distance, doesn't seem to bother Mzwanele.

"I was born in Koloni and moved to Cape Town permanently in 1996 to find a job." He succeeded in this objective, as he presently has a supervisory function at the gardening department of the municipality of Cape Town. He lives in Khayelitsha, but earns enough to provide a good life for himself and his family. His brothers and sisters live in Cape Town as well. "I supported them financially in the past, but not anymore. I have my own responsibilities now, you know.", referring to his own wife and children. He does support his mother by sending money to her. She lives on her own in Koloni, since Mzwanele's father passed away.

Mnonopheli, whom we interviewed in Port Elizabeth, is a close contact of Mzwanele: "We're like brothers." They grew up together and still have a lot of contact over the telephone. Mzwanele does not support Mnonopheli financially, although he helped him to obtain a driving license. It's not clear how he managed this exactly, but at least he gave him information and advice about how to arrange this. Like his other friends from Koloni, Mzwanele meets Mnonopheli only in Koloni, neither in Cape Town nor in Port Elizabeth.

Mzwanele expresses his feelings of affection with his natal village: "Cape Town is nothing like home." He only visits the village during Christmas time and in the case of a special occasion. When he visits Koloni, he can stay at his mother's place, but he possesses an own piece of land as well. On this land, he wants to build a house in the future, because: "I'm hundred percent sure that I will return to the village when I'm old." He would even like to go back to Koloni now, but the unavailability of jobs prevents him from doing so. Cape Town has better education facilities than Koloni, but the city is also "...a dangerous place of deceases...", "...full of criminality...", while in Koloni "...the smell of grass..." dominates. This, Mzwanele argues, is the real feeling of 'home'.

As the referee blows his whistle to start the game, the conversation needs to be ended. We thank Mzwanele for the great deal of information he gave us, during this short, albeit very interesting conversation.



Picture 3. Khayelitsha Rugby Stadium: the location of the interview with Mzwanele.

Talking to Mzwanele at Khayelitsha Rugby Stadium, my co-researcher and I obtained the feeling that the person we were talking to revealed the ‘ideal migrant story’: Mzwanele is a healthy and intelligent person, living together with his family, and has a circle of close friends around him in the city. Moreover, Mzwanele has a good job and does not need to rely on others to provide his family with a stable income. But still, he expresses the desire for the village, the only place he calls home. At the same time, his friends originate all from rural areas in the Eastern Cape, his family lives in the Eastern Cape and he wishes to spend the last period of his life in the Eastern Cape. As I announced earlier in this thesis (see chapter 2), I do use the notion of the ‘urban migrant’ for people who made the residential relocation from Guquka and Koloni to Port Elizabeth and Cape Town, as they cross the border between two ‘migration-defining area’s’ (i.e. the rural and the urban domain). But to what extent is this justified? In other words, am I able to put the label ‘urban migrant’ on Mzwanele’s head, despite his feelings of home, belonging and future aspirations to return to the village?

In this paragraph, I will further investigate the divide between what is proclaimed to be ‘rural’ and ‘urban’. As I explained in paragraph 5.1, I follow my conceptual framework as a structure for this chapter. In paragraph 5.2 I elaborated on the migration flow between the rural and urban domain (see Figure 4a), while this paragraph will explore the *impact* of this migration pattern on the rural-urban divide in South Africa (see Figure 4b). The first section of this paragraph will focus on reciprocal ties between urban migrants and their family members in the rural village, and their role for livelihood constructions. The second section will deal with the question what it means to be ‘urban’ for identity-construction, feelings of belonging and home-making.

5.3.1 Reciprocal exchanges across the rural-urban divide

It is extremely difficult to make general claims on the nature of reciprocal exchanges through social networks, as every case might involve different forms of exchange and the underlying reasons for the exchange might differ. Financial remittances play an important role in the context of reciprocity, but constitute just a part of the picture. Although financial remittances sent from city to countryside have decreased over time, other forms of remittances continue to play a role. According to De Wet, “all the big things come from Cape Town” (personal communication, 12 April 2011), referring to the transportation of products from South African cities to the villages in the Eastern Cape. Hereby, the visibility of remittances have decreased, and thereby the capability to ‘estimate’ the sum of remittances. Moreover, house reproductive labour and care-taking activities should also be taken into account, which can hardly be monetarised.

For providing more insight in reciprocal relationships, I will now demonstrate the story of the Thambo family (see also the earlier migrant narrative of Thanduxolo Thambo).

Migrant narrative – Thanduxolo Thambo¹¹

This second interview with Thanduxolo is conducted in Gugulethu, one of Cape Town’s townships, where the migrant lives. We are kindly invited for coffee, and later on we will visit a local ‘shebeen’ and ‘braai-place’, where we will have lunch together. This time, also Brian, our translator is present. Thanduxolo’s friend, also called Thanduxolo (see first interview on 1 May), joins in. We will talk about Thanduxolo’s life story and his family.

He appears to live together with two sisters and one older brother (Thembelani, see next migrant narrative) with his wife. The property is owned by the Thambo family – once owned by father Colbert (see Appendix I; Koloni interview #2). Thanduxolo now explains that father Colbert was assigned to own this government-built house [which, conclusively, was not built by Colbert himself as he said] during the time of the Apartheid regime. Though, Thanduxolo speaks of “...my brother’s house...” every time, because, “...my brother is older than me and he earns the household income...”.

When Colbert arrived in Cape Town, his uncle already lived there for a couple of years. Colbert’s wife travelled to the city on a regular basis – sometimes for two months – to accompany her husband and to bring children into the world. During Thanduxolo’s childhood, this happened very often. His parents then hired a nanny – one of the many cousins within the family – to take care for the children who were left behind in Koloni. After Colbert, first Thanduxolo’s older sister moved to Cape Town, then Thanduxolo. Not long after, Thembalani migrates together with his youngest sister. At last, the youngest brother arrives in Cape Town while in the mean time Colbert has moved back to Koloni.

To conclude, Thanduxolo clarifies that in Koloni at the moment are living: Colbert, one sister and “the twins”. [Later, in an interview with Thembelani, the twins appear to be his brother’s, who deceased a few years ago].

¹¹ Gugulethu – Cape Town [Sunday 15 May 2011, 11.30 AM]. Connection with Koloni: He is Colbert Thambo’s son (Koloni interview #2).

Thanduxolo noticeably is struggling with the fact that his brother is generating the income, while he himself is just 'being at home' every day. His brother, working as a ticket seller for Metro Rail (a rail transport company in Cape Town), pays for the fixed household costs such as the rent. He also remits to his father. Thembelani also buys goods (such as a TV) to leave in Koloni with his father, as soon as he visits the village. Thanduxolo himself would love to be able to do this as well, but he does not have any income. "My brother is successful, while I am not", he says. When the researchers ask why he does not move to another town such as Port Elizabeth to find work, he explains that there is only one person living in that city, with whom he has a weak relationship (one of his aunts). He therefore believes it is inappropriate to ask if he may live with her. Here in Cape Town, he has his social contacts, which might help him to eventually find work.

Later, we ask why Thembelani is still remitting to his father, because we (the researchers) had the impression that Colbert is living quite comfortably in Koloni, regarding all the material possessions such as a DVD-player, a decent couch and a proper kitchen. Moreover, Colbert (see Appendix I; Koloni interview #2), declared that he perceives his life as comfortable as well. Thanduxolo answers that Colbert's social grant is just large enough (about 1000 Rands) to sustain a living. Luxurious products, such as a TV, cannot be bought without remittances from Thembelani. He also thinks it is 'normal' to support his father – who has always supported his children as well.

It is Sunday, and everyone in the township seems to be celebrating the weekend. It is quite busy at the 'shebeen', where many people (mainly men) are chatting, eating and drinking. We talk to Thanduxolo and his brother about European politics, football and life in a Western country. Finally, we have promised to keep in touch, also when we are back in The Netherlands.

Migrant narrative - Thembelani Thambo¹²

The researchers meet Thembelani at the Railway station, during his break. He talks a lot and leaves not much room for us to ask the relevant questions. However, he adds some interesting issues to the story of Thanduxolo.

His first contact with Cape Town originates from the time he was recruited as a soldier for three years (1993 – 1996). He only had to pay for electricity at that time, because the army and Colbert, his father, paid all other costs. After he had left the army he applied for a job at Metro Rail, because at that time, a new CEO was appointed who promised higher wages and bonuses for (potential) workers. He had several jobs at the company, but now he is selling tickets. His wife also works and thus generates income for the household. Another sister also lives in the house (just like Thanduxolo), but works outside Cape Town and generates income as well. Further, Thembelani says that he and his wife are paying for the costs of his brother's twins who live and go to school in Koloni at the moment (with one of his sisters). Their father, Thembelani's brother, died a few years ago. The twins' mother lives in "...a dirty place somewhere near Cape Town."

