MGRATION, SETTLEMENT AND HOUSEHOLD CONSOLIDATION IN THE DURBAN METRO AREA: A CASE STUDY OF WIGGINS/UMKHUMBANE AND SIYANDA INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS.

By MANDLAKAZI PASCALIS MNGONYAMA

Supervisor: Mr. S. VAWDA

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Social policy at the University of Durban Westville.

DEDICATION TO:

MY wife for her encouragement and support towards my study

And

My five children

ACKNOWLEDCEMENT

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WIGGINS / UMKHUMBANE

N

Wiggins Road

New Dunbar Phase 1
- Land Release

Cato Crest Settled
Area Phase 1

Wiggins-
Umkhumbane

Wiggins Fast
Track West

Cato Crest
Greenfields
North

N2 Route

Nsimbini

Old Dunbar Phase 1
Land Release

Cato Crest
Interface

Wiggins Fast
Track East

Booth Road

Dunbar Road

Cato Crest
Greenfields
Remainder

Bellair Road

Hilltop High
Density

Cato Manor Road

● Engineering-other.shp
〜 Engineering-roads.shp
〜 Transportation.shp
🟩 Social facilities.shp
🟥 Industrial parks.shp
🟪 Health.shp
🟥 Education.shp
🟦 Economic development.shp
▨ Housing.shp

200   0   200   Meters

SIYANDA AND NEW CAMP (INTERFACE)

KWAMASHU D

KWAMASHU C

CAMPSITE

MR577 ROUTE

NEWLANDS EAST

KWAMASHU P

KWAMASHU J

MPANTELE ROAD

KWAMASHU K

SIYANDA

NEWLANDS WEST

INANDA ROAD

MR577 ROUTE

UZUMA A

Streetname

Suburbs

Siyanda & Campsite

200   0   200   Meters

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This study deals with migration, settlement and household consolidation in the Durban Metro Unicity, in the areas of Wiginns/Umkhumbane and Siyanda. The primary aim of the study is to investigate what factors make household consolidation in urban areas such as Durban possible, what factors inhibit household consolidation and why other people decided to invest in the rural areas.

In order to cover the factors relating to household consolidation, this study seeks to investigate why people move from rural to urban centers, as well as how they establish their households. Other related issues that are covered are: 1. the household dynamics in urban settlements, 2. the relationships between these migrants and their families at the places of origin. 3. (Do they still maintain links with the rural homesteads?) 4. Whether these links are with their relatives or friends? 5.To investigate reasons for not having links, if there are none). The study examines the sources of strong links that migrants have with their rural homestead e.g. factors like ancestors, lobolo, religion, visiting home etc. Finally it also seeks to understand why others are engaged in circular migration.

The term "consolidation" refers to incremental physical transformation of self-help settlements (Ward, 1971:102-105). In squatter settlements, consolidation may include changes in conditions of tenure and changes in levels of service infrastructure, and provision. Services refers to basic utilities such as electricity, roads, sewerage, water taps and toilets.

Many black South African people are inhibited from consolidating their households in the urban areas. The reasons are:

1. they still have strong links with their rural homestead in terms of traditional beliefs. These beliefs are 'traditional' religion, pertaining to ancestors and related social activities. These beliefs are sometimes referred to as ancestors worship.

2. Some are interested in maintaining their herds in their rural homestead and to practice commercial farming. For these reasons many of them do not consolidate their households in the cities, but rather in the rural areas. Furthermore it is difficult to consolidate

simultaneously a rural homestead and a household in the cities, especially if you are still more connected in terms of consolidation and investment to a rural homestead.

Some migrants have big families which cannot be easily accommodated in the small houses in the cities, for example, the standard four rooms, two rooms, or one room homes in townships, and especially in the informal settlements, do not accommodate large families. Furthermore, to consolidate the households over the long term means that basic services such as electricity, tap water, flushed toilets in the city must be available. Use of these services is very essential in the cities and they cost lot a of money to those who are consolidating their households. This appears to be the reason why most people who still have strong links with their rural homestead have problems in consolidating their households in the cities. It is difficult for them to consolidate in both rural and urban areas. The items mentioned above are important to those who stay in the city. It is difficult to survive without them because houses in the city are so close to each other that it is easy for people to be infected by transmitted diseases if these services are not available.

However since 1986, many people have began to consolidate their households in the cities, because of political violence in their rural homes, faction fights, poverty and due to the low level of agricultural productivity in their rural homestead, as well as family problems. Further more, there is a lack of facilities in the rural areas whereas in the cities there are many services, e.g. schools, jobs, banking facilities, transport. All of these items are attractive when compared with rural life. They are also attracted to urban areas by better chances of employment, high income and bright lights. These are some of the reasons why people migrate from their rural homestead and consolidate their households in the urban areas.

There is another category of people who maintain both households in both rural and urban areas. These are people who have a dual household system where they become fully committed to the urban life and at same time belong to rural community from where they had come. Most of these are people engaged in a circular migration process. However, a study conducted by Coquery-Vidrovitch (1989:89) concluded a comprehensive review of the literature on the urbanisation of black Africans by postulating that young people living in African cities are becoming more disconnected from their rural background, and that rural

connection is barely alive most of the time and that within a generation, if not less, it will be gone.

To provide a clear picture on the dynamics of migration, it is very important to understand what was the situation before the migration of the of Africans from their rural areas to the urban areas because that gives a reader a clear understanding why they decided to leave their places of origin and migrated to the cities.

1.1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF MIGRATION

1.1.1. Pre-Industrial Era

In the pre-industrial era the black South African population did experience a period of prosperity where peasant farmers adapted their traditional subsistence methods to produce for market purposes. Many people emerged as small scale commercial farmers that produced a fair surplus products for the market. This enabled them to operate as individual entrepreneurs rather than labourers.

The period 1870's was characterised by conflict between colonial migrants and indigenous people and eventual conquest of the black South African people. This conquest began with evictions of black peasants from land and its ownership.

