"Rural and/or Urban", the question of migration in development revisited in the light of land reform initiatives. A case study of two communities in the province of KwaZulu Natal.

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Declaration

Except where otherwise specified in the text, this work is my own work.

Sobhuza Dlamini, January 1999

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SECTION 1

INTRODUCTION

This study sets out to test and examine a tension relating to the contemporary South African land reform policy as it affects some communities in KwaZulu Natal and the dominant development paradigm of modernisation. This tension centres on the ideas these two streams of thought hold as to the possible path process of development in relation to communities who suffered the involuntary resettlements policies implemented by the previous state in South Africa.

On the one hand, the South Africa land reform policy is underpinned by the assumption that people who were forcibly removed from the land - want to go back to their land, (Green Paper on South African Land Reform Policy, 1996). This argument, taken to its logical conclusion, would therefore argue that the history of forced removals and the need to right the wrongs of the past out-weight the popularly assumed need to urbanise and industrialise in order to develop.

On the other hand, the contemporary world and its predominating development thesis are largely shaped by the modernisation paradigm. This paradigm essentially argues that there are two distinct sectors of economy in a developing society - namely, the rural and the urban. It is taken for granted by this paradigm that development only takes place through a unilinear process characterised by the movement and the redirection of resources (including human resources) invariably from rural to urban areas. Furthermore it argues that this one directional movement of resources is prerequisite, inevitable and inexorable in development, (H. Chenery, 1988, A. W. Lewis, 1966 and observations made by J.K. Coetzee, 1996:43).

Secondary to the central problem of the study, as outlined above, is a need to critically engage

with popular conceptions concerning issues of migration in structuring the rural urban linkages in development. What causes people to migrate and what role does the nature and the path of development play in establishing a pattern of migration and why?

Essentially the migration issues are engaged with, through unpacking popular assumptions about migration as articulated by Caldwell (1969). While issues of development and land reform are engaged with, through a review of modernisation paradigm literature and the green paper on the South African land reform respectively.

The study hypothesises that the assumptions that there is two clearly distinct sectors of economy in a developing society and that everybody who suffered the rural forced removals policy wants to go back to land, do not always hold. In fact, for poor people the difference between rural and urban is not as clear- cut as the assumptions above would like to suggest. The case is thus made by the study that for some poor people the difference between rural and urban and the movement within as well as across them forms part of the need for continued repositioning of their households resources so as to cope with the challenges of poverty.

This study emanates from two case studies involving the communities of Hobsland and Besters respectively. The communities were studied during the November and December period of 1995. The background to the study was provided and supported by the earlier case studies done with the communities and some migrant workers from Charlestown and Roosboom communities. Bestrers was relocated to join an already settled rural community of Hobsland during the fifties and sixties. In the mid seventies both the former Besters and Hobsland communities were forcibly removed by the authorities as they were classified as a black spot in

white land. Subsequently there were jointly forcibly removed to the town, in a township near Ladysmith called Ezakheni. There is evidence that this township was built and continually extended to accommodate people forcibly removed from land in rural areas in and around Ladysmith.

The history of these communities is shared, in that their members suffered externally induced and largely involuntary resettlements implemented by the state. Could this historical context be the sole reason behind their need to go back to rural land? To what extent does their past shape their present day choices? What could their responses to the land reform policy tell us about the relationship between rural and urban sectors and the role they play in development?

The study takes the view that the responses provided to the above questions by the communities have a bearing in the way in which they perceive and understand their development. It is the purpose of the study to give voice and meaning to this understanding.

While there is a generally expressed need of righting the wrongs of the past (restitution), not everybody wants to go back to rural places. In fact the study suggests that the people interested in going or being sent back to rural are the those retired and unemployed. The employed and scholars are likely to remain in urban areas. Importantly, people approach the land reform processes with a view of engaging with the opportunities it provides to help them cope with and/or escape from poverty that envelopes their lives. The land reform presents two most important opportunities, firstly, it stands to provide adequate land from which to practice farming and secondly, it creates another residential space for the household. Generally, the land reform process could contribute in the development of these communities by creating socio-

economic opportunities that up to the present have not existed for many of them. It is in this context that the study concludes that for many people in these communities the struggles to generate livelihoods transcend sectoral boundaries and presents different constraints and opportunities at different times.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

The introduction is followed by the methodology section, which details the way in which the study was conducted. It also highlights the central methodological problems and solutions that the study has been able to contribute to the body of methodology literature. This is followed by a literature review which involves reviewing classically dominant but contemporary pervasive conceptions of migration which are influential in explaining rural urban linkages and the implication they hold for development. The literature review section also presents the ideas of modernisation paradigm and the South African land reform policy. The description of empirical findings section then follows and it presents relevant demographic and socio-economic data of these communities. This is followed by the interpretation of findings (understanding the choices) section. The final section is the conclusion, which essentially consolidates the central argument in the study.

SECTION 2

METHODOLOGY

The study was carried out through a cross sectional research technique, involving two communities over November, December and January 1995 and 1996 period. This was followed up by a triangulation technique involving qualitative and participatory research techniques. Participation has been a guiding principle determining the approach and options throughout the research process. Not only was participation opted for because of the inherent conceptual benefit it usually delivers but also because the communities leadership made it a precondition for research to take place. The quantitative aspect of this study was designed the following way.

THE QUANTITATIVE METHOD

Closed-ended structured questionnaires were administered on the total of eighty-three respondents in a sampling frame of two hundred and sixty-five elements. Forty-seven of the respondents were from Hobsland community and thirty-four were from Besters. The questionnaire design was develop from ideas gathered from the literature on migration, the green paper on South African land reform policy and views conveyed by the communities during the gaining entry visits.

The value of the probabilistic sampling techniques was proposed, contextualised by the researcher and accepted by all present in the gaining entry meetings. The central benefits highlighted and discussed with regards to these probabilistic sampling techniques was because

of their ability to expeditiously generate a representative outcome. The unbiased selection process of respondents was also highlighted as a major advantage in using probabilistic sampling technique in a study of this nature. The sampling frame was collectively constructed by the researcher and the communities for the two following reasons.

Firstly, the list of all the people who were subjected to forced removals was not at the disposal of the communities as the land commissioner's office was using it. Secondly, the collective participation in the sampling frame construction made the community mapping exercise possible. The mapping exercise played an important participatory role, in that it gave a chance for members of the communities - present in the meetings - to identify households eligible for participation in the research process. At the end of this process both lists, the official list and the social mapping list, were compared and there was no disparity.

It was subsequently agreed with the communities that the researcher should work out and determine a methodologically competent procedure of selecting elements to be observed. The researcher executed simple and periodic trends examination. The researcher then met the communities and started using the simple random sampling procedure of element selection. After the procedure was explained the communities than effectively conducted the selection. All elements in the sampling frame were separated by cutting them into smaller pieces of paper, each piece representing an element (a household). The pieces were put into a little box, mixed and some members of the community were invited in the front to objectively select pieces, each piece per person until the sample group target number was reached. The formula was stipulated by the researcher to equal a total of thirty elements per a sampling frame constituting a hundred elements. This is a methodologically acceptable representation, (F.C. Dane, 1990 and E. Babe,

1992). After the sample had been selected, the community field assistants were elected. They were given the task, by the researcher, of physically locating respondents selected and placing appointments with them for interviews. The communities felt that the study will benefit them most effectively if it interviewed heads of households. While there are significant problems with this selection, I however, felt that in the interest of getting the research done I had to abide by this problematic agreement.

Interviews were carried out with the household heads and they were suppose to give socio-economic, demographic and information status about their household as well as to articulate the views of the households in relation to the land reform process. Some interviews however, involved other household members, usually the spouse of household head or an elder daughter because either male household heads could not provide accurate demographic and/or socio-economic information about the household or they were not available and had mandated them to provide the data.