¹² Fast Food Restaurant near Railway Station, Cape Town [Thursday 19 May 2011, 9.00 – 10.30 AM]. Connection with Koloni: He is Colbert Thambo's son (Koloni interview #2).

Thembelani does not care about the fact that he is paying for Thanduxolo's living. "It's not a problem, it is only temporary." He adds that Thanduxolo should get more in contact with people who already have a job, because that is a good strategy to find a job.

Koloni is a place where he wants to return: "I will go back there, everything is there. I would love to work near Koloni, but there are no jobs at the moment." Thembelani first wants to have his financial issues organised before bringing children into the world and going back to Koloni.

Notwithstanding the complexity and diversity of the role reciprocal exchanges play, several forms of reciprocal exchanges could be extracted from these migrant stories. In the case of the Thambo family, the most obvious form is the financial help Thembelani gives to his father. In addition, Thembelani buys goods in town which he leaves in the village as a gift to his father. The third son of father Colbert (next to Thanduxolo and Thembelani) passed away a few years ago, leaving his two children in the hands of his sister in Koloni, as the children's mother is in the city to work. Thembelani also bears the costs to feed and take care of these children. Last, Thanduxolo has to rely on his brother's income as he is unemployed. This case reveals the great importance social links can play. These links transcend the divide between the rural and the urban domain and demonstrate the interdependencies which exist across the rural and urban domain.

In this story, a certain family strategy is evident and the network functions to transfer social and financial capital. Within the urban domain, Thembelani pays for Thanduxolo's costs. Across the rural-urban divide, money and goods are sent from the city to the village. Also, the Thambo family was able to cope with the shock event which happened a few years ago (i.e. the deceasing of the third son of father Colbert) because of reciprocity, as the children are now taken care of by a sister of Thembelani and Thanduxolo, while Thembelani provides for the financial resources. In this family, Thembelani plays a central role, as he is at the one hand *able* to carry the financial burden of a substantial part of the family, and at the other hand, he is *willing* to share his income. The story does not reveal the underlying reasons for him to do so, however, it does reveal that Thembelani does intend to keep the tie with the rural village strong. By doing so, he might aim for the maintenance of the possibility to return to the village, as that's his intention. The other side of the coin, however, is represented by the strong reduction of financial resources Thembelani is able to spend for himself. But as he emphasises, this financial aid is just temporal and the pressure on Thanduxolo to generate an own income, might increase over time.

This case reveals a great deal of insight in the working of migrant networks. As Du Toit & Neves (2009^B) emphasise, a network can alleviate the impact of a shock event, as the costs can be shared over different places and people. At the same time, however, through the transferring of the burden of the shock event, people on different locations could see their vulnerability positions rising. Within the Thambo family, the burden of one shock event could be covered, but the vulnerability position of the whole family has grown, both in Cape Town and Koloni. Imagine the scenario in which Thembelani would lose his job; this event would mean a disaster for the whole family, whether it's Thanduxolo in Cape Town, or the children in Koloni, who are taken care of by their aunt.

Another widespread phenomenon in social networks across the rural and urban domain is the care-taking of children in the village by grandparents, while the parents are in the city to work. This is for instance the case in the earlier story by Nothembalethu and Patrick. They send money to Patrick's mother, who is responsible for Patrick's and Nothembalethu's mutual child. However, this phenomenon has tended to decrease over time, as whole families increasingly move to the city, not leaving anybody behind (cf. Smith & Hebinck, 2007). This trend obviously indicates for a shrinking role for the village in the construction of livelihoods for urban-based people. At the same time, it will result in less mobility, or drifting, between city and village, as the village does not provide the field for livelihood activities anymore, as is the case within a regionalised household. Unfortunately, empirical evidence for this trend is beyond the scope of this research, as the empirical point of departure was constituted by the village and therefore does not include urban migrants whom have cut all their ties with their natal village.

However, what I can conclude from the reciprocal exchanges across the borderline between what is said to be 'urban' and 'rural' is that the interdependency and interconnectedness remains high. Hence, a transregional space can be depicted, which constitutes the arena in which the dynamic work of social ties are played out. Thus, social exchanges find their origin in the meeting of moral values and culture of different people in transregional space. Also, the converting of capitals occurs here, e.g. when a child is left behind by its grandparents in the village, while the parents work in the city and provide the rural household with additional income. In such a case, financial capital is being interchanged for the care-taking activities in the village. Furthermore, the transmitting of information through social ties plays a role here, as the spreading of 'know-how' could equally be seen as part of reciprocal exchange systems.

The existence of transregional feelings among rural and urban-based people has consequences for people's mobility behaviour. In his elaboration on transnationalism, Faist (2000) emphasises that the emergence of a transnational space implies a shrinking of the threshold to demonstrate migration behaviour, as the step to move will be perceived as less "definite, irrevocable and irreversible" (ibid., p. 191). Moreover, 'the transnational life' as such might even become a strategy of survival or betterment (ibid.). Converting Faist's thoughts to the context of the rural-urban divide in South Africa, the transregional space might encourage mobility between city and village, and consequently, contributing to the drifting of people between the rural and urban domain as they seek for livelihood constructing activities.

As far, I spoke about exchanges between the rural and urban domain and the space in which these exchanges take place. However, this 'transregional' space is not merely a place where capitals are traded, but it's also a meeting place of identity and culture (cf. Ngwane, 2003). In the next paragraph, I will shift my attention to this aspect of the rural-urban divide.

5.3.2 Culture and identity across the rural-urban divide

Migrant narrative - Mpumi Tabeni¹³

On a sunny morning, the researchers drove into the Nyanga Township, not far from where our guide and interpreter Brian was living. After some miscommunications over the phone we were able to reach our interviewee's home place. It was obvious that her physical condition was rather poor, which was the result of diabetes and asthma, as she would explain later.

Mpumi (57) is a middle-aged lady living with her family in Nyanga, including sisters, uncles, cousins and more. The situation resembles a rural homestead, comprised of three houses and a lot of social contact and control. Mpumi's husband died in 1996 and, just like her parents, they are all buried in Guquka. Two other related families from Guquka are living in Cape Town as well, and she meets them regularly. "I have all my family members here in Cape Town so I don't need to go back to Guquka often.", she clarifies. Only a few aunts are still living in Guquka, but from Mpumi's generation, everybody left Guquka for Cape Town. After a few seconds of silence: "I have twenty-six family members here."



Picture 4. A 'braai place' in the Nyanga township. Photo by Ralph Evers.

When she was fourteen, Mpumi married her husband. He was working in Cape Town, as a labour migrant who once in a while returned to his natal village. The first period of the marriage took place over a long distance, while Mpumi only went to Cape Town during holidays. "I went to Cape Town for becoming pregnant, but I was too young to move to that place.", she tells us. After two miscarriages, Mpumi got two healthy boys, the first when she was 22 years old. When we ask her what they do now, she answers – obviously moved by our question – that one of them is unemployed and living somewhere else in Cape

¹³ Nyanga Township [Friday 13 May 2011, 10.15 AM, 60-90 min.]. Connection with Guquka: She is Mrs. Tabeni's cousin (Guquka interview #1).

Town, while the other will be released in September 2011, after being detained for thirteen years. As she appears to be emotionally touched by telling this story, we shift the conversation to another subject.

As Mpumi gets a social grant, for being unable to work, she lives in relatively stable prosperity. However, the house she is living in, is officially her sister's, but the physical state looks good and there are quite some material possessions in the room, like a television, a music device and a proper kitchen. Mpumi shares the house with her aunt, who is physically disabled and moves around in a wheelchair. Reciprocity plays a crucial role in Mpumi's life, but not concerning people in Guquka: "Here we share things but I don't have close contact with my family members in Guquka."

Mpumi and her family still own a house in Guquka, but they only use it when visiting the village. It is rather clear that Mpumi has her life in Cape Town and her relationship with the village has been weakened over time. She has been living here for so long with all her family members close by. During the interview, Mpumi's cousin, also a resident of the house, joins the conversation. He clarifies the growing distance between his family and Guquka: "The basic services are much better in Cape Town than in Guquka. Take for example the roads, you cannot go there with a wheelchair." Also, other basic services, like medical care, are lacking in the rural Eastern Cape, they tell us.

However, as we know, most Xhosa migrants in Cape Town, attach a lot of value to their roots and the place where their ancestors have been buried. When we ask Mpumi and her cousin to their view on this, we get a somewhat expected answer. Mpumi's cousin: "Our common roots bind us together, I still love Guquka." Strikingly, he adds: "I'm just visiting Cape Town." Mpumi emphasises that she would like to return to Guquka, but only if significant improvements are fulfilled. On the other hand: "Life is much more expensive here in Cape Town, so maybe it was a wrong decision to come to Cape Town.", she adds not very convincingly.