Evictions in the 1870's took place in a number of the different ways. Firstly, the sale of previously alienated Crown Lands often saw the new owner take steps to remove or evict any Africans 'squatting' on it other than those he could persuade to enter into labour tenancy relationships with him. Identical in effect for the tenants was the situation that prevailed when privately owned land changed hands from absentee landlord to commercialising farmer (Bundy,1979:188).

Evictions apart, there was another set of pressures that bore very heavily upon rent -paying squatter- peasants. Most simply there was :
(1) rise in rents commensurate with the rise in the value of land. (Bundy,1979:189).

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(2) A process of tightening up existing labour tenancies all over Natal took place early in the century, its main forms included demands by landowners for written contracts, or demands for rent in cash instead of in produce (and wherever the money was hard to come by, the insistence was that it be replaced by a labour agreement (Bundy,1979:189).

(3) Another device was to inhibit the possibilities for accumulation open to a tenant by limiting the amount of the stock he might keep,or by dictating where the squatter peasant's garden plots should be (Bundy,1979:189). For example, peasants in Polela were always getting into trouble about their cattle and horses and goats with the farmers, and also about whether they might plant their gardens where they lived. All these pressures upon rent - paying peasants reached a logical extension in the operating of the 1913 Natives Land Act which reduced their land (Bundy, 1979: 190).

One response to these pressures, the prevention of certain categories of land and the imposition of disabilities on rent tenants was for Africans to buy extra land. Two difficulties presented themselves here. Repayment costs proved a great burden in the years following rinderpest and East Coast Fever. Secondly, the government actually prevented sales of Crown Lands to the Africans after 1903 the same in which an order to the Lands Department prohibited such sales. Another factor pushing up the cost of living for peasants making land purchase, land hire or any form of improvements more difficult to afford, was the increased demand by the state upon their cash resources. A number of new levies and fees were imposed upon Africans between 1903 and 1905, the most serous one was the Poll Tax of August 1905 (Bundy, 1979:190). Furthermore, Konczackie comments upon the fact that Africans were forced to pay a higher percentage of their income in taxes than whites, and adds that the last years of the colonial rule it [the burden of the taxation] tended to grow heavier'. (Bundy:1979:190). In effect the colonialists forced the Africans to be their subordinates and made them work in the mines and urban areas.

1.1.2. Migration and Industrial Development

The primary consequences of landlessness was to force the Africans to work in the urban areas e.g. stevedores in Durban, on diamond mines in Kimberly, and later gold mines in Witwatersraand in the late 19th century. As a result of starvation in rural areas and also the need to pay taxes most people migrated to work on these mines. This means that an increasing number of households from the reserves and the white-owned farms began to sell their labour

to the labour markets of the mining and manufacturing sectors of the economy. The white farmers did this by pushing them out from their land and resettling them in unproductive land. This means that the first signs of rural-urban migration by African people can be traced to these early colonial states of the Cape, Natal, Orange Free State, and Transvaal. Such rural – urban migration of African people (prior to Anglo- Boer War and unification of the four provinces into what is now South Africa) was one of self-imposed necessity, or target migrancy, that is, to work for a specific amount of money to obtain very specific goods-tools or guns and ammunition.

People controlled their own migrancy both in terms of the aims of the migration to urban centers, and the duration of stay. After the conquest of the Africans their land was reduced in 13% by the white government by the 1913 Land Act. Hunting was also restricted, permission was given to those who had licenses and these were whites only. Those that continued to live outside the reserves became labour tenants, share croppers, or were under some form of rental arrangements with farmers. By the 1920's this situation involved into an institutionalisation of the labour system, with which controlled the movement of African labour into the urban areas (influx control).

Whatever the period of migrancy between the late 19th century to the 20th century the reasons had much to do with the deteriorating material circumstances of families that were developing in the rural areas (Vawda, 1997:2). This resulted in the entire South African region being integrated into a labour market centered on the mines and later the manufacturing industry. This situation was responsible for the en-mass movement of the people to the city where they were forced by the policies of the time to live on the peripheries of the urban centers. Informal or squatter settlements and background shacks become common from the 1930's and 1940's onwards (Vawda, 1997:4). However, not all the members of families or households migrated to the towns, some stayed in the rural areas, while some members of the families migrated to the towns to provide some means of subsistence for the families and households as a whole.

1.2. PASS CONTROLS

In late 19th century, government introduced and adopted the pass control system in order to regulate the movement of labour and attempted to co-ordinate labour supply and demand. The pass control system was also adopted to support different forms of exploitation and social

domination in different stages of capitalist-development. The primary aim was to bind the worker to landowner contracts of indenture and regulated movement of labour between white colonial settlements and independent chieftains. The government had the intention to maintain the temporary migrant labour system (Hindson, 1986:10).

This means that it was not easy for the people during the late19[th] century to build their household in the cities because they were not allowed to stay permanently in the cities. They had to work in the cities and go back to the rural homestead after completion of their contracts. Because of that situation most of them stayed in what was then known as compounds. If they failed to get a job and had no fixed place of residence, they could be arrested and punished under the vagrancy laws (Hindson 1986:9).

After World War Two the pass laws were transformed to deal with the expansion of temporary migrant labour and growth of an urban African proletariat. It was later adapted in 1960's to limit the movement of surplus population to the cities (Hindson, 1986:11). A limitation on movement meant people could not build houses in cities, but this did not stop the people coming to cities. They lived in the official compounds and barracks, and the rest in back yards shacks and informal settlements. To stop this influx control was introduced to limit the growth of urban population. In 1930 amendments were introduced to increase the effectiveness of influx control, and widen its scope. These took the form of a blanket prohibition from entering proclaimed urban areas to seek work and from residing without the permission of municipal authorities. (Hindson, 1986:44). They needed to have an approval certificate if they needed to be employed, which meant that although there were informal settlements during 1930's they were very few of these because people were afraid to build houses in the cities for fear they could be arrested. During that time it was very rare to find people who could consolidate their household in the cities due to the above mentioned reasons. This tight control continued into the early 1980's, by which time it was clear that influx control was not longer effective. But after the abolishing of the influx control in 1980's many people started to move in en-mass to the cities. For example, space for habitation in the formal townships started to become a problem because many people began to build shacks and created informal settlements on the peripheries of the urban areas. People were already occupying backyard shacks.

