URBAN MIGRANTS:

A FOCUS ON THEIR SOCIAL NETWORKS AND VULNERABILITY DYNAMICS

THE CASE OF EASTERN CAPE MIGRANTS IN PORT ELIZABETH & CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA

AUTHOR:

RALPH EVERS, BSc.

MASTER THESIS
HUMAN GEOGRAPHY

Status: DEFINITIVE

MARCH 2012

Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen

URBAN MIGRANTS:

A FOCUS ON THEIR SOCIAL NETWORKS AND VULNERABILITY DYNAMICS

THE CASE OF EASTERN CAPE MIGRANTS IN PORT ELIZABETH & CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA

RALPH EVERS

STUDENT NUMBER: 0709107
CONTACT: RFE.EVERS@GMAIL.COM

RADBOUD UNIVERSITY NIJMEGEN

NIJMEGEN SCHOOL OF MANAGEMENT

HUMAN GEOGRAPHY DEPT.

SPECIALIZATION: GLOBALISATION, MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

15 MARCH 2012

THESIS SUPERVISION: DR. IR. LOTHAR SMITH (RU)

DR. PAUL HEBINCK (WUR)

SECOND READER: DR. JORIS SCHAPENDONK (UU)

NOTE: THE ILLUSTRATION ON THE FRONT PAGE IS A SCAN COPY OF FIELD NOTES MADE BY OUR RESEARCH ASSISTANTS. NUMBERS AND NAMES HAVE BEEN CHANGED FOR PRIVACY REASONS.
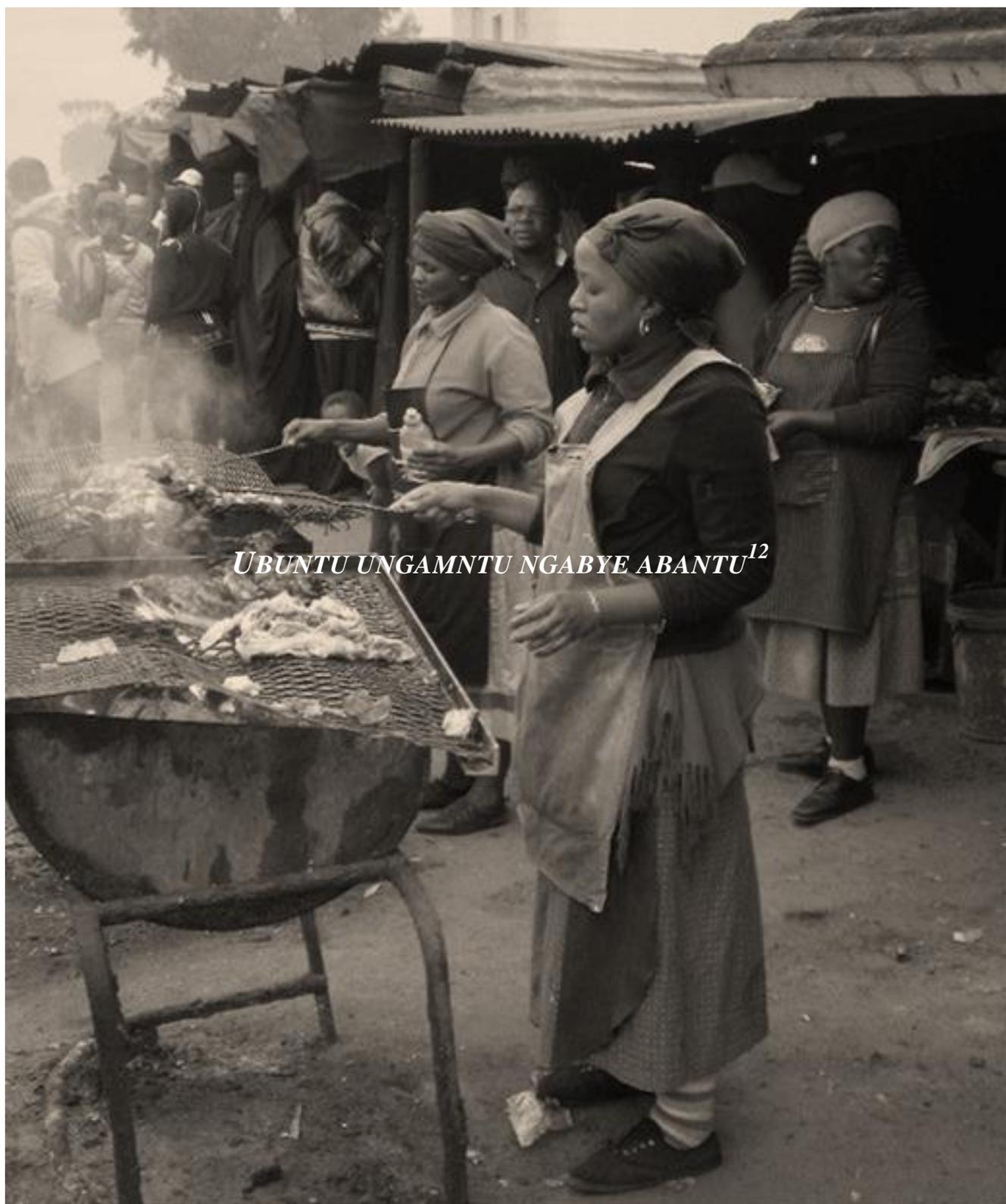
UBUNTU UNGAMNTU NGABYE ABANTU[1][2]

---

[1] As South African archbishop Desmond Tutu explained in 2008: *"One of the sayings in our country is Ubuntu – the essence of being human. Ubuntu speaks particularly about the fact that you can't exist as a human being in isolation. It speaks about our interconnectedness. You can't be human all by yourself, and when you have this quality – Ubuntu – you are known for your generosity. We think of ourselves far too frequently as just individuals, separated from one another, whereas you are connected and what you do affects the whole World. When you do well, it spreads out; it is for the whole of humanity."* (Retrieved via http://www.ssiwel.org/- 4 April, 2011)

[2] Xhosa saying, meaning *'A human being becomes a human being though other people'.* (Retrieved via http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Experience_ubuntu.ogg, South Africa's 'national hero' Nelson Mandela explaining the Ubuntu concept – 2 March, 2012). NB: picture taken by myself in Nyanga township, Cape Town. A Xhosa lady is preparing lamb on the 'braai'. Many township dwellers came along and bought this meat to consume at home after having visited the Sunday morning church service (June, 2011).

Preface

March 2011 – precisely one year ago. Our journey to South Africa had started. During three months we (my friend, co-student and co-researcher Mathijs Noij and I) were travelling and residing in a beautiful country where nature is stunning, the city is chaotic and where 'potholed' roads seem to go on forever. Where tourists are taking pictures of elephants, lions and urban dwellers. Where one's complexion is still an issue. (...)

I can talk endlessly about South Africa, but before you are going to read my thesis, there is a personal urge to use this preface–space only as a brief, preliminary statement – just to ventilate one of the main insights I got simultaneously to my research findings.

Tourists can be strange. 'Strange' might not be the right word, however as soon a European visits a country like South Africa, all other people, South Africans, seem to be perceived as animals. As if South Africans originate from another planet. Explaining our research project to fellow European tourists and travelers, we often encountered perceptions about South Africa being 'dangerous', 'poor', 'beautiful', … or as theorist Edward Said once conceptualized: 'The Orient'. The Europeans have met the 'real' Africans, because they have drunken *umqomboti* (traditional Xhosa beer) in a Nyanga shack. And they have talked to one of the township residents! Don't forget the pictures with ten little, African children! Our fellow Europeans return home after three weeks of jolting and bumping around in nature parks and townships. Making pictures of lions and South Africans. And everything they saw was 'amazing'.

The result is a collection of stories, myths or unjustified categorizations about South Africa and South Africans. Even in academic literature scholars prompt they understand 'that' society and 'their' spatial movements. On the other hand, 'they' (mostly black South Africans we spoke) categorized 'us' as well. Mathijs and I were not simply two students from Holland, yet we were – a priori – considered 'white', 'tall', 'tourist', 'wealthy', 'government officials', 'police', 'development agents', 'opportunists',… but often, after a while, some of these labels faded away. Fortunately, we appeared to be 'nice' in the end.

As a researcher, I often felt uncomfortable asking relatively destitute South Africans how they construct their livelihood and if, how and why they kept up socio-economic linkages with family members. We asked questions during our interviews I personally would not answer – if I were them. It felt a bit odd to be confronted with a crying lady, whom we asked to tell something about her family members and their activities. She appeared to be ill, her son was locked-up in prison and her husband died a couple of years ago. It was then when I realized that we were researching *people*, just like 'us', with emotions and dignity, yet suffering the misfortune to be born in a country, and during a time wherein a successful future is everything but secure.

To understand a black South African who has moved from the countryside to the city, one should start to set aside all these 'Orient' assumptions. One should delve into the (perspective of the) individual (urban migrant) and then start to think about migration, livelihoods, culture and vulnerability. And then tourists, and even researchers like Mathijs and I, are a bit strange. One will feel a bit like an observed animal, in a zoo. In other words: I believe another perspective is needed, not only for tourists, but also for researchers and students, which (morally) enables us to understand people and their activities 9700 kilometers down south.

To conclude, I would like to thank all our respondents in the villages Guquka and Koloni, and the interviewees in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town for their time, efforts and trust. I am very grateful as well to Tshuma, his students (University of Fort Hare), Brian and Lungi; our 'guides' and translators in the rural and the urban. Without their help it would not have been possible to collect our data. For me, it was quite an experience to work with you. Especially Brian can be held responsible for the great time Mathijs and I had in Cape Town. *Enkosi.*

In South Africa, we had two 'homes'. David and Bashier, it was a pleasure to spend our days in Port Elizabeth at Kings Beach backpackers'. Andy and staff: thanks a lot for creating a second home in Cape Town; good memories are left!

Henning Deklerk, professor Chris De Wet (both related to Rhodes University) and David Neves (University of the Western Cape) have generated numerous intelligent and useful insights in my research. With all respect I would like to thank these gentlemen for their contributions. *Baie dankie.*

Closer to home, my supervisors Lothar Smith and Paul Hebinck deserve all acknowledgement for initiating this master project, building on the shoulders of their work and contacts, arranging the financial and institutional support, and above all: guiding me into the right directions. We had many useful and pleasant discussions, both face-to-face and through e-mail, about this thesis. *Dank jullie wel.*

Last but definitely not least, I am very grateful to my family and friends for their support and interest in my project. Without your attention it would have been a hard time overseas. Mathijs, thanks a lot for being a good friend and co-researcher. I dare to say that it was a good, temporary marriage.

Notwithstanding some bodily discomforts, I finally also dare to say: it was great.

Happy reading,

Ralph Evers

March 2012

Summary

Rural-to-urban migration is a common-known feature of the South African 'socioscape'. Mainly as a result of the deagrarianization of the countryside and the (perceived) greater chances on the urban job market, many young, black South Africans (have) decide(d) to move from villages to cities. This migratory movement has its implications for the vulnerability position of this so-called 'urban migrant'. The 'new life' as a city dweller does often not imply an increase of social security or quality of life in general.

In the literature, it suggested that social networks are contemporary crucial facilitators of (successful) rural-urban movements and important supporters for both livelihoods of family members in the countryside as well as for the urban migrant's livelihood in the city. The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the role and 'relative weight' of these (alleged) social networks, by conducting multi-sited ethnographic research in the villages Guquka and Koloni (Eastern Cape Province, South Africa) and the cities Port Elizabeth (ibid.) and Cape Town (Western Cape Province, South Africa), from an actor-oriented perspective. In concreto, the following research question functions as a guide-line through this thesis: *How do socio-economic ties, between the urban migrant in Cape Town and his rural social contacts in Guquka and Koloni, influence the urban migrant's vulnerability?*

The first Chapter 'sets the scene' by further explaining the project framework; motive, context and relevance will be addressed. Subsequently the following Chapter elaborates the theoretical framework. It starts by discussing why we would label these young South Africans as 'migrants'. Moving from the *rural* to the *urban* implies significant change and risk regarding the social, economic, cultural, political and physical. In that sense it is useful to make a distinction between 'urban migrants' and 'rural dwellers' or 'other South Africans'. Encapsulating the entire issue here, first theories of (internal) migration are elaborated and discussed. Grasping the 'how' and 'why' behind rural-urban migration and its implications, it appears that both (as I categorize them) homo economicus theories as well as 'soft' theories (including the mechanisms of social networks, culture and sociality for instance) can explain the contemporary reality of the 'urban migrant'. There are several strategies and constructions of urban livelihoods; some can be labeled as a family strategy, others as individual survival strategies.

Theoretically, rural or urban rooted social networks can facilitate migration and the continuation of a migrant's livelihood (by being a 'safety net' and) by sharing information and social contacts, providing financial funds or other ways of support. The reciprocity principal, allegedly manifested in South African (Xhosa) culture, prescribes that rural efforts made by the migrant's parents towards their sons and daughters now residing in the city, should be rewarded with urban-to-rural financial or material support for example. Here, rural development issues come into discussion because, theoretically, city activities generate flows of support which could develop the 'deagrarianizing' countryside. These

expectations on the urban migrant to provide these flows potentially could increase their vulnerability. Similar to shock events (e.g. death of a family member), they can put pressure on the urban migrant's well-being.

Guided by the multi-sited ethnography (methodological) framework, my co-researcher and I started our fieldwork in the villages Guquka and Koloni – also referred to as the *rural domain*. *The urban domain* on the other hand, concerns subsequent field studies conducted in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town, predominantly consisting of in-depth interviews with urban migrants from both villages.

In order to reveal the 'underlying institutions' that could have an influence on the everyday reality of the urban migrant, the villages were used as practical and theoretical 'entry points' for further research. The urban migrant's rural counterparts (parents and other family and community members) have created a dynamic rural discourse over the years concerning rural-to-urban migration, as appeared from the interviews we conducted on site. Once in the city, sons and daughters are often expected to support their family in the countryside *and* to start an own life. The rural discourse moreover entails: a strong work ethic, the perception that the city is the (only) place to find work, and that 'having a job' is equal to 'being happy'. This results in patterns of (family) chain migration. Unless substantial rural (mainly financial) support towards urban migrants and the fact that the reciprocity principle and thus the burden of expected remittances does not count for every migrant, the rural 'push' from the countryside does not make an individual necessarily less vulnerable, and is not that straight-forward as often suggested in the (theoretical) literature.

This latter statement is further confirmed by a number of findings *((a) to (h))* during the urban domain analysis presented in Chapter 6. *(a)* The implications of the movement are that many migrants are not able to find (long term) work in the city and have to rely on short, temporary jobs or on their (rural or urban) social contacts. A wide range of (social, economic, cultural, political, coincidental) factors determine the outcome an individual's survival strategy (or some cases: a family strategy) and construction in terms of the urban migrant's vulnerability. There is thus no 'one way' of the phenomenon conceptualized as 'rural-to-urban migration' and subsequent urban livelihood strategy and construction.
(b) Instead of focusing on 'regionalized households' in the countryside, a new (research) perspective which focuses on the urban household should be applied, since it is the urban household (or individual), which can hardly be conceptualized as 'temporary' or circular', that is 'struggling' now and which seems to have the centre of attention of both rural and urban actors. Households in the countryside are largely supported by social grants and partly by remittances, mainly in the form of (luxury) goods. Roughly stated, their 'rhythm' has stabilized. Thus, rather than focusing on rural households and 'the family', a broader perspective should be upheld. *(c)* In that sense, the 'family strategy' concept could better be replaced by *abantakwethu* strategy ('brothers and sisters strategy') for the case of South African rural-urban migration. It is the intra-urban network (which goes beyond family members) that has a crucial role for the urban migrant which should also be acknowledged. It is not merely a family

strategy that initiates the rural-urban movement, yet in many cases it is the individual's strategy (and necessity) to set up an urban livelihood instead of 'staying behind'. *(d)* Emotionally, urban migrants appear to have strong feelings of belonging to the village of origin, while they perceive the city as a temporary 'working place' for their own survival and to support their family in the countryside.

Furthermore, what follows is *(e)* that the vulnerable position of urban migrants basically upholds the existence of social networks of husband/wife, family, friends and other acquaintances. Social networks entail the coping mechanisms of economic, social or physical 'losses' that potentially occur during a migrant's life time. 'Success' and 'failure' of the rural-to-urban move, are both connected to the function of social networks. In the case of failure, social networks (rural and urban family members and other 'brothers and sisters') act as safety nets. In the case of success, remittances and other forms of reciprocal exchange keep up social ties, and thus the network(s). *(f)* Yet, whether an individual can hinge on to these networks, depends on a mixture of reasons, the 'rules of the game': having the right (material and immaterial) resources for instance.

(g) Shock events are consequently less crucial for a migrant's vulnerability position. It appears to be the *internal* vulnerability of internal migrants that is relevant for further research for it is inherently interlinked with rural-to-urban migratory movements (in developing countries). It also plays a significant role in maintaining the rural-urban continuum. *(h)* Next, it is desirable to work towards a broader notion of the vulnerability concept. Regarding the literature, there seems to be an ignorance of emotional or psychological factors that have an influence on one's vulnerability, for not only economic, social or physical factors determine a migrants' well-being. As appears from the analysis, emotions (feelings, aspirations, moods) are related to decision-making practices (concerning migration, livelihoods and social ties) of individuals, and should therefore be acknowledged.

Abstracting to the rural-urban divide, focusing on social (and socio-economic) ties between the 'rural' and the 'urban', it can be concluded that there is no specific or significant discontinuity in the rural/urban spectrum. The urban migrant seems to be the connection between both landscapes, because he/she is connected to both a rural as well as an urban social network. And contrary to the rural/urban 'myth', it are the urban dwellers that seem to be more vulnerable than their rural counterparts, who seem to have a relatively stable, yet sometimes very poor, life in the countryside.

Contents

Chapter 1 – Introduction

"

*K*wanele Ngubane was a tall, dignified patriarch who had spent most of his working life in solid industrial employment in the industrial heartland of Gauteng. His comparatively well-paid job not only enabled him to invest considerably in his prosperous rural homestead, but also made it possible for some of his children to stay with him and further their education in Gauteng. At the time of the research team's visit in 2005, 55-year old Kwanele Ngubane had recently been retrenched, but continued to support 13 dependants. These included his wife, two adult brothers, five children and a grandchild at the rural Transkei homestead, along with four children living in urban centres.

Kwanele's four children living away from home were geographically dispersed across the regional centres of Mthatha and Gauteng. Two sons were currently in matric schooling: one at a former religious school in Mtatha, the other in school in Sebokeng, living in a hostel. He had originally joined his father when Kwanele was still employed and resided in Sebokeng. A third son, also living in Sebokeng, had recently completed his N6 certificate in 'mechanics' (they were unsure precisely what the qualification was, but said it was comparable to the old 'fitter and turner' qualification) at Vaal Technikon and was seeking employment. To improve his employment prospects, he had further completed a code 10 driver's license. The fourth son was at 'Pretoria Technikon' (Tswane University of Technology), and was to have finished the 4-year long qualification course last year, but failed a subject and was Rhaxoating it. Having only a standard 6 level education themselves, his parents were unclear about his precise field of study, but thought it might be marketing or commerce related.

Although living in rural Transkei, engaging in agricultural production and living off the fixed income from his retrenchment package, Kwanele made monthly remittances to his sons, sending R650 to the son in Pretoria, R550 to the two sons in Sebokeng and R450 to the son in Mthatha, a total of R1650. This amount, however, represented the minimum needed for subsistence, and at times had to be augmented for specific expenses. For instance, Kwanele, sitting in his homestead in the deep rural Transkei, was utterly incredulous at the cost of the textbooks required by his Pretoria-based son. One book cost almost R500, 'net een boek!' ('only one book') he emphasised in Afrikaans. When asked why his children were being schooled in such dispersed locations (the boys in Sebokeng and Mthatha are both doing matric, for instance), Kwanele and his wife explained that the son in Sebokeng had been unable to enrol in Mthatha, adding in a somewhat bemused, tolerant way, that children always find good reasons as to why they ought to go to a particular school or tertiary education institution. Kwanele recalled that when the whole family gathered together at Christmas time in the village, there was often bantering competitiveness about who was going to the best school.

Finally, when asked about their expectations that their children would find good formal sector jobs (thereby justifying the substantial expenditure in education) despite the fact that their son with a N6 certification was unemployed, Kwanele and his wife said they were optimistic, stating that one cannot find a good job nowadays without a good education."

(Du Toit & Neves, 2009, pp. 17-18).

1.1 Motive: 'To the city!'

Kwanele (see story quoted on previous page) is one of those black South Africans who comes 'from the countryside' and had chosen to move to the city to work. Yet, he went back to his rural homestead after a period of time, just like many other South Africans (wish to) do. These kind of rural-urban (-rural) movements have implications for the migrant, the actor who has left the village behind to find work in the city – stereotypically speaking. In South Africa, jobs are hard to find in the countryside, and at the same time, cultivating farmland is no longer considered means of a viable and lucrative livelihood construction. The rural household has to diversify its income, for which 'sons and daughters' of the family are often sent to the city. Furthermore, for his/her own survival, this 'migrant' has to construct a livelihood him/herself as well. Social and economic relationships between rural and urban actors get geographically 'stretched'. Social and economic linkages figuratively could keep the family together.

This short analysis may actually represent a myth about (South) African urban livelihoods. Instead, implications of the rural-urban movement for the individual migrant appear to be extremely diverse and depend on a wide range of factors. (Changes in) migration patterns and the related role and nature of rural-urban social linkages are often presented in the literature as being upheld by fully rational actors, being 'uni-linear', or as merely dependent on economic motives (Potts, 2011). A part of these rural-to-urban movements turn out to be a failure for the 'strategy' of the rural household; let alone for the urban migrant. High degrees of urbanization, and rural and urban poverty are problems governments (for instance in South Africa) are dealing with today. There are lot of theoretical assumptions (see Chapter 2) regarding these issues, but many contain a macro perspective and conclude with general notions by 'blaming' the (social, economic and political) system. Other theories can simply not entirely explain today's reality of internal migration and the related urban livelihood construction. An actor-oriented approach, maintained in this thesis, is expected to reveal the mechanisms of rural and urban livelihood construction, the (over-celebrated) role of social networks (particularly as related to sustainable livelihoods) and the implications for the individual migrant's vulnerability position – which on its turn affects a successful or failed 'move to the city'.

The practical motive for this thesis relates to the publication of editors Hebinck & Lent (2007): "*Livelihoods and landscapes. The people of Guquka and Koloni and their resources.*". Hebinck & Lent's publication is the result of a core-project of the Agricultural and Rural Development Research Institute (ARDRI) at the University of Fort Hare, South Africa. The book gives an in-depth view in the rural development, resource management and livelihood construction in these little villages, 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 (see also my research proposal: Evers, 2011).

The case study sites Guquka and Koloni, two specific South African rural villages in the former homeland of Ciskei, within the province of Eastern Cape, have experienced – since the abolition of the apartheid regime – a substantial outflow of people, mainly to urban areas such as Cape Town. As Hebinck & Lent (2007, p. 6) state about Guquka and Koloni: "[They] resemble the contemporary realities one encounters across the former *Bantustans* (home lands) of South Africa." The authors explain the contemporary encounters of these villages: 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 means of agriculture alone, so the people have to seek other sources of income and try to find a job in the area, rely on remittances or have to decide to migrate themselves. In that perspective many, mainly younger generations have decided to make the step to cities like East London, Port Elizabeth, Johannesburg or Cape Town. However, generally the migrant does not decide to break up definitely with his home village, because it allegedly can act like a 'safety net' in case of failure. On the other hand, Smith & Hebinck (2007) perceive the upcoming trend of migrating women who leave the village to accompany their husbands in the city. This might be an indicator of loosening of ties between the migrants and their rural villages.

Personally, I was inspired and triggered by the often dramatic causes and consequences of migration in general, and the often very 'cold', 'economic' way of theorizing migratory movements. Watching documentaries, reading books about 'migration' and having interviewed so-called 'trapped' Congolese (transit) migrants in Rabat (Morocco) – during my bachelor's education a couple of years ago – generated my interest, curiosity and slight suspicion towards existing migration theories. The ARDRI-project offered adequate case study material; not only regarding the scientific interest of my co-researcher and me, but also regarding our interest in the African continent and South African society in particular.

Basically, this thesis thus constitutes a critical 'test' of predefined theories and ideas about rural-to-urban migration and the consequent livelihood constructions – specifically for the cases Guquka and Koloni versus Cape Town and Port Elizabeth. I attempt to shed a new light on this phenomenon, from an actor-oriented perspective. By using the vulnerability position of the urban migrant as a focus, it is able to obtain a richer (deeper and broader) understanding of (individual) migratory movements and the implications of such migration for urban livelihoods and lifestyles. More abstractly, this research adds deeper, contemporary insights in the rural-urban divide in South Africa, by adapting a focus on the (alleged) role of social networks.

1.2 Context. The status quo: how come?

Movement of people from the countryside towards the city is a phenomenon we can observe in many economically developed or less – developed parts of the world. In the so-called Third World, it is one of the main sources of urban population growth, next to natural increase and administrative reclassifications of urban areas (Pacione, 2009).

During the 20th century, people from Third World rural areas were more and more confronted with the development of capitalistic societies. The economic landscape had changed over time, which can be described as going 'from self-reliance to plantation work'. Implicitly, this development led to restrictions in access to land resources for the rural people – in many cases coercively. Consequently, rural populations also came to recognize their own deprivation (Pacione, 2009). Some were willing to adapt to this change and stayed put, while others saw a better future in leaving the countryside for the city.

Following independence from colonial powers, starting from the late 1940s, several national attempts were made to achieve rapid economic growth by means of principally intensive exploitation of natural resources, the commercialization of agriculture and industrialization of the national economy. As a result, levels and patterns of migration changed dramatically, with rural people attracted to urban areas in increasing numbers (Pacione, ibid., p. 530).

1.2.1 Push and pull

Discussing rural-urban migration on a global scale, Pacione (2009) argues that the majority of people move because of 'the geography of uneven development' which concerns especially economic motives. Although the related relevance and applicability of Lee's (1966) push and pull model is heavily discussed in migration literature because – among other shortcomings – it does not give an insight into the current internal migration landscape of developing countries such as South Africa. The theory namely says that economic decline in cities would inevitably lead to reduced migration, which is not the case. Yet, as a starting point, this theory can explain basic motives for villagers moving to the urban landscape – with which it is able to explain a *part* of the phenomenon.

To give an overview of the 'forces' that have 'pushed away' so many people from the countryside, the following push factors are relevant to postulate. First Pacione (2009) mentions the (global) population growth rates in rural areas that lead to a certain degree of overpopulation on the countryside. Second, the restricted access to land for rural actors can be seen as a push factor. Restriction of access to land is a result of the subdivision of it, which leads to the fact that land is no longer sufficient to support a family. Third, one should note that (agricultural) land quality decreases on the longer run in many rural areas which is often combined with the people's lack of capital and the latest 'know-how' (e.g.

regarding agricultural inefficiency). Forth, also the agricultural intensification pushes people from the rural towards the urban environment to seek for other opportunities to construct a livelihood. In short, these push factors could be conceptualized as the process of '(jobless) deagrarianization' (Du Toit & Neves, 2009; Hebinck & Lent, 2007).