In general, Mpumi and her cousin seem to be relatively satisfied with their living conditions. Mpumi makes the best of it, despite of her poor physical condition. The fact that people are looking after her and that she lives with a lot of family members, is like a blessing for her, as she would have a hard time on her own. And things improve in Nyanga, as "...the government does a lot now." However, Mpumi's cousin concludes by pointing at the education system and the unemployment rates, which need more attention from the government.

We thank Mpumi for her sincere hospitality and after leaving we share our feelings that she enjoyed the fact that somebody was interested in her life story, while we drive our rental car back over the N2 to Cape Town city.

Clearly, the story told by Mpumi could be differentiated from the migrants stories I elaborated on before. In her case, social linkages beyond her own living space do not seem to play an important role. She is not involved in reciprocal exchanges, while all her close contacts live nearby in the Capetonian townships. The integration of Mpumi in urban social networks, while her ties with the rural village have weakened over time, will most likely have implications for her feelings of belonging,

identity and home. At the other hand, rural habits and lifestyles continue to play a role in her life. In the case of Mpumi's 'homestead in the city', a traditional manner of 'living together' can be discerned, so characteristic of the way rural South African villages are traditionally organised. This story strikingly exemplifies how migrants hold on to moral feelings and cultural manifestations, which find their origin in the rural village, and subsequently become 'hybridised' with urban culture (see also Bank, 2011). Here, I will further elaborate on the implications of rural-urban migration for migrants' integration in urban social networks and, subsequently, the potentially changing identity it brings along.

Traditionally, rural identities in South Africa have been split according to the dichotomy of two main groups: 'Red' people versus 'School' people (Bank, 2011). This divide was constructed by Philip Mayer in his ethnographic work during the 1960's, as he perceived a rather clear difference between the traditional Red people, holding on to a fixed rural identity, and the School people, taking up a more modernistic, Westernised lifestyle. This division continued to play a role in the context of South Africa's urbanisation, as rural people increasingly found their ways into South Africa's metropolitan zones and hereby this division 'migrated' to the city as well. The work of Mayer constitutes the foundation for academic research which lays the attention on the phenomenon of 'rurality in the city' and the blending of rural and urban culture. According to Bank (ibid.), this phenomenon has been subject to research since the 1980's and this thesis could well be perceived as a continuation within this debate.

The transition of South Africa into a democracy and the particular events it brought along need attention here. As I comprehensively described in chapter 4, black South Africans were during Apartheid not able to construct a permanent home place in the city, as they were forcibly relocated to e.g. the Homelands in the contemporary Eastern Cape province. It was only during the 1980's that black South Africans were allowed to settle themselves in the city, resulting in the rapid rising of slum districts at the edges of South Africa's cities, which mainly became occupied by former rural residents seeking for a job. The migration patterns, however, did not evolve into permanent settlements overnight, and therefore, the rural home remained of importance for the urban migrant. Even today, rural-urban ties are commonly upheld, as the empirical data of this thesis confirms.

At the same time, because of persisting Apartheid structures, polarisation and segregation of people according to racial categories remains the norm in the post-Apartheid city (Lemanski, 2007). Notwithstanding the fact that I speak of *'the'* urban domain in this thesis, it principally refers to the Black South African township as it generally constitutes the living space of migrants from the Eastern Cape (in accordance with this, all urban interviewees in this thesis are living in townships). Generally speaking, the township is highly isolated and disconnected from the commercial city centre (cf. Robins, 2003), which makes it a particular place within the city concerning culture and identity. Concerning social networks, one could most likely discover more social relationships from township to rural village than from township to city districts which are not announced to be 'black' (i.e. commercial zones, 'white' suburbs etc.). The South African townships on the edges of the city therefore share similarities with the 'urban village' (cf. Yuan, 2011), a notion which stresses the isolation of certain city districts and the persistence of rural lifestyles and cultural manifestations therein.

As all the urban interviewees in this thesis settled themselves in Port Elizabeth's or Cape Town's townships the last two decades, they are subject to the feeling of 'being rooted' in the rural domain, as that's the place they have been raised and educated. Despite the fact that the interviewees are not pioneer migrants, as I described in paragraph 5.2, they *are* part of one of the first generations which does not find legal obstacles in the way to permanently settle themselves in the city. The question to answer here is whether these roots will decrease in value over time, or remain important as a binding factor of culture, identity and sense of unity.

Earlier, I described the emergence of a transregional space – transcending the boundary between rural and urban. Also, I emphasised on the interdependencies and linkages between the rural and the urban pole, shifting away from the conventional view on these domains as two separate inward-oriented container spaces. As I see identity not as the result of the place of living, but rather of social relationships, the focus should be on the social orientation of the urban migrant, whether intra-urban (i.e. the integration in urban social networks) or urban-rural.

This social orientation is highly complex and diverse, and thus it is hard to make claims in this respect. On the one hand, some urban narratives reveal clear indicators of integration in urban networks, like the story of Mpumi Tabeni. Another remarkable narrative is the one of Mzwanele (see earlier narrative), whom the researchers met at Khayelitsha Rugby Stadium. He expressed the friendship between him and his team mates, while he strikingly added that they "are all from the Eastern Cape". For him, the common place of origin apparently provides a base of friendship and sense of affiliation. Another case in which an urban integration is evident, is the story of Nothembaletu and Patrick as they told the researchers that their "social life is in Cape Town". For example, they are acquaintances of Mpumi Tabeni, who equally lives in Cape Town and is originally from Guquka.

In contrast, the story of Mnonopheli Mzoli sheds an entirely different light in this respect. He argues that he does not wish to meet other migrants from his natal village (i.e. Koloni), as he would feel embarrassed about his economic position. Therefore, he meets them merely in Koloni. The Koloni village plays a particular role as meeting place for urban migrants anyway, as the researchers learnt during the field work. Port Elizabeth resident Sakhumzi told us that every year during Easter, the village is home to both a cricket and a rugby tournament. A lot of urban migrants shortly return to the village to watch or participate in these games, despite the distance they have to travel. In general, Koloni continues to be an important meeting place for people who left the village in the past. However, the two migrant narratives about Guquka migrants in the city (Nothembaletu and her husband Patrick and Mpumi Tabeni), do not reveal the same picture of Guquka's role in the urban migrant's life. The role of Koloni and Guquka – as a place of meeting for urban migrants – might therefore be different.

Despite the fact that I conceive a transregional space between the urban and the rural domain, the fact that a rural village can act as a place of meeting – which is in particular the case with Koloni – provides the evidence that the notion of place should not be neglected in this respect. Koloni is a place of memory, meaning and sentiment and the fact that one meets his/her old friends inevitably contributes to this. Yuan (2011) emphasises: "geographical investigation is required to honour the experiences, imagination and attachments of intentional human subjects. (...) It is not spaces or sites

which ground our identifications, but places” (p.20). In accordance with Yuan’s words, I see the migrant as an intentional human-being, which implies that there is room for agency and negotiation over the social tie. Placing the human subject in systems and spatial structures, one does not take agency into account. Moreover, the bias between Koloni and Guquka regarding affection and emotional binding of its former inhabitants (as far as I am able to make claims on this difference), could not be explained from a merely ‘space’-perspective, but it needs to put the migrants’ affection and emotions towards the places Koloni or Guquka central.

However, the conventional ‘place’ is commonly reduced to a fixed point (Yuan, 2011). Here, I emphasise the deterritorialisation of identity and culture. In other words, culture is *not* fixed or bounded to place. The connections and fluidity between e.g. the rural and the urban domain comprise a central element in the place-making of both the urban and the rural landscape. This is acknowledged by Escobar (2001) as he argues that place is “...more an event than a thing, (...) characterized by openness rather than by a unitary self-identity” (p.143).

Doreen Massey’s thoughts on places could further elucidate the role of the rural villages in my research context. In her work on ‘a global sense of place’, she conceives place as a ‘meeting point’, the arena where social linkages come together (Massey, 1994). Notwithstanding the fact that these connections converge in one place, the ‘proportion’ of the social relationships are constructed on a larger scale. Therefore, place is the conceptualisation of the ‘tying together’. Moreover, these ties are not fixed either, and are subject to changes over time (ibid.). For example, with regard to the traditional divide between Red and School people, Bank (2011) acknowledges that the division between these main cultural groups has been blurred to a large extent.