Evictions, and removal of squatters which began in 1930's continued into 1980's in attempt to control, or displace the urbanisation process to the reserves. Although there was some limited initiatives by the government during the war years to adopt a more reconstructive approach towards increasing urbanisation, overcrowding and squatter movements in the 1940's, this was not followed with any consistency (Bonner 1990). But when the National Party came into power in 1948 it increased control over labour and migrancy by intensifying racial segregation by (amending the 1923 Native Urban Areas Act, new legislation such as the Group Areas Act, 1950 and other legislation prohibiting squatting).

• The effect of this legislative onslaught was to push the landless into townships, that were created on a racial basis, and also divided households between one or more rural bases and urban centers on the basis of perceived ethnic group. Thousands of black people-African, Indians and coloured were evicted, removed and relocated (including a minority of whites). One might argue that, the reason why people did not consolidate in the cities was that they were afraid that the government might evict, remove or relocate them. Even in the post-influx control period people who lived in informal settlements are still afraid that government can remove and relocate them. It was difficult for such households to consolidate their households in an urban area. Rather they retained their rural homestead because there is a greater possibility of household consolidation and continuity than in the urban area.

• Although people migrated from the rural to urban areas, there was also forced removals and voluntary resettlement within the city. e.g. in Durban, Indians were removed from a number of areas such as Cato Manor, Sea View, Greyville, Riverside, Springfield, the city center, among others and relocated to the massive townships of Chatsworth and Phoenix. Black Africans squatters from areas like Cato Manor, Kings Rest and Happy Valley were removed to the townships of KwaMashu and Umlazi (Vawda, 1997:4). In the researcher's view, that is why people who had options decided to return to consolidate their rural homestead rather than to consolidate in the city. Although other people did consolidate against odds in the cities e.g. Alexandra in Johannesburg. Others did not consolidate their households because they had no guarantee whether they would not be forcefully removed again. They decided to stay in informal settlements.

1.3. MASSIVE HOUSING CONSTRUCTION PROGRAMME 1950's AND 1960's.

In 1950's the Apartheid regime embarked on a massive housing construction programme in order to provide sub-economic dwellings for the working class that was allowed to settle near the metropolitan centers, for example Kwa-Mashu and Umlazi near Durban and Soweto in Johannesburg. This did not make life easier for those that were relocated. Life was made difficult by the tightening of urban segregation and petty apartheid, and the strict control of inward movement (influx control) into the urban areas, by means of this selection of labour government was aiming to suit the requirements of industry through the labour bureaux system. For example, those relocated from the squatter settlement of Cato Manor in Durban to kwa-Mashu found that having a house with minimal utilities (water and electricity) also meant an increase in the costs of travelling to work and paying for those utilities (Maasdorp and Humphery, 1975:62). The wages they had earned before being relocated did not cover the new additional costs.

For people who still had rural homesteads or links to rural homesteads, it was difficult to invest in the urban areas and consolidate their households because it was clear to them that the government only valued their labour power and was not willing to encourage their stable settlement in the urban areas. This is another factor that made other households not to leave their rural homestead permanently because they saw that to live in the urban area was not guaranteed, it was better for them to engage in circular migration. It was a difficult sort of migration which was enforced by a quest for economic survival, but was restricted by influx control.

During the 1960's this system, together with the crushing of political movements and trade unions, and with little or no organised civil society, created a sense of stability in urban townships. However, by 1969 all housing construction in urban areas ceased, although paradoxically the destruction of good houses in the name of apartheid continued, for example in the Cato Manor, Greyville and Riverside areas of Durban. Some housing construction took place in Bantustans, but did not compensate for the increased numbers in the townships. Due to the collapse of employment prospects in the rural areas people were forced to seek employment in the urban environment. This put great pressure on the strict control of migrancy, or rural-urban movement. But the number of sublet rooms and backyards increased, and spilled over into the areas outside the townships and into the peri-urban areas (Mabin, 1992:19). By the late 1980's and early 1990's people sought to overcome the overcrowding of

the townships and rural impoverishment by setting up homes in the shack settlements and attempting to live a life with access to the urban economy *albeit* with no secure tenure. Such settlements also provided a lower cost of living than in the formal township. Normally the land occupied is unserviced, but usually after some pressure or struggle, local authorities are often forced to provide minimal services, that is, water and refuse and night soil removal, often at little or no cost to the inhabitants (Mabin, 1992:20).

The collapse of the Bantustan was more forcefully demonstrated by the growth of squatter settlements around metropolitan areas in the late 1970's. Internal migration had increased within the Bantustans from rural districts to areas abutting the metropolitan centers. From the late 1970's further migration occurred as Africans moved out of the Bantustans and settled on vacant ground around the major cities. The existence of commuting and squatting indicate the breakdown of long distance migration (Hindson,1986:88). Even in places where temporary migration remained significant, its character was changing. On the mines there was a shift towards the use of domestic labour supplies from the early 1970's. Efforts were made to stabilize mineworkers occupationally through guaranteeing jobs to workers who returned within a specific period. Since the early 1980's some mines have built family housing for a growing proportion of African staff.

1.4. THE SCRAPPING OF PASS LAWS (1985) AND ABOLISHING OF GROUP AREAS ACT.

In short, by the 1980's the policies could not, and, ultimately, did not, contain the rural-urban, or urbanisation process. Indeed attempts at this, such as the Rickert Commission, proved to be a failure and by 1985 the pass laws controlling African access to the urban metropolitan areas was scraped. Later the Group Areas Act which controlled and enforced strict racial segregation was also abolished. That resulted in many people moving unrestricted from rural areas to the cities.