KEY INFORMANTS

In addition to the questionnaire interviews with the heads of households, five key informants were interviewed from each community. The key informants were selected mainly from the community committee members and from community members who were particularly influential in articulating communities' needs, demands and views about the land reform process during community meetings. The discussions with the key informants were largely qualitative and unstructured conversation between the researcher and the key informant concerned. The researcher's role during the conversations was mainly to direct the conversation and probe positions and attitudes. The focus group discussion process followed the key informants'

conversations.

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

The size of these focus groups varied and was often difficult to limit and control. While in conventional terms a focus group discussion should not have less than three and not more than eight members, it was very difficult to keep numbers within this guideline. In some instances the number of participants in a focus group discussion was as low as seven, but there were other instances where numbers went as far as up to twenty-three participants in one focus group. This is mainly because of the selection procedure used to determine eligibility to participate in them. It was usually during community meetings that the researcher announced two dates for the focus group discussion meetings. The first meeting for the women and the other for the youth. This was done so as to create a platform within which the sections of the community under or not represented by heads of household interviews can express their ideas about the land reform process and migration in development. Depending on, among others, the interest these sections of community had in the research process, some focus group discussion meetings enjoyed popular turn up while others did not.

There was tension in trying to keep the number of participants down or up in some focus group discussions while aiming at ensuring that as many as possible voices are reached and heard through the focus group discussions. There were instances where it was even difficult to categorise the meeting as a focus group because of the number of participants present in one meeting, for an example, in a Hobsland women focus group discussion meeting the number of participants was twenty. While in a community where some segments had no enthusiasm to discuss issues of land reform and the opportunity to go back to rural areas there were focused

group discussions that had a minimum of four participants, namely, the Besters' youth focus discussion group.

The focus group attendance waved also because there were instances where people kept coming in, sometimes as late as an hour after the discussion had started. For example, sometimes the discussion will start with about seven people at eleven and ends with about fifteen people at one. I still feel that it would have been counter-productive and perhaps very discouraging for me to have expelled anyone from joining a focus group discussion just on the basis of numbers. With the help of field assistants one was reasonably abled to at least ensure that most people were able to contribute an opinion or feeling during focus group discussion irrespective of the size.

Information generated from the focus group discussions was analysed the following way. It was essentially the frequency of mentioning an issue or item and time awarded to discussing it which was used to determine the important, indicative, thematic or from the unimportant to irrelevant scenario of the issue concerned. The items discussed were mainly taken from section five of the interview schedule, (see, the appendix). There were questions that related specifically to the particular groups present, for example, women and youth issues being brought up with them. In some groups there were issues discussed which were never anticipated during the structuring of focus group discussion guideline.

METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED

The fact that in the quantitative component of the study we opted to interview heads of households could have many problems especially because of unequal power relations that exist between males and females. This is realised as a methodological problem in that while heads of households could have strong views on a number of issues, it was evident even from this study that they are not the most accurate repositories of households' socio-economic and demographic data. It is also not useful to think that heads of households necessarily and fairly represent the views of every household member. The choice in this instance was made out of the need to accommodate the feeling of the majority of participants during community meetings and for the sake of ensuring that the research process went on without evoking potentially destructive conflict within the communities themselves.

Fortunately this problem was, to a minor extent, practically addressed by the fact that in reality most male heads of households need the assistance of either their spouses or daughters to be able to give accurate responses to socio-economic and demographic questions about "their" households. While the study retained the heads households as principal respondents throughout its course, there were instances where there was considerable input made by the spouses and/or elder daughters during the heads of households interviews. This does not solve the issue of unequal power relations effectively in that, in some instances, this input was made in the presence of the male head of household or on his behalf.

A major minus the triangulation participatory methodology had, in this particular case, was the cost and time factors. Participatory methodologies usually require more time for them to work productively, as building capacity and trust with communities is more of a process than an

event. Gaining entry has also proven very time consuming, as this exercise required that frequent visits be made to the communities even before the study had really begun, in terms of observation. Training for community field assistants and some committee members also consumed considerable time and resources. Field work participation, mainly supervision was also a major time consuming activity at times, as it was required that after every data collection session, the researcher sits with the field assistants and work through every interview schedule, to ensure that standardised data collection procedure was consistently maintained.

Furthermore there were problems that related to the fact that the project involved community leaders who usually had many things to do. In some instances, for example, resources and time were committed travelling to predated meetings but only to find that due to more urgent and pressing issues community leaders had just unilaterally opted to cancel research meetings. The other problem area could have arisen in the sampling frame construction process as in some communities there were no systematically compiled list of elements eligible for observation. It is then possible that not every element within the population was included in the sampling frame. It is hoped, however, that this is not a strong possibility because of two measures undertaken to cross check the elements, sometimes even through the snowball method of finding more elements. The decision to involve someone in the list was not just a privilege of a few arbitrary selected people. After committee members have constructed the sampling frame a community meeting was called to deliberate on, among other things, the sampling frame fairness by checking, adding and subtracting from the list. Furthermore cross-checking with the official lists was undertaken. The problem with working from the household sampling frame was mainly related to the fact that it reflected the households and not individual members of households. This sets out a structural parameter of who can be interviewed during the process of

conducting research. It was generally in the male head of household's name that household appeared on the sampling frame.

STRENGTHS AND GAINS ASSOCIATED WITH THIS METHODOLOGY

The major advantage for this type of methodology is the multifaceted nature of its operational jurisdiction that allows for several issues to be attended to, for example, issues of trust building so as to generate useful data to issues of community capacity building through research training. Collecting data efficiently requires an effort to ensure that an ever possible mistake of generating non-useable sabotaged data is kept at bay, (see, Dane 1990 and E. Babe, 1992). It is thus necessary to pay attention to community perceptions of both research and the subject under study. Using the triangulation techniques has enabled the research to ensure the risk above stated was avoided. The route of the triangulation approach reduced the possibility of generating sabotage data through the following way.

1) Access through the Association for Rural Advancement (AFRA) encouraged a positive reception of the researcher by the community. This is because AFRA is an organisation that has won respect of these communities for its dedicated service throughout their stance against forced removals.

2) Considerable time and resources were allocated to introduce the research to the communities and to allow time to consider all its implications. In some instances there were meetings convened solely to ensure that community members could ask question and be fairly answered. As a result fieldwork was conducted very expeditiously and it also reduced discussion and conflict during fieldwork itself.

3) Report back meetings were arranged after the data coding stage so as to verify data and to

allow the communities to reflect on what they have said. This process helped communities to know more descriptive information about themselves and it also helped highlight for leaders and people at other levels of communities to get to know areas that required their focus.

SECTION 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

MIGRATION AND THE RURAL URBAN LINKAGES IN DEVELOPMENT

The subject of rural-urban linkages is vast and is subject to enquiry by many researchers across disciplines that are interested in different but overlapping dimensions of the problem. Economists, for example, usually study the transfer of goods and services from one sector to the other. Geographers have not only concerned themselves with the processes shaping the use of space, but they have also concerned themselves with issues of migration and urbanisation, (R. B. Potter and T. Unwing, 1989).

There could be two reasons why it has been more of geographers than sociologists that have tended to focus on migration. First, migration impacts decisively on space and spatial formations which in turn influence the types of social organisations. Second, sociology has tended to engage migration issues either indirectly or at secondary levels, that is reflecting on them when processes have already taken shape in order to examine the assumptions made by policy makers and to postulate the prospect or the effect thereof, (N. Long 1982, T.J. Byres 1995 and H. Bernstein 1992).