There are also forces mentioned that *attract* people to the city (Pacione, 2009). By far the strongest force is constituted by wage and employment differentials. The city in general offers more jobs and higher wages than can be found in rural areas. Yet, the urban environment is different, regarding for example living conditions and consumption patterns. Continually there are streams of people coming from the countryside and flowing into the city. They often complain about for instance high urban crime rates, poor housing facilities and expensive products in the shops for prices are higher and the ability to grow their own food does not exist (see also the migrant stories presented in Chapter 6). Though over all, (young) people who have chosen to move to the city tend to have better future prospects concerning their livelihoods. Of course, the myth of 'the bright lights of the city' attracts a lot of young adults trying to find an (economically) better life (Kok & Aliber, 2005; Pacione, 2009).

1.2.2 Other factors?

Having a basic idea why rural-to-urban migration occurs, the question remains: *who* are all these people? This is one of the basic interests of this research. By knowing the ethnological aspect of migration – i.e. *who* migrates – we can better understand livelihood realities of today, as in cities like Cape Town. One can state that it is mainly *young adults* who are moving (cf. Bank & Kamman, 2011; Chipkin & Ngqulunga, 2008; Kok et al., 2003) . In some cases it is the very poor, ill prepared migrants, but on the other hand it can be the so-called rural elite, the relative wealthier villagers (cf. Kok et al., 2003; Collinson et al., 2003). Usually these people are unmarried, frequently have little resources such as land, and wield little power in local affairs (Pacione, 2009). Consequently, one can expect that these young adults are likely to be more adaptable to the urban environment – and, moreover, the potential earnings are higher than when they would have stayed in the village. In Asia and Latin America, women are predominantly the ones who move towards the city, for they often can find work in sectors like domestic services, manufacturing and – unfortunately – also as prostitutes, for instance in Thailand. In Africa, mainly men migrate because of their intra-familiar cultural duty to take care of their wives, children and other family members. However, research in (South) Africa during the late 1990s and early 2000s has shown the striking trend that more and more women are the agents of circular migration – either following their husbands to the city or moving independently to urban areas (Posel, 2003). What is globally more or less comparable in the case of rural-urban migration patterns in developing countries is the so-called 'family strategy'. Concerning relay migration – as Pacione (ibid.) names it – the family life cycle is essential in explaining this phenomenon. At different stages of the cycle, several family members take up responsibility to gain income for the family by moving to areas like cities where opportunities for work are relatively high.

For example, the African father leaves the countryside when his children are still young. As soon as the children have grown up, the eldest one takes over this 'duty' and also takes up responsibility for the younger sisters and brothers. Household income is in this case the rubber band that keeps the family together. This comes together with a lot of pressure on e.g. the eldest son who 'must' succeed, but also illustrates that it is in many cases not a simple, economic and individual decision to migrate. It is just the way 'it is done' in a lot of communities and families around the world. Therefore, push and pull models for instance cannot entirely explain the 'why' behind migratory movements (De Haas, 2010b; Pacione, 2009).

1.3 Relevance

There are several reasons that make it relevant for both society and science to conduct the kind of research reported in this thesis. Although, it is just a humble collection of insights to the problematic puzzle of deagrarianization, migration and development, those reasons obviously contribute to our personal motivation for this thesis and the related one by Noij (forthcoming).

1.3.1 Societal relevance

Douglas Massey (1989 and later) has argued that if there is a certain number of network connections in an origin area (between migrants), migration becomes self-perpetuating, because a social structure is created that can sustain the migratory process. In other words, it is often the matter of a closed circuit that may be constructed without intention. De Haas (2007, p. 31) therefore states that "…the facilitating role of such 'family and friends networks' makes migration notoriously difficult for governments to control." Research into those social networks for migration thus can contribute to a solution for the problematic perpetuating rural-urban movements.

Secondly, as some of our interviewees in the countryside as well as in the city explained, it seems that institutions concerned with rural development issues sometimes do not understand what the 'real problems' are – mainly 'back home' in the rural areas. As an old man, who was born in Guquka and worked in Cape Town for several years, put it:

> "It is not strange that everyone leaves this place [Guquka, RE], there is nothing here. My children cannot live from the vegetables and animals here. There are even no fences to keep the cattle inside. No good schools, no work. Can you tell them what our problems are?" (Personal communication, 29 March, 2011)

My research consequently also gives particular attention to the *context* of migratory moves and the interlinked change of vulnerability positions of migrants –which often explains more specifically *why* a migrant has a certain problematic vulnerability position. In that sense, my research including the

special interest in vulnerability and in-depth conversations with the rural people and the migrants, could give some better insights into today's reality; poverty and rural development issues (cf. Bank & Minkley, 2005).

1.3.2 Scientific relevance

As becomes clear from the work of Kok et al. (2003), Collinson et al. (2003) and Polzer (2010), there is a significant lack of reliable and valid data on (internal) migration in South Africa. As explained before, there are several (societal) problems concerned with migratory movements. Going beyond the 'famous' surveys, my co-researcher and I have tried to come up with an innovative way of collecting data on livelihood construction and vulnerability positions of migrants (see Methodology chapter). Our aim has also been to design and conduct a research that is more than just another piece to a 'butterfly collection'. It is not about 'data for the sake of data', but rather creating new insights in the mechanisms of social networks for migration for instance.

My thesis subsequently focuses on the mechanisms of the alleged social networks in relation to the vulnerability position of the migrant. By doing that, attempts are made to get better insight into the role of those networks for the migrants' themselves; what do those networks mean for the migrants' livelihood? Reading theoretical work on migration, the 'social network' concept seems to be slightly over-celebrated to explain migratory movements. A case study as is analyzed in this thesis, therefore offers the possibility to critically investigate this 'social network theory'. This thesis, moreover, may fill to some extent 'theoretical gaps' that are suggested by De Haas: the working of certain mechanisms within social networks that slow down or even can stop increasing rural-urban migration by means of these networks. Thus, it is tried to estimate the relative 'weight' of these networks for rural-urban migration in South Africa; are they really so important as the literature suggests?

1.4 Thesis structure

In the upcoming chapters, one will first come across the theoretical framework. It elaborates theoretical ideas about (internal) migration, livelihoods, social networks, (migrant) culture and vulnerability. Also the research objective and questions are included. They follow from the points made in the Chapter 1 and the prior paragraphs in Chapter 2. Next, in Chapter 3 it is explained how the research is conducted; what methods are used and why. Consequently, the contextual historical geography is worked out in Chapter 4. This part 'sets the (historical) scene' for our research sites before the actual analysis which follows in Chapters 5 and 6. They respectively leave room for the rural and urban domain analyses of the data collected in Guquka/Koloni and Port Elizabeth/Cape Town. Finally, conclusions, reflections and recommendations for further research will be presented in the last chapter of this thesis; Chapter 7.

Chapter 2 – Theorizing 'the urban migrant'. About livelihoods, social networks, culture and vulnerability.

"The study of migration networks has become popular in the past two decades, but there is a tendency to accept the arguments of network theories too uncritically. Their weak point is that they do not offer insight into the mechanisms that eventually lead to the weakening and crumbling of networks and migration systems. (...) They do not indicate what are external, structural factors as well as internal processes that counteract the tendencies that lead to increasing migration through networks."

(De Haas, 2007, p. 31-32)

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, an abstract of the relevant insights from the theoretical body of literature on migration is presented. 'What do we need to construct our main argument?' has been the underlying question for this chapter. Concerning both theses of my co-researcher and I, the dependent variables *Construction of livelihoods* and *Vulnerability* we are researching, can partly be explained by these migration theories. Especially the current scientific interest in the relation between migration and development offers a solid pair of shoulders for our theses to build on. Understanding the geography of rural-urban migration in South Africa – that is mainly the 'where', 'who' and 'why' – is of importance in order to understand the mechanisms of it, i.e. to give answer to the research questions. The chapter starts with a short theoretical introduction to (one of the) units of analysis: the 'people' who have moved from the countryside to the city; are they migrants (§ 2.2)? Then, the 'grand' theories on migration are shortly put forward, on which eventually the social network theory is based (§ 2.3). Zooming in any further on these networks, we will have a closer theoretical look on the elements of those relational webs (§2.4 and §2.5). That is, the migrants and their livelihood and culture – including the social links with the other people of the alleged networks. And, on the very 'micro' level, the concept of 'vulnerability' will be further explored. The conceptual model, presented in §2.6, summarizes the theoretical body which is applied on the empirical part of this research. In the end (§ 2.7), the research objective and questions, based on both theoretical and prior empirical insights, is presented. It is now possible to analyze our data, and eventually, to give answers to these research questions.

2.2 Migrants?

One could question 'who', 'where' and 'why' a person is labeled as a *migrant*. In our discussion with the South African professor of Anthropology Chris de Wet (personal communication, 12 April, 2011), my co-researcher and I were somewhat 'warned' for our implicit assumptions in our case studies. He

literally asked us: "Why would you call your thesis-supervisor – who moved in the Netherlands from the town Wageningen to the town of Cuijk – *not* a migrant, while you *do* for the people who moved from Guquka to Cape Town?"

The answer to that question is relatively straight forward. First, following the Dictionary of Human Geography (Gregory et al., 2009), the concept of migration is generally seen as a subcategory of 'mobility' – referring to both the movements across territory *and* change in residential location. Besides the spatial mobility, it is at the same time also the matter of a change in social status (social mobility) of the moving individual. Second, if one studies the literature on migration of people, it becomes clear that as soon as it is the matter of (national) 'borders' between two places where people change in residential location, it is directly conceptualized as 'migration'; often without discussion. Yet, it can also be argued that there is a 'border' between the countryside and the city. Not just the municipal-administrative border, but mainly the significant *difference* – regarding the social and economic environment – between the origin and destination makes it worthwhile to study this spatial interaction and to conceptualize it specifically as 'migration' (cf. Kok et al., 2003; Van Houtum & Van Naerssen, 2002). Mobility between places thus implies different consequences for the individual human being, depending on the socio-economic character of both places and the socio-economic status of the individual him/herself.

In short, migrants are people who have moved / are moving from one place to another (keeping in mind the explanation given above), on which several dichotomal criteria can be applied. Migration can be international or intra-national; temporary or permanent; forced or voluntary and illegal or legal (Gregory et al., 2009). This thesis focuses on the intra-national category, implying the sub-categorization of the distinct migrants in the country of South Africa. Although categories often oversimplify reality, Figure 1 offers a structured scheme to understand the numerous cases conceived as 'migration'.

As has already been explained in the Introductory chapter, the truism holds that the majority of the South African internal migrants can be categorized as labour migrants (Collinson et al., 2003) (labour being the root cause for internal movement), and economic forces alone cannot completely explain the shape of migration patterns (De Haas, 2007). Other factors in creating new migration patterns are for example institutions, social networks and cultural / historical factors (ibid.). In addition to that, see also Figure 1 (next page) for a typology of migration patterns in South Africa by Kok et al. (2003).

Broad category	Example	'Temporal' dimension		'Spatial' dimension		Classification
		Description	Change in place of residence?	Description	Migration-defining boundary crossed?	
Circulation	Nomads, 'gatherers' and wanderers	People with no 'fixed' place of residence	No	Short or long-distance moves	Yes/no	'Transilient' mobility*
	Shopping trips and tourist trips	Short-term circular moves involving no change of residence	No	Short or long-distance moves	Yes/no	Short-term mobility
	Daily work trips					Daily commuting
	Trips home to visit, or to return to place of employment after a period of stay (e.g. a week or weekend) at the origin of the move	Short-term circular moves that do not necessarily involve a change in usual place of residence but do involve a change of residence	Yes	Short or long-distance moves	No	Local weekly commuting
					Yes	Short-term labour migration
	Long-term migrant labour absences (usually of longer than a week at a time) from home	A move taking place at the beginning or end of an extended migrant-labour period	Yes	Short or long-distance moves	No	Local long-term labour mobility
					Yes	Long-term labour migration
More 'permanent' moves	Change of permanent residence ('moving home')	Short or long-term residence at place of destination	Yes	Short or long-distance moves	Yes	'Permanent' migration
					No	Residential mobility

Figure 1: A suggested (partial) typology of spatial mobility encompassing both circulation and more 'permanent' moves, and incorporating the more flexible approaches to defining migration. (Kok et al., 2003, p. 9).

The Table presented above, is retrieved from the book *Internal Migration in South Africa* by Kok and others (2003). For South Africa specifically this table gives an overview of possible categories of migrants. This scheme gives the researcher a useful tool to explain and understand reality or the observed.

2.3 Theories of migration: from hard economics, …

Keeping in mind Figure 1, we should recur to the underlying theory on migration, to have an insight in the way migration is understood today. As explained in the introductory chapter, academic thinking on the phenomenon of migration, began with a focus on (national) economies as the explaining mechanisms for (international) migration at the beginning of the 20th century. These neoclassical econometrical models were constructed to, for example, to clarify decision-making processes for (rational) individuals who had decided to move from one country, mainly in the global South, to another in the global North. Also on the macro-level academics synthesized mathematical models for explaining global migration patterns (Massey et al., 1993). Indeed, neoclassical economics offered relevant theories that were able to partly explain decision-making and migratory patterns, but they

lacked the insight of the fact that potential migrants are not isolated individuals who make completely informed and rational choices. Instead, typically families or households were now seen as the essential actors behind migration decisions. These theories, summarized as 'the new economics of migration', argued that – for instance – members within a family collectively balanced expected incomes and expected risks of (labour) migration in order to decide if and who is going to try to get a job far away from their village (ibid.; Castles & Miller, 2009). This 'migration debate' proceeded during the late 1970s and 1980s with theories, such as the 'world systems theory', referring to the influence of the world market and thus national labour markets. Yet, paying too less attention to the individual motivations and actions of the involved migrants – *human agency* in other words – was the main point of criticism on theories ranging from the neoclassical ones to the world systems theory (Castles & Miller, 2009).

Critique seems to be an initiator for new theorizing, and therefore the so-called *migration systems theory*, with its roots in geographical studies, emerged. In this light, and as will be explained later this chapter, one should acknowledge that social network theory (or more specifically: migration networks theory) is closely affiliated to it (Castles & Miller, 2009). The crux of the migration systems theory lies within the general thought that the process of migration alters social, cultural, economic and institutional conditions at both the sending area(s) as well as the receiving end(s) of the migratory process (Castles & Miller, 2009; De Haas, 2007; Kok et al., 2003). The theory focuses on more than the relation between migrants and non-migrants, and pays attention to the way this social capital facilitates, perpetuates and transforms migration processes (De Haas, 2007, p. 33). As the theory puts it, both on the sending and receiving end, the impact of migration can be traced, for example in a 'developmental context'.

A migration system is constituted by two or more areas that are 'exchanging' migrants, although the main focus is on regional migration systems. A specific area can thus be part of several systems. The system is constituted by several elements that are interlinked by flows and counter flows of people, goods, services and information which are able to facilitate further migratory movements between the areas (Castles & Miller, 2009; De Haas, 2007). Ergo, migration systems theory focuses on several aspects of migration flows, i.e. the *linkages*: state-to-state relations, mass culture connections and social networks.

Within the theory it is a priori assumed that there already were links between the several sending and receiving sites. The basic principle says that there is a macro and micro structure of which the migratory movement could be a result. The macro structure includes large-scale institutional factors like the world labour market, while at the same time the micro structure covers the informal social networks developed by the migrants themselves to cope with the migratory movement itself and the settlement in the place(s) of destination (Castles & Miller, 2009; Kok et al., 2003). Consequently, it is likely to formulate the hypothesis that 'family and friends' are crucial factors in migration networks (Chipkin & Ngqulunga, 2008). Thirdly, we can also discern a so-perceived meso structure, which

should be an intermediate level of mechanisms and individuals who mediate between migrants on the one hand and political and economic institutions on the other (Castles & Miller, 2009; Kok et al., 2003). Migration systems can, moreover, be applied to several geographical scales, varying from the global to the inter-regional (De Haas, 2007). Yet, also noted by De Haas (2010), migration theories of today still lack the capability to explain how certain macro-conditions impinge on the internal dynamics of migration processes. This highlights the omission of theorists to profoundly connect macro-level theories to meso- and micro-level theories on the perpetuation of migration. And, as already stated, there is still no theoretical foundation for the fact that migratory movements do not go on without an end (ibid., p. 1588).

2.4 … to 'soft' networks, and…

Unraveling the mechanisms of the so-called social networks, first it is imperative to note that at a certain time, a contextual situation is created in a certain society (or, at a lower scale: community) in which migration is conditioned. Many insights from earlier theories on migration can for instance partly explain this decision-making process. As soon as a migration pattern is created (e.g.: people moving from villages on the Eastern Cape via the small city King Williamstown, to the capital of Cape Town), the pattern itself becomes a major driver for further migration. It is, because the pattern creates the (social) structures to sustain ongoing migration process between places (Massey, 1990; De Haas, 2010). Following network theory on migration, one should also first conceptualize 'migration' both as an integral part of (macro- and meso-level) contextual change, and as a process which has its own internal dynamics that can either perpetuate or undermine the movements between one place and the other(s). Those internal dynamics are also assumed to reciprocally affect contextual changes (ibid). However, the thesis you are reading focuses on the meso-level (the network) and the micro-level (the individual migrant). Deliberately therefore, this and coming paragraphs of the theoretical framework will only theorize on these levels of analysis.

Socio-economic ties (also referred to as *socio-economic /social relations* or *socio-economic / social linkages*) are vital for a social network to be created. With these links is meant that people in general have relationships with one another, ranging from family relations and friendships to community members and coworkers. In practice, these ties have implications which have to do with reciprocity, the principle that constitutes the basis for informal exchange of goods and services, underpinned by 'trust' and 'social proximity' between people (Bonvillain, 2010). Socio-economic ties change over time and space; see for example the case of people from the countryside who are moving towards the city.

The 'value' of socio-economic ties can theoretically be described by the concepts of 'cultural and social capital' (Coleman, 1988). Like capitals enable an organization to be productive, cultural and social capital also 'make things possible'. With cultural capital is referred to issues like the (migrant's)

possession of information and knowledge, and the ability to adapt to new environments, while social capital is described by Bourdieu as "…the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition or in other words, to membership in a group" (Bourdieu, 1979 in: De Haas, 2010, p.1593) (see also Noij, 2011).

 The migrants make use of this collection of ties and the inherent capitals, which form the elements of a network. A network is defined as: "A particular kind of spatial arrangement that consists of a collection of linked elements which typically exhibit a de-centered and non-hierarchal form." (Gregory et al., 2009, p. 498). Massey et al. (1993) have already noticed the importance of social networks for internal migration in the beginning of the 1990s: "Networks can be defined as sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destinations areas through bonds of kinship, friendship and shared community origin." (p. 448).

One of the elements of a social network in this case, are the migrants themselves. Their 'function' could be seen as being – in medieval terms – the 'bridgeheads', "…reducing the risks as well as material and psychological costs of subsequent migration." (De Haas, 2007, p. 30). In other words: the migrants themselves facilitate migration of potential migrants. If, regarding a certain generation of a family, grandfather migrated temporarily to Cape Town forty years ago, he then had the role of a 'pioneer', somebody who explored the unexplored and laid the physical and social foundation for younger generations of the family to come . This grandfather followed by other family members who would move to Cape Town, thus function as bridgeheads. However, there is reason to believe it is rather the matter of 'networks' instead of '(family) chains' being the metaphor to explain migration patterns. Evidence shows that it is not only family members that are elements of the social network for migration, but that those networks are more complexly confined (De Haas, 2007). The complexity of internal movements is a result of the several root causes for migration combined with the individual capabilities and intervening opportunities; which make migration notoriously difficult for governments to control. Also the fact that migration networks can 'work' without government policy intervention, decrease the power of the government in this case. So, the social networks themselves can be seen as the *facilitators* of the migratory process, which would imply that a certain migration pattern – via feedback mechanisms – would go on forever (ibid.).

One of the mechanisms within migration systems, is the *feedback* mechanism (cf. Mabogunje, 1970). Typical examples of 'feedback' in these cases, relate to information and ideas which 'come from the city and reach the people of the countryside'. Migration systems theory focuses on the social network as the facilitating mechanism of social capital exchange between people. Yet, why would people 'exchange social capital', or in other words: help each other? On the ground of what (cultural) principles would this system work? Du Toit & Neves (2009), argue that this involves 'an inner logic'

of the reciprocity principle. To use the example of my co-researcher: "On the one hand, person A is willing to assist person B, but at the same time person, person A makes a claim on person B, which could help person A in constructing livelihood or improving vulnerability." (Noij, 2011, p. 12). Though, social reciprocal exchange systems can have very unfair or unjust outcomes, however apparently, people are not eager to help another person when they cannot expect to gain something in return for it. Schrieder & Knerr (2000) have found for example that the promise of bequest is very often an incentive for migrants to stick to their social obligation of sending remittances back 'home'. Therefore, as they could confirm after their research, there is a significant positive correlation between the wealth of certain rural households and the access to remittances of these households. Whatever the reason for an individual is to remit, in general one could describe the principle behind remitting as one that lies somewhere in between 'egocentrism' and 'altruism' (Du Toit & Neves, 2009).

However, next to the fact that there are internal forces that strengthen the perpetuation of migration, such as the bridgehead-role of migrants, sometimes it can also be the case of 'gatekeepers' instead of bridgeheads (De Haas, 2007). These people, who have migrated before, may be hesitant or unwilling to help potential migrants to move or settle. One can imagine that links with friends and family at the home community can weaken over time (Chipkin & Ngqulunga, 2008). As De Haas (2007) notes, one of the important conclusions of social network theory was that over time, as pioneer migration has become 'history', selectivity of migration decreases – which implies that not only particular people from a certain social group get access to the ability of migration. On the other hand, strong ties can exclude outsiders and disable them from the migration experience to some extent; described as the 'downside of social capital' by Portes & Landholt (1996, in: De Haas, 2007, p. 32)

2.5 …migrants' livelihoods, cultures and vulnerability.

2.5.1 Migrants as members of the household?

As we have discussed in Chapter 1 and the previous paragraphs of this theoretical chapter, there is more than one reason to believe that concerning migration decisions, the 'rational individual' is not the actor to be analyzed, but rather the family or the household for example. Decisions to migrate or thus often not taken alone, although the rural-urban movements themselves are often undertaken individually (Collinson et al., 2003). It is, as Pacione (2009) describes, the 'extended family' that is the important actor to be analyzed. However, regarding these networks, there is debate going on about how to describe the group of people that is helping the (potential) migrant (Deklerk, personal communication, 1 April, 2011). Scholars prompt terms as 'stretched households' (Spiegel et al. 1996), 'regionalized households' (De Wet & Holbrook, 1997), 'the social fragmentation of the household' (Bank, 2001), 'dispersed households' (Madhavan et al., 2008), to describe (parts) of the alleged social networks for migration. Or, as Deklerk (2008, pp. 1-2) concerning his own research in South Africa

argues: "To do this (…) I consider how etic understandings of domestic units and 'the household' articulate with emic notions such as *abantakwethu* (immediate kin, literally 'our people'), *ikhaya* (home), *kokwethu* (literally 'at ours') and *umzi* (homestead),…".

Though, not every concept is applicable in any case, because for example the term 'household' implies shared income and expenditure of a group of people, while 'homestead' refers to the spatial cluster of several single-family houses – of which both are not necessarily existent in a particular case (ibid.). Ngwane (2003) argues that the household 'unit' is nothing more than a myth, but rather a 'space' where rural and urban cultures meet during Christmas time when urban relatives travel back to their villages of origin to celebrate the birth of Jesus. Also Du Toit & Neves (2009) are critical towards the household as 'the' actor, for they state that households are fluid, porous and stretched when one perceives them within South African migrant networks. Bank (2001) on the other hand explains that there are implications for the cultural and identity construction of the 'new generation' of rural-urban migrants. Somewhat 'new feelings' emerge of these migrants, meaning Bank's observations of 'quests for independence' and 'retreat from the structural obligations' that the rural patriarchal household implies. In any case, the argument is that rural-urban migration causes fragmentation (to some degree) of whatever social group (families, friends, village communities) that existed before the actual movement from one of the rural people towards the city, but that the process of rural-urban migration is part of a 'family strategy' for livelihood construction (Pacione, 2009).

2.5.2 'Youthscapes'

Discussing migrants in this research implies the study of people who are moving or have already moving from 'the rural' to 'the urban' landscape in order to improve their own and their family's livelihoods for instance. It is believed that – in general – migrants 'exist' as a result of the personal motivation to improve their *livelihood* in some way by moving to another place. In social sciences, this concept is described as "…the command an individual, family, or other social group has over an income and/or bundles of resources that can be used or exchanged to satisfy its needs. This may involve information, cultural knowledge, social networks and legal rights as well as tools, land and other physical resources." (Blaikie et al., 2004, p. 9). Although, as Mosoetsa (2005, p. 15) writes: "The purpose and role of urban-rural linkages in South Africa have shifted from the time Murray (1981) and Bozzoli (1991) were writing." She refers to her observation that those linkages are not merely based on remittances, but also on money that is transferred from the 'rural' to the 'urban' and non-monetary exchanges based on the reciprocity principle, feelings of social obligation and/or voluntarism. Further, Motsoetsa quotes Folbre (1994, p. 23) on the notion that South African family life is shifting "to a somewhat unpredictable mixture of selfishness and altruism".

But how come? The so-called period of 'urban apartheid planning' starting as from the 1950s introduced a new universal regime of the spatialization of sociality in the cities of South Africa (Bank,

2001). The aim was to create 'proper nuclear families' with 'urbanized Africans' who could live in the city, and therefore to remove 'dysfunctional' families out of the city (ibid.). In the end, many black South Africans were still dwelling in the countryside or living on the outskirts of the bigger cities in nothing more than 'shacks'. Though, from the 1990s, Bank (ibid) describes a lack of interest of the rural youth in these rural (agrarian) areas: "This desire to move to towns and cities and break way from the poverty of village life became increasingly generalized across the Eastern Cape in the mid-to-late 1980s." (p. 135). Rural-urban migratory patterns had already emerged, and the youngsters became more and more interested in participation in a common society instead of being only the migrant-peasants who were just 'visiting' the city. These 'comrades' generally loved to see themselves rather as white-collar workers. Eventually, as already stated in the Introductory chapter, it indeed appeared to be the 'young adults' (both male and female) who personalized the 'rural-urban migrant' in South Africa.

Fact is however, that young people in rural South Africa are often perceived by older generations as the relatively 'strong' ones who are the potential primary source of their income and wealth. Yet, they appear to be generally characterized by poverty and the lack of political voice (Porter et al., 2010), so one can imagine this desire to leave the countryside. Moreover, still many young people – both girls and boys – are expected to help on the farm or in the household of their families, while they often do not have significant voice in family and household affairs (ibid.). In the end, agriculture is not perceived as a viable occupation by both the youngsters as well as their parents and older family members in the countryside. Migration is therefore the long-established response of the these younger family members, albeit that physical mobility constraints can be a serious issue in (more remote) rural areas in Southern Africa. The bright lights of city apparently constitute the 'youthscapes' of today's South Africa (ibid., p. 1098-1100).