By the late 1980's and early 1990's a new phenomenon occurred – land invasions and squatting on privately owned land in the empty spaces of established, though not always, middle class residential suburbs of the metropolitan areas. The long struggle against the former apartheid state's lack of adequate utility services, houses, better living wage and working conditions was being displaced to a new set of cleavages between informal and formal settlement

1.5. CONCLUSION

This chapter laid more emphasis on what factors are responsible for household consolidation in urban areas. It also indicated the factors inhibiting household consolidation in urban areas, prompting to invest in their rural homestead rather than in the urban areas. It also covered the historical background of migration, that is the context that "forced" people to migrate from their rural areas to urban areas during late 19th century, for example, and reduction of available land, poll-tax, low levels of peasant agriculture production, and the opening of mines and industries in the cities. Integeral to this migration was the pass controls system which was used to stop a mass of people moving from the rural areas to the city. The chapter briefly discussed the period of 1930's and 1940's where most of the people moved from the rural areas due to the political violence, faction fights, as well as family problems.

The chapter also points out that there were people who moved voluntarily from their rural homesteads but with the introduction of the influx control by the government a mass exodus of many people to the cities was prevented. An additional element to control urbanization was the Group Areas Act forcibly removed people of colour in the city to the peripheries of the urban area, and relocated them according to their race and ethnic groups.

The second chapter will focus on the literature review on migration and house consolidation. In addition this review will analse various theories of migration.

1.6. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this section I will outline the way in which research was conducted: the data gathering tools used to elicit information from the role players involved and analytical approaches used to analyse the data.

Both secondary and primary data were used. Secondary data includes journals articles and various books on the subject. Other materials that were of help were unpublished papers and pamphlets about the research topic reports and documents were collected from the housing sector, for example Durban Metro Housing Department. Primary research data was obtained from Wiggins/Umkhumbane (Cato Manor) and Siyanda informal settlements. Both settlements fall under Durban Metro Council. These two places are at different stages of housing

development, Wiggins/Umkhumbane is already upgraded, whereas Siyanda is an informal non – upgraded area.

The interviews were conducted mainly during the evenings and on weekends when the household heads were most likely to be at home. It was possible to interview some people during the week because either they were not working or not looking for employment. In cases where the household heads were unavailable, a call back was necessary. Although the confidential nature of the study was emphasized, most respondents were initially reluctant to answer questions about their income and their neighborhood.

Despite this reluctance the interviews went fairly well because the respondents were sincere and co-peratative once my bonafides were accepted.

Both qualitative and quantitative research techniques were used to understand feelings and needs of the migrants and their detailed reasoning to either consolidation houses in rural areas or urban areas. The preferred method to elicit data was to conduct face to face interviews. 40 interviews were conducted: 20 in Wiggins/Umkhumbane and 20 in Siyanda. To do all this the authorities of these areas, usually councilors, were consulted and informed about interviews to be undertaken in the community.

A semi-structured interview schedule was used which contained both close and open ended types of questions was used in order to exploit the maximum benefits of both kinds of interview methods. The use of close ended questions was aimed at firstly helping households to categorize the answers, especial if they found it difficult to respond. Secondly, this also made the consolidation of data easier. The use of open ended questions allowed respondents flexibility to answer the questions as fully as they wanted.

Although this sample of interviews can not be said to scientifically representative (in statistical terms) in the study it has, firstly, assisted in identifying factors affecting different households in the housing consolidation process. Further research into these factors will be needed. Secondly, a reader will obtain insights on different forms of housing improvements undertaken by a variety of low-income households in the informal settlement. Thirdly, some trends have been identified and limited recommendations are made from the findings.

1.6.1. Data Collection

Collection of information from the respondents was through the use of interviews. Interviews were formal in a sense that a set of questions were asked and recorded as the respondent answered. Interviews are appropriate for the collection of information in the study because they allow the respondents to answer questions having fully understood what is required of them. The questions were asked in sequence and they were read out to the respondent.

This method of collecting data was aimed at accommodating the illiterate who are not able to read or write. This method avoids a situation where other questions are left unanswered because the question was not clear or the respondent did not understand what was required of him/her.

1.6.2 Data Analysis

This is a process by which the data that has been collected is analyzed so that it can make sense. Instead of questionnaires, questions were verbally asked and answers were written. This avoided the problems where respodents tend to throw away the questionnaires, while others take a very long time to respond. Tables were used in summerizing and analyzing data. These methods helped one to understand how many respondents answered each question in a certain way. This method is appropriate for my study and it is manageable and helpful in drawing conclusions.

The data collected falls into the following broad categories: household structure and household composition, household income, biographical details of the household members: previous places of residence and place of origin, and development priorities.

The research also focused on site observation: visiting migrant households to investigate their housing and living conditions.

CHAPTER TWO

CONSOLIDATION IN THE CONTEXT OF RURAL-LINKAGES: A LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will review the literature on migration (local and international), national and local policy and house consolidation in South Africa and elsewhere internationally. It will also look at what theories exist about migration, primarily, neoclassical theory, radical theory, and dependency theory.

A working definition of migration as well as causes of migration will be also presented. This review is crucial to this study in order to understand what factors underpin or influence people to migrate from their places of origin. It is important to illustrate the sociological factors behind the apparent instability of people or households.

2.1. THEORIES OF MIGRATION

The Neo-classical approach regards migration as a rational response to prevailing socio - economic conditions. There is an assumption of the existence of the reasonable knowledge of the alternative conditions. It states that socio - economic development in any context followed a relatively inevitable path or progression and the broad features of progression repeat themselves internationally. It also states that within any developed country, a dualist model of development occurs. Furthermore, it states that the direction of the progression or path of development is towards equilibrium in the price of factors of production and living standards. Consequently that migration itself – is a correcting or a balancing process (Dewar et al. 1982) and that valid theories may be developed to predict levels and rates of migration.

Radical theories of migration state that although Marx himself held a view quite similar to the Rostovian principle, namely, that less developed countries would follow the same development path of the older industrial nations, this principle has been turned on its head by dependency theories. In their view less developed or peripheral countries are a mirror - image rather than a parallel, of development on the older industrialised or core countries. The needs of capital accumulation in the capitalist world economy are imposed on the weaker periphery countries and serve to actively underdevelop them. The implications of this for migration is that the developed countries thus force migration from the less developed countries as surplus labour.