The geographers have tended to hypothesise the problem of rural urban linkage in terms of pre-existing social infrastructure, which makes rural to urban movement possible for specific groups of people. There are several important and illuminating findings established by this hypothesis of understanding migration. Firstly, people who already have relations and/or friends in urban areas are more likely to migrate than those who have no social contacts in the towns and cities. Secondly, young men are more likely to migrate than women of all ages. Thirdly, migration

follows a geographic pattern in that people usually do not migrate from isolated small rural communities to large urban centres but they are many stages that they go through before they can reach the big urban centres. (J. C. Caldwell, 1969).

While some of the above may be true, at certain points and places in certain times, the processes and patterns of migration above are not universal neither are they permanent. In the communities studied in this work, for example, it has been established that migration was not an optional process nor was it confined to young men. Moreover, while it is true that issues of livelihoods and economic well being play an essential role in influencing people's decision to move, there are instances where social integration or lack of it are the formidable factor in influencing the decision to move. Also, migration is not necessarily confided to the move from rural to urban, the destination of the movement is interchangeable as the choices about whether to move depend on the present prevailing circumstances and the socio-economic prospect(s) of the past, present or future locality.

There have also been some attempts to try to understand the rural urban linkages in the light of the implications they hold for broader micro and macro socio-economic development. Some scientists have gone so far as to conclude that migration is the central phenomenon in understanding the process of social organisation both in rural and in urban areas. They conclude that therefore the real competition and struggle in Africa is not between the capital and labour but between the urban and rural classes, (D, Preston, 1987 and Harvey, 1985).

A key focus in migration research, especially in Africa, has been to try to determine who the urban migrant is. The aim has primarily been to develop appropriate urban development

planning. As Caldwell points out this approach has had a share of its own methodological problems. These range from issues relating to the difficulties of sampling (who, how and especially where to sample), to more complex theoretical questions about whether they could be single causal factor behind migrating. The reason the problem is without solution - Caldwell observes, is largely because it is impossible to identify an individual causal factor in migration and a multi-factorial approach is inadequate in that it usually fails to isolate the most compelling reasons which make people or an individual to migrate. There is also the ultimate implicit problem in defining the migrant as those who are planning to migrate as there could be serious problems with policy intervention (planning) that takes this assumption as a premise, (J. C. Caldwell, 1969).

When Caldwell conducted research, the trend was still to locate the central problem with understanding the person migrating rather than the context behind migration. The other problem was a tendency to look at migration more as discreet and localised phenomenon. This prevented the studies in migration the chance to realise that the migration phenomenon is better understood as a global process, which transcends locally discreet economic sector parameters. It is in recognising these gaps that recent research in migration as a link factor in rural urban settlement, has tended to treat migration as one of the very few choices people have in trying to overcome their poverty related constraints and problems.

Migrancy and migration are influenced by a number of factors, ranging from natural calamities to global socio-economic trends, for example, processes of de-agrarianisation and de-industrialisation whereby processes could take effect in local spaces, where-else they are inherently driven and introduced externally. The role structural adjustment policies and changes

in the international markets have played in shaping migration patterns in the sub Saharan Africa serves as an instructive example of a situation where socio-economic conditions act as push factors, (D. F. Bryceson, 1996). Such global socio-economic processes create constraints and/or opportunities that make it possible for particular groups of people and individuals to re-organise their lives and activities in order to better locate themselves in their livelihood struggles.

Contemporary research turns therefore to locate these within a paradigm that puts broader socio-economic policies and processes as critical in understanding local migration and rural urban linkages. This is essentially because in the process of development broader socio-economic policies tend to be the major factors that influence individuals and/or some households to migrate, (D. F. Bryceson, 1996 and E. A. Todes, 1996).

It is in these conditions that boundaries between rural and urban tend to be perceived and felt differently by the poor because migration becomes a strategy for the poor to gain access to resources that can help them improve capabilities to generate their livelihood, (H. Bernstein, 1992)

THE GOVERNMENT LAND REFORM POLICY

"Land reform is essentially a state initiative to modify, redirect or even change rights, usage and relations on the land - especially in rural areas". (T. Marcus, K. Eales and A. Wildschut, 1996)

In South Africa the processes of land reform is being driven by the government through the land reform policy. This land reform policy has three programmes whose ultimate aim is to change the current unjust land ownership structure in South Africa. The land redistribution programme

is aimed at addressing issues of access to land. The programme is aimed at ensuring that the poorest sections of South African society especially the rural landless are helped by the state to have access to land. This programme is part of the government plan to the poor generally but especially the rural poor to better cope with poverty.

The second programme of the South African land reform policy is the Land Tenure programme. This programme aims at ensuring that all forms of land tenure practiceable in South Africa are protected by law. It also aims at ensuring that the legacy of tenure insecurity that affects many black people is eradicated in that until recently freehold rights in urban and rural areas South Africa have been only a privilege of whites. It furthermore aims at ensuring that historically sidelined forms of tenure such as freehold and communal tenure are to be given equal treatment as private ownership in the regulation and administration of land affairs in the new land dispensation.

The final programme is the restitution programme. This programme is aimed at ensuring that people whose rights over land were taken away by the state through discriminatory laws, are given back to them. There is currently an estimated figure of 3,5 millions South Africans who have been victims of discriminatory Apartheid policies. The state has thus taken a position that it should ensure that victims of discriminatory laws are restituted their rights to land. This is the programme that is aimed at righting the wrongs of the past eighty-six years, which is since after June 13, 1913.

The most fundamental assumption that this programme makes, is that people whose land have been taken away, want their land back. These people have not secured fair and adequate access

to land in their present localities and they therefore want to go back to land from which they were forcibly removed through the application of discriminatory laws and policies of the past.

THE MODERNISATION PARADIGM OF DEVELOPMENT

At the heart of this paradigm is the assumption that in every developing society there are two sectors of economy, 1) a rural "traditional, overpopulated, subsistence" agricultural sector, and 2) a high-productivity modern industrial sector, (A. W. Lewis, 1966). The second major assumption that modernisation makes is that the process of development is unilinear characterised by the movement and the redirection of resources (including the populace) invariably from rural to urban places. Chenery, for example, observes that, "The most common trend found among countries, where development is taking place, is the phenomenon of increasing urbanisation caused by the rise of industry and accelerated migration of people from farm to city, (H. Chenery, 1988).

For modernisation paradigm the process of development is characterised by the diminishing role the rural sector plays in the overall development process of society. The rural is traditional and subsistent and in order for people to develop they have to leave rural for urban. The process of resource transfer from rural to urban is not only inevitable in development but also unilinear and inexorable.

One researcher has observed that, "this paradigm assumes that development is an identifiable processes of growth and change whose main features are similar in all countries", (M. P. Todaro, 1989). The modernisation paradigm moreover tells us that if a person or group of people want to develop, in any society, such a person or group should necessarily want to be in

SECTION 4

BESTERS AND HOBSLAND - A CASE STUDY

The central commonality between Besters and Hobsland is, to a large extent, historically constructed in that both communities suffered the Apartheid state policies of forced removals. The rural community of Besters was removed from their land during the 1950's and 1960's for the first time. In fact just under half of the respondents (47%) were moved during this period. They were taken to Hobsland, where they joined an already settled rural community. In 1972 both the communities were removed to Ezakheni, a township near Ladysmith. Just over half of the respondents (53%) reported to have been resettled in 1972. They have since been staying in Ezakheni and this is where the research with them has been conducted.

Ezakheni is a township approximately twenty kilometres Southeast of Ladysmith. This township was built as part of a complex resettlement process process which affected African people forcibly removed from the white owned farm land and the black owned rural settlement land in Natal. The township is mainly composed of four-roomed houses and the typical yard for each house is approximately 5 metres wide and 3.5 metres broad. Most houses have flush toilets and a stand water pipe just outside the house. Most roads are not tarred except those used by the public transport services.

The majority of households (80%) who were forcibly removed from Besters and Hobsland are in this township, with just more than half (56%) of the respondents originally from Hobsland, and less than half (41%) originally from Besters.