After years of perpetuating rural-to-urban movements from the Eastern Cape towards cities like Cape Town and Johannesburg, Bank (2001) argues that this can be characterized as a 'breakdown' of a longstanding social division between the rural youth on the one hand en the urban youth on the other. Rural values and practices became to some extent integrated in the urban social and political context, and vice versa, which resulted in a mixture of 'styles' and the creation of a "hybrid youth cultural style that cut across the urban-rural divide." (ibid., p. 136). Though, migrancy does not necessarily imply a new subculture or even a style. Bank (ibid.) subsequently makes a distinction (in his research in Duncan Village – a borough 3 kilometers from the city centre of East London, Eastern Cape Province) between the '*comrades*' who had a very disinterest in 'their' rural homestead (*'umzi'* in Xhosa) in the countryside and rejected the power of chiefs and headmen over there, while 'migrants' on the contrary, usually wanted to contribute to and build up the *umzi*. Bank also identifies the *Ukuthlalisana* households in the urban townships of which the members have retreated from 'rural obligations' and prefer principles as flexibility, freedom and independence. In this perspective, *Ukuthlalisana* can be

seen as both a social practice and an ideology for many (former) rural dwellers. In Duncan Village, there also appeared to be many divorces or run-away affairs of (former) rural male youngsters from their (pregnant) wives or girlfriends. Also a number of female run-away incidents was reported. Their desire to be independent and free appeared to be greater than the wish of a family. Yet, social independence in general is often nothing more than a dream for these young people, regarding the lack of job opportunities and the depressed urban economy of South African cities like Cape Town and East London. 'Women in the urban' are often dependent on their husbands or 'brothers', and also men rely frequently on their social network of 'brothers' for income in case of a lack of financial means (Chipkin & Ngqulunga, 2008). In other cases, children were sent to the rural homestead in order to prevent the creation of intra-marital conflicts and eventually divorce – which is perceived as a great shame in the Xhosa culture (see also Bank, 2011) . These children can thus possibly function as 'bridgeheads' between the people in the village and migrants in the city.

On the whole, as can also be concluded from Bank's research, it is difficult to categorize and theorize the different people with their movements from rural areas towards the city.

2.5.3 Urban livelihoods

As soon as migrants leave the countryside to travel to an urban environment, they have actually started the engine for a new livelihood construction, since often they are not relying on their family 'back home' any more. As explained earlier, there can be several motives for a black African to move to the city, depending on the socio-cultural and socio-economic context, but mainly it is the matter of migration for obtaining labour (Collinson et al, 2003) as a result of the process that is called 'jobless deagrarianization' (Du Toit & Neves, 2009). Financially, sons and daughters cannot, at a certain age, rely on their parents' income anymore, which is often and largely confined by social grants (i.e.: pensions, disability grants or child grants) (Devereux, 2007). The working-aged, being in the city, chiefly have to collect their income through what Skinner (2006) calls 'survivalist improvisation', relying on the tiny rewards from self-employment in the informal economy. (Urban) unemployment is one of the biggest political-economic problems in South African society of today (Du Toit & Neves, 2009).

Many South Africans live in chronic poverty and are employed within the informal sector. Du Toit & Neves (2007) argue that a (partial) disconnection from the mainstream economy alone cannot explain the ongoing marginalization of all those South African citizens, yet that unequal, exploitative power relations within the formal economy cause poverty and marginalization. It is not the case that people participate separately in the formal or informal sectors, but they have, over time, constructed their own hybrid livelihoods consisting of income generating activities both from the first and second

economies. Formal and informal activities interact with each other in the way that they are complementary or mutually supportive (ibid.).

Looking deeper into (South African) informal economies, Du Toit & Neves (2009, p. 6 - 11[3]) give an example of a ´typical´ urban livelihood, a life story of a the Khayelitsha township dweller Vuyiswa Magadla in Cape Town.

> *Vuyiswa ,born 50 years ago in the Eastern Cape, lives just like many other (black) South Africans with many people in one house. Some are permanently living there, others only temporarily. Not everyone necessarily has a job. Her mother takes care of her son, back in the countryside, and her older daughter has already been married to another Xhosa man called Nomsa. To do that, in addition to her pension, she receives a maintenance allowance of the father of the child. Vuyiswa has had several jobs in Cape Town, but due to injury she had to stop working in the formal sector. She started to sell groceries in Khayelitsha for which she received an amount of money from her brother, who also lives there, for the help she had given him years ago when he had no money. Although she received a disability grant, it is not enough to support her own living and the one of her sister – who has a daughter, but no income. Vuyiswa is using her brother's house as a location of her stall, because the house she lives in, is not located near the road. (…) She planned to keep the stall as small as possible, because larger stalls can get the attention of local gangsters (*tsotsis*). At a certain moment, Nomsa, her son-in-law accidentally dies, which means that there has to come a funeral. Fortunately, her daughter has a proper funeral insurance. Though, the insurance only covers the funeral ceremony and transportation of the coffin from Cape Town to the rural village where Nomsa was born and where the ceremony will be organized. However, the 'coming out of mourning' ceremony (*izila*) should also be planned and paid. Vuyiswa's daughter cannot pay for this, so Vuyiswa herself had saved a substantial part of her income every month to be able to pay for the 'izila'. Her sister's daughter, bought the greater part of the domestic groceries during this time. Later during the research, Vuyiswa reveals that she has a boyfriend, a shebeen owner, with whom she shares money and resources on a regular basis. She also stated that she used to be married to another Xhosa man, but he died in 1983. Marrying him, implied according the Xhosa culture, that she had left her own family and could not rely on their support after the death of her husband, since the husband is responsible for the care-taking of his wife and children as from the moment they have married.*

This short life story contains many essential elements of an urban livelihood of a township resident in a South African city, which can easily be compared to other cases in the same country.

---

[3] **Note**: shortened and slightly revised version of the original by Du Toit and Neves (2009) is presented in this thesis.

First the fact that the individual who has moved to the city, lives together with many others in one house, which can be described as a 'fluid household', due to the influence of circular migration events between the rural homestead and the Cape Town township shack (Du Toit & Neves, 2009). The livelihood construction is characterized by a 'family (and friends) strategy' (cf. Chipkin & Ngqulunga, 2008) and on the basis of reciprocity , tracks of some kind of altruism towards family members and friends, but above all, also unequal power relations within the household (Posel, 2001). All of it is can be framed from a cultural 'Xhosa discourse'. Financial relations between people are thus complex and even a bit 'fuzzy' compared to the stereotype Northern-European way in which father and/or mother earn the household income and pay for all the domestic expenditures (the 'nuclear family model') (Du Toit & Neves, 2009). That fuzzyness is also created by the 'mysteriousness' that surrounds conversations between the researcher and the respondents regarding questions about total household income and 'who is paying who and what'. The story is thus a classic example of the 'extended family' concept – recognized by many scholars before. Significant distances are apparently travelled between the Eastern Cape and Cape Town for the sake of, inter alia, care taking, medical care and cultural traditions. The household is clearly not a 'closed system', but on the other hand also not entirely meaningless. 'Core' household members are able to make claims on the household budget for example, but also more 'peripheral' members apparently expect to be helped in certain times. Also 'shock events' like the sudden death of a family member, can cause serious troubles for the vulnerability position of the individual, due to the cultural discourse which describe what should be organized, no matter at what costs. The cultural rules concerning, for instance, marriage and death (can) have significant impact on both the livelihood construction as well as the vulnerability position of the individual (see also e.g. Bank, 2011; Deklerk, personal communication, 1 April, 2011; De Wet, personal communication, 12 April, 2011; Mosoetsa, 2005; Ngwane, 2003).

And, as Du Toit & Neves (2009, p. 15) strikingly conclude: "The result is a spatial configuration of livelihoods that cannot be captured within the concept of a unidirectional flow. Neither is migration simply 'circular' – rural and urban factors both continue to play important roles in the complex, de-centred, many-rooted, spatially extended survival strategies."

2.5.4 Across the divide: reciprocal exchange and remittances

Urban-rural links can entail many processes, ranging from financial transactions and the exchange of goods and services (remittances), to the 'flux' of ideas, stories, identities, behaviours and social capital (social remittances) (De Haas, 2010). For the Eastern Cape in particular, those urban-rural ties are often confined by the transfer of money and goods from the city to the countryside in order to 'build the homestead', which implies limited expenditure of income in the urban environment yet significant investment in the rural village (McAllister, 2001). This also often has social implications, meaning the consequent gain of respect from the family and friends in the countryside (Du Toit & Neves, 2009). It

should also be acknowledged that social remittances can induce a culture of migration. If migration (through stories, behaviours, …) gets associated with 'success', then migration could become the norm rather than the exception. Staying home can be perceived as 'staying-behind', and will therefore be seen as a life failure (De Haas, 2010).

As Du Toit & Neves (ibid.) among others argue, households often do not have a single or centered influx of income and other support to their livelihoods, but more often than not have a multi-nodal or multi-centered character. Rural and urban flows are often 'blurred', which together contribute to the continuation of the household. In other words, there are many roots connected to the trunk – to which Du Toit, Skuse & Cousins refer as a 'rhizomic structure' (2007, p. 20). The nature of these ties is moreover not merely based on kinship or friendship, but also on 'shared identities' in general, such as neighbourliness, client-patron relationships, memberships of certain associations, collegiality and so forth (Bonvillain, 2010; Du Toit & Neves, 2009).

The described forms of (reciprocal) support between individuals and groups illustrate a theme that is central to the understanding of social networks regarding internal migration: reciprocity and exchange as a 'safety net' against vulnerability and poverty (Du Toit & Neves, 2009). These exchanges are often not mentioned in scientific surveys to social networks, because it is often about helping one another by offering food or caretaking in times of financial or health crisis, for which respondents feel often uncomfortable to talk about (Deklerk, personal communication, 1 April, 2011).

Though, again, one should be aware of the fact that 'social capital' in these contexts has functioned as a buzzword within local policy arena's, and may therefore be slightly over-celebrated – also in academic literature (De Haas, 2007; Neves, personal communication, 5 May, 2011). Reading literature on the social capital concept, one will find that it is often perceived as a 'resource' (Lin, 1999). However, as is explained before, systems of social exchange are not always characterized by equal power relations and 'fair' trade, so one should not theorize social capital as resource that is generally available to everyone, instead to the individual (Du Toit & Neves, 2009). This notion is also referred to as the 'downside of social capital' by Portes (1998). Furthermore, especially within the Xhosa culture (ibid.), something which a Northern European would perceive as a 'gift' (that does not necessarily imply a gift in return in the future), is in this case also perceived as a form of exchange – based o reciprocity (cf. Bonvillain, 2010). These exchanges, ranging from 'gifts' to actual 'lending', are not to be seen as simple forms of 'trade'. As Du Toit & Neves (2009) state, they are preceded by specific social relations between individuals, what implies that not everyone can lay claims on the exchange of money, goods or services. In Xhosa culture, if there are not the 'required' social relations beforehand, one should have – for example – a certain amount of '*isidima*' , or dignity (in English) within a community in order be able to hinge on to a social network. Also the very poor, with very limited money ore material resources can hardly participate in these networks, because for 'the other'

there is little to gain (ibid., Deklerk, personal communication, 1 April, 2011). There are, so to say, important 'rules of the game'.

2.5.5 The vulnerable migrant

As already stated, avoiding poverty is one of the underlying causes for rural-to-urban migration. Rural dwellers often perceive the city as a place of opportunity to find work; to improve or at least maintain a certain level of personal wealth. The city is thus seen as a place to improve one's livelihood. Though, as argued in the first chapter of this thesis, this image of the city is (to some extent) a myth. Certain needs cannot be met while moving to the urban landscape as a result of several economic, social and political causes. Falling into (deeper) poverty, or social and economic deprivation in general, might be one of those developments which go along simultaneously with a rural-to-urban migratory process. In this research subsequently, this perspective on the concept of 'livelihood' in relation to internal migratory movements and the corollary implications for vulnerability will be followed. The migrant's livelihood has a direct influence on the vulnerability position of that individual (migrant) (cf. Alwang et al., 2001; De Haas, 2010; Du Toit & Neves, 2009; Schrieder & Knerr, 2000).

Vulnerability is a term that refers to the relationship between poverty, risk and efforts to manage risk (Alwang et al., 2001, p. 1). In the light of this thesis, Rakodi (1995, p. 14) defines the concept usefully:

> "Vulnerability refers to the insecurity of the well-being of individuals, households or communities in the face of a changing environment such as ecological, economic, social or political. With these changes often come increasing risk and uncertainty and declining self-respect."

In the literature, 'poverty' is often related to (or mixed up with) 'vulnerability' (Chambers, 1989; Ejigu Tegegne, 2009). Yet vulnerability refers to a more dynamic process of individuals who move in and out of a state of poverty and deprivation – instead of the relative static concept of 'poverty' (Kabeer, 1996). A focus on migrant vulnerability therefore gives the opportunity to reveal the pathway(s) and consequent risks to a (potential) vulnerable position. Baharoglu and Kessides (2002, p. 124) identify three distinctive characteristics of urban life that can be related to vulnerability: commoditization (reliance on the cash economy), environmental hazard (stemming from the density and hazardous location of settlements and from exposure to multiple pollutants) and social fragmentation (lack of community and of inter-household mechanisms for social security, compared to those in rural areas). The more an individual is able to resist to these factors (or 'risks'), the less vulnerable he or she can be considered (see also: Ejigu Tegegne, 2009).

Ahmed & Lipton (1999) argue that within livelihood studies, one should include the discussion whether livelihoods are indeed *secure* or *vulnerable* over time. Some general notions on vulnerability are that it is a forward-looking principle defined as the "*... probability of experiencing a loss in the future relative to some benchmark of welfare …*" (Alwang et al., 2001 p. 2). As one links the concept up to the 'urban livelihood discussion' above, Chambers (1989) remarks that there is also a term called *livelihood vulnerability*, referring to the probability that 'livelihood stress' will occur (Alwang et al., 2001). As an organizing framework, vulnerability can be decomposed into several components: a) the risk, or risky events, b) the options for managing risk, or the risk responses, and c) the outcome in terms of welfare loss (Alwang et al., 2001, p. 1) – which leaves room for a holistic approach of vulnerability.
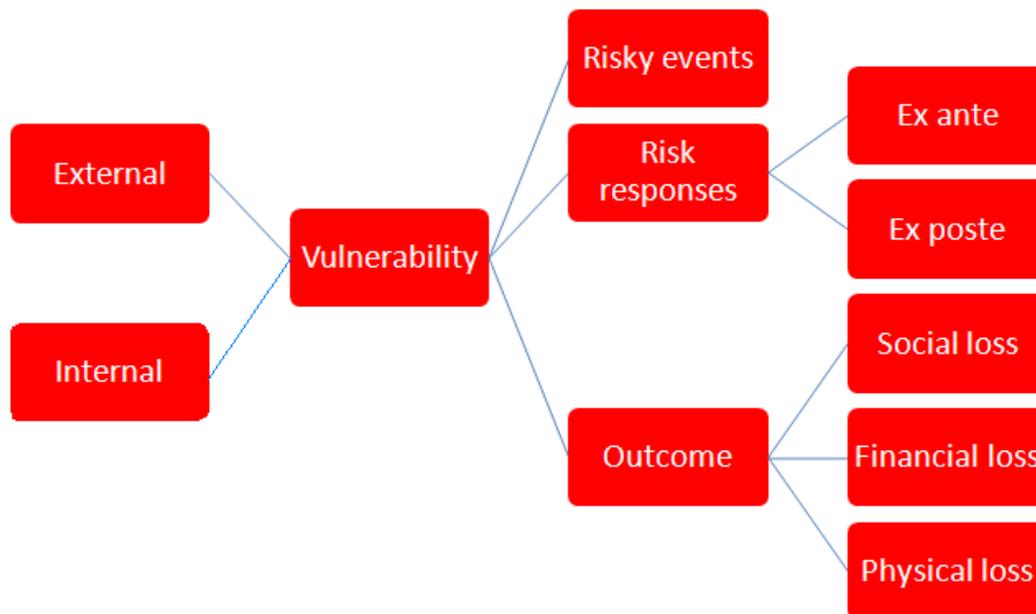
Figure 2: Operationalization scheme of the vulnerability concept. Vulnerability has an internal and external side and can be decomposed into three elements which together define the concept: risky events, risk responses and the outcome in terms of welfare loss. Managing risks (or the risk responses) has two sides: ex ante (preventing) and ex poste (coping). The outcome in terms of welfare loss can roughly be decomposed into social (relationships and contacts), financial (regarding income and expenditure) and physical (concerning personal health) losses.

Vulnerability is caused by uncertain events (characterized by their magnitude, frequency and duration, and their history), and the degree to which someone (or: a household) is vulnerable, depends on the ability to respond to that risk. Livelihood vulnerability in particular, has according to Chambers (1989) two sides: the *external* concerning risks, shocks and stress to which an individual or household is subject and an *internal* side which is rather referred to as 'defenselessness' and implies a lack of means to cope without incurring losses (Alwang et al., 2001, p. 11). 'Losses' can imply that one becomes financially and / or socially dependent of others and / or that one becomes physically weaker

(Chambers, 1989). Further, one should also take into account the concept of 'time' in this case, because an individual can be vulnerable to risks over a certain amount of time, while also the responses to the risk take place over time (ibid.).

Another two dimensions of vulnerability concerning livelihoods, is given by Davies (1996, in: Alwang et al., 2001). He summarizes livelihood vulnerability as a combination of sensitivity and resilience of a livelihood system (ibid., p. 12). With the livelihood *resilience* is meant the extent to which a systems allows "… to absorb and utilize (or even benefit) from change. Where resilience is high, it requires a major disturbance to overcome the limits to change in a system." (Davies, 1996, p. 25). Livelihood *sensitivity* is defined as "… the degree to which a given system undergoes change due to natural forces, following human interference." (ibid.).

'Logically', a less vulnerable livelihood is referred to as a system with low sensitivity and a high resilience, while for the most vulnerable systems, the vice versa matter counts. In short, the logic is that individuals are vulnerable *to* suffering an undesirable outcome, and this vulnerability comes *from* exposure to risk – which to some degree determines eventually someone's vulnerability position (Blaikie et al., 2004, p. 9; Schrieder & Knerr, 2000). And thus the poor and very poor tend to be more vulnerable to risk than less poor people, because of their limited access to 'assets' and thus their finite capabilities to respond to risks. Social actions can reduce risk or exposure to risk, which can be 'acted' before a risky event takes place or after it has taken place. *Ex ante* action can reduce the risk itself or the exposure to it, as of which the building of social networks is an example. *Ex post* actions include activities that deal with realized losses, which can be migration of selected family members for instance (Alwang et al., 2001). See Figure 2 for a schematic overview of the vulnerability approach in this thesis.

Thus, as we might interpret in the light my research, vulnerability is a relevant issue for research in cases of relative instability in people's lives, because it is allegedly more 'at risk' during periods of instability (like the time span in which rural-urban migration takes place in South Africa). The focus on vulnerability positions gives the opportunity to shed a light on the role of social networks, shock events and other underlying institutions, and the consequences for urban livelihoods – as will be further explained in the next paragraph.

2.6 The conceptual model

See Figure 3 on next page. Here the conceptual model is presented which summarizes the researched phenomenon in this thesis – and therefore summarizes the points made in Chapters 1 and 2.
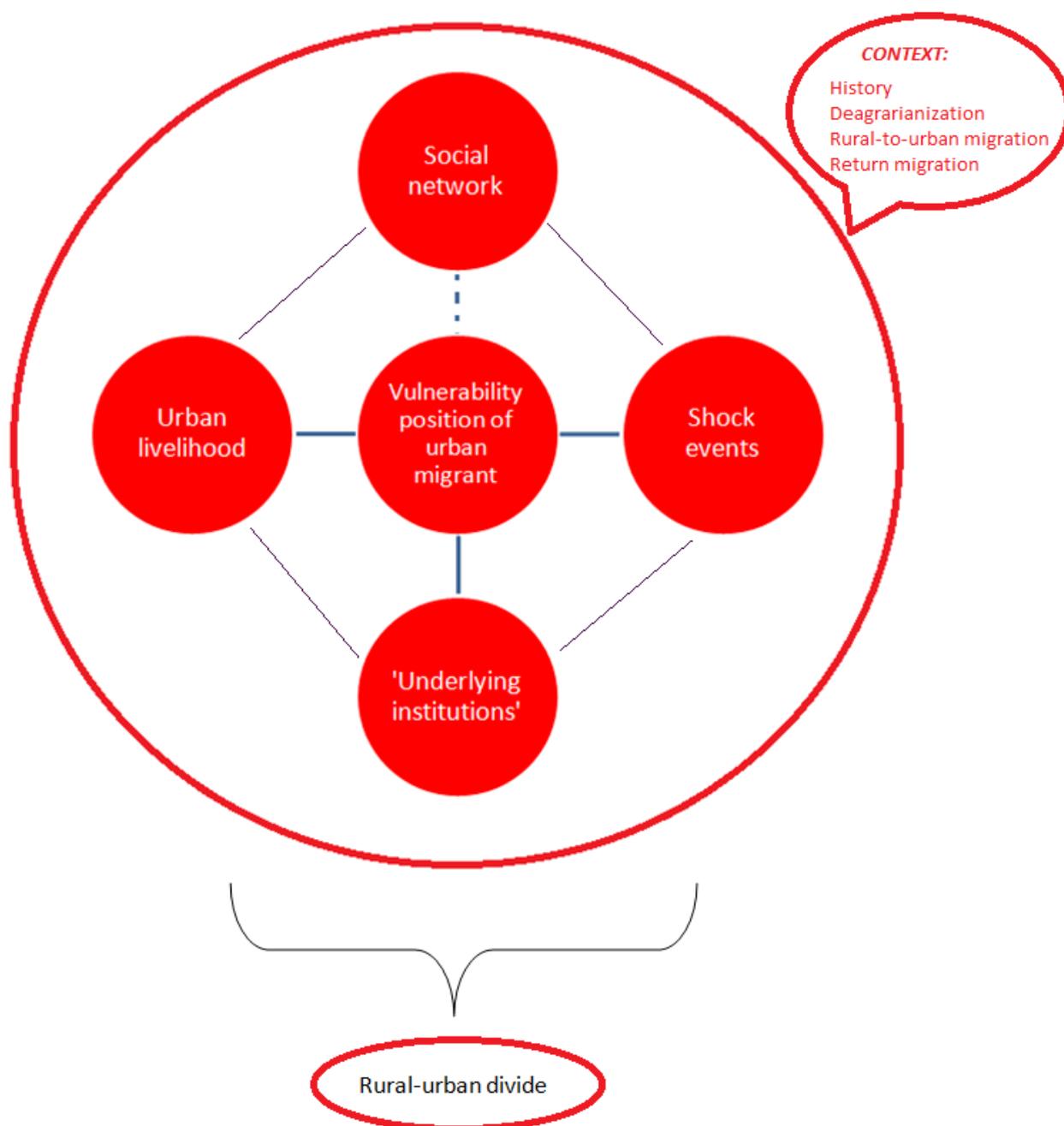
Figure 3: The conceptual model.

The model starts off with the external circle which represents the 'context', an influential, constant (at relative short notice) element that entails the role of history (of South African society but also individual and family life histories), the specific process of deagrarianization in the villages (which generally refers to the declining socio-economic situation in rural areas within South Africa during the twentieth century) and existing migration patterns of rural-urban(-rural) movements. In both the theoretical framework as well as the analytical part in this research, I refer to these contextual phenomena. The vulnerability position of the urban migrant should therefore be understood within this

context. 'Vulnerability' has a central position in the conceptual model, for the focus of this thesis lies on 'the vulnerable migrant'. As follows from the previous paragraphs, hypothetically I assume that the migrant's urban livelihood, certain (rural) established practices or institutions and (external) shock events influence his/her vulnerability position and vice versa. In the academic debate also the role of social networks allegedly has its 'crucial' role. Yet, it is the objective of this research to get an insight in the relative 'weight' and mechanisms of social networks for creating a more or less vulnerable (or secure) position for the urban migrant (see dotted line).

Furthermore, it assumed that all these elements (related to the vulnerability position of the urban migrant) interrelate as well – which is more implicitly explained in the prior paragraphs of this Chapter. The interrelations could be briefly clarified as follows. Starting at the 'Underlying institutions' – variable, such as the villager's work ethic for example, this variable partly explains the migrant's urban livelihood construction . The other way around, the practice of reciprocal exchange (as an institution) is influenced by urban livelihood factors such as 'having a job'. Contacts made during one's livelihood construction in the city determine the contents of his/her social network. A social network on its turn, could lead to increased job opportunities and thus the potential improvement of his/her livelihood. Social networks can moreover work as 'safety nets' in times of crisis or 'shock'. These shock events and the consequent appeal on the migrant's social contacts, influences the quality of the network. Several (reciprocal) claims emerge between these contacts. Rural institutions, such as certain religious practices, can create shock events for the urban migrant – when for example a family member deceases. Often the migrant has to finance the funeral to a large degree and he/she has to travel back to the village to participate in the organization of the ceremony. Vice versa, when a migrant has experienced the death and burial of a rural family member, this could strengthen his/her emotional ties ('feelings of belonging') with the village , which possibly keeps up institutions such as rural landownership in order to be able to return to the village in the future.

Finally, by means of this theoretical framework, it is aimed to answer the research questions presented in the next paragraph, but also to reflect on more abstract notions such as the rural-urban divide (as a starting point for a more abstract discussion), internal migration patterns, rural / urban development in developing countries such as South Africa, and the theories about migration, rural/urban livelihoods, culture and vulnerability addressed in this Chapter.

2.7 Objectives and questions

Combining theories and ideas in the literature with the empirical evidence to be gathered in South Africa, the following objectives and questions had been formulated.

2.7.1 Objective(s)

This thesis, set up according the multi-sited-ethnography (MSE) methodological approach, is mainly based on two principal pillars: literature study and interviews including participant observation. Together with my co-researcher (cf. Noij, 2011; Noij, forthcoming) data have been collected on the fieldwork sites. Both theses are complementary to one another, both addressing similar themes and case studies – yet from a different approach and with a distinct focus. More about methods and the case studies in particular will be addressed in Chapters 3 & 4.

My co-researcher and I are writing two different theses, though both studies are inherently interlinked. If we frame our research in the academic debate, we would say that both are conducted as an "…additional value to the discussion around the nexus between de-agrarianization – internal migration – development. By our specific focus on the dynamics of social networks between the rural and urban domain, we intend to expand this debate to a more comprehensive range." (Evers, 2011, p. 7).

In our partly co-authored research proposal, the joint-objective of our theses is 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 vulnerability (b) by conducting multi-sited ethnographic research in the rural Eastern Cape and urban Cape Town." (Evers, 2011)

In the formulation of our research objective, one can recognize the structure designed by Verschuren & Doorewaard (2007). They have constructed a general formulation structure which could be applied to all research objectives. It consists of an 'a-part' and a 'b-part', where the first encapsulates the general objective of *what* knowledge will be produced, and the latter informs about the method; *how* this knowledge will be produced.

As one can see, the research objective is twofold in nature, specified by the numbers *(1)* and *(2)*. As will be clarified in what follows, these two numbers represent the two different objectives for my co-researcher and I. The research by Noij (forthcoming) will be focusing on *the nature and construction of social reciprocal exchange networks between internal migrants in 'the urban' and their social relations in 'the rural'*, while the objective of this thesis is to gain insight in the *implications for the migrant's vulnerability* of this social network (Evers, 2011, p. 7).