The implications of the dependency theory in relation to the dual economy assumption of neo-classical theory are serious. Dual economic theory envisages less developed countries as composed of two relatively independent and qualitatively different economic sectors with modern cash industrial sector gradually absorbing unemployed labour from the traditional subsistence sector. (Lewis,1954). Development in its social, political and economic dimensions gradually diffuses from the former to the latter sector, thereby dissolving the shackles of tradition, responsible for the lack of development in the subsistence sector. Dependency theory would suggest continued oscilating migrant labour, despite its formal abolition. "Tradition" and continued subsistence agriculture suggests that new developments in South Africa does not abolish the functional links between rural-urban migration and urbanization.

2.2. DEFINING MIGRATION

In the context of South Africa the term migrant is defined as a worker who oscillates between his home and his place of work over a distance which is greater than can be travelled on a daily basis. Furthermore, it can include workers who live either inside or outside the borders of the Republic of South Africa, but who either way, are living at work without their families.

Migrants are also those who seek urban employment with the intention of earning sufficient income to support themselves and provide a surplus to send home to their families. These migrants aim eventually to send money to the rural areas and are referred to by Hobart-Houghton and Walton (1952:116) as migrant breadwinners. They still possess strong rural links, and they hope to return to these areas as an endeavour to reduce some of strains incurred by residing in "single" people's accommodation, such as hostels and compounds, informal settlements and backyards rooms. Sociological studies of migration are diverse and usually form part of larger problems in (for example) research into kinship, social networks, or economic development.

It is conventional to distinguish push from pull factors in the analysis of migration. The former (for example, high rates of unemployment in the area of origin) are usually viewed as inducing migration of a conservative, security-maximizing nature, while the latter (economic expansion in the host countries or region) are said to encourage risk-taking and income migration. A distinction is also made between external migration (between countries) and internal migration between regions (within country) migration.

There is a considerable literature on rural-urban migration in developing countries, and this has confirmed the importance of family and friends in the destination area, as an explanatory variable for the rate of migration out of particular areas of origin. Employers have often made use of kin networks in recruiting ' green labour ' from one area or country to another. Studies of job-research behavior have indentified the practices of chain employment and chain migration where the successful migration of one family member creates a chain of opportunities for the whole kin network (Marshall, 1994: 146).

Migration usually refers to patterns of movement, numbers or groups of people rather than to individuals. There can be many individual exceptions to more general patterns of migration, particularly, in relation to the reasons why people move. The term migration also means the movement of people which involves a permanent change of residence, where permanent is taken to last more than one than one year

In general, migration is a necessary element of normal population redistribution and equilibrium and an arrangement for making the maximum use of available manpower. For many of these people from the countryside, however, it is more than a change of residence, or more than a movement in space from one to another. (Jackson,1969:14).

2.3. DEFINING HOUSE CONSOLIDATION

This part focuses on defining housing consolidation and its application in the informal settlements. The term consolidation simply refers to change a house by adding more rooms or changing its physical structure, usually for the better. But consolidation refers to the changing physical structure because households are expanding the family. It is a process of making the house or the evolution of a house from one level to the other until it reaches a desired state to accommodate the members of the household.

According to Napier (1997:1) consolidation processes are building activities aimed at bringing starter house to a further stage of completion using either formal or informal construction. Such completion depends solely on the resident's resources such as time, personal saving and labour. According to Smit and Mbona (1996:7) housing consolidation processes could be traced back to South African traditional societies, where additional structures were added to a homestead as households grew in size. Similarly, for the evolution of informal settlements

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according to Sweell, quoted in Smit and Mbona (1996:7) informal settlers invade the land and secure sites informally. Once the sites have been secured they erect houses on that plot of land and when household's sizes grow bigger and, income increases, the houses are improved or expanded. This is based on the physical structure of the house. Consolidation is thus the gradual improvement of the physical condition of housing following the provision of basic infrastructure and services. It can specifically refer to building activities by residents aimed at bringing their housing to a further stage of completion using formal or informal construction. Furthermore consolidation in a housing project can be defined as extensions of the top-structure or those improvements made on the site, which usually involves pooling together resources by individual beneficiaries (household heads).

People improve on houses for a number of reasons: overcrowding, the unsatisfactory condition of the house, status, the desire for stronger houses, or else they are only motivated by the fact that housing consolidation opportunity availed itself. However, the most common reason given by people as to why they consolidated their houses is because of overcrowding. They often say they require a big space so as to accommodate all the family members. One respondent said "we extended our house from wattle and daub house to a four room block house because we are a large family" Another respondent pointed out that they are a large family but they have a problem of extending their house because they have a small site. Other households extend their household in the cities because they have weak links with their rural homestead. Family problems in the rural homesteads are a source of weak links between rural areas and cities. Household heads from rural areas also move to the cities and invest in houses in order to accommodate the whole family.

2.4. CAUSES OF MIGRATION

It is an undeniable fact that many people migrated from rural areas to cities due to loss of land, employment and rural decline, as a result of state policies in the past. People have been or become migrants. The process of migration originated during the Industrial Revolution of the 18th century, when large numbers of impoverished people from the country districts streamed to the cities to seek a living in the new factory cities.

However most early South African black migrants in the 19th century and 20th century can be labelled as target migrants whose aim is to work and supplement the rural household and

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maintain periodic contact with their families. Later in the 20th century some however, did not return to their rural homes and made the cities their permanent home. Such migrants resided in informal settlements and backyard shacks in the informal African townships on the peripheries of the cities.

The migration pattern is closely associated with the process of economic development in a country. As soon as economy reaches a certain level of development, people begin to move from the rural areas to the cities. Beside manufacturing, most of the economic and employment opportunities (tertiary activities) and those which are relatively labour intensive, are found in the cities, for instance, commerce, transport, education and health. Modern farming methods, which include mechanisation and automation, in most cases require less labour, so that people are no longer needed on the farms. They become redundant and move to cities. The city, with its great demand for labour, draws people.