Occupation of Respondents

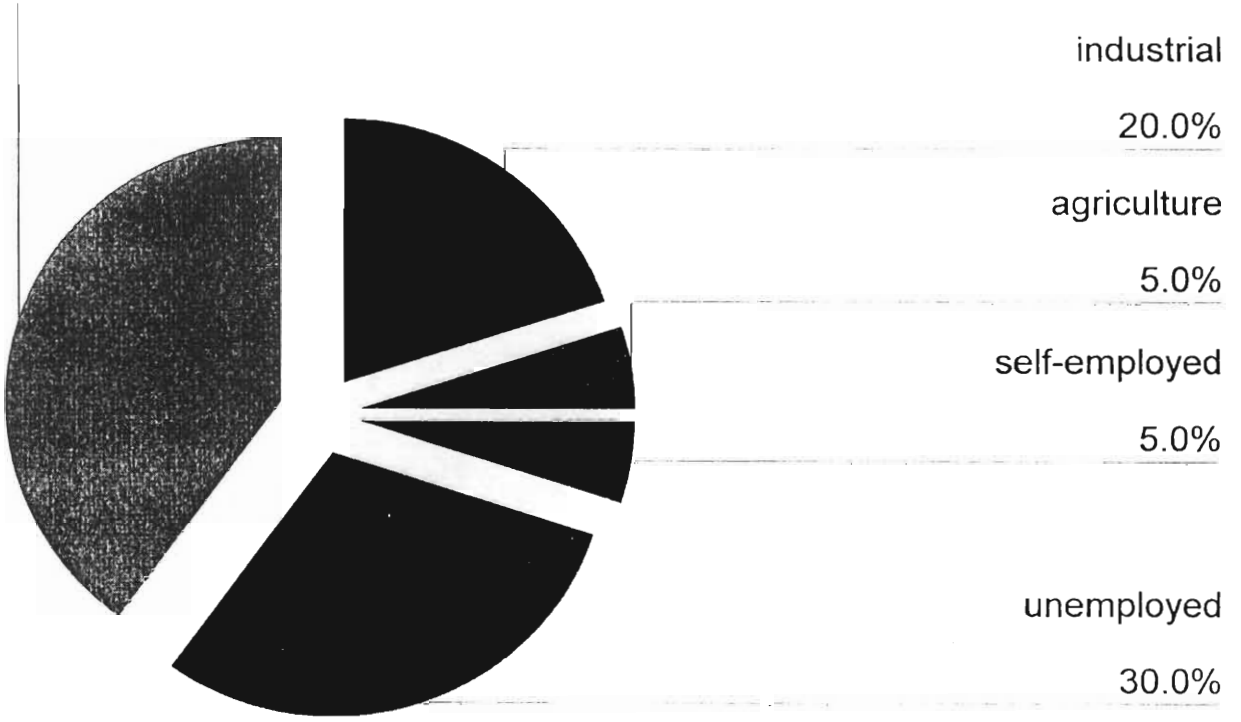


CHART 1

As chart one above clearly depicts. Most respondents were either retired (41%) or unemployed (30%). Of those who are employed (14%) are in industrial employment. Only a few (4%) identified themselves as self-employment or in domestic work. Even fewer (1%) said they were in agricultural employment.

Most respondents felt that they were entitled to land because the land was either theirs or they had a stable access to land from which they were removed. For example, the majority of respondents (61%) said they owned the land in which they were removed and about a third (32%) were tenants.

The movement to town was predominantly of older people, up to three quarters (75%) were between the ages of 20 and 60, while only a minority (25%) were between the ages of 10 and 19 at the time of forced removals to town.

For Besters and Hobsland communities the movement to town was largely involuntary, for example, on reflection, the overwhelming majority of respondents (96%) would not have moved to town on their own choice. The majority of the respondents of the respondents (78%) reported that they do not till today enjoy the urbanised lifestyle of township. More than two thirds (68%), identified the lack of farming space as the major urban pushing factor. Just under a fifth (17%) identified expensive urban lifestyle as the major urban pushing factor. A closely similar number (18%) declared that there was nothing, what so ever, good about being in town.

Nevertheless, about a quarter of respondents (23%) said they have adapted and have taught themselves to enjoy an urban life. The major positive factors contributing to the attraction to being in town is linked to the provision of services (51%). Very few (4%) considered a less traditional lifestyle in the township as a pulling urban factor.

Most of the households studied (80%) have a monthly income below R1500. There was a considerable number of households (11%) who reported having no monthly income at all, while a very few number of households (2%) have a monthly income above R 3500.

There is indeed a problem with the household income minimum cut off, of R1500. This is a very high cut of for the community, the thinking and findings from the pilot done with only ten arbitrary selected household from the township was that there is usually up to three members of household that contribute to the household's monthly net income. Of these members at least two, sometimes more, would be getting their income from government grants which at the time of research were valued at four hundred and twenty rands for each person. The finding from the sample group has, however, been that most households (67%) have only one member of household who contributes income to the household. The cut off of R1500.00 monthly income was initially also chosen in view of the fact that the government has taken it as an economic means for determining eligibility to benefit from at least one land reform programme, (Green Paper on South African Land Reform, 1996).

The figure of 11 percent of household who reported no income at all is also higher than general household income statistics. May be this was due to the fact that some people cannot report

their income as some informal monthly incomes are difficult to register and monitor. The other reason could be due to the fact that some households depend on income generated through non-conventional sometimes deviant means that are considered too much of a risk to reveal to strangers or just a taboo that should never be publicly acknowledged. Possible case in point here being dagga growing and selling.

The major sources of household income in the communities studied were identified as pensions which account for just under half (49%), followed by wage work which accounts for (41%). Remittance and self-employment only account for very little (5%) of household income. In most households (67%) there is only one member who contributes income into the household. (20%) of households had two people who contribute income into the household. Only a few number of households (10%) have more than two members contributing to the household income. Most households (82%) get their income monthly, while only a few number of households (15%) get theirs weekly.

The section on expenditure has been omitted in this work as it was discovered to be highly problematic for use. This is not only because in most cases households have expenses which are disproportionately higher than their income, but also because, in the final analysis I have established, that the way in which expenses have appeared cannot help contribute any analytic or interpretative value to the study.

The majority of households (93%) which manage to save a proportion of their income do this with formal financial institutions like bank and building societies. The bulk proportion of households' fixed expenditure (98%) is accounted for by furniture while the rest about (2%) is

invested in building new or extending the households' physical structure.

PERCEPTIONS OF THE LAND REFORM

The overwhelming majority of households (90%) are aware that there is land reform process taking place. A large number of households (79%) hope to directly benefit (acquire land) as an outcome of the land reform programme.

Just under three quarters of households (74%) announced their intentions to practice farming as a major form of land use once they have obtained the land. Just below a fifth (17%) of the households said they would use the land they find for residential purposes. Only a few numbers of households (7%) said they would use the land for entrepreneurial activities. Interesting to note was the observation that most of the households who showed a will to starting a business are people who are already practising some form of small (informal) business activity in Ezakheni. Also important to note is the fact that, while the business activities are diverse with some people opening spaza shops and shebeens, there were many households amongst these whose business activities farming related. Some were selling poultry usually chicken and others goats and sheep.