Also, the making of home constitutes an important aspect in the context of the rural-urban divide and needs to be related to the space and place debate. Regarding home feelings, a ‘divide’ is to be perceived between on the one hand the presumption that home is a priori fixed in one locale and on the other hand a more open approach towards feelings of home as it recognises the multi-local character of people’s feelings of affection (Yuan, 2011). In the first perspective, a migrant is often perceived as being homeless, like a nomad whose mode of living is formed by movements. However, as Garrett (2011) explains, the postmodern notion of home challenges home as “simply shelter, or a place that is geographically situated, like a particular house”. Rather, it’s a more abstract space where one feels the comfort and security, while one is able to sustain and reconfigure his or her social ties with the place of origin.

At first glance, the home places of the interviewees in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth is in the rural Eastern Cape, as almost every migrant declares his/her place of settlement in the city as “nothing like home”. In addition, migrants commonly use nostalgic rhetoric towards their rural village, which partly is triggered by the ‘rough life’ in the city in which people are feeling vulnerable and insecure. At the same time, Blunt (2005) stresses that migrants’ home-making could not exclusively be oriented towards the place of origin, but is always the result of feelings about ‘here and there’, and thus have a transcending, multi-local character. Furthermore, absence from the place of origin will most likely result in a strengthening of feelings of belonging towards this place, whether it concerns a Turk in Berlin, *Limburger* in Nijmegen or former Koloni resident in Cape Town (cf. Morley, 2000). Thus, home-making activities should, just like the general debate around the rural-urban divide, be

positioned in this debate and obtained migrant narratives should – in any case – be critically analysed.

Summarising this paragraph, I – once again – emphasise the continuity of interconnections and dependencies between rural and urban residents in contemporary South Africa. Moreover, migrants' feeling of culture, sense of identity and belonging are deterritorialised, meaning that these are created through both intra- and interregional interactions. As Bank (2011) observes as well, a hybrid urban-rural identity is constructed among urban residents. Vice versa, migrants relocate 'urbanity' to rural villages, as they spread urban ideas, values and lifestyles. Also, 'urban goods' such as electronic equipment are transported to the villages. Therefore, a more critical attitude towards the divide between 'rural' and 'urban' is needed.

6. Conclusions

6.1 Introduction

During our fieldwork period in the Eastern Cape, my co-researcher and I drove more kilometers than we ever did before in rather a short period of time. To drive the roads of the Eastern Cape is an experience by itself, as one needs to be cautious not to hit persons or cattle who seem to ignore the fact that the road is used by cars, too. On a particular day, we drove back from Grahamstown to our place of staying in Hogsback and came across the fully loaded *bakkie*, which is presented on the cover of this thesis. The picture strikingly represents the long tradition of mobility of South Africa's people. As the *bakkie* is fully loaded with furniture, it is in this case undoubtedly used for a residential move. Residential moves in South Africa, in particular between rural and urban areas, constituted the central element in this thesis. It has been shown in this thesis that migration across the rural-urban divide comprises a restructuring force on the country's society and the organisation of people's social ties.

The focus of this thesis was on these social ties, particularly between urban migrants and their social contacts living in the rural Eastern Cape, in order to make general claims on the rural-urban divide in contemporary South Africa. Therefore, the central research question was formulated as follows:

What is the influence of rural-urban migration from Guquka and Koloni to Port Elizabeth and Cape Town on the rural-urban divide in post-Apartheid South Africa?

To be able to provide an answer to this question, I had to follow certain steps. In Chapter 1, the research context was briefly described and the long tradition of migratory behaviour of South Africa's population was introduced. Also, the societal and academic relevance for this thesis has been underlined in this chapter.

After that, a comprehensive theoretical framework was constructed in Chapter 2. In this framework, socio(-economic) theories which take the multi-sited character of people's social life into account were put central. Also, with regard to people's livelihood construction, social ties which transcend regional borders commonly play an invaluable role.

Consequently, Chapter 3 provides the research questions and objectives, after which the methodological framework was constructed. The insights of multi-sited ethnography have been highly illuminating in constructing this methodological framework. In this approach, space is conceived as produced by interrelations and interactions between humans and therefore, empirical fieldwork needs to be carried out on more than one locale. The migration process per se inevitably covers more than one site and therefore cannot be analysed adequately by doing fieldwork on one particular site.

Chapter 4 provided a sketch of South Africa's important historical events from the moment of colonisation onwards. South Africa's society and its contemporary migration patterns have been highly influenced by events in the past. Important elements of these migration patterns have been highlighted here. Moreover, a picture of the empirical research contexts was provided: both the

villages of Guquka and Koloni in the rural Eastern Cape and the cities of Port Elizabeth and Cape Town were introduced here.

In opposition to the prior chapter – in which the rural and urban domain are still separately described – Chapter 5 seeks empirical evidence for a continuity of rural-urban ties. Therefore, it provided insight in South Africa's rural-urban divide in general. The empirical data is presented throughout this chapter in the form of migrant narratives, which gives it a rich empirical character.

Here, in Chapter 6, I will come to the conclusions of this research, after which some recommendations for further research will be outlined.

6.2 Findings

As I argued before, the conditions of social relationships across the rural-urban divide in South Africa need to be seen in their historical context. During Apartheid, public policy was carried out with the intention of creating a divided society in which people were classified according to race. Cities in particular were 'no-go areas' for non-whites, while a substantial part of the black population was sent to the African Homelands, such as the former Ciskei. It has only been since the last two decades of Apartheid that non-whites were increasingly able to settle themselves in the city. Before, temporal labour migrations were the only form of rural-urban movements, which induced a continuing tie between rural village and (temporal) urban worker. As the urban worker was aware that he could be sent 'home' anytime, breaking ties with the rural village was a risky thing to do. Therefore, South Africa has a tradition of mobility between city and countryside, in which the moving between rural and urban areas on itself have comprised a part of the survival strategy of black South Africans.

Statistical data provide the evidence that after the transition to democracy in 1994, these 'deeply entrenched migration patterns', as Posel (2010) calls them, did not change overnight. Among urban residents, a vast influx of labour-seeking black Africans was feared, however, this expectation seemed to be groundless. The migration flow from the rural to the urban domain did grow, but principally constituted a continuing temporal nature instead of a more structural nature. This implies that the urban migrant continued to maintain ties with the rural homestead and did not break up ties definitely. The reason for this goes beyond altruism towards one's family members, but involves mutual benefits: the rural homestead was ensured of among other things a flow of cash from the urban migrant, while the rural homestead constituted a security net in case of failure for the urban migrant (Smith & Hebinck, 2007). The fact that rural-urban migration was mainly temporal in nature exemplifies the difficulty for newcomers in the city to become integrated and to construct an independent livelihood on city-based activities. The vast competition for jobs in South African cities indisputably plays an important role in this.

In this context, rural villagers became increasingly aware of the fact that the urban migrant could drive the family into a higher prosperity position, and therefore the need was there to sustain the strong tie with the urban-based family member. The moral obligations towards urban migrants which came up in this context should thus not merely be seen as something which is embedded in Xhosa culture, but rather as a combination of economic, social and cultural factors. These moral obligations are, for example, comprised of financial aid, the transportation of 'urban goods' to the village,

information for future migrants, the attending of rituals in the village, et cetera. Logically, a substantial part of the urban migrants have tried to release themselves from rural obligations, but, likewise, another group of urban migrants has decided to maintain the rural tie and – at least to a certain extent – accept the claims being made on them. The urban migrants who have been subject to this research, mainly fall within the second group.

So, (potential) migrants experience the obligation to leave the village for the city, as it is perceived as 'a place of work'. At the same time, job-seeking people in the village do not have many alternatives, as finding a job near the village is highly unlikely and the trend of deagrarianisation has been in process for quite some time now. Also, the information on which the potential migrant bases his or her decision comes mostly from 'urban success stories', as urban migrants' stories of failure is not regularly spread out in the village since it would lead to a loss of face. Moreover, through the widespread access of social links between the rural homestead and the urban domain, potential migrants' threshold to make the step to the city is relatively low. During the empirical fieldwork in the rural villages, it struck the researchers that almost every household had the 'possession' of social ties with one or more urban residents.

The functioning of the social network has gained much attention in this thesis. As I exemplified throughout the analysis, all urban interviewees have made the rural-urban movement with help of kin-related persons, who were already living in the city. The network could, thus, be typified as a 'migration-facilitating unit'. However, as De Haas (2010) underlines, the need to critically reflect on the functioning of the social network remains there. In line with his theoretical insights, I have identified a number of 'feedback loops' which could potentially counteract the unidirectional flow of people migrating from village to city. Most striking in this respect, this thesis presents evidence that the rural village continues to play a role in the livelihood construction of many of today's urban migrants and a complete exodus of the rural population is, therefore, highly unexpected. Furthermore, urban migrants perceive the city landscape as 'dark'; full of danger and diseases, while in the rural domain, one can still 'smell the grass'. This aversions towards the city and nostalgia towards the countryside contributes to the intention of urban migrants to return to the village.