Better educational opportunities may also attract people to urban areas.There is a natural tendency among people who have better education qualifications to try to improve their standards of living, and, in this respect, the city offers better prospects. The availability in the city of facilities such as healthy services, education and recreation is often a reason for young people moving from rural districts to the cities (Gugler,1988:399).

Some migrants left their families at their rural homesteads due to economic reasons, and they still have strong link with their rural homesteads, Although they became fully committed to urban life; at same time, they still belong to the rural community from where they had come. Those who came to settle permanently brought their families to stay with them and cut ties with their relatives in the rural areas. Some have weak links with them, but others still have strong links with their relatives in the rural homestead. However they tend to consolidate their households in the cities because they regard them as their permanent residences. Those who are circular migrants tend to consolidate their rural homestead because they are more interested in their rural homestead as compared to the urban areas, and it is where most of their families are living.

Schapera (1947:48) states that there are three main factors, which cause migration: 1.social and psychological factors, 2. economic necessity, and 3. political pressure. Economic necessity

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means that people migrated to the city because they were starving and needed money to support their families. Political pressure means that people migrated to the city due to the apartheid laws which were imposed by the government. As discussed previously, depriving South African blacks of their land and imposition of the taxes are responsible for migration from rural to urban areas to look for employment. Social and psychological factors need to be taken into consideration, urges Schapera, which may include adventurousness and escape from the dull and lonely life of cattle posts (Schpera: 1947:52). Labour migration has almost entirely replaced traditional initiation as a mark of maturity. The boys leave the rural homestead to urban areas because they know that if they get a job in the urban areas they can no longer be regarded as boys. Moreover, girls prefer men who have faced the risks of town life and shown that they are willing to work to support a family. The above factors are responsible for boys running away from school in rural areas to urban areas. Escape from domestic control is another important factor. For example, a son who resents paternal interference and dictation knows that he is an adult, or who is denied the girl he wishes to marry, will seldom hesitate to seek freedom by migrating to an urban area. Another example is the assumption of domestic control upon the death of a father by an unsympathetic kinsman. Also, herdsboys can escape from their serfdom at cattle posts. Escaping fulfilling " tribal " obligations and customs may also lead to escaping to urban centres. For example, escaping communal unpaid labour or occasionally also a man may be punished for some misdeed by being dismissed from his home area and migration to the town might then offer the means of livelihood for him (Zegeye & Ishemo : 1989:34).

Reader (1963) in his study of labour migration in Malawi argues that although the basic cause of migration clearly lay in the economic field, sociological factors arise partly from the degree of modernizing activities. What has happened in Malawi resembles the contemporary situation of South Africa. He argues that in the remote areas where villages are little affected by the city cash economy, not many men have migrated. That means the more the people become influenced by modernization in the city the more they have the weak ties with their families or totally cut ties with their families in the rural areas and decide to adapt themselves to an urban life. This combination of economic and financial necessity has led some people investing in the cities, which implies that they want to consolidate their households in the cities. There are those migrants who decided to undertake the circular migration option that is, to invest in both in urban and in the rural areas. The prime reason for this strategy is because during the

working period they are staying in the urban areas but during the holidays they go back to their rural homestead. But there are a third category of migrants: those who are not totally investing in the urban areas, who just stay in the informal settlement spend the least amount of money on basic neccessities, such as groceries, and send the rest of their money to their rural homestead, where they maintain strong links with their families and relatives.

There are another reasons why people migrate. For example, when they seek better wages in order to meet bride wealth payments in the rural homestead. Southall (1961) saw the motives for migration as being the need to pay tax and escape from obligations imposed by chiefs and elders. Shapera (1947) saw migration as important in enhancing the status of young men although Gulliver (1955:82) argues that migration is not offering prestige to anyone. Rather, he states that people migrate because of economic necessity. If we look back during late 19th century most of the people migrated from their rural areas due to the death of their cattle as well as colonial powers which forced them to reduce their herds and being forced to stop hunting.

According to Mbilinyi some women migrated from their rural areas with the aim of freeing themselves from male domination (Mbilinyi, 1989). She argues that the colonial state's use of "Customarily marriage was aimed at social control as regard women." Mbilinyi (1989) uses the concept of "marriage politics" to characterise this social control associated with indirect rule. She forcefully argues that (the running away) of women was not stimulated by the male agency working on female passivity rather she sees it as constituting resistance against forced marriage, child betrothals, physical violence, failure to remit wages home, wife beating etc (Mbilinyi, 1989:16).

2.5. TYPES OF MIGRATION

It is noted that for many migration is not just a once for all move, rather there are numerous moves over a lifetime which make a migratory career. Gugler (1982,1988) argued that there are four principal patterns of rural urban migration in the third world which are evident.

1. Permanent urban settlement
2. Long term migration of largely men.
3. Migrant labour

4. Family migration to urban areas followed by return migration to the community of origin.

Gugler (1988) is quick to point out that these are statuses, for instance, it is highlighted that the man who left his family behind may decide to have them join him. On the other hand, a family that expected to return to its community of origin may settle down permanently. It is argued that changes in migration status, as generally percieved by migrants, typically go in the direction of an increasing number but they are affected by changing circumstances in both the urban and in the place of origin (Gilbert & Gugler,1982; Gugler,1988)

2.5.1. PERMANENT MIGRATION

Firstly, permanent migration is about population mobility involving a permanent shift in residence. That is, there is a definite change of residence with no return to the rural village. However, visits may still be made. In other words it involves migrants who are committed totally to exchanging a rural for an urban way of life. Such migrant has the least commitment to the rural area (Prothero & Champman,1985). Gugler (1988) argues that permanent migrants tend to commit their offspring to permanent urban dweller status.