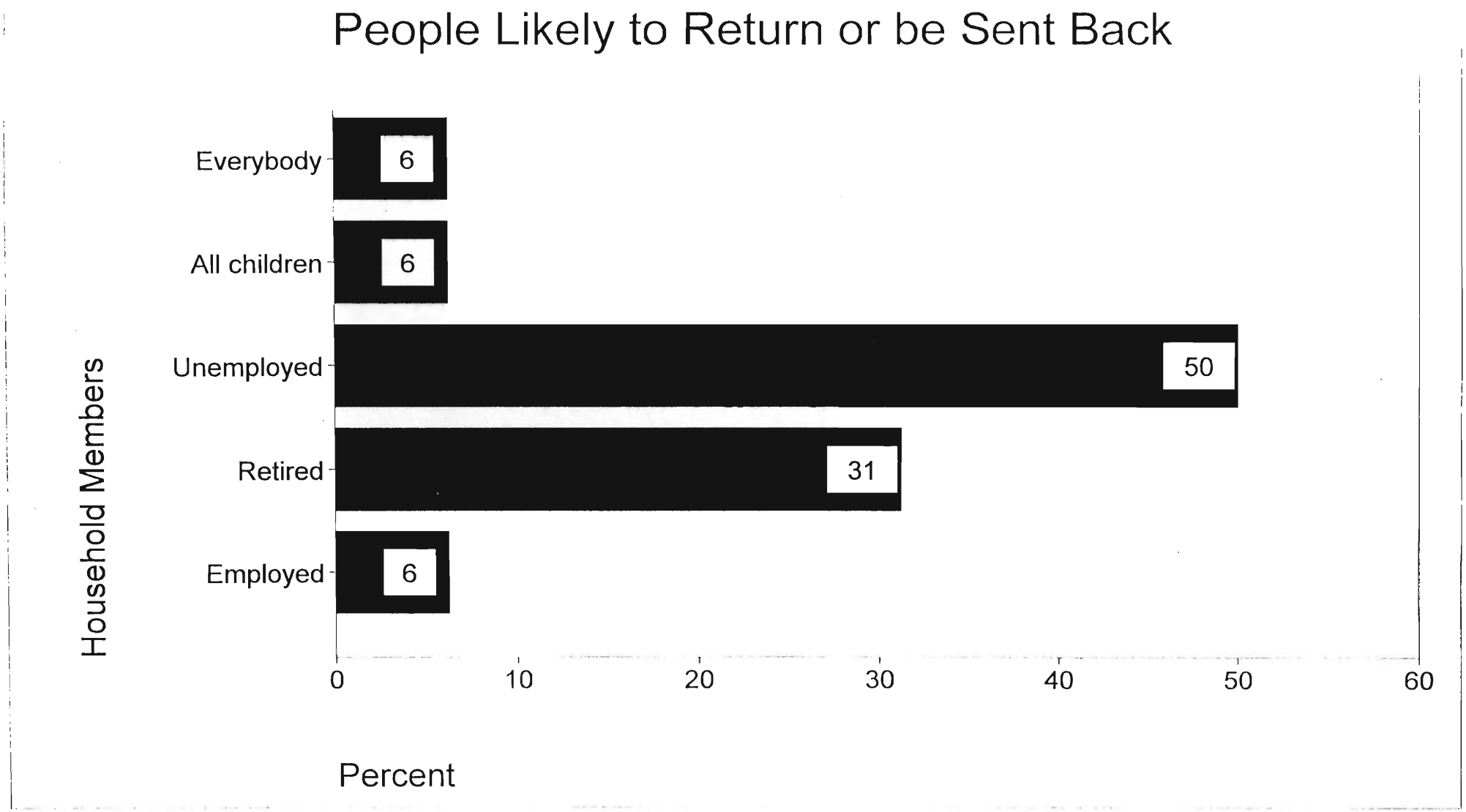
There seems to be doubts about what is the more pressing need is between farming and residence for many of the households studied. After some lengthy consideration many respondents were able to say that they prefer farming to residence. This they add is no easy choice for many of them because they really need these two things. The reason for this uneasy inclination towards farming is due to the fact that both farming space and residential space are major problems in these communities. Farming is seen as the most preferred and a prioritised

form of land use mainly because it is relatively practical to squash a large number of people in the four-roomed houses than it is to farm effectively in the townships. The other reason seems to be that as people might be given a chance to retain their township houses it will then be possible for many household members to practice rural farming while staying in the township. The most compelling reason relates to an understanding by many that these are not separable categories in their view. People have to reside on land to be able to work it.

Clearly, it is generally not everyone within households who will be going back to rural land. This is denoted by the fact that there is only a fifth of households (20%) who said that it is everyone within the household that will leave the township for rural. The overwhelming majority of households (70%) said that it is only some members within the households that will be going back to rural.

As chart two on the following page clearly denotes, there seems to be careful consideration about who will be going back to land. The majority category of those considered eligible is the unemployed at (50%). While the second largest category substantially over a quarter (31%) were the retired. This selection is, to a very large extent, influenced by a socio-economic consideration that can be summarised as having taken a following question in the minds of many decision makers within the households, "which members in the household can be most productive for the household, and in which sector or place can they realise their productive capacity"?

CHART 2


People Likely to Return or be Sent Back
Household Members
Everybody
All children
Unemployed
Retired
Employed
6
6
50
31
6
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
Percent

The above consideration holds in the light of the finding that just under three third of the households (73%) said that the most compelling reason for them to think that going back to rural will be of benefit to their household is that, the going back option provides them farming space. Furthermore under a fifth of the households (15%) said that the option to go back was attractive for them because they think that the rural sector is economically more viable than the urban sector for the households.

The majority of the households (52%) are of the view that there is much value if the households were to become both rural and urban and they were not compelled to choose one between the two sectors. This is a strategic choice by these households because at the heart of this positioning are livelihoods considerations. Over a third of the households interviewed (37%) said that they would want to be both rural and urban because such a position would help improve their households' quality of life. Above a quarter of the households (28%) said that being rural and urban would help them access government redress programmes across sector lines. There are also several households (11%) who would otherwise want to be completely rural but are persuaded to be rural and urban by the unparalleled availability of services only in the township.

Governance choices in the communities had a strong support for locally elected civic bodies. Most respondents, way above half of them (61%) said that they prefer locally elected bodies to govern them. Just above a third of the respondents (34%) said that they would prefer to be governed by elected rural local government structures. A very few number of respondents (3%) said that they prefer to be governed by the traditional authority. The reason for this civic preference to, for example, the rural local government structures might have been linked to two

apparent factors.

First, in historical terms these communities have always organised their land struggles along civic lines (Ubumbano organisations). There is then a feeling that they should continue this route as it has finally yielded results (they are about to regain their rights to land). This civic route has not produced terrible problems linked to political party route forms of government, for example, political violence. Second, at the time of conducting this research (end of 1995 and beginning of 1996) most issues were still unconfirmed about rural local government, among others the position of Amakhosi in relation to rural government in KwaZulu Natal. The under-clarification on these matters and the attitude and behaviour adopted by some political parties on the rural local government matters tended, in the eyes of these communities, to give an impression that the rural government option was more of a problem than a solution to their problems.

The other important empirical observation that I made note of, unfortunately not very systematically, related to trend that is very noticeable which is that every morning and afternoon in the township's roads and spaces. There is stock - usually goats, sheep and sometimes-even cattle that leave the townships or come back from the hills in the outskirts of the township. It was also observed that most households that were visited engaged in some form of a farming activity usually stock and poultry in the township itself. While one realises the importance of this finding in the complete finding of the study, I felt that pursuing a very systematic observation of this aspect of urban life might have been unsuccessful. The reason being that officially there is no resident who is supposed to be keeping livestock and, to a lesser extent, poultry in the township. I suspected that not many people will be willing to talk freely and honestly about their township based stock farming activities.

SECTION 5

UNDERSTANG CHOICES

This section of the study sets to systematically analyse and interpret the collected data. Crucial to this exercise being to try and link the findings above to the total social and, to a lesser extent, economic situations within which the communities studied find themselves. And also to show how this position influence them towards adopting particular attitudes in relation to migration and development issues. It is this study's general finding and argument that communities' responses to the processes of land reform are shaped and informed the following interwoven context. On the one hand it is their historical and present urban experiences. On the other, it is the perceived and the expressed potential role that acquiring rural land could play in improving their quality of life of their households.