The phenomenon of rural-urban drifters, already identified by Hebinck et al. (2007), provides other strong evidence for a continuity of rural-urban ties, as people are not able to construct a 'robust' livelihood in the city, nor in the village. As a consequence, people 'come and go', constantly seeking for livelihood improvements, such as a wage-earning activity or simply to exploit social relationships in both the city and the village.

Logically, the urbanisation process, visible in South Africa as well, results in a growing integration of former rural inhabitants in urban social networks. The empirical data presented in this thesis provide some clear examples of that, as people meet other urban residents to go to the *shebeen*, play rugby, organise *braais* at local churches, et cetera. The urban migrants will therefore inevitably adjust in identity. What I also emphasised, however, is that habits and cultural manifestations which find their origin in the rural domain, are still visible. Moreover, the common roots of many urban residents (i.e. the rural Eastern Cape), provide a foundation for mutual affiliation and, in some cases, friendship. On the contrary, the village of Koloni particularly functions as a place of meeting. In some cases, urban-based migrants from Koloni express the infrequency they meet other Koloni migrants at their urban

place of living. Even in the case of 'best friends' Mnonopheli (living in Port Elizabeth) and Mzwanele (Cape Town), they never meet in one of those cities, but merely in their mutual natal village. As Mnonopheli strongly emphasised, this would lead to a loss of face towards other Koloni villagers and therefore, the common natal village is a 'safe' environment to meet old friends. The empirical data does not provide sufficient evidence to make certain claims about Guquka, but in the case of Koloni, one can certainly state that it plays an important role for a substantial part of the former Koloni residents, now living in cities.

Thus far, these insights reveal the continuity of the rural-urban tie. As urban migrants do integrate into urban networks, they inevitably adjust in their identity, but at the other hand, they are still very much rooted in the village and commonly sustain the tie between themselves and their rural kin and friends. Therefore, rural and urban identities constantly 'blend', and subsequently, the line between what is 'urban' and what is 'rural' becomes increasingly blurred. Identities flow from rural to urban, and vice versa, and thus I follow Bank's (2011) insights, as he perceives a hybrid rural-urban identity, which is comprised of both 'traditional' rural and 'modern' urban characteristics. In this respect, one should not merely focus on the 'flow' from the rural to the urban domain (i.e. rural manifestations in the urban domain), but one should also acknowledge the impact of urbanity on rural life, even in the 'deep rural areas' of the Eastern Cape. First, an increasing number of villagers are able to live a 'modern life' as they have the possession of goods which are transported from urban to rural areas, such as electronic equipment. Second, the villages have evolved into meeting places of rurality and urbanity, as it is the place where rural villagers and urban migrants shake hands and share stories. Therefore, the village also constitutes the arena where the clash between modern and traditional culture is played out (cf. Ngwane, 2003).

The transnational literature provides a lot of insights which have been conceptually related through this thesis to the rural-urban divide in South Africa. Regarding feelings of belonging, the urban migrant commonly is characterised by transregional consciousness – as he or she is living in the urban domain, but expresses a great sense of affiliation with the natal village. In an early attempt to grasp understanding in people's changing consciousness, De Wet & Holbrook (1997) introduced the concept of the multiple homestead household, in which urban migrants set up a new home in the city, resulting in a decreasing value of the rural-urban tie for e.g. their vulnerability position. However, this thesis demonstrates that the natal village continues to play an important role – even for migrants who have been able to construct a robust livelihood in the city – as it facilitates the possibility to maintain rural-urban ties, and subsequently, a hybrid rural-urban identity.

I move beyond the presumption that the home place is a priori fixed and advocate for a multi-local character of the home. Home can transcend the house, the neighbourhood, the city or the region, and the maintenance of rural-urban ties inevitably contributes to this. At the same time, one needs to critically reflect on urban migrants' emotional expressions on the village, while the city is portrayed as a place of darkness, decesses and criminality. Moving away from home implies that one will start creating a new sense of home, while it's a common, perhaps even natural reaction to engage in feelings of nostalgia towards the former living environment. These feelings of nostalgia are exacerbated by the difficult circumstances urban migrants find themselves in, as the South African townships is still characterised by severe struggles, like high crime numbers, widespread unemployment and a low quality level of the physical environment and facilities. Strikingly, the

migrants who have not been successful in their quest for an independent livelihood express the strongest desire for 'being home in the village' and an agricultural form of life. So, the widespread desire for an urban life among the rural youth in the 1980's has been replaced by a widespread desire for a rural way of life among today's South African urban migrants.

This exemplifies the fact that senses of identity, belonging and home are fluid, implying that they potentially change over space and are not locally fixed. Similarly, rural-urban ties are always subject to changes in nature. By analysing urban migrants' ties with their rural contacts, I provided the evidence that the rural and urban domain are continuously connected and interdependent. The notion of the rural-urban divide could therefore only be used with extreme awareness of the meaning of the notion of a divide: two separate, disconnected spaces. The reality, however, is the opposite: the rural and urban domain have some clear, unique characteristics which make them different from each other, but at the same time, they are impossible to separate as rurality and urbanity blur and overlap. To a certain extent, rurality as an identity and way of life *lives* in the city, and vice versa.

The interdependencies between people in the rural and urban domain is exemplified by the fact that in the context of contemporary South Africa, people commonly build their livelihood on activities and relationships over different locations. Traditionally, these dependencies tie the rural and the urban domain together and social configurations between city and countryside will remain important in the future. However, future events and trends on e.g. the macro level, might affect South African society as a whole, including the organisation of social ties over spaces. If households are increasingly able to integrate in the urban economy, the rural rootedness of the urban population will decrease. Consequently, this might influence people's multi-local consciousness and the rural-urban tie in general in the future. However, as long as people are struggling for survival in the South African city, the rural-urban link will certainly retain its value and mobility between city and village will remain a widespread phenomenon.

6.3 Reflection and future research recommendations

The intention of this research was to obtain insights in the migratory behaviour of South Africa's citizens between rural and urban areas and the implications of this behaviour on the proclaimed rural-urban divide in contemporary South Africa. The rural-urban divide, per se, implies a separation of two poles; a rural and an urban pole. By taking up multi-sited research methods, this divide was further explored and the presented empirical data provided the evidence that the rural and the urban domain are still characterised by many links and dependencies. In other words, the rural-urban divide has been critically rethought – and the result of this rethinking has been presented in this thesis.

A critical researcher should always be aware of the strengths and weaknesses of his or her research. In this research, the foremost strength lies within its multi-sited character. I elaborated on the rural-urban divide, which a priori involves two distinct spaces. The research questions raised in this thesis was about the extent to which these distinct spaces are still bridged by social ties, and consequently, to what extent the notion of the rural-urban divide is applicable to the South African situation. By exploring these ties, it is essential to use a multi-dimensional perspective, which elaborates on both

rural and urban narratives. Moreover, social network theory played an important role in this thesis, and networks inevitably cover different places.

The thesis by Evers (2012) and myself could both be seen as a continuation and expansion of the research which has been conducted in the past by – among others – the supervisors of this project (Dr. L. Smith and Dr. P. Hebinck), resulting in the publication *Livelihoods and landscapes: the people of Guquka and Koloni and their resources* (Hebinck & Lent, 2007). As this book provides a vast range of information and data on the lives and livelihoods of the villagers of Guquka and Koloni, it formed an ideal point of departure for this research. The theses of Evers (2012) and myself expanded the insights of this book by taking rural-urban linkages into account. As the villages acted as the place of departure of our empirical research, the rural part of the research in the villages was carried out, before the research was proceeded in the cities of Port Elizabeth and Cape Town. The available information on the villages of Guquka and Koloni was therefore expanded with the researchers' own empirical findings and observations.

Since the researchers had the intention to explore social ties between rural villagers and urban migrants, our 'database' of both rural and urban interviewees merely comprise of people who *do* have social contacts across the rural-urban divide, which implies that a substantial group of urban migrants who have cut ties completely with the rural villages were impossible to incorporate into this research. Vice versa, the few villagers who indicated that they did not have social contacts across the rural-urban divide were not invited to participate in the research. About these latter groups, I am not able to make statements on the base of the empirical fieldwork. As those migrants also constitute a part of the rural-urban divide, an even wider understanding of rural-urban linkages could be reached by laying the empirical focus on this group in future researches. As such, a different methodological research strategy should be taken, as the village would constitute a less important element. Most likely, one would obtain new insights and it could thus expand to the insights by Evers (2012) and myself.