In areas where rural villages are in proximity to urban areas, there is a tendency for rural migrants to commit to the city but returning to the rural areas in the evening. It is argued that commuting can be regular, occurring every day of the week or irregular. It is highlighted that commuters have the least commitment to the city and very little financial or social investments in the city. The commitment to the rural area where the family is based is high. Commuters tend to maintain all political and social roles in their rural homestead. They usually earn most of their income in the city and spend a bulk of it in the rural homestead (Prothero & Champman,1985). In the areas of the study there were such kind of migrants e.g. those who had rural homesteads at Embumbulu and Ndwedwe but who also had houses in the informal settlements in Durban at Siyanda. They used those homes/shelters as a base to be involved in the urban economy and, with lower households expenses, can save money which is remitted to the rural home. That means they sleep in the informal settlement during the week and go home at the weekends. Most of those migrants were not interested in housing consolidation in the urban areas because the resources, including the financial, is transferred to the rural area. They

were also sometimes using those shelters if they work late hours and were not able to reach their rural homes early.

There are two kinds of permanent migrants:

(1) Those who decided to leave and do not invest anything in the rural areas, although they might visit in the rural areas to see their relatives. e.g. family or parents, but nothing else.

(2) Those that work or permanently seek a livelihood in the urban areas, they could be people who live in the urban fringe or rural area near the city or further away. They work in the city but invest significant portions of their resources in the rural area that is money, social relationships, marriage, children etc. but they have to work mostly in urban areas.

2.5. 2. THE SEASONAL MIGRANTS

Some migrants circulate from their rural homestead to urban areas during particular seasons. This kind of to and fro is much associated with the agricultural cycle. Such seasonal migrants mostly take their leave during the plough and harvesting seasons. These seasonal migrants tend to consolidate their rural homesteads by investing their income in the rural areas in land, stock and homes. The seasonal or shuttle migrants move to the city in search of work to supplement their agricultural incomes. They also have little financial or social investment in the city and usually occupy rented, group rented or employer barracks. The migrants, like the commuter migrants, are orientated towards the rural areas. Their families are based in the rural areas. They retain all political and social roles in the rural areas including the citizenship and often retain their original source of income in the rural areas. Such kind of migrants are not so much interested in housing consolidation in the city. In Siyanda where this study was conducted there were people who were seasonal migrants who show a strong link with their rural homestead particularly during the ploughing season. Such migrants invest more in their rural homestead as compared to the urban areas, but cannot leave their urban employment. Although committed to a rural household, they are fuctionally part of urban economy, at least for times of the year when they are not involved in the agricultural cycle.

2.5. 3. THE LIFE CYCLE MIGRANTS

The life cycle migrants consist of migrants who move to the urban area at one or more specific stages of their life cycle. Although they may bring their families for protection and seek more

permanent accommodation, Prothero & Champman (1985), indicate that these migrants' commitment to the city is moderate. They maintain strong links with the family in rural areas through visits and their remittances to the rural areas remain regular. It is argued that they usually retain their rural citizenship and sources of income in the rural homestead, but may not play an overtly active political or social role.

2.5.4. THE WORKING LIFE MIGRANTS

Finally, the working life migrants spend their entire lives in the city but intend and eventually do retire in their home village. This type of migrant has a high commitment to the city and is always accompanied by his/her family. However, she/he maintains sufficient links with the rural homestead to ensure acceptance on eventual return and makes periodic remittances to the rural family. Moreover, return visits to the rural area are usually made at the end of the year although they may be inconsistent (Prothero & Champman,1985).

2.6.MIGRATION DURING THE ERA OF THE HOMELANDS SYSTEM/APARTHEID.

Due to the apartheid system (loss of land, tenure rights etc) individual members of the families migrated from their rural homestead because subsistence from agriculture in the reserves is usually poor and always precarious. Some of the reserves are threatened by soil erosion, encouraged households to consolidate their existence in the urban areas, where they assume that life is better than in the rural areas. Many people during the apartheid era, migrated to urban areas with the intention of seeking for jobs. They slept in the backyard rooms and in the compounds. Others were sent back by the white government to their rural homesteads due to the influx control. (Unlike in the contemporary situation in which many people who come from rural areas have an access to urban areas specially in the informal settlements. They are also allowed to consolidate their households in the urban areas without restrictions). Because of this, wage earning has become accepted as a priority to overcome poverty. Few migrant families can hope to make enough money from their own agricultural surplus produce. That is why other migrants decided to permanently reside in the cities and consolidate the households there.

Mayer (1971) argued that money was needed for expenditure in the rural or urban areas for daily things like coffee, sugar, paraffin, and clothing, but it is also needed for bigger things too:

particularly for the annual taxes, education, and for the periods of bad droughts. This was what encouraged early migration to the cities.

The necessity for wage income caused people to live a migrant life. That is why most of the people moved from the rural areas to the cities. There are villages and small towns where migrants find work, but the main choice for wage-earning are the large cities e.g. Durban., Johannesburg, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth.

According to Mayer (1971) apart for earning an income, there are other reasons for going to town. These are associated with the different stages of life: Senior boys (approaching initation) and *Ikrwala* (youths in the transition stage just after imitation) go away to work for short-periods to show their manliness and to earn some money for their personal use. This practice is called *Ukutshintsha*, "Changing" and is supposed to enable a young man to "change clothes".*Ukutshintsha* contributes nothing directly to the economics of the homestead and is not supposed to be prolonged. Young men (*Abafana*) usually need to make money in earnest if they are to achieve the ideal of having their own homestead. These are also factors that lead the people not to consolidate a household in the cities because they still have strong rural links with their families and relatives in rural areas. Circular migration is thus introduced in to the cultural ideology of the rural areas a recognition of the dependency of the of people on urban settings for economic survival, and cultural legitimacy of rites of passage into manhood.

Some of migrants have saved enough money to buy a house in town, but such a man does not usually claim to enjoy living in his town house. It is an investment: he is proud of it because of the money return, the rents, which will mainly go to "build up the homestead" in the rural areas (Mayer 1971:93).

Gugler (1988) states that among the senior civil servants, approximately 66% do not want to retire to their rural home community. However almost all want to be buried at home. He shows how his respondents maintain significant relationships with their rural home community, even though many people are urban dwellers. For example, during the census period the people studied returned en mass to their villages in order to be counted on census day. They wanted to strengthen the villages political representation and its claim on public services. Increased education and training are commonly assumed to enhance access to urban

employment opportunities and thus to foster rural-urban migration (Gugler,1991:408). This example is significant in showing that not every body who stays in the cities likes to spend his or her whole life in the in the urban areas. This accounts for the variation in the degree of house consolidation in the urban areas. Some people are more serious in their endeavours to develop their rural homes.