An important difference as well as a similarity between both theses, it is relevant to explain the *units of analysis*. While the first objective has a strong focus on the social reciprocal exchange linkages which form the *network*, the second puts more emphasis on the position of the *urban migrant*. On the other hand, both studies are clearly interlinked. We both have taken the socio-economic ties of people between the countryside and the city as an embedding unit of analysis. My co-researcher however,

focused on the construction of livelihoods in particular, while in this thesis, the vulnerability position of the urban migrant in relation to those socio-economic ties (i.e. 'the social network') are in focus.

2.7.2 Questions

The interest of this master thesis lies within mainly two interrelated concepts: I) *socio-economic ties* (or: 'links') between people in the countryside and people in the city; and II) *the urban migrant's vulnerability*. The main research question therefore is as follows:

How do socio-economic ties, between the urban migrant in Cape Town and his rural social contacts in Guquka and Koloni, influence the urban migrant's vulnerability?

In order to be able to systematically give an answer to the research question, the following sub questions are formulated:

1) What are the underlying institutions for (the alleged changing) vulnerability position of the urban migrant?

2) What implications does the rural-urban migratory process have on the livelihood of the migrant in terms of his/her …
   a. strategy *(i.e. how does the migrant maintain his/her income and makes attempts to create a more secure position?)*;
   b. construction *(i.e. means of income maintenance and the actual actions to reduce vulnerability)* and
   c. perception *(i.e. does the migrant believe he/she is following the most efficient and effective strategy for constructing his/her livelihood)*

   … of that livelihood?

3) To what extent does the social network of the urban migrant continue to play a role on his/her vulnerability while living in the city?

4) To what extent do socio-economic shock events have an influence on the urban migrant's vulnerability while living in the city?

Methodologically speaking, these four sub questions are of similar level of abstraction and cover the main research question with specific attention for the migrant as well as the role of the network. The questions, however, might need some further explanation.

The field work started in the countryside (the rural villages of Guquka and Koloni in the Eastern Cape). As will be emphasized in the Methodology chapter , understanding the context in which the

migratory process takes place is crucial to understand questions like livelihood construction, the internal dynamics of the social network(s) and issues regarding vulnerability.

Taking into account the 'full' (historical, political, economic, cultural, …) context, overcomes the classical bias towards the migrant and the migratory process alone (De Haas, 2006, Falzon, 2009;). In order to get further understanding of the impact of the migratory process (and its context) on the migrant, it is relevant to understand how his/her livelihood is affected after 'leaving for the bright lights of the city'. That impact can be explained by elaborating the migrant's livelihood *strategy*, but also via the actual *construction* of that strategy and the *perception* of the "means of securing the necessities of life" (as the concept is described by the Oxford Dictionary of English, 2010).

At the same time it was aimed to understand the role of the social network for the migrant's vulnerability in the urban area of Cape Town. What is interesting and relevant in this research is the question how the role of the network can be characterized; e.g. being determining or just facilitating and so forth.

In order to gain an insight into the vulnerability position of the migrant, it is also imperative to 'imagine', 'sketch' or 'visualize' certain shock events; what happens with the migrant's livelihood if … ? One can imagine that there are for example several cultural traditions that have an impact on the migrant's livelihood as soon as a shock event takes place, such as the death of a close relative. Here we are specially interested in the provision of the migrant's income and basic needs, because such 'shock events' hypothetically have an impact on the provision of financial income, food, shelter and medical care for instance. Implicitly, these institutional dynamics are the inherent result of the migrant's socio-economic ties, or: network.

Chapter 3 – Methods

"The last white man I have seen in this village was a colonizer!" (Koloni villager, April 2011)[4]

In the following chapter, the methodological approach of this thesis is explained. This entails the foundation of why and how the research is conducted. Often I will refer to 'we' or 'my co-researcher and I' for the reason that we have conducted almost every aspect of the fieldwork on a cooperative basis. Joined interests and practicality reasons regarding data collection (in terms of time, efforts and financial costs) were the main motives to do the research together. Both our opinions on 'how to do the research' have had influence on the way we have 'done' it in the end – more than in any other aspect of this thesis.

First, in paragraph 3.1, the methodological choices made are explained and justified. In paragraph 3.2 subsequently, the focus lies on the actual research strategy or design: why and how are my co-researcher and I using the case study strategy in our theses? Then, in paragraph 3.3, the research material is discussed: what kind of sources and tools have we used to collect data and knowledge and why? In the final paragraph (3.4) a reflection is offered on the previous paragraphs in order to clarify the limitations of our data collection more adequately.

3.1 About methodological choices

As will be clear by now, my co-researcher and I have researched the social phenomenon of (internal) migration and its implications for certain (both rural and urban based) households and individuals, involving their social networks in the country of South Africa.

In order to gain an insight into the social networks of the migrants with their 'home community' – and thus the rural-urban linkages that are created – the researchers have conducted interviews with community members in the rural domain and the migrants in the urban domain. This in respect to the straight-forward fact that internal migration dynamics in South Africa includes many spaces, ranging from rural to urban environments.

As follows from the theoretical framework, also internal migration is not purely the result of push and pull factors; it also depends on the social, political, cultural and economic context whether a migrant decides to leave the countryside or not. As, for example, De Haas (2007, p. 32) explains:

> "As with the push-pull models, there is a certain tendency to empirically illustrate the important facilitating role of migrant networks without specifying their relative weight vis-à-vis other facilitating and constraining factors affecting migration."

---

[4] **Note**: obviously this cry is not based on reality, yet rather apparently represents some 'underlying feelings'. Koloni villagers have been interviewed several times by 'white' researchers related to the ARDRI-project for example – although the interviews took place around the year 2000.

Anyhow, 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/her into the city and factors which 'push' the individual out. Empirical evidence (cf. Kok et al., 2003) shows that there are far more factors, like events that happened in the past (historicity) or events that happen suddenly during a migrant's life, that have an influence on migration patterns. It thus would do injustice to the real situation of connections and networks of migrants all over the country (Evers, 2011).

Inherently though, migration is a dynamic process which deals with several 'sites'. An adequate methodological choice in this case might be *multi-sited ethnography* (MSE) (Falzon, 2009; Fitzgerald, 2006; Marcus, 1995). Falzon (ibid., p. 1) argues the following:

> "With respect to method, it entails the situational combination of field techniques (note taking, audio-visual recording, interviews, examinations of indigenous literature, observation, and such) rooted in the ideal of participant observation (to live, to some extent, as the 'natives' themselves do), itself based on relations of trust and a belief that data are produced in and of 'thick' interaction between researcher/s and researched. Ethnographers typically think of data as a gift from their informants, with all the implications of reciprocity that gift exchange implies."

Regarding – among other things – the fact that the researchers have dealt with a relative long term stay in the field, this somewhat anthropological method seemed to be an adequate approach for answering our research questions. Attempts can now also be made to generalize our case study contents into universal knowledge about social networks (within an internal migration context) and the so-called 'rural-urban divide' or 'discontinuity in rural communities'.

The essence of this MSE lies within the fact that migration can be characterized as a multi-sited process with multi-sited implications. Multi-sited research is essentially conducted by *following* people, connections, associations, and relationships across space (Marcus, 1995). It also implies that space is 'constructed' by certain (human) 'acts' and *is not a priori 'out there'* (Falzon, 2009).

Another implication of doing MSE is that it involves a spatially dispersed field through which the researcher moves by staying (and observing, interviewing…etc) at more than two places and, conceptually, by *several* (multi) techniques of juxtaposing data (ibid.). The term 'multi-sited' does not necessarily imply research in different countries, but rather spatialized cultural difference (ibid.). Number of and distance between sites are not (so) relevant in this case. The relevance lies within the actual *difference between sites of research*.

Further, one of the underlying notions to the method is the notion of *space being (also) socially produced* (see for example the work of Lefebvre (1974)). As Massey (2005, p. 9, in: Falzon, 2009) argues, we are recognizing space as 1) a product of *interrelations* as constituted through interactions,

2) the sphere in which distinct trajectories exist, and 3) as always being dynamic and changing. In the context of this thesis, the migration trajectories (for example) are not seen as purely a result of push and pull factors between the space of origin and the place of destination that 'were already' there. The interest lies in the creation of possible new space(s) with their own implications for the migrant (and his social relations). Ergo, that is also the perspective the researchers have chosen concerning our theses.

Although MSE can be a (and has been) – to some degree – comprehensive way of doing research, "…no matter how fluid and contiguous a research object, it is best studied by focusing on a limited slice of the action." (Falzon, 2009, p. 13). We have taken this statement into account in terms of 'research sites'; we conducted our research in a *limited part* of an area (i.e. city) as a more realistic approach from the standpoint of feasibility (efficiency and effectiveness) and actual knowledge generation (ibid.).
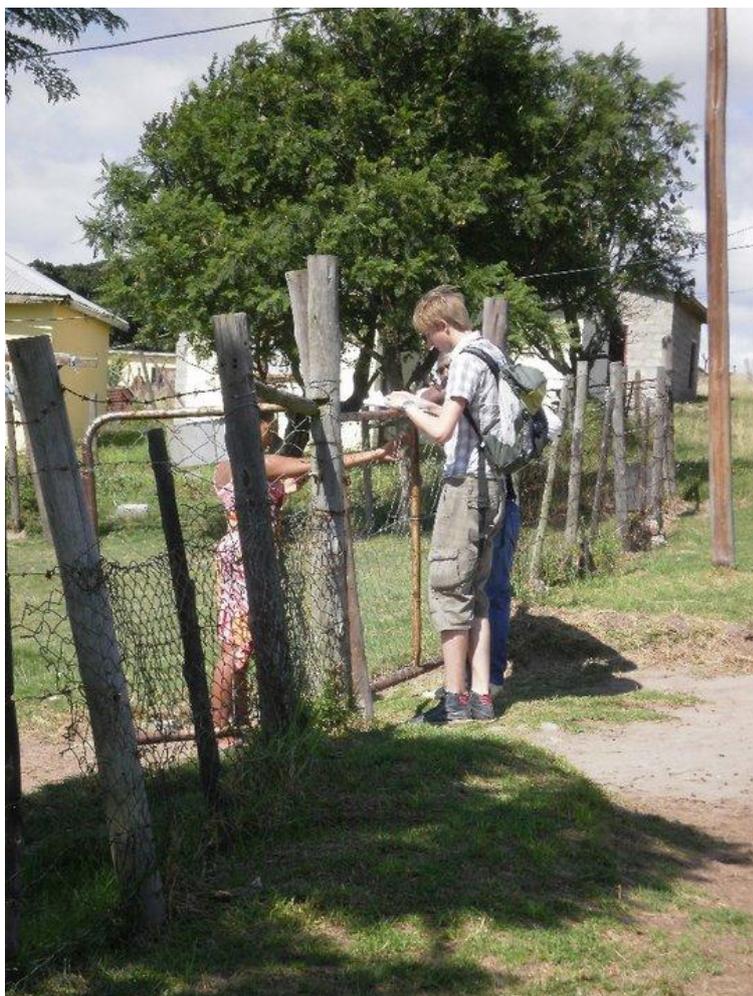
Picture 1: My co-researcher interviewing villagers in Koloni.

3.2 The research strategy

The 'multiple case study' is the so-called research strategy of this thesis. It is based on both theory and empirical findings from several 'spaces' in South Africa – as partly explained above. A case study, as Verschuren & Doorewaard (2007, p. 183) describe, is "…a research with which the researcher makes an attempt to gain an in-depth and integral insight into one or more time-spatial demarcated objects or processes." In the end, that is exactly what the theses of both my colleague and I entail. We indeed worked with a small number of research units (the interviewed villagers and the migrants), and tried to: research qualitatively more in depth than width; apply a holistic approach and 'open observation at the natural location'; and to work with a selective rather than a strategic sample to some extent (ibid.).

The relative small number of research units implies that it is not possible to conduct quantitative analysis, but to apply qualitative methods instead (see Chapter 6). In a case study research one is ought not to 'count', but to *compare* and *explain* observation results. My colleague and I have followed the practical methodological notions of Verschuren & Doorewaard (ibid.) as much as possible, in order to be able to conduct (useful) qualitative research. As they argue, the researcher should make use of face-to-face (in-depth) interviews with open questions. Using case studies as a strategy, this also implies an holistic approach. In doing ethnographic research for example, it is definitely important to gain an integral overview of the research object (Fitzgerald, 2006) by taking into account social, economic, political and historical factors during the data collection. Then, considering the principle of 'method triangulation', we have therefore combined the in-depth interviews with group interviews, interviews with experts and extensive literature study. One should also note that my co-researcher and I have had many conversations 'off the record' with both white and black locals about our thesis-topic. All those perspectives, ideas and opinions have been meaningful to place our data in the right context. That is why a 'holistic mind' is so important for this type of social research. Though, in the end, the selection of e.g. interviewees has been selective, in the way that (for example) only those people were chosen to interview in the countryside who were known to have relatives residing in Cape Town or Port Elizabeth. Regarding the amount of time for fieldwork and the contents of our research questions, selection of certain interviews thus seemed to be imperative.

At last, it is important to consider that we have done 'explorative' research; the researchers have had relatively little knowledge about the topic in question beforehand. This might imply that we have selected cases which resemble each other, which are highly comparable (or: with little variation) in order to be able to generalize and to prompt general, descriptive statements. However and most importantly, we do have selected our cases on theoretical relevance; it is not the quantity of the cases

that counts, but the relation to our theoretical framework, the quality of the cases that enables us to formulate (also) abstract conclusions.

As we have stated in the research proposal (Evers, 2011; Noij, 2011) we expected to have a 'prefab' database with telephone numbers of the migrants (who were going to interview) at our disposal. However, due to unforeseen practical barriers, the database could not be traced back anymore by the researchers that had compiled it last year. Now, it was also our task to collect these telephone numbers in the villages and to put them into a useful list. A priori, we were (on the other hand) aware of the fact that snowball sampling could be very useful. New cases were selected one-by-one, on the basis of findings in the previous case. Calling and interviewing a migrant in Cape Town, sometimes meant that we were able to talk to other migrants form Guquka and Koloni, by asking if the interviewee knew them.

Self-evidently, before, during and after our research time in South Africa, we have conducted desk research. The starting point for our theses is constituted by the work of Hebinck & Lent (2007), which is secondary literature on the topic of our research. They have provided us with empirical findings (about migrants and the relation to the environment) from the region(s) we collected our data. Other (theoretical) literature was used to find the interesting contemporary (academic) debates and knowledge gaps around the topic. Partly it is the matter of literature research because in the end, the researchers would like to draw conclusions on theoretical aspects of (e.g.) the rural-urban divide, the alleged linkages and the relative weight of a social network in these cases. In addition, we have not only collected 'knowledge' from the literature, but also had several interviews with people we could label as 'experts' – academic researchers who have been doing similar research into the same themes, often for years.

3.3 The research material

First, there should be made a distinction between *data* sources and *knowledge* sources (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007). Data sources are used to generate relevant, empirical findings – data – in order to apply theory to (physical) reality.

In our theses, these data are mainly generated by and through people, or 'persons' so to say. First of all, (the spatial behaviour of) human beings constitute our research object. Secondly, in general, persons are able to give the researcher a great variety of information in a relatively short period of time. However, the relevant persons have indeed been hard to 'arrange' as a source of data – in terms of the reciprocity principle in our case.

The function of a person as data source is two-fold. He or she can act as a

- *respondent* (as someone who delivers data about him/herself) and /or as an

- *informant* (as someone who delivers data about other persons and situations/processes/objects known by him/her specifically) .

We both 'used' respondents and informants, because the interviews for either the rural and urban domain consisted of questions referring to him or herself or to somebody else in his or her social network. Next to these respondents and informants, the interviewed person can also be an *expert* (as someone who delivers knowledge), but in that case it is the matter of a knowledge source. As already stated, we have made use of academic researchers as experts to fill our knowledge gaps concerning for instance methodology and theory. In numbers, we have conducted 11 interviews in the rural domain: 6 in Guquka and 5 in Koloni (see Appendix 3 and 4). Consequently we were able to conduct 8 interviews in the urban domain: 2 in Port Elizabeth and 6 in Cape Town (see Chapter 6). Both the interviews in the rural as well as the urban domain, have been reported by means of *field notes,* by using *item-lists* to secure that every relevant issue is discussed. The rural interviews are elaborated by means of a table, in order to identify and compare the several 'institutions' (see the related research question) mentioned. The interviews in the urban domain appeared to be much more extensive and 'richer', due to the fact that main focus lies on the stories of the urban migrant.

In order to obtain as much information as possible, it is important not to create any suspicious feelings or feelings of distrust with the interviewee; definitely in this case wherein topics are discussed that for many interviewees remain in the 'private domain'. Hereby is meant sensitive topics such as the individual's financial or emotional situation which the researchers have prompted during the interviews. Furthermore, the influence of the apartheid regime is still present in South African society, which creates possible (a priori) feelings of distrust between the ('white') researchers and the ('black') interviewees. Tape recording is therefore not the adequate method in our study (Deklerk, personal communication, 1 April, 2011; De Wet, personal communication, 12 April, 2012). At last, in the light of the purpose of the data, the interviews in the rural domain have been elaborated by means of schematic overviews of the questioned topics and issues. These form the starting point of our analyses, yet not the main focus. The 'urban' interviews have been elaborated in the form of stories, i.e. migrant narratives. This thesis is focused on the urban migrant, so the migrant stories have been put to the centre of analysis.

Another point of attention is the fact that my co-researcher and I have also been assisted by translators, which in the rural domain were (PhD-) students and in the urban domain were acquaintances of the hostel owners we met during our visit at the fieldwork sites. They have been selected on the basis of their language skills (being able to speak both English as well as Xhosa fluently) and their ability to understand our research questions and objectives. These translators were not only useful to translate, but also to create a trustful environment between the researchers and the interviewees. Eventually,

they appeared to be of utmost importance in order to arrange meetings with potential interviewees, both in the villages as well as in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town.

Next to people as data and knowledge source, it appeared also useful to watch and listen (indigenous) media in order to find interesting new issues or sites for example, and to understand the local perspective on the research object(s). We have also paid attention to governmental documents on the subject – often suggested by other scholars in their publications. Now we can shed a light on questions as: 'How does the government perceive the alleged problem?' and 'What influence does the government have on our research object(s)?'

As we have concluded this paragraph in our research proposal as follows: "While doing ethnographic research, it is of utmost importance to understand the context of the phenomenon or object one is researching (Falzon, 2009). The researcher should take this notion into account when (technically) designing his/her research." (Evers, 2011, p. 23), we still believe we have followed this important remark. However, in the next paragraph, the author of this thesis will try to give a reflection on 'how it was done' in order to illuminate the (methodological) shortcomings that have eventually emerged in sight.

3.4 Methodological reflections

Every study has its limitations. Also during this research, some foreseen and not-foreseen issues regarding the validity and reliability have emerged during the process of data collection on the fieldwork sites. Nevertheless, I am convinced that it is still well-able to meet the research objective and to give valid and reliable answers to the research questions.

One of the components in doing research, is 'making choices'. This principle also counts for selecting interviewees in the villages and the cities of PE and Cape Town. For practical reasons, we only were able to select those interviewees in the villages who were at home at the moment of our visit. We could have improved the validity of our theses by selecting respondents from several income brackets for example. Consequently, we only obtained contact numbers of those 'sons and daughters´ who indeed had some degree of contact with their family in the countryside.

In the end, we appeared to have quite a collection of contact numbers of people residing in PE and Cape Town. Yet, to some extent both cities are incomparable, as De Wet (personal communication, 12 April, 2011) explained. Port Elizabeth is situated much closer to the rural sites than Cape Town, and therefore will have other implications for the urban migrant after having moved to this city. Second, the characteristics of both cities are different: slightly distinctive life styles, cultures and economies. Though, as explained in Chapter 1, the validity of our data mainly concerns the theoretical relevance.

To some extent we indeed ignore the meaning of 'place' in this sense (cf. Bank, 2011), but the analysis in this thesis is not focused on specific life styles or cultures, but on the meaning of social networks for urban migrants.

Contacting the urban migrants in both cities, the researchers were dependent of the cooperation of potential interviewees. Some were suspicious and did not want to cooperate. Other contact numbers appeared to be out of service or remained unanswered.

Over all, it can be concluded that the selection of interviewees is not one-sided or heavily biased. Several sexes, ages and income brackets have been included, as one can see in Appendix 4 and Chapter 6.

Interviewing has thus been one of our main methods of data collection. By far most of all our questions could be answered adequately. Yet, both in the rural as well as the urban domain, we were assisted by translators who could translate the local Xhosa language into English and vice versa. Mainly in villages, the rural domain, questions had to be translated. In the city, most interviewees were able to speak English reasonably or even fluently.

First, translating implies some extent of paraphrasing: a translator often uses his 'own words' to construct a proper sentence in the other language. Sometimes therefore, it could occur that the essence of a question was not communicated as it had to be. Second, some questions needed additional explanation for the interviewees to understand what was being asked. For the reason that the researchers were not able to understand Xhosa, we could not check whether every part of the 'English explanation' of the question to the translator, had also been translated into Xhosa. For sometimes the Xhosa translation was much shorter than the researcher's English explanation of the question.

Other concerns that have to do with the communication between researcher and interviewee, are the matters of 'trust', 'privacy' and 'time'. Often, the interviewees, both in the villages as well as in the cities, were received with serious suspicion. The researchers were sometimes seen as government officials, seeking for criminal activities for instance. These feelings of distrust were often strengthened with the questions we asked; questions which in many cultures could be perceived as 'breaking into ones privacy bulb'. Though these suspicious feelings slowly became less apparent in many cases (regarding the fact that the urban interviews for instance took about 90 minutes on average). As Deklerk (personal communication, 1 April, 2011) prompts, one can overcome this kind of concerns, to (among other things) guide and inform all fieldwork procedures throughout an inductive, open-ended, multi-sited and cyclical participant-observation component. However, my co-researcher and I were not able to use this form of participant-observation during both domains as one of our strategies – notably due to practical limitations of time and assistance for example.

A last issue that could influence the reliability of the answers given during the rural domain (Koloni), but which is rather 'defenseless', concerns research fatigue. As a result of earlier research and idle promises made by researchers of universities in the neighbourhood, many interviewees (especially in Koloni) replied that they were angry about the fact that all those past researches, according to their perception, did not provide any benefit for the villagers. There is thus a risk that this issue could have led to feelings of distrust to my co-researcher and I, and consequent false or one-sided answers to our questions.

Chapter 4 – A brief overview of South Africa's internal migration: past & present

"Social relations only make sense in the light of historicity; why things are the way they are now is determined by the history of it." (Neves, personal communication, 5 May, 2011).

In many parts of the world people have moved and are moving from so-called rural areas to more urban environments. Although rural-to-rural migration is the most significant form in for example the country of South Africa (Collinson et al., 2003) the interest of this research lies within internal migratory movements of mainly Xhosa-speaking, black inhabitants of the country, who have made an attempt to re-establish their lives in Port Elizabeth and the Mother City – also known as Cape Town.

In order to gain an understanding in which context one should position this phenomenon, one should have an insight into the unique political, social and economic history of South Africa.

4.1 Movements in Early South Africa

South Africa's history is full of population movements throughout the area, regarding for example the Bushmen, like the *Khoikhoi* and the *San*, moving from the contemporary sub-Saharan African countries towards the very south of the African continent about 2000 years ago. Over time, the Khoikhoi settled along the South African coastlines, while groups of the San moved land inwards. About a 1000 years later, it was the case of the *Bantu* migration; Bantu-speaking Africans who were moving in small waves from (eastern) equatorial Africa towards – among other directions – the south. Today's Xhosa ancestors established themselves chiefly along the coastlines, while the Sotho-Tswana people, as we know them nowadays, settled in northeastern areas that is also known as 'the Highveld' (Thompson, 2001).

South Africa experienced the arrival and colonization of mainly the Dutch and British during the 17th century, which simultaneously brought lots of European settlers to the most southern area of Africa. Writing about its history, one should not ignore the several (civil) wars that have been fought out during this period – thinking of the Anglo-Boer wars that have initiated the *Great Trek*. Here, unsatisfied with the British rule, many Boers, Khoikhoi and (other) black servants fled from the coastal areas into the inlands in order to gain greater independence (ibid.).

4.2 Movements during apartheid

Literally ages later, during the well-known but notorious *apartheid* regime (1948 – 1990/1994) – which was a system of legal racial segregation enforced by the National Party governments of South

Africa – the rights of the 'non-white' inhabitants were curtailed, while white supremacy and minority rule by (white) Afrikaners was maintained. One of the most radical practical measurements was the so-called *home land system*. Under this system, the South African government tried to divide South Africa into a number of separate states (*Bantustans*), each of which was supposed to develop into a separate nation-state for a different ethnic group. In practice, there was a huge propaganda initiated by the government about the several 'races' in South Africa: the white and the non-white, which implied segregation between the Afrikaners on the on hand and the black, coloured and Asian on the other. Each group was assigned its own rights, duties and territory. The home land residents were given passes and being without a valid one, made a person subject to arrest and trial for being an illegal migrant. Police were patrolling to keep people with the wrong pass out of the 'white areas' (Allen, 2005; Thompson, 2001).

However, during the era of apartheid, labour immigration from surrounding states was the most striking form of migration encouraged and allowed by the South African state (Aarts et al., 2010). While it was actually prohibited for black people to enter the country legally from 1913 to 1986, the government turned a blind eye on the flows of people that did come into the country for supplying the agricultural and mining sector with relatively cheap labour (ibid.). What the apartheid regime actually practiced, was creating limited access to cities for black people (Pacione, 2009). It is one of those (extreme) ways for governments to control internal population movements, but in general it is believed to be a hard case for state governments, because of the impossibility to implement legal restrictions, a license or monitoring system. And, not to forget, many of such measures are often entitled as 'unethical' (Oberai, 1988).

In this context, the argument of rural development as policy response to prevent urban 'invasions' also cannot always be hold for the fact that such development strategies are technically, economically and politically difficult, and deliver mixed results (Bank & Minkley, 2005; De Haas, 2007).

South Africa has always had a dynamic system of population movements, and the situation nowadays is in that sense not so special. While milestones of South African history like the Great Trek and forced population movements during apartheid are the first to come to mind, today's internal migration dynamics are vital as well, albeit, obviously in a totally different, but historically related, context.

As in many scientific studies to migration within contemporary South Africa, in this research the end of the apartheid regime is somewhat taken as the big turning point for the country's migration history (Cross et al., 2008). Although the legal rules concerning the apartheid ideas officially do not exist anymore, that does not imply that especially black and coloured people don't find obstacles on their life path (Evers, 2011).

4.3 Movements during the apartheid 'aftermath'

With the end of the apartheid, many scholars expected a huge demographic shift, an invasion of urban areas by the inhabitants of the home lands of that time. On the other hand, others speculated that old patterns of circular migration would continue sustaining the rural-urban 'balance'(Bank & Kamman, 2010).