The study confirms that, there is a popularly articulated demand about the need to right the wrongs of the past, which in this context means giving back the land back to its rightful owners or holders. It further argues that this is not just an ethical demand but a demand that is profoundly intertwined with the socio-economic development opportunities such an outcome could create. It is in this context that issues of reversed migration come in to play.

Findings depicted by the two charts hereafter presented, help to indicate that the absence of farming space in urban areas is the major pushing factor away from the township. The absence of farming space in the township and its potential availability in rural areas is also at the heart of the way in which the communities intend manoeuvring themselves out of the present conditions of abject poverty.

CHART 3

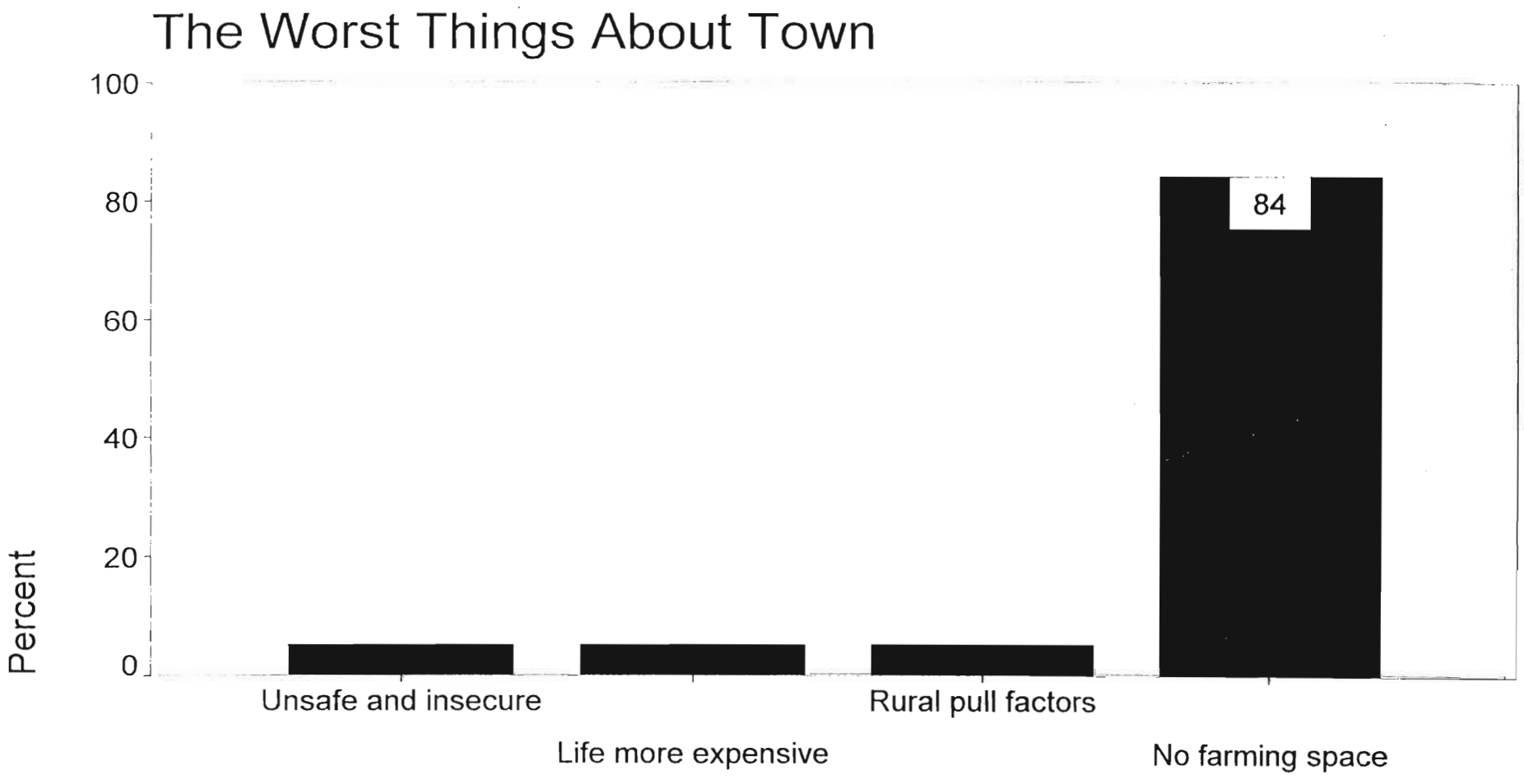

The Worst Things About Town
100
80
60
40
20
0
Percent
84
Unsafe and insecure
Life more expensive
Rural pull factors
No farming space
Worst things about town

CHART 4

Factors Influencing the Decision to Go Back

There is thus three essential ways in which farming is looked at as solution to present problems. The first issue relates to the role that farming could play in addressing the endemic problem of unemployment. It is important here to bear in mind that the majority of respondents were themselves either retired or unemployed, (see, Chart 1 on page 25). There is also an awareness that the economy has not been delivering employment especially in the small to medium towns. It is therefore out of this realisation that many within these communities see a possible occupational alternative on land. It is also an instructive finding that only the unemployed and retired top the list of potential reversed migrants.

The second possible way in which rural land availability could help enhance the households' quality of life is through contributing to the household's food needs. Communities correctly assert that life in urban areas is expensive. They thus think that should they be able to farm, they will be in a position to contribute towards meeting household food needs by producing their own food.

The third possible way in which rural land availability is envisaged to contribute towards the enhancement of households' quality of life relates to income savings. Households take a view that food consumes a disproportionately bigger portion in the pie of their recurrent spending. It is therefore their contention that should they be able to farm and contribute to the households food needs, a substantial amount of resources could be saved. This amount in turn could be redirected into meeting other needs that can not be met at present due to stringent resource constrains.

The employed and the scholars clearly have no reason to worry about going back to rural as the

urban centres can still provide services important to the effective functioning of themselves as well as those of their of their households. This is in the sense that the urban employed members still can contribute financial resources that the households continually need. Their income could also facilitate the resettling of the members going back to land through providing bridging funds between arriving and the first produce. While many of the retired could also contribute in meeting this short term need through government grants, household income will be needed in ensuring that urban services are constantly access for the benefit of those to remain urban. It could then be concluded that the land reform process has given these communities a chance to reposition themselves in a way that will allow them to diversify residentially and also occupationally. These two forms of diversification are considered to have the role to play in helping the households to improve the quality of their lives.

The envisaged role that farming space availability could play in enhancing the households' quality of life seems to be consistent with the findings by contemporary work concerned with how households continually restructure their positions in order to cope with poverty. Bryceson has observed that at the heart of households' contemporary coping measures, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, is household spatial diversification, (D. F. Bryceson, 1996). In the context of this study, spatial diversification will be realised through the reversed migration of some members of households back to rural areas while others remain in the township.

There is however a non-economic sense in which communities rate access to rural as important in realising themselves. This issue relates to the notion of social identity construction. Communities expressed a view that unless they can be allowed to enjoy rural space again, they can never see in themselves a free people. In several focused group discussion many

participants especially the elder repeatedly expressed that the townships represent a lack of freedom. While it is acknowledged that going back to rural areas has a direct political freedom significance aspect which ties up with the broader context of the new South Africa, there is however, a special meaning attached to freedom associated with rural areas by these communities. This freedom relates not only to the ability of the households to enjoy space by living relatively peacefully away from urban atmospheric pollution, but also to the idea that rural represents freedom to practice traditions. This notion of freedom was especially true for mainly the elders within communities. They continually expressed this idea in key informants'discussion and in particular focus group discussions.