Another opportunity to find new insights in the context of rural-urban linkages could be extracted from the new mobility paradigm, which could be perceived as a recent way of thinking in migration studies (cf. Sheller & Urry, 2006; Schapendonk, 2011). As a way of thinking, the new mobility paradigm moves further away from the classical migration theories as the journey itself becomes the centre of empirical focus, rather than the two end points of the migration line: the place of departure and arrival. It conceives migration not as a static act, but rather as a process. In the context of the ongoing movements across the rural-urban divide, this theoretical approach could further illuminate the role of mobility between village and city, for example regarding people's livelihoods and feelings of identity and belonging. As I described in this thesis, multi-local consciousness plays an important role in the lives of many urban residents and by taking up a mobility perspective, one could relate those feelings to people's mobility behaviour. It would be highly interesting to track people's movements and, as such, to literally follow people's trajectories for a certain period of time, as mobility itself is recognised as meaningful. By doing so, one takes up 'trajectory ethnographical' methods, rather than static research on different locales (cf. Schapendonk, 2011). In other words, one could shift from a focus on urban migrants' roots, and identify the role of routes in the context of South Africa's rural-urban divide.

A last remark needs to be made concerning a tension every researcher faces. A research project is inevitably limited to certain constraints. In this project, the main constraint was time, as the empirical fieldwork on multiple sites had to be carried out in the period of about three months. As far as possible, Evers (2012) and I aimed for in-depth research, but the limited time span of the fieldwork period forced us to make decisions which did not always contribute to the in-depth character of this ethnographic research. However, the wide range of available literature compensated for this empirical deficit to a large extent. In the end, the theses could well serve as work to embark on for future researchers aiming to contribute to an even wider picture of the dynamic and complex relationship between the rural and urban domain in contemporary South Africa.

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Interview with Prof. De Wet, C. on 12 April 2011 in Grahamstown, South Africa.

Appendix I: data from the rural domain¹⁴

NB1: (d) = dominant [livelihood activity], (est.) = estimated [age]

NB2: All names are fictive for privacy reasons. Real names are known by the author of this thesis.

Interview 1 GUQUKA	
Who?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mrs Tabeni, about 60 years old (est.), often at home, the head of the village's wife 2. Both her parents (age: 93) live in Cape Town; (She has no children).
Livelihood	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. House owner 2. Crop farmer (d); remitter
Perception on city, migration, reciprocity principle	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The city is a place to earn money, 2. ... so migration is therefore 'good'. 3. Reciprocity principle is 'okay' but should only be applied if possible.
History before moving	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Father used to be a livestock farmer. 2. Father of Mrs. Tabeni went to Cape Town by train in the 1960s to seek for work. Had several jobs eventually. His wife followed later, when children were older. 3. Owned a piece of land for living and cultivation in Guquka. Now it is still owned by Mrs. Tabeni's brother. 4. Father used his savings to finance movement. According to Mrs. Tabeni, many 'black people' went to Cape Town (by train) at that time to seek work.
Rural-urban social relations	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. She has a relatively close relationship with her parents. 2. She only contacts her parents. 3. They phone every weekend; both in their turn. Parents come to Guquka several times a year. Mrs. Tabeni does not go to Cape Town any more. 4. They discuss 'just social things' during their talks.

¹⁴ The empirical data have been obtained through a collaboration between the author of this thesis and Ralph Evers (see Evers, 2012), and therefore belong to the both of us.

<p>Perception on the migrant(s) wellbeing / livelihood</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The migrants (her parents) are happy there, because father found work. Now they are receiving social grants. They will die and be buried in Cape Town. 2. Mrs. Tabeni sometimes receives different amounts of money from her parents. Sometimes she asks, sometimes it is randomly given. 3. This financial link is only 'one way': Migrants → Mrs. Tabeni
<p>Prospects on social relations and migrant(s)</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. All younger generation family members have already moved to Cape Town or Port Elizabeth. For Mrs. Tabeni Guquka is fine. She is rooted to the village: her husband is head, and she was born and raised there. There is no reason to go to Cape Town herself, she adds.
<p>Observations of physical environment and interviewee's behaviour</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mrs. Tabeni and her husband are living in the first house on the edge of the village, along the main road. The researchers did not enter the house, but from the outside, it looked neither luxurious, nor deteriorated. She was the care taker of another house, next to hers. 2. Mrs. Tabeni was a bit reluctant to give telephone numbers of people she knew in Cape Town. Eventually her attitude became more gentle, and she gave 6 phone numbers.

<p>Interview 2 GUQUKA</p>	
<p>Who?</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mrs. Boya, about 50 years old (est.), always at home, married, at least two children (interviewee remained unclear about this). 2. Two daughters live in Cape Town.
<p>Livelihood</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. House owner 2. Remitter (d); cattle/crop farmer (rely heavily on remittances, and their farmland). 3. No grants, no wages.
<p>Perception on city, migration, reciprocity principle</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Here in the village 'is nothing to do' so in the city life must be better.

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. One should migrate to the city, because there is not work in the village. 3. [No opinion about reciprocity principle]
History before moving	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Both her daughters finished high school (subsidized by government) in the area near Guquka. Prospect of a good job in this area was not present. Both daughters live together in Cape Town. The older one has found a job, the younger one has not. The older daughter, furthermore, has a four-year old child of whom is taken care of by Mrs. Boya in Guquka. 2. In 2005 one of the daughters went to Cape Town (by taxi) to search for a job. Eventually found one in carrot industry. 3. The daughters do not own land at this moment. 4. The rural household saved money for their daughters for migrating to Cape Town.
Rural-urban social relations	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. +: Child is left in hands of Mrs. Boya in Guquka. 2. -: Telephone contact Mrs. Boya with daughters occurs mostly when the family is short of money and when something 'shocking' has happened. 3. There are regular visits of both daughters to Guquka. Child shifts between Guquka and Cape Town throughout the year.
Perception on the migrant(s)' wellbeing / livelihood	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. "Daughters have improved their lives, because one of them has found a job." 2. Working daughter supports the Boya-family to a large extent. 3. In return, Mrs. Boya says, she takes care of her daughter's child.
Prospects on social relations and migrant(s)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mrs. Boya and family will not leave Guquka because all members in the village do not have any education for a job in Cape Town. Further, they consider themselves as 'old'. 2. Daughters will not come back to Guquka, Mrs. Boya says. She does not know what they are able and willing to do. The income from her daughter makes her happy now. 3. Mrs. Boya often talks about 'other daughters'

	who are too young to move to the city.
Observations of physical environment and interviewee's behaviour	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Looks like a poor family: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Small deteriorated house b. All household members look unhealthy and 'inactive' c. Mrs. Boya approaches many of the researchers' questions with humour. She laughs about her husband who 'should work' but 'is doing nothing'. Though, as our translators explain to the researchers: Mrs. Boya's life seems to be a very hard struggle, so she is a bit reluctant to provide all answers to the questions about her socio-economic situation.

Interview 3 GUQUKA	
Who?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mrs. Menziwa, about 50 years old (est.), always at home, married, at least 3 children (interviewee remained unclear about this). 2. She has: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. A wage earning son in Port Elizabeth b. A son who is student in Port Elizabeth c. An unemployed son in Cape Town
Livelihood	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. House owner 2. Wage earner (d) (husband works at Transport Department at local municipality), farmer (at Water Harvest Project which generates both income and food).
Perception on city, migration, reciprocity principle	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. It is better to move to the city, 2. ...then staying behind and doing nothing. 3. Mrs. Menziwa has supported her children for a long time, so she expects something in return.
History before moving	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. All sons finished high school close to Guquka. 2. Mr. and Mrs. Menziwa encouraged their sons to move to 'the city' to find a job or to study. 3. Their sons do not own land at this moment.

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Mr. and Mrs. Menziwa had enough savings to let their children move to Port Elizabeth and Cape Town (by taxi).
Rural-urban social relations	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Mrs. Menziwa perceives her relationship with her sons as 'quite close', but her sons only call at the end of the month after 'payday'. Only Mrs. Menziwa talks to her sons on the phone. Sons living in Port Elizabeth visit regularly. Son in Cape Town only during holidays. During telephone contact, they talk about both social as well as financial issues.
Perception on the migrant(s)' wellbeing / livelihood	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Mrs. Menziwa believes that only the son who has a job in Port Elizabeth is happy. The others are not, because they do not have a regular income. The migrants do not support the family in the village. Mrs. Menziwa and Mr. Menziwa still support their sons financially to a large extent. Mostly the unemployed.
Prospects on social relations and migrant(s)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Mrs. Menziwa does not want to leave Guquka because "village life is good". She does not want to leave her livestock and agricultural grounds. Her sons do not want to return to the village, because there is nothing to do for them.
Observations of physical environment and interviewee's behaviour	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> While luxury was not omnipresent within the house, the quality of the property seemed looked well. The house was situated on the same piece of land of a property which is only occupied during the holidays. The interviewee was very friendly and seemed to be very open.