Eventually, it happened to be the case of an 'urban transition' (Mabin, 1990), yet not so quickly and overwhelming in numbers as had been expected, and not necessarily a process which is the result of migration alone. One of the reasons for this is described by Bank & Kamman (2010) as a process of 'rural densification' which took place in the Eastern Cape as well as in other provinces from the 1980s onwards. The South African government at that time accepted the hundreds of new informal settlements that were emerging in small towns across provinces like the Eastern Cape – as long as people were 'properly housed' in the urban areas. However, the real start-off for informal settlements was in 1990 when the (black) African National Congress party that legalized land seizures for dispossessed urban communities throughout the whole of the Eastern Cape (ibid). Other factors that pushed people away from their farms were periods of drought between 1986 and 1992, new labour laws and farm violence and theft. Most of the people moved towards the closest town, together with relatives and other community members (cf. Bank, 1997).

Cross & Bekker et al. (1999) identified three types of movements in the Eastern Cape during the nineties: individuals *and* households which were moving from rural to urban areas, and (the most dominant group) involved individuals who were moving between rural areas. Now the poor, disadvantaged households were moving. About 3 of the 5.7 million residents of the Eastern Cape had moved at least once in their life-time. Cross & Bekker et al. concluded in other words that: "…traditional, agrarian livelihoods were collapsing and men and women from remote rural areas were increasingly being forced to move away from these remote areas in search of new opportunities." (in: Bank & Kamman, 2010, p. 8).

Thus, for the 1990s time span, we may conclude that clear patterns of step migration emerged; most people were moving from the very remote areas to the more centrally located rural towns or near to them. In some cases, people moved slowly onwards to peri-urban or urban location, often near the coastline. Or, as Cross (1995, in: Bank & Kamman, 2010, p. 9) concludes: "Under contemporary conditions, migrating households move towards areas which are receiving infrastructural services." Specifically for the Western Cape, Cross noted inter alia that *(1)* return migration of black people who had moved on to the urban areas, was less apparent comparing data with the province of Kwazulu Natal and therefore *(2)* if this trend stabilized in 'the urban', people in the countryside would be disconnected with cities and the urban economy in general (ibid.).

In addition and more recently, Bank & Kamman (2010) have found that rural-to-rural migration in the Eastern Cape province has strongly dropped; only 6% percent of the households they interviewed, moved from a rural area to another , as compared to Cross (1999, 2006) who found much higher rates in her research in similar districts within the Eastern Cape in the 1990s. Furthermore they conclude:

> "But, we would argue on the basis of the evidence collected here, that rural to urban and urban to urban migration streams are now dominant in the Eastern Cape and that the main flows seem to be beyond the province and into the main metropolitan areas." (Bank & Kamman, 2010, p. 16).

Building on the shoulders of their work, one could finally state that alongside the general process of urbanization, the internal migration patterns can be identified starting from the rural 'hinterlands' in the Eastern Cape province, towards the provinces of Gauteng and the Western Cape (specifically Cape Town) (Cross et al., 2008). The Eastern Cape is a well-known area of departure, because it is formed by the former home lands Ciskei and Transkei, where processes of deagrarianization of rural communities play a significant role as a push factor (Hebinck & Lent, 2007).

Conclusively, with the context and theory presented in the previous paragraphs and chapters on the background, it is able to frame the empirical data and to construct the argument of this thesis. Guquka and Koloni on the one hand, and Port Elizabeth and (mainly) Cape Town on the other, offer possibilities for more abstract, 'theoretical' conclusions about – among other concepts and phenomena – social networks and 'the rural-urban divide'. Therefore, in the next chapters the analysis of the collected data will follow. In this analysis, Chapter 5 focuses on the rural domain; the information gathered from Guquka and Koloni villagers. With this these rural perspectives, we enter the urban domain. Here, by means of elaborated migrant stories, urban practices, livelihoods and culture will be addressed. In this Chapter 6 and from these stories, it is furthermore aimed to shed a light on the role of social networks for the vulnerability position of the urban migrant.

Chapter 5 – The rural domain: From struggling to the city to struggling in the city?

"A special characteristic of urbanisation in Africa is the continuing commitment of many urbanites to the 'village'. In the 1960s researchers were already emphasising that life in the cities could hardly be understood without reference to the continuing involvement of urban residents with their rural are of origin. Nor is it possible to understand village life without due attention to the role of the 'sons' and 'daughters' in the city. It is clear, moreover, that such links remain of great importance." (Geschiere & Gugler, 1998, p. 309)

5.1 Introduction: Guquka & Koloni

Guquka and Koloni are two rural villages in the Eastern Cape. Guquka (see Maps 1 and 2) is located within a cluster of villages at the foot of the Hogsback Escarpment, in the upper reaches of the Tyume River catchment. During the 'rural domain' of our research, my colleague and I resided at the Hogsback Plateau, so we only had to drive down the mountain to see Guquka, in the middle of some other settlements, on our left hand. The researchers' visit to both villages was particularly sought to find an answer to the first sub-question of this thesis, namely: *What are the underlying institutions for the alleged changing vulnerability position of the rural-to-urban migrant?*

First, Guquka was visited where my co-researcher and I experienced the village as a quite, typically rural community, with many (elderly) residents just sitting outside in the shade – either alone or with family members or neighbours. As one can perceive from Picture 2, the villagers mainly live in huts made out of clay topped with wooden roofs. The roads are muddy, and in most cases stretches of grass separate houses with one another. Concerning the 'hut interior', we saw most houses decorated with only wooden benches, a sink and a stove. Though, some were much more luxurious including soft couches, TV's, cupboards with several ornaments and so forth.

Koloni is situated about 40 km. south of Guquka and about 20 km. west of the small town of Dimbaza, along the Keiskamma river. Koloni inhabits slightly more residents than its 'counterpart' Guquka. Observing Koloni, the village seems to be slightly more 'developed' regarding indicators as building material for housing (often stone instead of clay), house interior (which was often more luxurious) and facilities such as a medical clinic and primary school. One of the alleged 'chiefs' of Koloni and the neighboring settlements furthermore explained that the village used to have a central function for the villagers in the surrounding areas – because of its school, shops and clinic. Nonetheless, according to our observations, differences between the quality of the Koloni-houses can be substantial: next to a quite affluent household, we observed a very poor family working outside their deteriorated house.
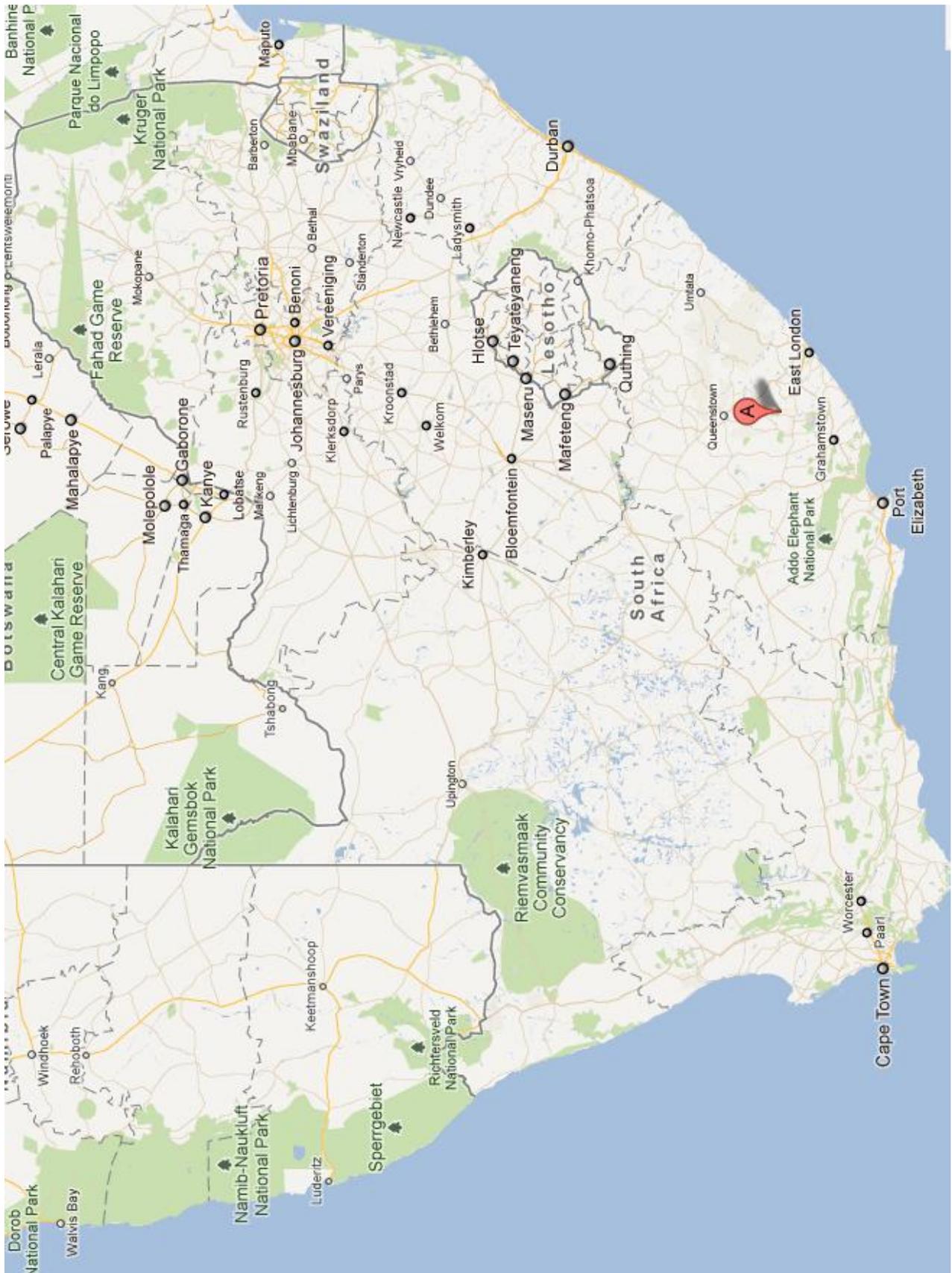
Map 1 (turned; left side of map is geographical north): 'Balloon' A on this map designates the location of Guquka and Koloni within South Africa, in relation to the position of Port Elizabeth, Cape Town and other cities. [Distance between villages and Port Elizabeth: +/- 200 km. from a bird's eye view]
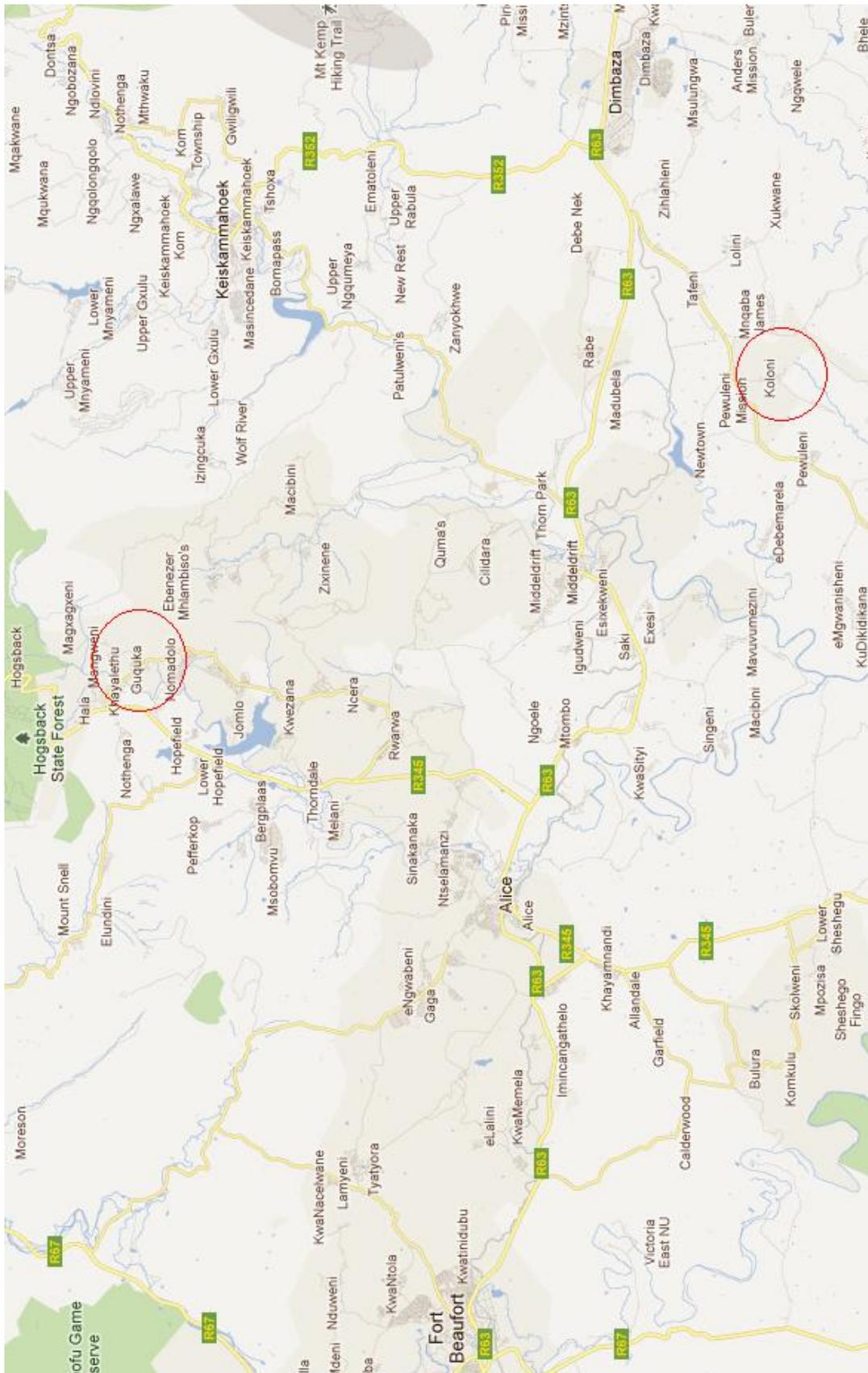
Map 2 (turned; left side of map is geographical north): The added 'circles' on this map designate the location of Guquka and Koloni within the Eastern Cape province, in relation to the position of other villages and towns. [Distance between Guquka and Koloni: +/- 25 km. from a bird's eye view]

Not fully ignoring the physical environment, yet as Hebinck & Lent (2007) prompt: it is *social* processes that have really shaped the villages over time. In the light of this thesis, mainly population movements and changes in rural livelihoods are of interest.

For Guquka counts that the historical settling of the village had been mainly autonomous, while Koloni was established as a result of planned settlement by the British in the Frontier Wars during the 19th century (Hebinck & Lent, 2007). Moreover, Guquka experienced an influx of people due to the forced removals from – among other areas – the white declared Hogsback Plateau during the 1950s. Yet, both settlements have similar experiences with labour migration. The period during the late 1980s and 1990s could be described as a time in which whole Guquka and Koloni families were migrating to urban areas. In the late 1990s on the contrary, a countermovement emerged: people who used to live in the village, are leaving the city and returning 'home'(ibid.). From the late 2000s/early 2010s, Hebinck & Lent (2007) describe a "…third, most recent, trend [that] concerns the outflow of villagers, particularly younger generations, without it being clear whether they have intentions to return to the village." (p. 283). See table 1 for population sizes of both settlements over the years measured.

Year	Guquka		Koloni	
	Population	*Number of dwellings*	*Population*	*Number of dwellings*
1939	n.a.	38	190	33
1962	n.a.	78	329	56
1991	650	127	514	95
1996	460	122	315	97
2001	300	n.a.	262	n.a.
2004	187	125	224	133

Table 1: Estimated population size Guquka and Koloni, 1939 – 2004. NB: see Hebinck & Lent (2007, p. 269) for comments on numbers.

As Hebinck & Lent (2007) coin, specifically for Guquka and Koloni, it has been the case of considerable change in rural livelihoods over the years (see Table 2). Already about thirty years after the first settlers, around the end of the 19th century, the role of land-based activities in both villages started to change. During the 1900s, mining activities 'pulled' local villagers more and more away from their farming activities, and also the government contributed to this development by coercively 'pushing' villagers into wage employment by legal measurements such as the arable land restriction per 'African family' and a labour tax for families who did not have a member involved in wage employment for a minimum of three months a year (ibid., p. 282). The described change appeared to be an ongoing trend, leading to a marginalisation of the relative importance of agriculture in the rural livelihoods; migrant wages slowly became a crucial part of income for the rural household. Further, another urban-rural cash flow had emerged: the introduction of the pension and social grant system as from the 1940s (De Wet, personal communication, 2011). Over time, 'cash' was not invested in local

agriculture any more, yet rather in education, health, buying food and transport (Hebinck & Lent, 2007). These (rural) developments eventually led to a kind of 'rural sensitivity' to the dynamic national and urban economies (De Wet, personal communication, 2011; Hebinck & Lent, 2007).

Label	Guquka		Koloni	
	1997; n=76 (%)	*2004; N=85 (%)*	*1997; n=54 (%)*	*2004; N=67 (%)*
Farmer	2.6	1.2	12.9	7.5
Diversifier	2.6	n.a.	9.3	6.0
Grant holder	48.7	42.4	37.0	44.8
Petty entrepreneur	5.3	10.6	12.9	6.0
Remitter	17.1	18.8	9.3	11.9
Wage earner	23.7	27.1	18.5	23.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 2: Frequency distribution of homesteads in the different livelihood labels identified in Guquka and Koloni, 1997-2004. NB: see Hebinck & Lent (2007, p. 290) for comments on this table.

Rural-urban migration is often correlated to developments in rural livelihoods, which in this thesis becomes clear from Chapter 2. Rural livelihood disparities have emerged in villages like Guquka and Koloni: some households can be labeled as poor, others as rich. This is partly so because of the multiple locations of households and therefore, the multiple sources of income. Sometimes whole families have moved to the urban areas, and other times just two members. Within the village, as Hebinck & Lent (2007) describe, informal social linkages have often transformed into formal social linkages – to 'protect' the individual household's sources of income. Also the role of the traditional head of the village, the 'chief', has been contested over the years. In the past, one of his significant roles was to redistribute land among the inhabitants of the village. Later, elected committees took over this role, and nowadays, his role seems to be particularly ceremonial. Ergo, one can conclude that intra-village social linkages are being formalised, while rural-urban social linkages have been strengthened over time.

5.2 Guquka and Koloni villagers about the rural, the urban & their 'sons and daughters'

5.2.1 Explaining the rural domain

As the quote of Geschiere & Gugler (1998) at the beginning of this chapter shows, one cannot adequately research the city life of former villagers, without paying serious attention to life in the village. Especially when one focuses on rural-urban linkages, through social and financial contact for instance, it is almost imperative to include aspects as 'rural livelihoods' and 'rural perceptions about out-migration, the city and the changing social relations' into a research like this thesis. The village,

nicely characterized by Bank (2001) as a place where 'older women control the rhythms of rural life', is therefore a good starting point for the researcher to embed himself in the social, cultural and economic context (potential) rural-urban migrants have to deal with. It is also expected that social linkages between the countryside and the city are not influenced by the migrant's behaviour (e.g. attitude towards the village and the stay-behinds) alone, but also by the family that has stayed behind in the village (thinking of the attitude towards rural-urban migration, reciprocity and social relations). The interest for the rural domain thus lies in an exploration of the underlying institutions that may affect the changing vulnerability position of the migrant in the city.

To get an adequate insight into the rural domain of this case study (and in order to collect telephone numbers to reach the villagers' sons and daughters in the urban domain of this thesis), my co-researcher and I have used a questionnaire (or: interview guide-line / item-list) as a guide for making field notes and collecting data about the migrants' starting point: the status-quo in Guquka and Koloni (see Appendix 4 and § 3.3 for further explanation). We anticipated that the people of Guquka and Koloni could be relevant points of entry; as a strategy to be able to systematically collect our data. Appendix 4 gives a schematic overview of all the information that is collected in our interviews with Guquka and Koloni villagers. In this paragraph (5.2) the code (G1) refers to the first interview with a Guquka villager, while the code (K2) for instance, refers to the second interview with a villager of Koloni.

The underlying thoughts about the role of the village(rs) in the vulnerability position of an individual migrant, can be derived from the questionnaire and the schematic overviews. The theoretical assumptions behind the rural domain have been more comprehensively explained in Chapter 2. Shortly, this chapter argues that the social, cultural and economic context of the phenomenon that is researched, is crucial to understanding the related causes, mechanisms and consequences of a villager's move to the city. In the questionnaire, one can distinguish three important dimensions of the rural domain: 1) rural livelihoods; 2) perceptions on the city (life), rural-urban migration and the reciprocity principle; 3) perceptions on rural-urban social relations.

In order to unravel the underlying institutions coined in the research question of this Chapter, the results of our research in the rural domain (presented in Appendix 4), will be discussed along the three dimensions – for both villages.
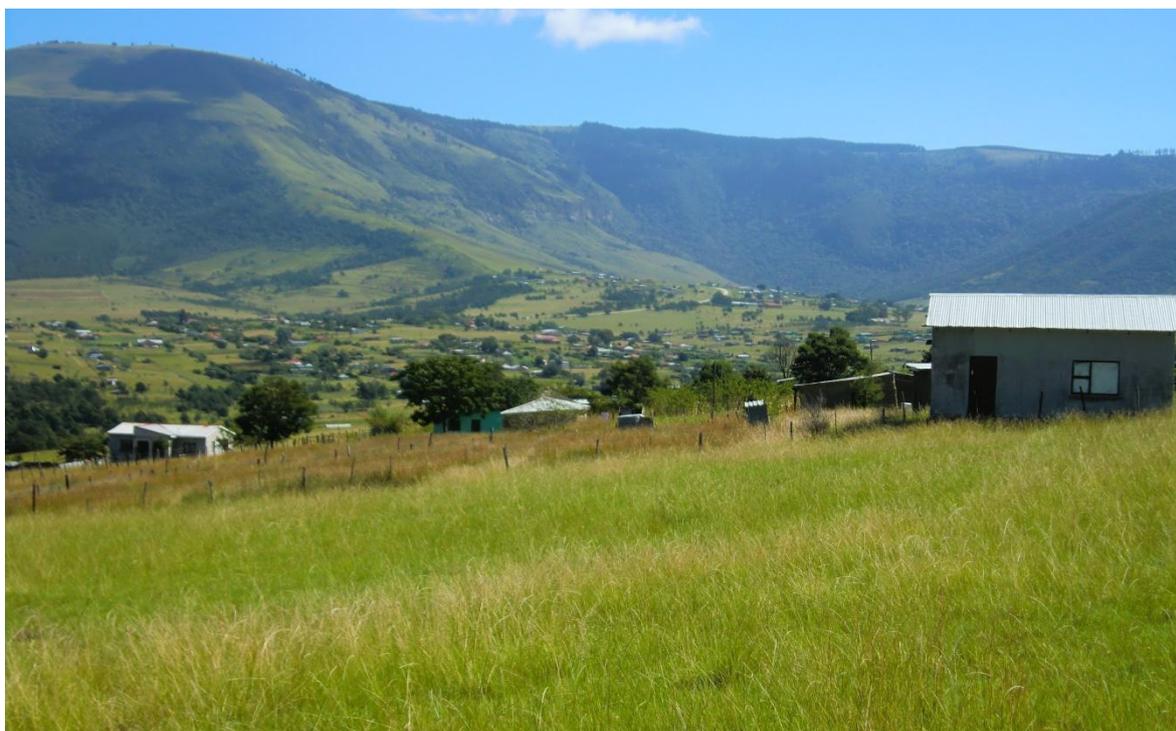
Picture 2: Dwelling units in Guquka.

5.2.2 Do rural livelihoods offer 'underlying institutions'?

By means of content analysis of the interviews within the rural domain, an attempt was made to get an insight into the role of so-called (rural) institutions for the (potential) migrant in the city. By comparing several thematic categories through all the interviews (in Appendix 4), relevant ideas on the influence of rural(-urban) institutions would be revealed (see also Table 3 on next page). These ideas are therefore also relevant and interesting 'points of application' for further research into these rural-urban socio-economic linkages.

A priori, it should be clear that in this thesis, a more broader understanding of the concept 'institution' is upheld. A definition that fits within this understanding is given by Jonathan Taylor (1997, in: Stanford Encyclopedia, 2011, n.p. see reference list): " (…) a complex of positions, roles, norms and values lodged in particular types of social structures and organising relatively stable patterns of human activity with respect to fundamental problems in producing life-sustaining resources, in reproducing individuals, and in sustaining viable societal structures within a given environment." So any (social, economic, cultural etc.) mechanism that governs the behaviour of people, can be understood as an institution in the context of this research (Stanford Encyclopedia, 2011).

Now studying and comparing the elaborated questionnaires in Appendix 4 (see for the discussed items table 3), the first prominent fact that one can read is that all respondents own one or more houses. Conclusively, house ownership itself can therefore not be linked to any significant effects from this research. The same argument counts for marriages within households.

Interview (number, village)	
Who?	
Livelihood	
Perception on city, migration, reciprocity principle	
History before moving	
Rural-urban social relations	
Perception on the migrant(s)' wellbeing / livelihood	
Prospects on social relations and migrant(s)	
Observations of physical environment and interviewee's behaviour	

Table 3: Summarized item-list used for rural domain analysis. In the left column of the table the topics are listed which have been prompted during the interviews in the villages; in order to explore the 'underlying institutions' for the (alleged changing) vulnerability position of the urban migrants. See also Appendices 3 and 4.

The role of _agriculture_, or – in other words – the cultivation of own farmland – *does* generate some ideas. From a historical perspective, cultivating one's own farmland could imply that crops and/or cattle was sold to eventually save money for paying the children's educational fees (G1, G2). As soon as the children had reached the city, one could expect remittances on the basis of the reciprocity principle. On the longer run, farming disappeared from one's livelihood construction, because remittances and social grants provided enough capital to survive (G4, K3, K4, K5). Next to deagrarianization processes as described in Chapters 2 and 4.1, there are still households that are predominantly dependent on their farmland regarding their livelihoods (G2, K3). These households seem to be relatively more in need of resources for survival than households who have a more diverse income, completed by wages, grants or remittances (see e.g. G1). A second thought, that is also underpinned by Bank & Minkley (2005) for instance, is the notion that there is a lack of investment in agricultural infrastructure in the countryside. One inhabitant of Guquka (G2) noted: "There are no fences to keep all the cattle together, and I cannot buy any wood or tools to make fences." (personal communication, 29 March, 2011). So commercial, lucrative farming seems to be a problem as well – although it used to be a 'way of life', as many interviewees explained (e.g G1).

Theoretically, urban-rural *remittances* have a direct negative effect on the migrant´s vulnerability position: he or she consequently has less to spend in the city. Though, as also emerged from the questionnaires, social grants seem to weaken this negative effect because less income is needed for the rural family, that comes from the migrant (G4, K2). Further, remittances are not necessarily seen as a migrant's investment in his or her future 'back home', because, as questionnaires G2, G5 and K2 show, the interviewees receive remittances, but they do not expect that their sons and daughters will return to the village as soon as they are 'old'. Remittances therefore often rather refer to a culture, to 'how it's done' than to a 'expected returns' consideration (G1, G4, K4, K5). The reciprocity principle for remittances is then applied because the migrant's parents often have invested in their education and journey to the city (G3, G6, K4). At last, from the conversations K4 and G5, it became clear that if the differences of income and wealth (between the rural family and the urban migrant) differ to a relatively large extent, expectations of the family rise; the migrant is expected to remit. The 'quality' of social linkages between the rural family and their son or daughter in the city may therefore be crucial for the family receiving remittances or not. Also the extent to which the migrant is still 'embedded' in the (rural) culture wherein 'taking care for your parents' is seen as an important standard.