There is also a sense in which rural freedom is associated with the lack of social integration and cohesion that some within these communities have experienced in the townships. This idea was eloquently articulated by the Charlestown youth in Osizweni township, (S. Dlamini, 1996). These youths have not integrated with the broader township youths in Osizweni Township. With the context of political violence in the township, their rurally inclined backgrounds typicalised by the type of chores they sometimes perform, for example, herding - have caused them measurable hardships. They have been identified as sympathisers of a particular political party. It is in the context of such urban experiences that they think going back could help offer them a different life experience. Their informative experience is mainly due to the fact that unlike Ezakheni, Osizweni is an old township and some of its sections are dwelled by people who either have no connection with forced removals or no direct connection with the countryside.

The issues of tradition and its practice as well as lack of social integration therefore do play a

role in the decision making process of some quarters of communities, in the question of whist urbanisation.

SECTION 6

CONCLUSION

This sections aims at contributing towards understanding the underlying theoretical tenants that inform the conflict between - on the one hand, land reform policy - and the modernisation paradigm, on the other. It sets to do this through the exercise of relating the findings of the study to the growing body of literature which emphasises the need to understand the total context in which poor people to stand up to, cope with and ultimately try to overcome the poverty-stricken conditions that engulf and define their lives.

The general argument that concludes the study is that there are multiple ways that the poor, in many societies of the "South", are using to cope and try improve on their plight. Depending on the constrains and opportunities that present themselves at particular times – individuals and/or groups within communities could choose to migrate to other locations. The identifiable trend that the poor tend to diversify their sources of livelihoods so as to increase the chances of their survival and possibly their development, (H. Bernstein 1992:7, 274 and 280 and D. F. Bryceson 1996:103/4).

While poor people especially in the "South" engage in many activities and processes to try and belittle the adverse effects of poverty in their lives and those of their families, the three following strategies have been identified as generally applicable in most such struggles. Firstly, population movements or migration which take a multiplicity of directions. Secondly, spatial realignments as mainly relating in the way in which people redefine their space usage in order to suite their needs. Finally, occupational adjustments whereby people at different times of their lives become industrial workers, farmers and rural service providers depending on the

practicality of each solution at a given space and time, (D.F. Bryceson, 1996 and H. Bernstien, 1992).

Evidence seems to point out that the global changes in the contemporary globalising world do provide a useful analytic framework from which the changes taking place at local levels could be understood. It has been established that in the contemporary world these global changes, in more cases than not, do manifest local in ways that usually affect on peoples capacities to meet their own needs.

The ever intensifying processes of modernisation and globalisation have affected many societies across the globe with varied impact, but fundamentally reshaping the ways in which people try provide for their livelihoods. In many societies in the "South" these processes have unleashing new constraining forces and developments that have, in most cases, made it even difficult for individuals, households and communities to continue to provide for their livelihoods in the same unchanged methods.

Evidently, globalisation and modernisation have produced and reproduced unequal power relations at a global scale. For example, some individuals and some societies have become overwhelmingly powerful and rich in the era of globalisation while most societies and groups especially in the "South" have become even poor and weak, (UNRISD, 1995; UN Human Development Report, 1995; J. Hyslop, 1994 and P. Bond, 1996).

In the context of the localities where the study was conducted, the communities studied are

faced with the challenge of overcoming the legacy of poverty in a situation where there is no apparent development engine within their realistical reach. This is partly accounted for by the history of being victims of forced removals policy of the previous governments, which effectively de-peasantised them and thus took away from them the then viable means of a livelihood, essentially land and the effective farming activity. If the removals are seen in the broader context of the process of the mechanisation of agriculture and de-peasantation which was intensified after the Second World War in South Africa, the following is realised. At the heart the forced removal policies was far more than issues of political consolidation of white supremacy. Forced removals were also essentially about the promotion of modernisation course of "development" which was the processes marked by the mechanisation of South African agriculture, (T. Marcus, 1989). Inevitably the bulk number of people had to be relocated to urban centres. The myopia that the population would transform into an urbanised industrial force seems to have dominated the thinking behind forced removals.

Involuntary resettlements to towns and urban centres, more than being politically convenient for the previous exclusive governments, were designed by the state to influence economic development of the society to be in line with the development paradigm dominant at the time, namely, classical modernisation.

The religiously pursued belief of the government and the capital of the time was based on the assumption that urbanisation and industrialisation would ultimately swallow up the population that suffered involuntary resettlements as it has been the case in Europe and also locally with the industrialisation of former white agricultural households.

This thinking has, in the context of these communities, proven flawed and misleading in that even today decades after these movements have been effected, there is still a substantial number among them who are still unemployed. In the communities studied far more than a quarter of the respondents (30%) were themselves unemployed. It is clearly that the hope for industrial employment is quite bleak of many people in these communities. This is also likely to intensify as the economic process of de-industrialisation currently occurring in their urban economic localities rapidly unfolds. This Is likely to adversely affect not only the presently unemployed but also many others including those who presently are employed in industrial or allied employment, (A.E. Todes 1996).

There is already evidence that small to medium urban centres such as Newcastle and Ladysmith were, to a large degree, an economic creations of the de-centralisation of industry policy of the apartheid state. They were promoted through the state locating its parastatal /s in the region, for example, Iscor just outside Newcastle towards Madadeni township. Taiwanese international investors and other local investors were also encouraged by state subsidies and other state incentives to operate in the periphery of Ladysmith and Newcastle. These are now under some crisis. The new state does not appear to be willing to continue any of the processes that have made industry and manufacture develop in these areas. There is an identifiable trend for many businesses in these areas to leave. A process of de-industrialisation has started to take an identifiable shape in this region, (A. E. Todes, 1996).

Effectively therefore both de-peasantation and industrialisation (modernisation) have failed to deliver development for these communities. The observation of processes taking place in the region provides a relevant context from which to unpack the reason for many households in the

area to want to diversify and to adjust households' members occupation structure.

These communities are presently in the interface where two processes have manifested. On the one hand, like the rest of South African society, they have been impacted upon by the process of globalisation essentially in the two following senses. First, this process has undoubtedly contributed in making South Africans realise that they must resolve their intra-national mainly race inequality conflict. This is what has produced the land reform policy that is more than likely to impact on their lives even directly. Second, the process of globalisation contributes in compelling South Africa to lay an economic policy framework that forces South Africans not to afford to protect its domestic market and industry. This has impacted directly on them in that there has been no growth in employment opportunities and frequently people are getting unemployed because of the ongoing process of de-industrialisation, (S. Dlamini, 1996 and A. E. Todes, 1996).

Precisely like Bernstein observes "poor people are conscious actors", it is exactly this ability to realise constrains and opportunities that make poor people to reposition themselves favourably in relation to opportunities that present themselves, (H. Bernstein, 1996:7). For these communities therefore the attitude and position they have adopted with regards to the possibilities of migration and reverse migration is clearly not an issue independent of a multiplicity of activities and strategies that they have to take and implement in-order to try to reduce the adverse effects of unfavourable socio-economic conditions which are likely to further entrench them in the very circle of poverty they daily try to overcome.

They therefore find themselves in a situation where they have to reposition themselves as

households in relation to the constraints and opportunities around them. Reverse migration for some members of these households is thus a strategy by the households consistent with the observations that have been made on how the poor generally respond to their economic and social challenges.

It is in this very context that Bernstein has observed and concluded that:

> "Coping with ongoing poverty typically involves engaging in many different activities simultaneously, in a constant search for adequate income. Diversification is necessary as well as a strategy...", (H. Bernstein, 1992:280).

The communities studied are provided an opportunity to diversify their economic activities, formal employment on the one hand and farming activities on the other hand, by the outcome that the land reform policy is likely to impart to their disposals.