Interview 4 GUQUKA	
Who?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Mr. X (name unknown), about 70 years old (est.),

	<p>always at home.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> [Interviewee does not want to talk about marital status and possible children]. Though, he was a migrant himself who had returned to Guquka after working in Cape Town.
Livelihood	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> House owner Grantholder
Perception on city, migration, reciprocity principle	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Mr. X experienced his move to the city as a 'very good thing to do' in the end. The reciprocity principle is something that not everyone applies, but everyone should.
History before moving	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Mr. X used to be a farmer, but in order to support his family, he wanted to leave for the city. In the 1970s he was recruited by an agency that was searching for workers. First he travelled a lot between Guquka and Cape Town, dependent on temporary contracts, but eventually he lived in the city for 10 years. Worked as a poultry farmer close to Cape Town, but also had many other jobs. "Years ago" he came back to Guquka due to an injury. He took over the land of his parents in Guquka.
Rural-urban social relations	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> His relationship with his mother who lived in Guquka was "quite good" during his stay in Cape Town. He wrote letters to his mother and he visited her during times between two contracts and during the holidays. Mr. X wrote and talked about his life in the city. Not specifically about anything.
Perception on the migrant(s)' wellbeing / livelihood	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Mr. X was quite happy during his time in Cape Town, because he earned wages. He supported his family with remittances at that time. His family (parents) did not support him, because it was not necessary.

Prospects on social relations and migrant(s)	At the moment, Mr. X receives a social grant. And he is happy with that, because it is enough for himself to survive.
Observations of physical environment and interviewee's behaviour	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mr. X is the only person who wants to talk to the researchers – sitting against a wall of a house in the shade, in the middle of three other (elderly) men. 2. His house (of stone) looked quite deteriorated from the outside, but we were not allowed to look inside.

Interview 5 GUQUKA	
Who?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mrs. Botha, about 60 years old (est.), often at home, officially married, many children. 2. At least two daughters live in Cape Town.
Livelihood	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. House owner 2. Grantholder (d); remitter
Perception on city, migration, reciprocity principle	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The city is a good place to find jobs, 2. ...but for her personally, the village is fine. 3. [No opinion about reciprocity principle]
History before moving	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mrs. Botha used to work in Cape Town herself, but she came back to Guquka and her children stayed. 2. Her children were born and raised in Guquka, but when they were older, they went to Cape Town. 3. The children did not have any land in Guquka at the moment. 4. Mrs. Botha's children were able to move to Cape Town because she saved money of her income in Cape Town. 5. NB: the two daughters mentioned in this interview both have a job in Cape Town. [Further information about those jobs was not provided].
Rural-urban social relations	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mrs. Botha has relatively good contact with her two daughters. 2. Sometimes there is telephone contact and often

	<p>Mrs. Botha travels to Cape Town to visit her children.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Rarely Mrs. Botha talks about money with her children. Mostly they talk about “special events and just social things”. 4. Her daughters (and other children) only come back to Guquka during Christmas time. They have jobs, a family and a house to take care of, Mrs. Botha explains.
<p>Perception on the migrant(s)' wellbeing / livelihood</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Her daughters are happy, because they have jobs. 2. The daughters sometimes support Mrs. Botha, but, she adds, they have their own families to take care of. 3. In return, she travels a couple of times a year to Cape Town, to visit them.
<p>Prospects on social relations and migrant(s)</p>	<p>There is no reason to believe that something in the current situation will change in the future according to Mrs. Botha. Life has stabilized.</p>
<p>Observations of physical environment and interviewee's behaviour</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The researchers approached Mrs. Botha when she was talking to a man (see interview 6), who was visiting her at her house. 2. The house nor looked luxurious, neither deteriorated from the outside where the researchers interviewed her. 3. Her attitude was 'happy', but she seemed to be a bit reluctant to give answer to all the questions – because she continuously provided very short answers. 4. She did not talk about her husband, although Mrs. Botha said she had one. The man on the bench, who was visiting her, was, according to the translators, very interested in Mrs. Botha. They might have had a relationship, the translators told us. Adultery is not uncommon in these situations, in which husband and wife are living separately (according to the translators).

Interview 6 GUQUKA	
Who?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mr. Mpiko, 62 years old, always at home, married, has many children. 2. One of his sons lives and works in Cape Town.
Livelihood	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. House owner 2. Grantholder (d), wage earner (still works sometimes as a forester on the slopes of the Amatole Mountains).
Perception on city, migration, reciprocity principle	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The city is far away from Guquka 2. ...and one is not always sure of work. If something happens in the village, his son is very far away and therefore cannot help him immediately. 3. "If you stay in the city, you should help your family, because your family has raised you. But you do not need to go to the city, because you can also find work close to the village."
History before moving	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. His son did not finish school in Guquka; he was just doing nothing all day. 2. Suddenly, four years ago, a family member living in Cape Town called him that they had found a job for him. So he left the village (by taxi). 3. Mr. Mpiko's son did not own any land at the moment. 4. Mr. Mpiko himself saved money to pay for his son's transport to Cape Town.
Rural-urban social relations	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mr. Mpiko perceives the contact with his son as quite weak. They rarely phone each other, but his son visits Guquka sometimes during holidays. 2. They talk about "everything" during phone calls and visits. 3. Relation mother – son is unclear. Interviewee is not willing to talk about this [see also interview 5 – 'observations ...'].
Perception on the migrant(s)' wellbeing / livelihood	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. His son is still searching for a job. The job his family offered four years ago, was not appropriate. Mr. Mpiko's son is not so happy at this moment therefore. 2. His son thus cannot support his family in Guquka.

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Mr. Mpiko sometimes supports his son, when he does not have enough money to pay for the return ticket to Cape Town after a visit to Guquka.
Prospects on social relations and migrant(s)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Mr. Mpiko is comfortable in Guquka, so he will stay and die there. His wife lives in Cape Town, but their contact is poor. Seems to be a substantial argument in between them. His son will not come back to Guquka in the near future. "He has to find a job first, because in the village there are no jobs."
Observations of physical environment and interviewee's behaviour	Mr. Mpiko was visiting Mrs. Botha, interviewee 5. They sat outside on a bench, under a tree, and were talking to each other when the researchers arrived.

Interview 1 KOLONI	
Who?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Mrs. Rhaxo, about 60 years old (est.), often at home, married, has three children. One child lives in Koloni. Two of her children (sons) live in Cape Town. She only talks about one son [reason unknown].
Livelihood	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> House owner Grantholder (d), farmer
Perception on city, migration, reciprocity principle	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> The city is not a place to choose for, ...migration is also not a choice. But if you know some people in Cape Town, it is "okay" that younger generations move out of the village. The reciprocity principle is not an obligation, Mrs. Rhaxo says.
History before moving	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Her son was recruited for the army many years ago. So he had to go to Cape Town (by government transport). Now he is a merchant, sells "products". Before moving to Cape Town her son was doing nothing, did not finish his school.

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. He did/does not have any land in Koloni at the moment. 5. Government paid for transport / housing in Cape Town.
Rural-urban social relations	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mrs. Rhaxo has contact with her son. She does not even have his phone number. But her daughter has (not at home at the time of the interview). 2. Only contact between mother – son. Though, her son visits Koloni at Christmas time. 3. If Mrs. Rhaxo talks to her son, they talk about financing the house her husband is building in Koloni at the moment.
Perception on the migrant(s)' wellbeing / livelihood	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mrs. Rhaxo thinks her son is happy, because he has a job. 2. Her son does support Mr. and Mrs. Rhaxo financially, but not the other way around.
Prospects on social relations and migrant(s)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The son she is talking about, thus has a house in Koloni, so he will come back to the village in the future. She does not know what her other son will do. 2. Mrs. Rhaxo herself will die Koloni, although she possesses a house in East London as well.
Observations of physical environment and interviewee's behaviour	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The researchers perceived an elderly lady, working in the garden. 2. From the outside her house looked nor luxurious, neither deteriorated. 3. She was a bit reluctant to provide information, just like many others in Koloni.

Interview 2 KOLONI	
Who?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mr. Colbert Thambo, about 65 years old (est.), often at home, married (but his wife deceased six years ago), 3 sons, 1 daughter. 2. 3 sons and 1 daughter are living in Cape Town.