Another parental influence on the eventual vulnerability position of the migrant, could be constructed through their *work ethic* and their thoughts about work. First, in basically all elaborated questionnaires, one can read that as soon as children are able to search for work in urban areas, they *should* make efforts to obtain a job – according to their family (/parents). There is thus a strong work ethic which is part of the local culture. This statement can further be underpinned by the villagers' ideas on the researchers' question: "Are your sons and daughters happy in the city?". Often (G3, G4, G5, G6, K1, K4) the answer was: "Yes, because he/she has a job". This might imply that the rural family believes that happiness is more or less equal to 'having a job' or 'having an income' – which might rise the family's expectations towards the migrant. As one will read in the next analytical chapters, this 'homo economicus' perception of happiness is biased and untrue. Hypothetically, the migrant's state of depression and the disability to talk about it with his/her family, could have a negative influence on the migrant's work ethic and ability to create a social network in the city for example.

Second, not only are the parents' own wages (in case they have had a paid job) partly used to save money for their children's education (G3, K2, K4) but also for creating the social (family, friends, acquaintances) and physical infrastructure (a house or shack) in the city (G1, K2, K4) so that their children have less problems to start an own life and to generate an own income 'over there'.

The parents' *investments* in their children's *education* seem to have a positive influence on the urban migrant finding a job or not (G2, G3, K2, K4). Education could lead to greater chances on the labour

market. Although (primary or secondary) education not necessarily implies that a (potential) migrant has the required skills, as one will read in the next chapters of this thesis, basic education indeed leads to further possibilities for higher, more specialized education in the city for example.

Finally, and as my co-researcher and I had also anticipated, _landownership_ or the inheritance of land in the countryside from the migrant's family, does not directly lead to an improvement of a migrant's vulnerability position, but theoretically, on the longer run, investments on that piece of land (e.g.: building a house), leads to an increase of capital over time (G6, K4). Hypothetically, there are also possibilities for the migrant to sell the land in times of financial problems for example.

5.2.3 Do rural perceptions on rural-urban migration and rural-to-urban socio-economic linkages offer underlying institutions?

One of the fundamental assumptions in this thesis is based on the fact that a migrant cannot be seen as a hundred percent rational actor, yet that it is the matter of bounded rationality. There is a wide range of 'soft' factors that affects the migration process and the continuation of a person's life in the city. In order to better explain social linkages between people in the countryside and in the city, it is relevant to know how people in the countryside perceive the urban environment, the migration process and the reciprocity principle; which are all aspects that may influence the quality or 'relative weight' of social linkages. If, for example, the reciprocity principle is not seen as an important value by the villagers, one may not expect strong (socio)-economic linkages between the family in the village and the migrant in the city. This kind of perceptions may consequently affect the vulnerability position of the migrant.

Generally, my co-researcher and I experienced that most of the Guquka and Koloni villagers perceived the city as a 'place to earn money', (G1, G4, G5, K1, K2, K4, K5) and sometimes even as 'the only place to earn money' (G2, G3). The migration process is therefore often seen as a necessary movement, which will put the son or daughter in a better (economic) situation than before (G1, G2, G3, G4, G5, K1, K2, K4, K5). However, there is one villager in Guquka (G6) who believes that it is better to find work in the area around the village, because Cape Town is 'so distant' and does not guarantee a job for the migrant.

The reciprocity principle is in general perceived as an important value (G3, G4, G6, K4, K5), but on the other hand there were also villagers who did not have an opinion about it, or believed that reciprocity should only be applied 'if possible' (G1) or not at all (K1, K2).

Regarding the 'direction' of the socio-economic linkages, from seven out of the eleven interviews it appeared that there was (an ongoing) social (see e.g. G2) or financial support 'flowing' from the countryside into the city (G2, G3, G5, G6, K2, K4, K5). In almost every case, the family expected

something in return in the near future from the migrant(s). Most of these kinds of rural-to-urban support, were 'financed' from social grants, wages, savings/pensions or social capital.

Although, in this research, there were no data collected about supportive behaviour of other relatives than the migrant's parents, it can be concluded that the 'rural family' still can be an important 'safety net' for sons and daughters who are not so successful finding a job or other sources of income (e.g. through marriage or support of other urban relatives) in the city.

Further analysis of the researched socio-economic linkages, will be presented in the following Chapter, when also the urban domain is analyzed.

5.3 Conclusion

Summarizing the so-called (rural) institutions that (could) have an influence on the vulnerability position of the individual migrant in the city, one should start off by stating that the changing role of agriculture in rural livelihoods has 'pushed' certain generations into the city. Deagrarianization has forced rural families to diversify their survival strategy. A complex situation emerged wherein 'young people' are expected to migrate to the city in order to support the family 'back home' *and* to start an own life. Expectations rise for the (potential) migrant, but not many 'sons and daughters' actually find work, which does not improve their vulnerability position at all. And if a migrant has found work, the expected remittances decrease the amount of money a migrant is able to spend for his own survival. On the one hand the villagers' work ethic and thoughts about work (as a rural discourse) have created possibilities for their sons and daughters to be educated (and skilled), which possibly enlarges chances on the urban labour market. On the other hand however, the city is perceived as a place to (find) work, and happiness is also seen as equal to 'having a job'. Moving to the city is also perceived as an improvement of the prior situation. However, this 'homo economicus' argument can create psychological stress on the migrant, because, as one will read in the next chapters, the axiom 'city as a better place' is rather a myth. Emotional depression of the individual migrant could namely (hypothetically) undermine his/her chances on the labour market.

On a larger scale, the rural perception that the city and rural-urban migration is associated with positive thoughts, is probably one of the driving forces behind the flows of migrants (with good chances on the labour market or not) migrating to urban areas. Given the facts that there are far more people than urban facilities or vacancies for example, many migrants are expected to *not* improve (or *worsen*) their vulnerability position as a result.

Though, there two aspects identified that slow down this process of worsening vulnerability positions: substantial rural support towards their urban counterparts and the notion that *not* for *every* migrant the reciprocity principle (or remitting) is a social obligation towards his/her family in the village.

Chapter 6 – The urban domain: a new struggle?[5]

"...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."
(Thanduxolo, personal communication, 1 May 2011)

6.1 The cityscape

Colonial cities are classically dual cities (Bank, 2011). This thought sketches cities such as Cape Town or Port Elizabeth quite well. My co-researcher and I have perceived a certain 'gap' in both cities between 'much' on the one hand and 'nothing' on the other. Between 'white' and 'black', and 'suburb' and 'township'. Bank (ibid.) explains the erosion of the traditional middle and working class, due to economic change. Globalisation processes and (neoliberal) capitalistic restructuring of the economy in general have created benefits for upper classes, while at the same time middle and working class jobs have been displaced. For the lower classes of South Africa counts that processes such as de-industrialization, de-agrarianization and the disappearance of the mining industry have enlarged this gap even more. One of the consequences of these developments is conceptualized as distressed' or 'amorphous' urbanism, which entails "…social and economic dystopia of overcrowded, crime-ridden and poorly serviced townships…" on the one hand and "…areas of privilege, wealth, cosmopolitanism and global connectivity." on the other – as Lesley Bank (2011, p. 28) strikingly describes.

This description, as well as the several 'urban myths' that are upheld (cf. Hubbard, 2006), are ways of understanding the complexity of the urban landscape. Reality is simplified. Yet, also Bank (2011) acknowledges this by saying that cities are dense and complex places, which are "…not present at once, and [do] not come at you from one angle." (p. 14). In that sense, the researcher therefore *should* pay attention to the concept of 'place', which, as my co-researcher and I have experienced, is crucial for understanding rural-urban social linkages and the vulnerability position of a migrant in the city. Places do frame apposite behaviour, such as the story of Patrick tells, who was born in the former Transkei region, but migrated to the Khayelitsha township. When we talk to him in his shack on Site B, he tells us that he dislikes life in the township when compared to his life in the village, because nowadays he is not able to walk around outside as soon as the sun has gone down. Something he often did 'back home' in the village, where there was no chance to be robbed.

And again, there is an image of the city being 'chaotic and dangerous' while the village is seen as

---

[5] **Note**: all urban migrant stories in this chapter are co-authored by **Mathijs Noij (cf. Noij, 2011; forthcoming)**. All names that appear in the stories are fictive for privacy reasons. Real names are known by the author of this thesis.

'calm and safe'. In this thesis, however an attempt was made not to have an a priori framework about the 'rural' and the 'urban'. Nor about city life, which, concerning 'migrants', is often described as 'temporary' or 'circular'; and nor about village life. Though, as Bank (2011) argues; how many so-called 'migrants' do not live in the city for a great part of their adult lives? Why is an African considered as 'hyper-mobile' when he moves every five years from one place to another? Does that conceptualization also count for a Western family who moves every five years?

In that sense, it seems relevant to not having too many a priori assumptions about the role of social networks, and the implications based on 'myths' about the countryside and the city. Is it not the human being him/herself who 'makes place', by developing meanings and attachments to particular places, by establishing social relations and engaging in struggles over resources, *and* by constructing narratives that give value to that place (cf. Bank, 2011, p. 16; Jacobs, 1969)?

Hence, in this thesis, the important underlying assumption is that a migrant's vulnerability position is indeed partly created by a system such as the South African culture or the country's political economy, but maybe even more by the actor him/herself. To get a deeper understanding of a migrant's vulnerability position one should search beyond 'blaming the system', by applying an actor-oriented approach – which my co-researcher and I have adopted as a perspective for both the rural as well as the urban domain.

6.2 Becoming urban: implications of the movement

These thoughts as elaborated in the prior paragraph, lead to the following (sub-) question in this thesis:

What implications does the rural-urban migratory process have on the livelihood of the migrant in terms of his/her …

       a. strategy *(i.e. how does the migrant maintain his/her income and makes attempts to create a more secure position?)*;

       b. construction *(i.e. means of income maintenance and the actual actions to reduce vulnerability)* and

       c. perception *(i.e. does the migrant believe he/she is following the most efficient and effective strategy for constructing his/her livelihood)*

                    … of that livelihood?

In this paragraph, stories of the interviewed migrants, in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town (during April and May 2011), are presented throughout the analysis of the several research questions. They are presented as a series of short stories, as a book which should be read to understand the issues that are revealed.

PE and Cape Town are different cities from many perspectives, concerning for example their distance

to Guquka and Koloni and the urban economy (De Wet, personal communication, 12 April, 2011). However, for understanding urban livelihoods and rural-urban socio-economic linkages, stories from both cities can be relevant. PE as well as Cape Town offer the same function for the migrants we have interviewed: the city as a place of production (work) and consumption (living). And, moreover, the city as the (expected) final destination of their migratory process. Yet, while analyzing, the different 'contexts' will consequently be taken into account when drawing (comparative) conclusions.

Moving from the countryside to the city implies changes in many ways for an Eastern Cape migrant. Not only the environment will be different, but also the migrant's 'way of surviving'. There will be other resources, other sources of income and other expenditures. In short, a potential migrant can expect to encounter new 'barriers' and new 'windows'. But it is not only 'change' that characterizes the rural-to-urban movement – one can also expect continuation of certain (rural) practices and institutions. One of the crucial points made in this paragraph is that *context* is a key word in understanding this issue of 'change' and that alleged constants such as ' culture' or 'the political economy of a country' rather oversimplify the explanation of a migrant's everyday reality of constructing a livelihood and creating / maintaining social linkages. An important variable in explaining that everyday reality (and therefore the vulnerability) of a migrant seems to be of psychological nature: emotional feelings (of affection and belonging).

Sakhumzi[6]

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.

---

[6] – 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 Appendix 4, K4).

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 is 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 4) , 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 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 had 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 reveals a typical successful strategy of switching from a rural to an urban livelihood. This narrative could easily be framed as being part of a migration system between Koloni and Port Elizabeth. Not only people are 'exchanged' between the two areas, also goods, services, capital and information, as becomes clear from Sakhumzi's story. Historically seen, these exchanges have paved a path for further migration from Koloni to PE. The question is however, whether one can expect the continuation of this 'path' for new migrants in the future. Further, not only Sakhumzi´s migration story starts with a phenomenon of jobless deagrarianisation (cf. Du Toit & Nevens, 2009), but several other Guquka and Koloni narratives include this process wherein smallholder agriculture in the Eastern Cape is perceived to be in decline, while on the other hand these livelihoods and land-based activities have not directly been replaced by other sources of non-farm income (see other stories in this Chapter).
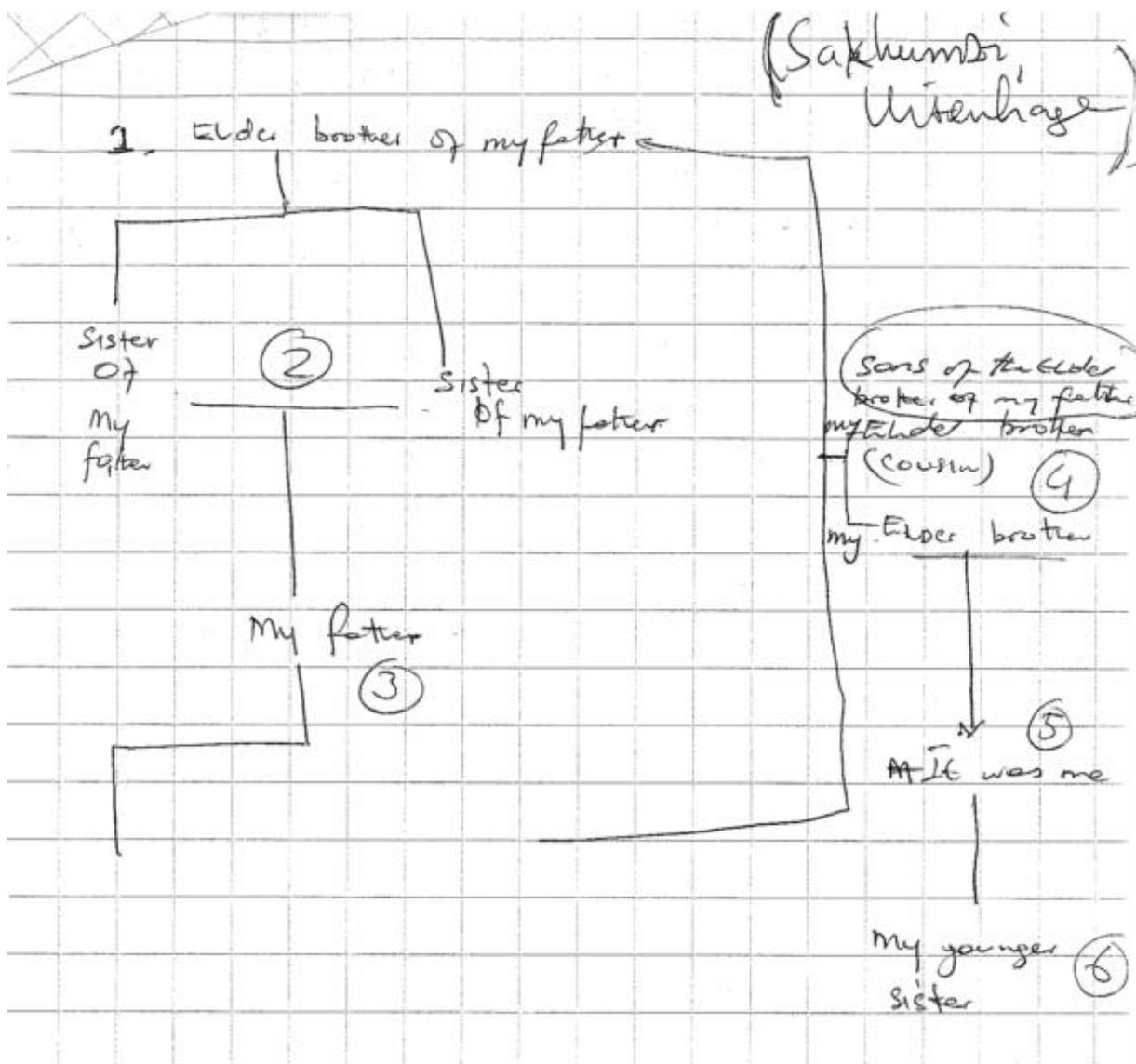
Figure 4: Genealogy tree sketched by Sakhumzi. He explains that his eldest uncle (his father's brother) pioneered (1) by moving from Koloni to PE First. Then his aunts followed (2). Third (3) in row, his father migrated to PE. Later, his uncle's (the pioneer's) sons came to the city (4), and shortly after, Sakhumzi's older brother followed. Then Sakhumzi himself moved to PE (5). After Sakhumzi, his younger sister joined the 'urban family' (6). A somewhat typical case of (family) chain migration.

Such as all the other interviewed migrants, Sakhumzi could be seen as – as Kok et al. (2003) would conceptualize it – a 'more permanent' migrant. Though Bank (2011) correctly argues whether one should still speak of circular migration regarding cases like Sakhumzi for example. To some degree, Sakhumzi's movement fits within neoclassical thinking about migration. Part of his strategy was indeed to migrate in order to get a bigger opportunity for getting a job – which is partly a result of uneven economic development between the countryside and the city. The lack of employment in the rural area of Koloni 'pushes' Sakhumzi into areas where there are more opportunities. Moreover the fact that some social contacts (relatives) were already living in the city, 'pulls' Sakhumzi to Port Elizabeth. This social infrastructure in the city can be added to earlier investments made by his parents which made it possible for Sakhumzi to go to school and university. In that sense, Sakhumzi could be framed as a 'chain migrant' (see also Figure 4, for his genealogy tree). Eventually, he appeared to be successful in constructing an urban livelihood – having a relatively well-paid job, and still being able to follow university education (i.e. investing in his future career) . Furthermore, the urban household provides vulnerability (and less vulnerability) as well, being a possible safety net if Sakhumzi for potential 'shock events' (such as losing a job on the one hand, or starting an own business on the other).

Although Sakhumzi is remitting to his mother in Koloni, apparently there are also intra-urban flows of 'help' among relatives who thus live in Port Elizabeth. The urban household seems to be relatively luxurious, regarding for instance Sakhumzi's material possessions such as a brand-new Volkswagen (while cars are relatively expensive in South Africa) and decent, almost 'posh' furniture in the living room. In short: a new, somewhat separated, partly individual livelihood strategy and construction has emerged for Sakhumzi after his move to the city.

Yet, Sakhumzi's perception balances this slightly 'positive' story to some extent. He emphasizes that there is no choice besides moving to 'the city' as soon as one is old (and educated) enough. Sakhumzi expresses feelings of belonging towards the village of Koloni- the place where he prefers to live. He also actively contemplates ideas about developing the Eastern Cape villages – Koloni in particular. Concerning his vulnerability position, this urban livelihood has had a positive influence (and also on those others he is supporting), but immaterially (referring to the interviewee's psychological 'position'), the urban environment seems to be an obstacle on his way to a better quality of life, i.e. a 'happy life'.

Another Koloni migrant residing in the outskirts of Port Elizabeth is Mnonopheli.

Mnonopheli[7]

Together with Lungi, our female guide and translator, the researchers travelled to Joe Slovo, one of Port Elizabeth's townships. We are calling Mnono (35) several times, while driving through the township, because 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'.

Mnono 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, Mnono'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. Mnono'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 (see also Appendix 4, K5). He does not want to talk about this any further.

Mnono 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, Mnono 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 (see also Appendix 4, K5 for his mother's socio-economic situation). Reciprocity is not directly 'part of the culture' or an obligation, Mnono says, but if you care about your parents and other family members, you will help them.

Unfortunately, Mnono 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.

Another important aspect of his culture, seems to be 'honor'. Mnono 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, Mnono'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 Mnono to be able to build a house there. Today Mnono 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 Mnono'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

---

[7] – Joe Slovo, Port Elizabeth [Saturday 16 April 2011, afternoon, about 60-90 minutes]. Connection with <u>Koloni</u>: He is Mrs. Mzoli's son (see Appendix 4, K5).

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.

Also Mnono can be characterized as a 'more permanent' migrant, who is basically 'pushed' away from Koloni and 'pulled' to PE for the same reasons as Sakhumzi: he cannot rely on his parent(s), there is lack of employment in / near the countryside, but chances for obtaining labour are greater in Port Elizabeth. Yet, on the other hand, Mnono's story is different – which represents (again) the complexity of theorizing and generalizing these kind of rural-to-urban migration processes; that makes it worthwhile to look at individual cases.

The cultural aspects of a man's 'honor' and the expectations of a Xhosa-man have their 'driving' impact on Mnono's move to the city as well – as he himself explains. Though again, he sets 'culture' aside concerning reciprocity: he 'loves' his mother, so it is also this affection that motivates Mnono to search for a job to support his mother. At the moment of the interview however, Mnono did not have a job which made him dependent of his wife and his mother (see als Appendix 4, K5) for financial resources. His strategy was to find work in Port Elizabeth by relying on his sisters who were already living in PE; a journey paid by his parents' savings. Though, he does not seem to be lucky finding the adequate job, which might have several reasons, such as the (lack of an) urban social network or (the lack of) his own efforts to find work. He for instance does not want to contact other Koloni migrants in PE, because he expects that would damage his 'proud' and 'image', which he perceives as a very important issue.

Although Mnono's mother had a different migrant story in mind (mainly: Mnono sending remittances to her in Koloni; see Appendix 4, K5), Mnono's story could be characterized as a 'failure'. The rural is supporting the urban in this case, and not vice versa – which had been the planned strategy. Mrs. Mzoli's and his wife's financial support seem to have prevented an extreme vulnerable situation for Mnono. Though, regarding his mental health and general well-being, his situation has not improved. A relevant question is whether this situation undermines (Mnono's motivation to develop) a new strategy of building up an (improved) urban livelihood – which might be expected.

Combining the data presented in Appendix 4 and the migrant stories (see also further this Chapter), it can be concluded that in general, the rural-urban movement originates from a sort of 'necessity'; the rural family's and the migrant's perception is that there is no other alternative than moving to the city where a social infrastructure is already present. A discourse can be unraveled from these stories, from both the stay-behinds and the migrants: it is 'normal' to leave the countryside for the city for these generations of youngsters. The correlated paradigm might be that a young villager *should* move and cannot 'stay behind'. The perception remains: there is 'nothing' in the countryside, and in any case, moving to the city is therefore the best alternative. Though, the city is perceived as an 'alternative', which implies it is not the most desirable option for livelihood construction. Most migrants express feelings of 'belonging' to their village, and a state of relative unhappiness in the city – being

successful or not. Further elaboration on the rural-urban 'divide' and the corresponding socio-economic linkages will appear in the next paragraphs.

Whether an individual migrant will succeed in finding a job – the major purpose of the migratory movement in most cases – depends on the 'context' as it is referred to in this thesis. This 'context' may be a specific and complex mixture of elements such as 'having a certain strategy', 'having luck / the coincidence', 'personal motivation', 'the urban social network', 'the ex ante social (urban) infrastructure' and so forth. Some implications for the individual migrant moving to the city might not be so different from a Western example of an 'urban migrant': why does one Dutchman find a job, while the other does not? For the two stories presented above, one might explain Sakhumzi's relative success by his choice to study, being an 'investment' in his future with 'expected returns'. An investment Mnono had not made. There may also be a role for *isidima*; which implies that not everyone (comparing Mnono with Sakhumzi) can lay claims on exchanging money, goods and information (cf. Deklerk, personal communication, 1 April, 2011; Du Toit & Neves, 2009). The 'rules of the game' and social relations in historical context are important – which may to a great extent explain why Sakhumzi can be indicated being 'more successful' than Mnono. However, it goes beyond the purpose of this thesis to entirely unravel this problem of identifying the variables for 'success' and 'failure'. Yet, the interviews held in Guquka / Koloni and PE / Cape Town combined with theoretical findings in the literature, have at least generated some useful insights in this 'context' for answering the main research question of this thesis, which concerns the role of the social network for the vulnerability position of the individual rural-urban migrant.

6.3 Being urban: about the function of social networks in this case

'To what extent does the social network of the migrant continue to play a role on his/her vulnerability position while living in the city?' This is the central question for this paragraph. Before answering this question, it should be clear to what extent one can speak of a 'network' for the individual narratives. Second, the strategy behind these alleged 'networks' will be unraveled. At last, conclusions are formulated regarding the role of the migrant and his/her linkages within the (alleged) social network – for providing vulnerability while living in the city.

6.3.1 Family chains or complex networks?
Going through all migrant stories and combining these with the information provided in Appendix 4, the concept 'social network' can be applied in many cases. However, concerning the rural-urban relations, in this research, it often appeared to be the case of 'chains' than 'networks' being the metaphor to describe the rural-to-urban migratory patterns (see also for example Sakhumzi's

genealogy tree, in paragraph 5.2). The stories of Thanduxolo and Thembelani Thambo – two brothers born in Koloni and residing in Cape Town – can be characterized with both metaphors.

(Phumlani and) Thanduxolo[8]

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, see Appendix 4, K4) 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 4, K2), 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.

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."

---

[8] – Long Street, Cape Town [Sunday 1 May 2011, afternoon, about 60 - 90 minutes]. Connection with <u>Koloni</u>: Phumlani is Mrs. Gongqozayo's son, Yolanda Gongqozayo's brother and Thanduxolo is Colbert Thambo's son (see Appendix 4, K2, K4).

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 [see also the story of Sakhumzi]. 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.

Thanduxolo[9]

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) with his wife. The property is owned by the Thambo family – once owned by father Colbert (see Appendix 4, K2). 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.

---

[9] – Gugulethu – Cape Town [Sunday 15 May 2011, 11.30 AM onwards]. Connection with <u>Koloni</u>: He is Colbert Thambo's son (see Appendix 4, K2)

To conclude, Thanduxolo clearifies 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].

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 4, K2), 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.

Thembelani[10]

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."

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.

---

[10] – 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 (see Appendix 4, K2).

Reading Thanduxolo's stories, one could conceptualize his movement as part of (family) chain migration. It was father Colbert (see Appendix 4, K2) who pioneered, while later his sons also made the decision to move to the same location. Also Thembelani's intention for his deceased brother's twins (Colbert's grandchildren) to move to Cape Town after a couple of years. Colbert earlier explained that a man should take care for his own living and his family. It is just the way 'how it's done' – moving to Cape Town. Thanduxolo's story is therefore in line with the idea that a migration pattern itself becomes a major drive for rural-urban migration (Massey, 1989). If Colbert or his sons had not moved, that could imply 'staying behind' which would, from Colbert's perspective at least, be perceived as a failure. In terms of capitals, cultural and social capital have been exchanged between the countryside and the city. Colbert provided cultural capital, or the know-how about constructing an urban livelihood at the specific location added with the provision of a physical infrastructure for his sons to start such a livelihood. As Thembelani also emphasizes, it is important to have social contacts in the urban environment in order to construct 'successful' livelihood. Father Colbert also stated that with help of his social contacts (i.e. providing social capital), his children were able to find work. At last, Thanduxolo also received financial support from his father which implies a rural-to-urban financial flow. An important 'drive' behind this story, especially from Colbert, seems to be 'proud'. Not only Colbert's perspective which says that 'a man should take care of his family', but also the fact that he declared that all his children had work, and that he himself built the house (or: shack) in Cape Town. Both statements were contradicted by the interviews with Thanduxolo and Thembelani.