This process also makes it possible for them as households to diversify residentially. Some members going back to rural areas essentially to engage in farming activities while others remain in the urban centres to continue to access income through urban based employment.

Land reform also allows a different use of space in the township in that, as some members of the households go back to rural, some urban space will be available for use by different people. While there is no doubt that the remaining members of households will be considered first in deciding how and who should use the created urban space. There are, however, ideas within some households' which seem to think more along the lines of lodging the space to others who need the space in urban areas, as an effort to further ensure that household income is maximised through responding appropriately to the opportunities provided by the land reform process.

What then does the above understanding inform us about the tension between the state driven

land reform policy on the one hand, and on the other the dominant development paradigm of modernisation. The tension indeed exists in that the land reform policy is premised on the idea that everyone who suffered forced removals policies would want to go back to rural areas, (The Green Paper on the South African Land Reform Policy, 1996). While the dominant modernisation development paradigm invariably prescribes that it is a socio-economic imperative in every development context that resources including human resources are invariably transferred from the rural "traditional" sector of the economy to the urban industrial sector, in a unilinear and inexorable manner, (H. Chenery, 1988 and A. W. Lewis, 1966 as quoted in M. Todaro, 1989:105-106; and extracts from J. Coetzee, 1996:6).

There is no doubt that the case of the communities studied is, in some politically unfortunate terms, indicative of processes of capital and industrial penetration that have taken place throughout sub-Saharan Africa. Just like in other societies of sub-Saharan Africa, capital and industrial penetration in these community remains incomplete, (D. F. Bryceson, 1996). It is precisely this state of affairs that dislocates people especially the poor across sectors as they continually try to cope and improve their livelihood generation capacity.

For the poor therefore the difference between rural and urban is mainly construed in the light of the desired consequences accessing each or both sectors could provide, in-order to help contribute positively in the continual efforts of securing a viable livelihood source. It is in this context that the case of these communities seems to confirm the observation and conclusion that:

> "The boundaries of countryside and town, the rural and urban are much less easy to distinguish than our images, assumptions and concepts often suggest".

(H. Bernstein, 1992:7).

The way in which the communities of Besters and Hobsland look at the rural urban devide and the movement between them is not towards looking at them as boundaries. Evidence brought up in this study seems to suggest that the communities look at this "divide" more as a linkage that has a decisive role to play in ensuring that their efforts for a better and a more viable livelihood source are helped and fruitfully realised.

The land reform process has opened a space and an opportunity for these communities to improve on the quality of their lives. It has done this by opening a rural avenue where there is an official room from in which they can freely partake in farming activities. This is a positive development in that it does not only maximise the capacity of some households and some members of households to widen their choices occupationally, but it also makes it possible for these communities to widen the parameters around how they can secure their stable and a viable livelihood sources.

In the light of the above considerations, the land reform therefore seems to be geared towards contributing positively in the lives of members of the communities studied. It is thus imperative for the process of land reform to realise that it can only positively contribute to the lives of these communities by giving them the choice as has been mentioned immediately above. There is a crucial need to realise that it cannot be every household and every member of these communities who is better serviced by being denied a chance to remain urban. The real contribution that the land reform policy can make to the lives of the communities studied will therefore resides in its ability to realise its central role as to maximise people's choices. Choices, in this context could be effectively maximised, by allowing communities to respond to land

reform programmes in the way that will effectively service their social and economic needs.

For these communities forced urbanisation has not delivered, industrialisation has failed to ensure most members of these communities are in employment. The question of whether rural or urban as mutually exclusive categories is becoming more irrelevant by each day for these communities. This work has highlighted that, most people in these communities have an expressed opinion that, their social and economic needs can be effectively addressed by the more critical and the most effective approach to rural urban linkages, which is the rural and/or urban approach.

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APPENDIX

Rural urban Linkages

(Interview Schedule)

Section 1. **Respondent's Demographic Information**

1.1 Present residential Area

Area Specify

Township	
Hostel	
Informal Settlement	
Any other	

1.2 Place of Origin

Alcockspruit	
Besters	
Charlestown	
Hobsland	
Roosboom	
Any other	

1.3 Respondent's Occupation

Occupation Specify job classification

Agriculture	
Civil/government	
Domestic	
Industrial	
Self-employed	

Unemployed	
Any other	

1.4 Entitlement to rural land

Owner	
Dependant of the owner	
Tenant	
Dependant of the Tenant	
Any other	

1.5 How old were you on your last birthday?

1.6. How old were you when you left rural?

1.7 Sex of the respondent

Male	
Female	

1.8 **Household's Demographic Information**

Status of the household member	**Sex**	**Occupation**	**Age**
Head of household			
Spouse of head of household			
Parent(s) of head of household			
Child 1			
2			
3			
4			

Grand child			
Any other			

Section 2 **Rural to Urban Migration**

2.1 When did you come to town?

Before 1913	
During 1950's	
During 960's	
During 1970's	
During and after the 1980's	

2.2 Cause of coming to town

	Specify where appropriate
Forced Removals	
Hope for a better life	
To join/render a service for a friend/relative already in town	
Needed a space for practising polygamy	
Any other	

2.3 If there were no forced removals, would you have moved to town anyway?

Yes	
No	

(If the answer on 2.3 is yes, please answer 2.4)

2.4 What was going to be the cause of you wanting to move to town?

To search for employment	
To access education/health facilities	
To provide a service/company to a friend/ relative	
To escape rural poverty	

To practice polygamy	
Keeping up to the trend	
Any other	

2.5 Do you enjoy urban/township life?

Yes	
No	

2.6 What is the best thing about town?

	Specify where appropriate
Employment opportunities	
Service such as water and electricity	
Education and/or health facilities	
Less traditional lifestyle	
Nothing	

2.7 What is the worst thing about town?

	Specify where appropriate
Lack of farming space	
More expensive lifestyle	
Lack of security	
Less traditional lifestyle	
Any other	

Section 3 Household's **Socio-economic Information**

3.1 What is the household's monthly income?

Nothing	
Below R1 500	

Between R1 501 and R2 500	
Between R 2 501 and R3 500	
Above R 3 501	

3.2 Monthly recurrent expenditure

Type of expenditure	**Frequency**	**Amount**
Food and groceries		
Rent		
Services (water,refuse,electricity)		
Education		
Transport		
Any other		

3.3 Sources of household income

Source of income	**Number of member**	**Frequency**	**Amount**
Employment			
Government grant/s			
Business			
Remittance			
Any other			

3.4 Savings

Type of savings	**Where**	**How much**	**Frequency**

3.5 Household fixed expenditure

What?	Amount	When?

Section 4 **The land reform process**

4.1 Are you aware of the land reform process?

Yes	
No	

4.2 How did you hear about it?

	Specify
Through a community meeting	
Through an external organisation	
Through electronic mass media	
Trough print mass media	
Any other	

4.3 Do you hope to gain something out of this process?

Yes	What?
No	Why?

4.4 How do you plan to use the land you are hoping to acquire?

Farming	
Residence	
Starting a business	

Any other	

Section 5 **Possible socio-economic impact of land reform on the household**5.1 How is the household going to react to acquiring rural land?

All members leaving urban to rural	
Some go rural while others remain urban	
Claim the land but remain urban	
Forget rural and remain urban	
Any other	

5.2 Who is going back to rural?

Status of household member	**Occupation**	**Age**

5.3 Why do you want to back to rural?

Economic viability of rural	
Farming land availability	
Safety and security considerations	
Traditional considerations	

5.4 What makes decide to stay urban?

	Specify
Income	
Services	
Tradition	
Any other	

5.5 Why do you want to be both rural and urban?

In-order to improve household's life quality	
Some like tradition others do not	
Any other	

Section 6 **Preferred form of rural governance**

6.1 Which structures should govern in the rural areas?

Civics	
Rural local government	
Traditional Authority	
Any other	