Livelihood	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. House owner 2. Grant holder (d)
Perception on city, migration, reciprocity principle	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The city is a “distant place” to find work, 2. ...and that is what a man should do: moving to the city to earn money to support your family. 3. Reciprocity is not so important, it is about a man who should take care for his family.
History before moving	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Colbert was the first one of his family to move (temporarily) to Cape Town to (find) work. His wife stayed in the village. He was sometimes in Koloni, but most of the time in Cape Town. 2. His children grew up and went to school in Koloni, and as soon as they were old enough, he received them in Cape Town where he built a house for them. Eventually he came back to Koloni and left his children in Cape Town. 3. Some of his children started to work, while others wanted to study at university. 4. His children did / do not have any land in Koloni. 5. The children were able to go to Cape Town because of Colbert’s financial savings and social contacts in Cape Town.
Rural-urban social relations	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Contact between father and all of his children is described as “okay”. 2. They call sometimes and the children come to Cape Town during holidays and Christmas. 3. Reluctantly, Colbert says that they sometimes talk about money on the phone.
Perception on the migrant(s)’ wellbeing / livelihood	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Colbert believes his childrens’ lives have improved and that in general they must be happy. 2. The children do not support Colbert, he says, because he is fine with all he has. 3. Colbert did support one of his sons (500 Rand per month), who allegedly did not have a job before.
Prospects on social relations and migrant(s)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Colbert will die and be buried in Koloni, because this is the place where his ancestors are buried as well. 2. His children will probably stay in Cape Town, start

	<p>a family and have a good life and income there. Though, he says, they are welcome to come back.</p>
Observations of physical environment and interviewee's behaviour	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The researchers observed a very luxurious interior of Colbert's house: DVD-player, fridge, radio, sound system etc. next to a decent couch and table. 2. Father is well-dressed, friendly, open and immediately gave telephone numbers to the researchers. 3. He had experience with researchers of Fort Hare who interviewed him before.

Interview 3 KOLONI	
Who?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mr. Khalo, about 50 years old (est.), often at home, married, at least 1 child (unclear how many exactly). 2. There is one daughter in Cape Town.
Livelihood	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. House owner 2. Farmer
Perception on city, migration, reciprocity principle	<p>No data: Mr. Khalo was very angry and frustrated towards the researchers, while his wife appeared to be far more friendly and open. The frustration with researchers is a result of earlier experience with Fort Hare researchers who promised him "better times" if he participated in their research. "I'm still hungry, so why should I co-operate?". The researchers explained everything and gave Mrs.Khalo a copy of our questionnaire because she asked for it. Eventually we got their daughter's number.</p>
History before moving	No data.

Rural-urban social relations	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mrs. Khalo says that contact with her daughter is not so good. She does not want to say why not. 2. Though, they phone “regularly” with their daughter. 3. No data about what is discussed during their contact.
Perception on the migrant(s)' wellbeing / livelihood	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. “Their daughter is married, so she might be happy.” 2. Mr. and Mrs. Khalo do not send any money to their daughter and neither does she to them.
Prospects on social relations and migrant(s)	No data.
Observations of physical environment and interviewee's behaviour	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Angry man is working in the garden. His wife is sitting on a chair and watching. They look poor. 2. The house is in a very deteriorated state.

Interview 4 KOLONI	
Who?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mrs. Yolanda Gongqozayo, 17 years old, unmarried, always at home. 2. She is the daughter of Mrs. Gongqozayo and the sister of two migrants in Cape Town/Port Elizabeth. <p style="text-align: center;">&</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mrs. Gongqozayo, about 50 years old (est.), always at home, married (but widow), she has about five children (remains a bit unclear when the researchers ask for exact numbers). 2. At least two sons in the city: Phumlani (CT) and Sakhumzi (PE).
Livelihood	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. House owner 4. Grant holder, wage earner, remitter. No dominant element.
Perception on city, migration, reciprocity principle	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Both interviewees state that it is a “good thing” to move to the city, 2. ...because there are no jobs in the village. 3. Mrs. Gongqozayo thinks that migrants indeed should send money back to their family members

	<p>in the village. She herself is not satisfied with the amount she gets from her sons.</p>
<p>History before moving</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Phumlani (27) finished high school close to Koloni but was not accepted at Fort Hare University. 2. Went to Cape Town in 2007 to search for work. First in laundry packing service, now he works for a car rental service at Cape Town Airport. 1. Sakhumzi (older?) finished high school close to Fort Hare University and went to Walter Sisulu University (East London) for technical studies. 2. Now he works at Volkswagen factory, near Port Elizabeth where he lives. He moreover follows a master course at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University for his employer. <p>Both were able to go to school and to move to Cape Town because of financial savings of the family. At this moment still unclear whether they knew people in CT/PE before. Also unclear whether the sons own land in Koloni at the moment.</p>
<p>Rural-urban social relations</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Both Yolanda as well as Mrs. Gongqozayo perceive their contact with Phumlani and Sakhumzi as “close”. 2. They have often contact through telephone. Sakhumzi travels to Koloni regularly, while Phumlani does not due to distance. 3. Mrs. Gongqozayo sometimes travels to PE and rarely to CT. 4. During contact, both financial and social issues are talked about.
<p>Perception on the migrant(s)' wellbeing / livelihood</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Especially Sakhumzi has improved his life, Mrs. Gongqozayo says, because he has a good job. Sakhumzi once bought a car for his father and for himself. 2. Phumlani's position is more ambiguous; but he has a job so he will have a good life as well, Mrs. Gongqozayo says. Phumlani is also talking about buying a car. 3. Sakhumzi is planning to build a house in Koloni. 4. Both sons support the family in Koloni, but Mrs. Gongqozayo says that this amount is not enough.

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> At this moment, Mrs. Gongqozayo does not support her sons anymore.
Prospects on social relations and migrant(s)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Mrs. Gongqozayo is not sure whether her sons will return to the village. Though, she knows that most children of that generation don't return. She herself will stay in Koloni until she dies. The researchers do not know for whom Sakhumzi wants to build the house in Koloni.
Observations of physical environment and interviewee's behaviour	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> The house interior looks luxurious regarding all the material possessions (DVD player, flat screen TV, proper furniture etc.). Mother and daughter look healthy. Seemingly, a lot of cousins live in the house as well. Mrs. Gongqozayo takes care for several family members, as it looks. Although the researchers are invited for lunch, especially Yolanda was at first a bit cynical towards the purpose of the research and researchers. After explanation, she became less critical.

Interview 5 KOLONI	
Who?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Mrs. Mzoli, about 60 years old (est.), always at home, married, four children. All children live elsewhere, but due to social conflict with one son and due to the fact that two daughters have been married ("Husbands paid for my daughters, so they are not under my supervision any more"), Mrs. Mzoli only gives us information about Mnonopheli (38 years old).
Livelihood	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> House owner Grant holder
Perception on city, migration, reciprocity principle	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Migration to the city is good, because you can earn money there. (see 1) Migrants should send money back 'home'. One of

	<p>her sons does not, so therefore she is in conflict with him, she says.</p>
History before moving	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mnonopheli went to high school close to Koloni. 2. He went to Cape Town to look for a job and a wife. Mnonopheli stayed a short time with family members (sisters) before moving to an own shack. 3. Mrs. Mzoli helped her sons financially migrating to the city. 4. It is unclear whether Mrs. Mzoli's sons own land in Koloni.
Rural-urban social relations	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mnonopheli calls his mother regularly and visits her during holidays. 2. It is likely that money issues are discussed during contact.
Perception on the migrant(s)' wellbeing / livelihood	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mrs. Mzoli says that Mnonopheli is not happy at all. He lives at low standards, he is unemployed poor and looks unhealthy, she says. 2. He cannot support Mrs. Mzoli. 3. She supports him substantially.
Prospects on social relations and migrant(s)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mnono will not return according to Mrs. Mzoli, although he is very poor at the moment. There are no chances in the village. 2. She will also stay in the village.
Observations of physical environment and interviewee's behaviour	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. House interior looks quite luxurious. Decent furniture, DVD player, TV etc. 2. Mrs. Mzoli was at first a bit reluctant to answer our questions, but after a couple of minutes, she became more open.

Appendix II: List of interviewees in the urban domain

In chronological order. All names are fictive for privacy reasons.

Name	Location	Narrative on page:
Sakhumzi Gongqozayo	Port Elizabeth	50
Mnonopheli Mzoli	Port Elizabeth	44
Phumlani Gongqozayo	Cape Town	47
Thanduxolo Thambo	Cape Town	47, 58
Mpumi Tabeni	Cape Town	62
Nothembaletu Dibela and Patrick	Cape Town	53
Thembelani Thambo	Cape Town	59
Mzwanele(<i>family name unknown</i>)	Cape Town	56