Thanduxolo's urban living appears to be largely supported by his brother Thembelani and his wife. Another sister is working close to Cape Town and is also living in the Cape Town house, but it is unclear to what extent she contributes to the household income. Though there seems to be an intra-urban (family) survival strategy, based on family relations – and preceded by a (potential) migration chain. Further, Thanduxolo's social life also shows a strong attachment of 'rurality' within the 'urban', because he always meets up with his 'brothers' from Koloni, in the city. However, as Thembelani for instance emphasizes, it depends on the (new) urban social contacts (i.e.: an extended urban social network) whether one is able to obtain a job in Cape Town.

So on the one hand one can identify some type of 'family strategy'; a father who wants to 'create' children who are able to take care of their family, by pioneering a rural-to-urban migration 'pattern' and creating an urban social network which is meant for his children to hinge on to. Social networks have been addressed in some elements of this migratory story: at the 'pioneer stage' and the 'intra-urban' stage. Though, 'in between the rural and the urban' it is rather the matter of a family chain.

6.3.2 Regionalized households?

Using the concept 'regionalized *households*' (De Wet & Holbrook, 1997) quite strongly implies a certain strategy and construction of a *household* livelihood. Using the concept assumes that it is the matter of a shared income (within a certain group of people that may live together in the same house) that will be used for a collective objective. Not ignoring the existence of this kind of 'family strategies' (Pacione, 2009), in this thesis this alleged phenomenon is investigated for the typical cases of Guquka/Koloni versus PE/Cape Town. Bank (2011) for instance described certain feelings of 'independence' and desire for the city, combined with some type of 'aversion' against the countryside regarding contemporary generations of rural-to-urban (youth) migrants in South Africa. Ngwane (2003) even argues that the regionalized household concept is rather a myth than reality. Again not losing sight of all other migrant stories, the specific stories of Mpumi Rhubuxa and Thanduxolo Thambo (previous story) reveal some issues concerning livelihood strategies, constructions and the alleged regionalized household.

Mpumi[11]

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.".

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 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

---

[11] – Nyanga Township [Friday 13 May 2011, 10.15 AM, 60-90 min.]. Connection with <u>Guquka</u>: She is Mrs. Tabeni's cousin (Appendix 4, G1).

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.

Mpumi's narrative is an example of what is described in Hebinck & Lent (2007) as 'whole families' that are moving from Guquka and Koloni to Cape Town' these days. Mpumi's story can also be related to the *Ukuthlalisana* concept prompted by Bank (2001). Mpumi and her next of kin have somewhat 'retreated' from rural obligations. This, in contrast to the idea that it is the matter of fragmentized families over city and countryside. Mpumi's family has moved the *umzi* (homestead) from Guquka to Cape Town, which immediately detached her and her family to the village, to a large degree. There are some 'feelings of belonging' with Mpumi, but her (social) life takes place in Cape Town, as she explains. Next to Sakhumzi's and Thanduxolo's story, we again perceive an example of 'rurality' in the city because she is extensively making use of the rural social (or 'family') network *within* the city.

Also Thanduxolo's story shows that the intra-urban household is crucial for the migrant's livelihood; both his father in Koloni as well as his family in Cape Town have functioned as safety nets for Thanduxolo. The 'household-scene' is laid in Cape Town, and not in Koloni. Yet, the Cape Town household is remitting towards Koloni, but that does not necessarily create a fragmented or

regionalized household, as prompted by De Wet & Holbrook (1997) and Spiegel et al. (1996) for instance. At last, also Mzwanele's narrative (see further this Chapter), who used to remit before he had started a family, reveals the emergence of a separate(d) urban household – detached from the rural household over time.

Remittances, rural-to-urban cash flows and social contact are forms of socio-economic linkages one can distillate from the migrant stories in this thesis. If it is not the family strategy or the regionalized household as suggested by the literature, how can one frame these linkages alternatively? The 'rural analyses' in Chapter 5 have also shown that reciprocity still remains an important issue to some extent. However, not in all cases reciprocity itself is seen as an important value which implies the standard of remitting. Mnonopheli and Thanduxolo for instance, have stated that they want to support their family (especially mother or father) in the village, because they care about their well-being. The reciprocity principle (implicitly) plays a role in creating and maintaining these rural-urban linkages (which appears from both the results in Appendix 4 and at least the stories of Mnono and Thanduxolo), there appears to be a role as well for 'social affection', 'love' or 'sociality' between family members. This conclusion seems to be in line with findings of Mosoetsa (2005, p. 15) who concludes a "…mixture of selfishness and altruism…" for explaining the socio-economic linkages between the countryside and the city in South Africa. Also Du Toit & Neves (2009) come up with similar conclusions (pp. 21 – 25). They note that on the one hand the reciprocity principle is crucial, but that one should go beyond the notion of social capital as the 'all-explaining factor'. Individual socio-economic situations and the extent to which relationships between people are 'meaningful' for example determine the quantity (amount) and quality (cash, goods,…) of socio-economic exchanges.

Conclusively it can therefore be stated that, to some degree in line with Ngwane (2003), the regionalized household appears to be a myth. Rather the perspective should be turned towards and/or from the urban household. The urban household works as a safety net against vulnerability for (potential) migrants related to that household – through kinship for example. Relatives who have 'stayed behind' in the village, are often supported (with cash, material resources and social / cultural capital) by the household as well; although in many cases, this had been preceded by rural-to-urban (financial and/or social) support.

These linkages do not seem to be the result of a well-contemplated 'family strategy', yet exist on the basis of (at least) reciprocity and a phenomenon that could be described as 'sociality'. The intra-urban social linkages (between members within an urban household for example) often include pre-existing relations, such as family and friends who also have migrated from the same village to the city. This could be characterized as a (livelihood) strategy as well. Not necessarily a family strategy, but at least a 'brothers and sisters strategy', or as Deklerk (2008) prompted: the *abantakwethu* (literally: 'our people') *strategy*.

Though, on the basis of the existing rural-urban relationships mentioned in the migrant stories, it cannot be argued that 'the household unit', as Ngwane (2003) states, is a mere space where rural and urban cultures meet during Christmas time or where urban relatives travel to during festivals and holidays. That assumption would ignore the influence of remittances and flows of social and cultural capital. Rather, the 'stay-behinds' could be defined by a concept that refers to something in between an abstract 'space' and the 'regionalized household'; the '*stayed-behind household*' for example, as I would like to suggest for the situation nowadays. First, this concept justly does not give a central role to the villagers, and second, it emphasizes that there are people with (shared) incomes in the countryside, who are not entirely detached from the urban migrant(s). However, the word 'stayed-behind' may directly be associated with 'failure' as De Haas (2010) suggests, but on the other hand, this concept fits in the contemporary trend of ongoing ('whole family') migration, urbanization and return migration. Moreover, it leaves room for the several varying degrees to which the villagers are connected to 'their' urban migrants. Though, for the future, the question rises whether it will still be the matter of 'stayed-behind households' or just 'returned' or 'retired' households.

6.3.3 The role of the migrant and his/her linkages

Having an insight in some mechanisms and characteristics of rural-to-urban migration and its implications for the actors involved, it is possible to focus on the role of the individual migrant – in order to get a deeper understanding of the socio-economic linkages and the vulnerability position of the individual migrant.

The story of Nothembalethu Dibela and her husband Patrick represent a number of findings the researchers also perceived with other migrants.

Nothembalethu and her husband Patrick[12]

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 Nothembalethu and Patrick's home, Nothembalethu 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

---

[12] – Khayelitsha B Section, Cape Town [Saturday 14 May 2011, 9.30 AM onwards]. Connection with Guquka: He is Mrs. Tabeni's cousin (see Appendix 4, G1).

big as a proper garden house in Europe. Nothembalethu is definitely not comfortable with the situation, and neither are we, including Brian. However, Nothembalethu 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, Nothembalethu and Patrick know their neigbours 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 Nothembalethu appeared slightly uncomfortable, her husband Patricks 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 Nothembalethu 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 Nothembalethu 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 Nothembalethu 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 Nothembalethu 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 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 Rhubuxa, our interviewee on 13 May, and her family are acquaintances of Nothembalethu 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 Nothembalethu. 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 nighttime 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. Nothembalethu 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 Nothembalethu 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.

The linkage between the countryside and the city, concerning Patrick in particular, was based on kinship: at the moment of his father's death, he was 'pushed' into the city to generate income. His cousin appeared to be the connection that led Patrick into the urban landscape of Cape Town. The rural-to-urban migration discourse, as earlier described, facilitated this process as well. Namely, it is the discourse which 'says' that it is normal for a man to take care of his family, and that it is normal for a family member to function as a bridgehead in this case. His cousin thus got the role of 'bridgehead' in this story.

Also in other migrant stories, it appears that the migrant him/herself rather has the role of the 'urban migrant' instead of the 'comrade' as described by Bank (2011). The 'urban migrant' metaphor implies a certain involvement with issues in the village(s), while the latter refers to (young) migrants with a very disinterest in 'their' homestead or village in the countryside. In most stories one can read that there are little feelings of independence or aversion against the rural areas by the migrants. Nor have the migrants explained that they had a special 'desire' for the city before the movement, because in most cases, they were forced to move. Often it is the matter of a 'desire' for the village on the longer run instead.

Another role for Patrick and Nothembalethu might be the role of bridgeheads for their children who are residing in Guquka. The plan is, just as in Thembelani's case (see earlier this Chapter), to have their children raised in the 'safe' village and to take them to Cape Town as soon as they are old enough to study. For now, the children themselves could be framed as 'bridgeheads' (see also: Bank, 2011) for they strengthen the linkage (including cash flows, and social and cultural capital – shored by the moral obligation of caretaking) of Patrick and Nothembalethu with Guquka for the time being.

Consequently, both Patrick and Nothembalethu are working. There does not seem to be upheld a traditional role pattern such as 'a man should work' and 'a woman should care', which also is reflected in the stories of Mnonopehli and Thembelani. Also from the data collected in Guquka and Koloni (Appendix 4, e.g.: G2 and G5) it appeared to be not abnormal for women to have a job (and to remit). 'Women in the urban' do therefore not seem to be necessarily more dependent of 'brothers' or their husbands like Chipkin & Ngqulunga (2008) argue.

The analyses elaborated above lead to the question about the actual role of the rural-urban linkages. As already prompted, from the urban stories and the rural questionnaires, it can be concluded that (to

some extent) social contacts with villagers or fellow urban dwellers often work as safety nets against vulnerability and poverty. Second, reciprocity plays implicitly plays its role in rural-to-urban flows and vice versa. Third, the linkages seem to have a 'sociality' function; they are an answer to the migrant's feelings of belonging, which are created by kinship, friendship or shared identities in general. Understanding the strength of this part of the linkage is complex, because it is about understanding 'the rules of the game' referring to the degree of respect and dignity (*isidima*) between individuals (DeKlerk, 2008; Du Toit & Neves, 2009). Also the specific psychological element seems to play a role: the relative unhappiness in the city and 'desire' for the rural (based on the migrant's perception that life will be better in the village).

However the researchers have not encountered the promise of bequest as a particular motivation for a migrant to remit. Sakhumzi en Mnonopheli for instance are planning to build a house in Koloni, while most migrants declare to return to the village as soon as they are able to. So there is no direct evidence that the migrants' remittances are intended as investments in their own future, yet at least upholding the socio-economic linkage between oneself and the villagers practically leaves better possibilities to return (such as inheritance of the family's property) than without these connections – albeit that the purpose of these linkages is not inevitably concerned with future return migration. As Thanduxolo strikingly says: "So then [when creating a core-family life in Cape Town] I have to break up with my family in Koloni." But, as he added, he is not able to, because he would miss Koloni too much. In short: the dream of 'living in the village with a family' counts for many migrants in the city. Alternatively, more successful or stabilized *families* such as Mpumi's and Mzwanele's (see below), seem to create feelings of belonging to the *city* instead of towards the village. In those cases, socio-economic linkages with the countryside are relatively meaningless or weak.

Mzwanele[13]

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 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.

---

[13] – Khayelitsha Rugby Stadium, Cape Town [Sunday 22 May 2011, 12.30- 13.00h]. Connection with Koloni : Mnonopheli's cousin and best friend (see migrant interview on 16 April 2011).

"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.

Mzwanele's story addresses De Haas' (2007, 2010) issue about feedback mechanisms that potentially could stop the theoretically ad infinitum process of rural-to-urban migration. From other stories and answers in the 'rural' questionnaires contrary examples can be extracted, such as the stories of Khaya (Sakhumzi's cousin), Mpumi and from Appendix 4: K3 and K5. In these latter cases, it can be expected that one will not return to the countryside, which implies that future households will be settled in the city – which would in its turn not create any rural-to-urban migratory moves again. Factors that uphold rural-urban linkages, such as reciprocity, sociality and feelings of belonging are in these cases played out *within* the city. Though, as the story of Mzwanele fairly shows, the desire for the village, shored by feelings of belonging, can facilitate and keep up the process of ongoing rural-to-urban migration. For others, like Kyaha and Mpumi, there is little reason left for creating or maintaining urban-rural relationships, next to possible cultural or religious issues (given the fact that their ancestors are buried in the village, which is seen as an important reason for paying visits there) (Deklerk, personal communication, 1 April, 2011; De Wet, personal communication, 12 April, 2011). Drawing on these stories and questionnaires, 'having success', 'being happy', 'having an own core-family' and (thus) 'lacking feelings of belonging' seem to be the underlying factors for an urban migrant to become a permanent urban resident, instead of maintaining social linkages with and returning to the village.

As already stated, understanding social relationships between individuals is a complex task. Identifying the so-called facilitators for rural-to-urban migration (i.e. the 'bridgeheads') is less difficult, because it is relatively straight-forward to ask for the urban connections who 'opened the urban gate.' To identify the theoretical notion of 'the gatekeeper(s)' in the individual stories is more complex because it often seems to happen without the migrant knowing that a certain 'urban' individual is not willing to be a 'bridgehead'.

Thus, in this thesis, the conclusion about certain feedback (or: slow down) mechanisms does not refer to the theoretical role of 'gatekeepers' but to external influences on the migration system: urban migrants 'having success', 'being happy' and 'having an own core-family' in the city.

6.4 Being urban: shocking vulnerable?

Falling into (deeper) poverty, or social and economic deprivation in general, might be one of those developments which go along simultaneously with a rural-to-urban migratory process. This also counts for migrants who have moved from the villages of Guquka and Koloni to Port Elizabeth and Cape Town – the 'new residents' of the city. Leaving their parents' 'safe nest' creates the opportunity for (internal) vulnerability, although this relates to the ability of these migrants to obtain sufficient income to meet their needs (Smith, 2007). In the previous paragraphs of this analytical Chapter, insights were generated regarding the *internal* vulnerability positions. Social or economic crises furthermore, relate to one's *external* vulnerability position. Coping with these 'shock events', such as suffering from severe illness, death of a family member or being dismissed, requires certain resources.

6.4.1. Exploring external vulnerability

In this paragraph, 6.4, the *external* vulnerability of the interviewed migrants will be analyzed. The link between shock events and an individual's vulnerability position seems to be straight forward. Therefore it is tried to answer the following research question: *'To what extent do socio-economic shock events have an influence on the migrant's vulnerability while living in the city?'*

For each migrant story, it will be attempted to get an insight of both one's resilience as well as one's sensitivity to certain events – that (can) force a migrant into a more vulnerable position. Exploring the several roles of shock events, risks and stress (cf. Chambers, 1989) for all interviewed migrants, the following table could be confined (Table 4 on next page).

Migrant (see stories)	Example of personal encounter with shock event (risk, stress)	Implications for migrant's vulnerability? (outcome and responses)
Sakhumzi	Grandmother died; funeral	Little; as a result of insurance and relative short distance between city – village. Thus no extraordinary costs.
Phumlani	1. Grandmother died; funeral 2. Robberies 3. Pioneer / breadwinner role	1. Little; as a result of insurance. Due to obligations at work, he was not able to travel to the village. Thus no extraordinary costs. 2. Not entirely clear; however, he talked about it as if it were 'normal' and conquerable events. Did not mention any consequences with major impact. 3. Being one of the first family members at that time having a job in the city, raised family's expectations from Phumlani. Only mentions that he had encountered 'trouble' in the past, as a result of this situation.
Mnonopheli	Father died; funeral	Little; as a result of insurance and relative short distance between city and village. Thus no extraordinary costs.
Thanduxolo	Grandmother died; funeral	Little; as a result of insurance. Moreover, he was not able to pay for any costs, due to the fact that he had no job at that moment. Further, Thembelani paid for his journey to the village.
Mpumi	Husband died; being a widow	Not entirely clear; however, due to the relatively strong ties with urban contacts (family; *Ukuthlalisana* household), and the social grants

		she receives, Mpumi is able to survive without many problems concerning her livelihood.
(Nothembalethu &) Patrick	1. Father died; sudden 'push' to the city 2. (Exposure to) robbery / crime	1. Seems to be little; Patrick was received by a cousin living in the city and was able to build an own shack after a while. He does not mention any serious problems that emerged during that time. 2. Patrick points to a well-known problem of life in the city: crime. The risk of being robbed or attacked is significantly higher in the township than in the village – notwithstanding present forms of urban social control. This again leads to the fact that he believes that his children should be educated in the village, which implies e.g. extra costs for transportation and care-taking.
Mzwanele	1. Exposure to diseases / crime 2. The breadwinner role	1. Like Nothembalethu and Patrick, Mzwanele mentions the changing physical environment as a problem (to some extent). Living in a township implies health risks and exposure to crime. Both can lead to physical disabilities (e.g. to work) and extraordinary costs. 2. Not entirely clear, but it used to be some kind of burden before. Now

		Mzwanele has informed his family in the countryside that he has to take care of his own family in Cape Town.

Table 4: Exploring the influence of shock events on vulnerability position of interviewed urban migrants.

Analyzing Table 4, it becomes clear that all migrants seem to be able to cope with sudden, alleged impactful events. Notwithstanding the notion that the migrants probably did not provide all information about their encounter with shock events (because, for instance, they would feel embarrassed telling their inability to cope with a shock event), several 'coping mechanisms' appear to be *ex ante* or *ex post* 'safety nets' that deal respectively with the risks or the exposure to it (before the event), and the realized losses (after an event). Ex ante actions include insurances and personal financial savings that anticipate the death of a family member. Also 'knowing the rules' of South African (township) life, prevents the migrants from being robbed or getting ill. Ex poste actions contain mutual financial support (for (e.g.) paying taxi trips), cash benefits from the government and – in case of family expectations towards the migrant – 'hiding' behind other financial obligations such as the own core-family for which one has to take care, which legitimizes why the migrant does not remit to the village any more.

Another issue that emerges from this analysis, is that 'death' may not be the classical example of a 'shock event' for the case of Eastern Cape migrants in cities as Port Elizabeth and Cape Town. As the literature suggests (see for example Smith, 2007, and also Deklerk, personal communication, 1 April, 2011; De Wet, personal communication, 12 April, 2011), funerals can raise major concerns for the urban actor's social security position. It thus can make these migrants (in this case) vulnerable. However, as we see in this paragraph, both rural as well as urban actors have developed ex ante and ex post 'coping mechanisms' in the case of death of a family member. Thus the question raises to what extent death and funerals can still be perceived as shock events, and whether they should not be perceived as institutionalized events in the lives of (villagers and) urban actors, such as urban migrants.

One of the 'doubts' that has emerged in this section of the analytical Chapter concerns the influence of shock events. They have a certain amount of 'influence' on the social security position of a migrant, but on the other hand, migrants have developed several strategies to cope with these events. The encounter of a shock event not necessarily implies deep poverty or deprivation. This mainly seems to

depend on mechanisms set up by a group of individuals - a family, or 'social network'. This network creates financial arrangements such as savings, insurances and mutual exchange of money during times of crisis. Related social contacts can also explain 'survival tactics' regarding the new living environment (the township) and can also arrange housing, work and other social contacts; which can be conceptualized as ex ante actions to prevent another individual for encountering (the implications of) shock events. Ergo: social networks constitute a crucial institution for introducing 'coping mechanisms' for shock events. Social networks can therefore, in this case, be conceptualized as the 'resources' or 'safety nets' for external vulnerability.

Chapter 7 – Conclusions and reflections

"My experience is that if all one's energy goes to arranging food and shelter, there is no left for asking oneself what has actually happened to oneself. Psychological and spiritual issues ironically only reach the agenda quickly, if things start to get better."
(Father Michael Lapsley, priest and activist[14])

In Chapter 2 the main research question of this thesis was presented: *How do socio-economic ties, between the urban migrant in Cape Town and his rural social contacts in Guquka and Koloni, influence the urban migrant's vulnerability?*

Eventually in this Chapter, I should be able to answer this question. Yet, one of the functions of research questions are that they can 'steer' or 'guide' you through the phenomenon you are investigating. A number of conclusions can therefore be drawn which not only address the research question itself, but also address issues beyond or related to this question. First, I will present and summarize the findings of this thesis. In the next paragraph, more abstract conclusions, based on the findings, will be drawn. Finally, in paragraph 7.3, I will reflect on this research and postulate several interesting, relevant new 'windows' for future research.

7.1 Findings

In summary, this thesis offers the ability to come up with several insights and consequent conclusions; the social dynamics of the rural-urban divide in South Africa are not unambiguous.

From a rural perspective, the process of deagrarianization is one of the (coercive) initiators of the rural-to-urban movements made by mainly young South Africans. Villagers in the Eastern Cape appear to have a strong work ethic; and proud that comes along with it. The city is perceived as a place to (find) work, a 'better place' than the village – in the first instance. 'Having a job' implies 'being happy' and 'successful'. The 'urban' is consequently perceived as the only alternative place for a young adult to set up a living. To some extent, the rural 'stay-behinds' function as a safety net for the African youngster, the urban migrant who has decided to leave for the city. Rural family members support the urban migrant to a great extent when necessary. Not only financially, but also by linking them to other family members who have already been living 'over there'. These rural-to-urban 'flows of support' (and the role of 'proud') create expectations from the urban migrant according to the reciprocity principle. Expected remittances in these cases can be an extra burden for urban migrants

---

[14] Retrieved from a documentary on South African society by Dutch writer and Africa-expert Adriaan van Dis, www.vpro.nl/vandisinafrika, broadcasted on 12 April 2008.

providing a personal 'good quality of life'. Yet, this principle seems not to be the outright motive for maintaining social ties between the villagers and the urban migrants.

Social networks of urban and rural actors should not merely be seen as 'mechanical' reciprocal exchange networks, but also as a means for sharing feelings of belonging, affection and sociality. The mean contextual narrative here is that the 'desire for the city' changes over time to a 'desire for the village'. However, social networks play a significant role in preventing an urban migrant to fall into deprivation and poverty. They address the alleged and potential vulnerable position of a young villager who is moving to the city, both internally – by creating bridgeheads and safety nets, as well as externally – by creating coping mechanisms and safety nets . For, next to the rural-to-urban support linkages, also the *intra-urban* linkages, later on the time horizon, make a migrant less vulnerable. It is the rural safety net that preceded the urban safety net. Whether an individual can hinge onto these social networks, that partly function as safety nets, depends on a mixture of reasons, the 'rules of the game': having the right resources (or: 'capitals') and having *isidima* (gained some extent of 'respect') for instance. There are not outright 'gatekeepers' to be identified, as the literature suggests.

The actual movement to cities, can be characterized as 'chain migration' in general. This in contrast to the literature on international migration, which suggest complex networks as the facilitators for migration. Family members still appear to be crucial elements in the path to a successful rural-to-urban migratory movement. They are not only 'bridgeheads', but also supporters. Within the city, the intra-urban social network – which is often partly interlinked with the rural social network – is of specific importance for setting up and the continuation of the urban migrant's livelihood as well. 'The rural' is therefore not necessarily disconnected from 'the urban': next to rural-to-urban flows of support (and vice versa), also rural social connections and rituals are addressed in the urban environment. The villages still also remain places of sociality, culture and tradition.

Instead of speaking of 'regionalized households', this thesis has provided arguments to coin a concept like 'stayed-behind households' instead. It is the (new) urban household (which can hardly be conceptualized as 'temporary' or 'circular' city dwellers) that is 'struggling' now and which seems to have the centre of attention of both rural and urban actors. Households in the countryside are largely supported by social grants and partly by remittances, mainly in the form of (luxury) goods; roughly stated, their 'rhythm' has stabilized. Thus, rather than focusing on rural households and 'the family', a broader perspective should be upheld. In that sense, the 'family strategy' concept could better be replaced by 'abantakwethu strategy' ('brothers and sisters strategy') for the case of South African rural-urban migration. It is the intra-urban network (which goes beyond family members) that has a crucial role for the urban migrant which should be acknowledged.

At last, these social networks seem to facilitate rural-to-urban migration ad infinitum. However, like the story of Mpumi for example shows, migrants who have strong intra-urban links, who have created a 'successful new livelihood' or who encounter feelings of 'happiness' in the urban environment, can possibly stop ongoing rural-urban movements. Namely, the experienced 'desire for the village' with urban migrants, shored by feelings of belonging, further facilitate these movements. The interviewed generation of urban migrants may have created these feelings in the past, yet the question is whether new generations are educated similarly, i.e.: to what extent they are raised within the 'stayed-behind household' or within the urban household; and whether there will be 'stayed-behind households' in the future. Weakening (emotional) ties with the village could therefore intervene in the rural-to-urban migration 'circle'.

7.2 Implications

Findings 'are findings' and only get meaning if one attempts to frame these results; i.e. how should we understand these findings?; what do they mean or imply? In this paragraph, a more abstract discussion of the research findings will be presented.

What becomes clear from the rural domain is that a dynamic rural discourse is one of the main causes of the ongoing rural-to-urban migratory movements. It has several characteristics, yet shortly stated it entails a mixture of the dichotomy 'Nothing (village) vs. Everything (city)' and normalizes migration to the city. Motives for migration of different villagers are therefore quite similar, yet the specific strategies and particularly the outcome of the process is ambiguous. Migration implies 'change' and risks, and consequently vulnerability becomes an issue. Family chains as social networks can be considered as the facilitators of rural-urban migration. Most interviewed urban migrants were relatively permanent migrants who had strong intentions to return to the village in the future. This would imply that migration between the villages and the city goes on forever, yet a feedback mechanism would be that individuals or families get more 'attached' to the city and decide to stay instead.

Concerning the migrant's 'new livelihood' in the urban environment, another perspective may be useful to understand the everyday reality of those urban livelihoods. The urban migrant is not necessarily part of a family strategy, but also existent on the basis of one's own survival strategy. A relatively great part of an individual's (active) life takes part in the city, so it is rather odd to frame urban migrants as 'temporary' migrants. 'Success' and 'failure' of the rural-to-urban move, are both connected to the function of social networks. In the case of failure, social networks (rural and urban family members and other 'brothers and sisters') act as safety nets. In the case of success, remittances

and other forms of reciprocal exchange keep up social ties, and thus the network(s). Significantly, the rural social network appears to be of importance to prevent a (new) urban migrant falling into deprivation and poverty.

What follows is that the vulnerable position of urban migrants basically upholds the existence of social networks of husband/wife, family, friends and other acquaintances. Social networks entail the coping mechanisms of economic, social or physical 'losses' that potentially occur during a migrant's life time. Shock events are consequently less crucial for a migrant's vulnerability position. It appears to be the internal vulnerability of internal migrants that is relevant for further research, because as I argued, it is inherently interlinked with rural-to-urban migratory movements (in developing countries). It also plays a significant role in maintaining the rural-urban continuum. Next, it is desirable to work towards a broader notion of the vulnerability concept. Regarding the literature, there seems to be an ignorance of emotional or psychological factors that have an influence on one's vulnerability, for not only economic, social or physical factors determine a migrants' well-being. As appears from the analysis, emotions (feelings, aspirations, moods) are related to decision-making practices (concerning migration, livelihoods and social ties) of individuals, and should therefore be acknowledged.

Finally remains the reflection on the rural-urban divide question. Could the conclusion be that the divide between the countryside and the city, according to the findings in my thesis, has expanded? And what about the classical 'myth' about the stayed-behind, underdeveloped countryside and the progressive, rapid developing city? First, focusing on social (and socio-economic) ties between the 'rural' and the 'urban', it can be concluded that there is no specific discontinuity in the rural/urban spectrum. The urban migrant seems to be the connection, because he/she is connected to both a rural as well as an urban social network. The link to rural network is based on rural-urban support, expectations, (material, financial and social) remittances, love/affection and feelings of belonging, which also from a future perspective implies that the countryside will not be detached from the city. This thesis also confirms that the countryside remains dependent (to some degree) of the city. Diversifying and complementing the villager's income and material possessions are (still) roles of the urban migrant. The link to the urban network is based on mutual support in financial or social terms. Also these connections often have a 'rural character' for they originate from shared (rural) identities, kinship and friendship. Second, contrary to the rural/urban 'myth', it are the urban dwellers that seem to be more vulnerable than their rural counterparts, who seem to have a relatively stable, yet sometimes very poor, life in the countryside. They even support their 'urban' sons and daughters to a large extent when necessary. The countryside therefore has a (humble) role for urban development as well; instead of discussing rural development supported by urban activities alone. Moreover, not to forget certain rural cultural and social practices that are conducted in cities, determine the contemporary everyday urban lifestyles.

7.3 Reflections and 'windows' for further research

"(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 vulnerability (b) by conducting multi-sited ethnographic research in the rural Eastern Cape and urban Cape Town."

Reflecting on the aforementioned objectives, it can be concluded that this thesis addresses all of them – albeit that my focus was set on the implications for the urban migrant's vulnerability (2), while my co-researcher would focus on the first part (1). It appeared to be necessary to explore the nature and construction of an urban migrant's social network(s), his/her livelihood and his/her vulnerability position in order to come up with useful insights in the urban migrant's social network and vulnerability dynamics. Consistently, the vulnerability concept can be found in all chapters of this thesis. This 'focus' has been a useful guideline to explore the meaning of several mechanisms in the case of rural-to-urban migration between the South African countryside and city, without drifting to a superficial, mere descriptive investigation. Nevertheless, some reflection on the prior six paragraphs is not redundant, since every study has its shortcomings and often generates more questions than answers (Falzon, 2009).

First, as already argued, the context wherein social networks and urban migrants act, is highly complex and comprehensive. Although an holistic perspective is maintained during this research, some factors might have had little or no attention. As a geographer, I would say that the meaning of place has been ignored to some extent. I have focused on (theories of) urban migrants, their livelihoods and social networks in order to be able to generate useful insights in these concepts and their everyday reality. This could be considered as a bias in this thesis. Second, a range of methodological shortcomings have been presented in paragraph 3.4, which prompts the question to what extent one can generalize the consequent findings and conclusions, for sometimes the validity and reliability of the data(collection) has been jeopardized. Third, at all times there is a risk of misinterpretation in the case of content analysis of the elaborated questionnaires and interviews. Especially for practical reasons (of time), it has been impossible to partly overcome this risk by (long term) participant observation – which is a valuable research strategy in ethnographic studies.

Next to this thesis' own insights and shortcomings, also opportunities for further research, in a longitudinal form, have emerged. First I would like to suggest that regarding rural development issues, it appears to be useful to investigate the role of remittances and other forms of urban-rural (financial, material) flows contribute to the socio-economic development of the countryside. Discussions with

experts, villagers and urban migrants have prompted this question; there did not seem to be much consensus on the role of socio-economic linkages between the rural and the urban, for development issues.

Second, more theoretically, the question of De Haas (2007, 2010) triggers further research into the feedback mechanisms that could stop the ongoing rural-to-urban migratory movements. Governments like the South African one, have little 'grip' on perpetuating (problematic) urbanization, so in order to be able to manage these movements (if possible), more research is needed to reveal these mechanisms. This thesis only provided an insight into possible mechanisms on the basis of a couple of interviews. The exact mechanisms should therefore be investigated, but more longitudinal and in-depth research is needed therefore.

Third, concerning the social security position of the urban migrant, further research is relevant to explore the factors that determine a migrant's 'success' and 'failure' (of setting up a secure livelihood for instance) in the city. More data on these factors could provide information for the development of livelihood strategies for (e.g.) rural youth in South Africa. As argued in the previous suggestion for further research, there is little government intervention in rural-to-urban migration issues (except regenerating the outcome of these movements: the townships). 'Sons and daughters' from the countryside often merely follow their family's chain to the city, fuelled by the rural discourse that one *should* leave the countryside at a certain age. Problems within townships, the new dwelling site of urban migrants, concern for instance poverty, crime and illness. Reason enough to search for strategies to tackles these problems at other stages than the outcome.

Forth and last, I would like to suggest more in-depth, micro-level research to 'the urban migrant'. Several crucial factors are not included in past and contemporary research to the themes addressed in this thesis, such as the influence of emotional (or: psychological) factors of individual migrants. From the literature it seems that the rural-to-urban movement, its causes and implications are theorized on a macro-level and as if the actors are fully rational. 'Rural and urban actors are not part of some kind of 'mechanic system', but they are social, emotional as well as rational *human beings*. One will obtain a richer analysis by also including the emotional (or: psychological) aspects which play their role in individual decision-making processes regarding one's livelihood strategy and construction for instance.

References

Aarts, J., Evers, R., Noij, M., Pickmeijer, U. & Van der Zee, L. (2010). *Migration: an integral element of globalisation? Case study country South Africa*. Unpublished paper for master's course International Migration, Globalisation and Development. Nijmegen: Radboud University.

Ahmed, I. & Lipton, M. (1999). *Impact of Structural Adjustment on Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: A Review of the Literature. IDS Working Paper 62.* Sussex: Institute for Development Studies.

Allen, J. (2005). *Apartheid South Africa: an insider's overview of the origin and effects of separate development*. Bloomington: iUniverse.

Alwang, J. Siegel, B. & Jorgensen, S. (2001). *Vulnerability: a view from different disciplines. Social protection discussion paper series*. Washington: World Bank.

Baharoglu, D. & Kessides, C. (2002). Urban poverty. In: Bank, W. (2002). *PRSP Source book.* Pp. 123-159. Washington: IMF.

Bank, L. (1997). Town and country: Urbanisation and migration. *South African Labour Bulletin, 12, 4,* n.p.

Bank, L. (2001). Living Together, Moving Apart: Home-made Agendas, Identity Politics and Urban-Rural Linkages in the Eastern Cape, South Africa. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 19, 1,* pp. 129-147.

Bank, L. (2011). *Home spaces, street styles. Contesting power and identity in a South African city*. Johannesburg: Witspress.

Bank, L. & Kamman, E. (2010). *Changing Migration Patterns and Basic Service Delivery in the Eastern Cape*. East London: FHISER.

Bank, L. & Minkley, G. (2005). Going Nowhere Slowly? Land, Livelihoods and Rural Development in the Eastern Cape. *Social Dynamics, 31, 1,* pp. 1-38.

Blaikie P., Cannon T., Davis I. & Wisner B. (2004). *At Risk: Natural Hazards, People's Vulnerability, and Disasters*. New York: Routledge,

Bonvillain, N. (2010). *Cultural Anthropology*. Upper Saddle River NJ: Prentice Hall.

Castles, S. & Miller, M.J. (2009). *The Age of Migration. International population movements in the modern world.* 4th Edition. New York, United States: Palgrave MacMillan.

Chambers, R. (1989). Editorial Introduction: Vulnerability, Coping, and Policy. *IDS BulPetin, 20, 2*, pp. 1-7.

Chipkin, I. & Ngqulunga, B. (2008). Friends and family: social cohesion in South Africa. *Journal of South African Studies, 34, 1,* pp. 61 – 76.

Collinson, M., Tollman, S., Kahn, K. & Clark, S. (2003). *Highly prevalent circular migration: households, mobility and economic status in rural South Africa.* Johannesburg: University of the

Witwatersrand.

Coleman, J. (1988). Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, *94*, pp. S95-S120.

Cross, C. (2006). *Migrant motivations and capacities in relation to key migration streams.* In: Kok, P., Gelderblom, D., Oucho J.O, and Van Zyl, J .(eds). *Migration in South Africa*. Johannesburg: HSRC Press.

Cross, C., Bekker, S., Mlambo, N., KleinBoya, K., Saayman, L., Pretorius, H., Mngadi, T. and Mbela, T. (1999). *An unstable balance: Migration, small farming, infrastructure and livelihoods on the Eastern Seaboard: Part two – Eastern and Western Cape.* Final Report to Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA), Halfway House: DBSA.

Cross, C., Seager, J., Wentzel, M., Mafukitze, J., Hoosen, F., van Zyl, J. (2008). *Migration Management Challenges in South Africa: The Next Ten Years. Report presented to the Centre for Development and Enterprise*. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC).

De Haas, H. (2007). *Migration and Development: A Theoretical Perspective*. Working paper. Bielefeld: COMCAD. [retrieved via www.heindehaas.com, January 2011].

De Haas, H. (2010) The internal dynamics of migration processes: A theoretical inquiry. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36, 10, n.p. [retrieved via www.heindehaas.com, January 2011].

De Haas, H. (2010b) Migration and development: a theoretical perspective. *International Migration Review*. 44, 1, pp. 1-38.

Deklerk, H. (2008). *Connecting eKapa and ekhaya: ritual, attachment and the moral economy of urban-rural exchange networks.* Grahamstown: Research proposal PhD dissertation Rhodes University.

Devereux, S. (2007). Social Pensions in Southern Africa in the Twentieth Century. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 33, 3,* pp. 539-560.

De Wet, C. & Holbrook, G. (1997). Regionalization of the household: a temporary phase or a longer-term trend? In: De Wet, C. & Whisson, M. (Eds.). *From reserve to region. Apartheid and social change in the Keiskammahoek District of (former) Ciskei: 1950-1990* . Pp. 254-266. Grahamstown: ISER Occasional Paper 35.

Du Toit, A., Skuse, A. & Cousins, T. (2007). The political economy of social capital: chronic poverty, remoteness and gender in the rural Eastern Cape. *Social Identities, 13, 4,* pp. 521 – 540.

Du Toit, A. & Neves, D. (2007). In search of South Africa's second economy. *Africanus, 37, 2*, pp. 145   -174.

Du Toit, A. & Neves, D. (2009). *Informal Social Protection in Post-Apartheid Migration Networks: Vulnerability, Social Networks and Reciprocal Exchange in the Eastern and Western Cape, South Africa. Working Paper 2*. Cape Town: Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS*).

Ejigu Tegegne, A. (2009). *Migrant women's vulnerabilities: a research reconnaissance in Addis Ababa. Research paper.* Rotterdam: International Institute of Social Studies. [Retrieved via: http://oaithesis.eur.nl/ir/repub/asset/6534/final_RP_Alem.pdf on 23 February 2012].

Evers, R. (2011). *Moving from the rural to the urban: a focus on the migrants' social networks and their social security dynamics.* Nijmegen: Radboud University master thesis research proposal.

Falzon, M. (2009). *Multi-sited ethnography: Theory, praxis and locality in contemporary research (chapter 1).* Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Fitzgerald, D. (2006). Towards a theoretical ethnography of migration. *Qualitative Sociology, 29, 1,* pp. 1-24.

Folbre, N. (1994) *Who Pays for the Kids? Gender and the Structure of Constraints.* London: Routledge.

Geschiere, P. & Gugler, J. (1998). Introduction: The urban-rural connection: changing issues of belonging and identification. *Africa, 68, 2,* pp. 309 – 319.

Gregory, D., Johnston, R., Pratt, G., Watss, M. & Whatmore, S. (2009). *The dictionary of human geography Fifth Edition.* London: Wiley-Blackwell.

Hebinck, P. & Lent, P. (2007). *Livelihoods and landscapes : the people of Guquka and Koloni and their resources.* Leiden: African Studies Centre.

Hubbard, P. (2006). *City.* Routledge: London

Jacobs, J. (1969). *The economy of cities.* New York: Random House.

Kabeer, N. (1996). Agency, well-being and inequality: Reflection on the gender dimensions of poverty. *IDS Bulletin 27,* pp. 11-21.

Kok, P., O'Donovan, M., Bouare, O. & Van Zyl, J. (2003). *Post-Apartheid patterns of internal migration in South Africa.* Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC).

Lee, E. (1966). A theory of migration. *Demography, 3, 1,* pp. 47-57.

Lin, N. (1999). Building a network theory of social capital. *Connections, 22, 1,* pp. 28 – 51.

Mabin, A. (1990). Limits of urban transition models in understanding South African urbanization. *Development Southern Africa, 7, 3*, pp. 311 – 322.

Mabogunje, A. (1970). Systems approach to a theory of ruralurban migration. *Geographical Analysis, 2, 1,* p. 118.

Madhavan, S, Townsend, N. & Garey, A. (2008). Absent breadwinners: father-child connections and paternal support in rural South Africa. *Journal of South African Studies, 34, 3,* pp. 647 – 663.

Marcus, G. (1995). Ethnography in/of the world system: the emergence of multi-sited ethnography. *Annual Reviews of Anthropology, 24,* pp. 95 – 117.

Massey, D. (1990). Social Structure, Household Strategies and the Cumulative Causation of Migration. *Population Index, 56, 1,* pp. 3-26.

Massey, D., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, Al, Pellegrino, A. & Taylor, E. (1993). *Theories of international migration: a review and appraisal. Population and development review, 19, 3,* pp. 431 – 466.

McAllister, P. (2001). *Building the homestead: agriculture, labour and beer in South Africa's Transkei.* Aldershot: Ashgate.

Mosoetsa, S. (2005). *Intra and inter-household and community livelihood activities in Mpumalanga and Enhlalakahle townships in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. Unpublished PhD-thesis.* Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand.

Ngwane, Z. (2003). 'Christmas Time' and the Struggles for the Household in the Countryside: Rethinking the Cultural Geography of Migrant Labour in South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 29, 3,* pp. 681-699.

Noij, M. (2011). *Internal migration and the rural-urban divide; a network approach.* Nijmegen: Radboud University master thesis research proposal.

Oberai, A. (1988). *Migration, Urbanisation and Development, Training in Population.* Geneva: Human Resources and Development Planning, International Labour Office.

Pacione, M. (2009). *Urban geography. A global perspective. 2ⁿᵈ edition.* Oxfordshire: Routledge.

Polzer, T. (2010). *Silence and Fragmentation: South African Responses to Zimbabwean Migration in Crush & Tevera (Eds) Zimbabwean Exodus: Crisis, Migration, Surviv*al. Cape Town: SAMP, IDRC.

Porter, G, Hampshire, K., Mashiri, M., Dube, S. & Maponya, G. (2010). 'Youtscapes' and escapes in rural Africa: education, mobility and livelihood trajectories for young people in Eastern Cape, South Africa. *Journal of International Development, 22,* pp. 1090 – 1101.

Portes, A. (1998). Social capital: its origins and applications in modern sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology, 24*, n.p.

Posel, D. (2001). How do households work? Migration, the household and remittance behaviour in South Africa. *Social Dynamics, 27, 1,* pp. 167 – 192.

Posel, D. (2003). Have migration patterns in post-apartheid South Africa changed? Working paper. Johannesburg: Conference on African Migration in Comparative Perspective

Potts, D. (2011). Making a livelihood in (and beyond) the African city: the experience of Zimbabwe. *Africa, 81, 4*, pp. 588 – 605.

Schapendonk, J. (2011). *Turbulent trajectories. Sub-saharan African migrants heading north.. PhD-thesis.* Nijmegen: Radboud University.

Schrieder, G. & Knerr, B. (2000). Labour migration as a social security mechanism for smallholder households in Sub-Saharan Africa: the case of Cameroon. *Oxford Development Studies, 28, 2,* pp. 223 -236.

Skinner, C. (2006). Falling through the policy gaps? Evidence from the informal economy in Durban, South Africa. *Urban Forum, 17*, pp. 125 – 148.

Smith, L. (2007). *Tied to migrants. Transnational influences on the economy of Accra, Ghana. PhD-thesis*. Amsterdam: UvA.

Smith, L. & Hebinck, P. (2007). Mobility and population dynamics. In: Hebinck, P. & Lent, P. (2007). *Livelihoods and landscapes: the people of Guquka and Koloni and their resources.* Leiden: African Studies Centre.

Spiegel, A., Watson, V. & Wilkinson, P. (1996). Domestic diversity and fluidity among some African households in greater Cape Town. *Social Dynamics, 22, 1*, pp. 7 – 30.

Todes, A., Kok, P., Wentzel, M., Van Zyl, J. & Cross, C. (2010). Contemporary South African Urbanization Dynamics. *Urban Forum, 21*, pp. 331–348.

Thompson, L. (2001). *A history of South Africa. Third edition*. New Haven: Yale University Press

Van Houtum, H., & Van Naerssen, T. (2002). Bordering, ordering and othering, *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie (TESG)*, *93, 2,* pp.125-136

Verschuren P. & Doorewaard H. (2007). *Het ontwerpen van een onderzoek. Vierde druk*. Den Haag: Uitgeverij Lemma.

Websites

http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/social-institutions/ [retrieved on 3 November, 2011]

http://www.ilo.org/global/topics/social-security/lang--en/index.htm [retrieved on 4 March 2011]

Appendix1 – List of figures

Appendix 2 – List of (expert) interviewees

Henning Deklerk MA: PhD student in Anthropology, Livelihood and Development Studies, Rhodes University, South Africa. (1 April, 2011)

Prof. dr. Chris De Wet: professor of Anthropology, Rhodes University, South Africa. (12 April, 2011)

David Neves MSc.: researcher at the institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS), University of the Western Cape, South Africa (5 May, 2011)

Appendix 3 – Questionnaire rural domain

co-authored by Mathijs Noij (cf. Noij, 2011; forthcoming)

NB: Questionnaire was used as item-list for making field notes.

Interviewer: Ralph / Mathijs
Date: Time: Place: Reference number on map:

Interviewee name: Gender: Age: Regularity:
House owner / renter / care taker

Married: No children: ROLE interviewee:

Livelihood construction: grant holder / farmer / entrepreneur / remitter / wage earner / diversifier
Dominant:

1. *Perception of the city (and relations to the country side):*

2. *Perception on migration to the city:*

3. *Perception on reciprocity principle:*

4. *Family member living in the city? (Name, relationship, age, place, phone number)*

5. *HISTORY: why?*
   how?

6. *Activities before moving?*

   Land ownership before?

7. *His/her resources to move (economic / social)?*

Social relations:
8. *Perception (good/close/weak..):*
9. *Who has contact?*
10. *Times of contact (telecomm / physical):*
11. *What is discussed during (money?)?*

About the migrant:
12. *Perception: improved life (social security, happiness)?*
13. *Does he/she support the family (extent)?*
14. *Do you support him (extent)?*

Future:
15. *Perception of the future? Return? More members moving?*

Observations (eco/socio/physical):

Appendix 4 – Elaborated questionnaires rural domain

co-authored by Mathijs Noij (cf. Noij, 2011; forthcoming)

NB1: the elaborated questionnaires are chronologically structured. The code 'G1' within the text of previous chapters refers to the first interview held in Guquka; subsequently 'G2' to the second (...), and K1, (...) to the first, (...) interviews conducted in Koloni.

NB2: the numbers in the left column of the table below are only inserted to structure the answers given on the corresponding question.

NB3: (d) = dominant [livelihood activity], (est.) = estimated [age]

NB4: All names are fictive for privacy reasons. Real names are known by the author of this thesis.

Interview 1 GUQUKA	
Who?	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	1. House owner 2. Crop farmer (d); remitter
Perception on city, migration, reciprocity principle	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	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	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.
Perception on the migrant(s) wellbeing / livelihood	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
Prospects on social relations and migrant(s)	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.
Observations of physical environment and interviewee's behaviour	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.

Interview 2 GUQUKA	
Who?	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.
Livelihood	1. House owner
	2. Remitter (d); cattle/crop farmer (rely heavily on remittances, and their farmland.
	3. No grants, no wages.
Perception on city, migration, reciprocity principle	1. Here in the village 'is nothing to do' so in the city life must be better.
	2. One should migrate to the city, because there is not work in the village.
	3. [No opinion about reciprocity principle]
History before moving	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	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	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)	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	1. Looks like a poor family:
	    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?	1. Mrs. Menziwa, about 50 years old (est.), always at home, married, at least 3 children (interviewee remained unclear about this).
	 2. She has:
	    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	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	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	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. 4. Mr. and Mrs. Menziwa had enough savings to let their children move to Port Elizabeth and Cape Town (by taxi).
Rural-urban social relations	1. Mrs. Menziwa perceives her relationship with her sons as 'quite close', but her sons only call at the end of the month after 'payday'. 2. Only Mrs. Menziwa talks to her sons on the phone. 3. Sons living in Port Elizabeth visit regularly. Son in Cape Town only during holidays. 4. During telephone contact, they talk about both social as well as financial issues.
Perception on the migrant(s)' wellbeing / livelihood	1. 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. 2. The migrants do not support the family in the village. 3. Mrs. Menziwa and Mr. Menziwa still

	support their sons financially to a large extent. Mostly the unemployed.
Prospects on social relations and migrant(s)	1. Mrs. Menziwa does not want to leave Guquka because "village life is good". 2. She does not want to leave her livestock and agricultural grounds. 3. 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	1. While luxury was not omnipresent within the house, the quality of the property seemed looked well. 2. The house was situated on the same piece of land of a property which is only occupied during the holidays. 3. The interviewee was very friendly and seemed to be very open.

Interview 4 GUQUKA	
Who?	1. Mr. X (name unknown), about 70 years old (est.), always at home. 2. [Interviewee does not want to talk about marital status and possible children]. 3. Though, he was a migrant himself who had returned to Guquka after working in Cape Town.
Livelihood	1. House owner 2. Grantholder
Perception on city, migration, reciprocity principle	1. Mr. X experienced his move to the city as a 'very good thing to do' in the end. 2. The reciprocity principle is something that not everyone applies, but everyone

	should.
History before moving	1. Mr. X used to be a farmer, but in order to support his family, he wanted to leave for the city. 2. In the 1970s he was recruited by an agency that was searching for workers. 3. First he travelled a lot between Guquka and Cape Town, dependent on temporary contracts, but eventually he lived in the city for 10 years. 4. Worked as a poultry farmer close to Cape Town, but also had many other jobs. 5. "Years ago" he came back to Guquka due to an injury. 6. He took over the land of his parents in Guquka.
Rural-urban social relations	1. His relationship with his mother who lived in Guquka was "quite good" during his stay in Cape Town. 2. He wrote letters to his mother and he visited her during times between two contracts and during the holidays. 3. Mr. X wrote and talked about his life in the city. Not specifically about anything.
Perception on the migrant(s)' wellbeing / livelihood	1. Mr. X was quite happy during his time in Cape Town, because he earned wages. 2. He supported his family with remittances at that time. 3. 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	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?	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	1. House owner 2. Grantholder (d); remitter
Perception on city, migration, reciprocity principle	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	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 en do 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	1. Mrs. Botha has relatively good contact with her two daughters. 2. Sometimes there is telephone contact and often Mrs. Botha travels to Cape Town to visit her children. 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.
Perception on the migrant(s)' wellbeing / livelihood	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.
Prospects on social relations and migrant(s)	There is no reason to believe that something in the current situation will change in the future according to Mrs. Botha. Life has stabilized.
Observations of physical environment and interviewee's behaviour	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.

<table>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>

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).

</td>
</tr>
</table>

Interview 6 GUQUKA	
Who?	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	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	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	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	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	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. 3. 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)	1. Mr. Mpiko is comfortable in Guquka, so he will stay and die there. 2. His wife lives in Cape Town, but their

	contact is poor. Seems to be a substantial argument in between them. 3. 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?	1. Mrs. Rhaxo, about 60 years old (est.), often at home, married, has three children. One child lives in Koloni. 2. Two of her children (sons) live in Cape Town. She only talks about one son [reason unknown].
Livelihood	1. House owner 2. Grantholder (d), farmer
Perception on city, migration, reciprocity principle	1. The city is not a place to choose for, 2. …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. 3. The reciprocity principle is not an obligation, Mrs. Rhaxo says.
History before moving	1. Her son was recruited for the army many years ago. So he had to go to Cape Town (by government transport). 2. Now he is a merchant, sells "products". 3. Before moving to Cape Town her son

	was doing nothing, did not finish his school. 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	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	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)	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	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?	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	1. House owner 2. Grant holder (d)
Perception on city, migration, reciprocity principle	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	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	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	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)	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 a family and have a good life and income there. Though, he says, they are welcome to come back.
Observations of physical environment and interviewee's behaviour	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

<table>
<tr><td></td><td>immediately gave telephone numbers to the researchers.
3. He had experience with researchers of Fort Hare who interviewed him before.</td></tr>
</table>

Interview 3 KOLONI	
Who?	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	1. House owner 2. Farmer
Perception on city, migration, reciprocity principle	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.
History before moving	No data.
Rural-urban social relations	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	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	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?	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. & 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	3. House owner 4. Grant holder, wage earner, remitter. No

	dominant element.
Perception on city, migration, reciprocity principle	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 in the village. She herself is not satisfied with the amount she gets from her sons.
History before moving	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. 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.

Rural-urban social relations	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.
Perception on the migrant(s)' wellbeing / livelihood	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. 5. At this moment, Mrs. Gongqozayo does not support her sons anymore.
Prospects on social relations and migrant(s)	1. 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. 2. She herself will stay in Koloni until she dies. 3. The researchers do not know for whom Sakhumzi wants to build the house in

	Koloni.
Observations of physical environment and interviewee's behaviour	1. The house interior looks luxurious regarding all the material possessions (DVD player, flat screen TV, proper furniture etc.). 2. Mother and daughter look healthy. 3. Seemingly, a lot of cousins live in the house as well. Mrs. Gongqozayo takes care for several family members, as it looks. 4. 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?	1. Mrs. Mzoli, about 60 years old (est.), always at home, married, four children. 2. 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	1. House owner 2. Grant holder
Perception on city, migration, reciprocity principle	1. Migration to the city is good, because you can earn money there. 2. (see 1)

	3. Migrants should send money back 'home'. One of her sons does not, so therefore she is in conflict with him, she says.
History before moving	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	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	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)	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	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.