Occasionally a returned migrant related how the ancestors forced him to come back to the country when he was on the point of becoming *itshipha* himself (*itshipha* is somebody who is no longer going to his or her homestead and who is no longer sending money to his or her homestead while he or she is in the urban areas). This shows that because of religious beliefs many migrants do not consolidate their life in urban areas. For example, one of my respondents in one household at Siyanda said he was not prepared to return to his homestead but now he is forced to return because he is always dreaming about his grandmother and his grandfather. He said they are always telling him at night that he must go back to make (*Umsebenzi*) for them because they are hungry. That means he must go back to slaughter two goats and a beast for them. He said if he did not do that he would lose the temporary job and he will have misfortunes, so he said he is forced to return back to their rural homestead to build it up again, so that everything should "come right" for him. This was the reason he gave, ironically, for consolidating in the urban areas.

In his study Philip Mayer (1971) gave a similar example. This concerns a Tshabo man who said that thanks to coming home he "recovered completely" from a mysterious illness which had afflicted him in Pretoria. "I was suffering from headaches there, and my whole body was painful. A diviner told me that I did not need any medicine to cure me, but that my ancestors wanted me to return home. Since I followed this advice, I have no more trouble". A young Butterworth man in East London became insane for a similar reason. The diviner said that the patient had been in the East London too long, that the ancestors were not pleased, and he must go home, and kill a beast to appease the spirits. This was done and he recovered (Mayer 1971:93).

Another factor that inhibit the migrants from investing in household consolidation in the urban areas is that some of the household heads, more especially at Siyanda, their fathers have a large homestead, with cattle and sheep, and which when their fathers die they will inherit. Two

of Siyanda respondents stated this as the main reason for regarding the rural area as their only real home. At Wiggins/ Umkhumbane one of the households head's brother stated that he is not married. He waits for his father to get him a wife. The father forced him to come to town to work under *Umlungu* (the White man) and send money home for *lobola*. He was also instructed by his father " I must not be in love with *oNondindwa*" (that means the women that left their homesteads without their parent's permission went to town, and became protitutes, and who are no longer sending money to their rural homestead. The respodent implied that he would like to consolidate his household in the town, but he feels he has to obey his father who instructed him to work in the towns and pay lobolo in the rural areas and not be in love with the town women.

2.7. THE MAINTAINANCE OF RELATIONS WITH ORIGINAL HOME

One can discuss the mechanisms by which people maintain links with their original homes under two headings. The first is the insistence on actual contact with home by means of regular visiting. The second is insistence on the solidarity of the people of one home place, *Amakhaya*(homes) sitting together discussing the rural social activities, during their stay in town. According to Philip Mayer these two practices interconnect, the *abakhaya* (people from same rural) area in town reinforce one another's resolve to keep on visiting home (Mayer,1971:94). This means that the visiting of each other between migrants influences them to maintain a strong link between them and their rural homesteads. Such migrants do not even think about urban consolidation because they always talk about their rural homesteads, so it is not easy for them to forget their rural homesteads.

Other migrants who still have a strong links with their family or relatives in the rural homestead spend their leaves-breaks at home. They travel home by bus or train or taxi and to stay at home until they are due back at work. This indicates a commitment to their rural home, rather than consolidate or investing in the urban areas because they are still more interested in their rural homestead. This category of migration is called *Amagoduka* (home –visitors) (Mayer 1971:74). For others where the home is too far away, and the fares too expensive, the migrant confines him or her self to one weekend at home or fortnight or once a month. Others visit their homestead on Good Friday and Christmas time only. This is the situation where contacts between the home-people in town assume extra importance (Mayer, 1971:95).

Other migrants spend free time at home because of the need to provide extra labour at home making fences, building kraals and ploughing the land. Although they are investing in their rural homes, the room-rent in town still has to be paid. That means those who spend free time at home are not necessarily relieved from spending money in towns e.g. as mentioned above, but they also have to pay levy to the inkosi in the rural homestead.

Others from Siyanda stated that they are using part of their week-ends for odd jobs around the homestead e.g. repairing fences and some to take their annual leave at the ploughing season on purpose so that they could help with this "man's work." They showed a strong interest in maintaining rural link with relatives. They even stated that they are interested in taking part in the rural activities such as *itlombe* and *umtshotsho* (all night dancing and sessions) which are the standard migrants amusements for young migrants on leave at home. Adults and older people also take part in these activities, which normally take place throughout Saturday nights. They stated that holidays are significant because they give them the opportunity for renewing social relations with people at home. Mayer (1971) states that the man who fails to visit home is doing wrong precisely in that he indicates his lack of interest in those social ties.

Migrants are a naturally kept informed of important family happenings, such as a death or a marriage or a major sacrifice, which ideally requires their presence. A verbal message by friends who are travelling, or a letter written and deciphered if necessary by some literate neighbor, will inform the migrant that he must come home if he can. Migrants also take leave and go home for important discussion: a consultation with the headman about the allotment of a homestead site, a discussion of boundaries with neighbor, a family conference about somebody's marriage cattle or somebody else's pending lawsuit. All such participation helps to reinforce the sense that the migrant's personality is still integrally part of the home structure, that his roles there are still essential and still being discharged, although he is non-resident.

2.8. FROM COUNTRY TO TOWN

While there are reasons for migrating, it is also true that conditions in towns and villages either induce people to stay permanently or hasten their departure. The reasons for migrants to come to town are: dislike of rural living conditions, poverty of the rural areas, ill treatment from the farm owners, as well as strained relationships with the stepfathers and stepmothers, running

away from the school, male domination, chief domination, traditional cultures witchraft, polygamy and the better wage income and better conditions of the town life.

Some migrants migrated from farms during their youth, without even having cultivated land independently of their own fathers. Dislike of their living conditions on the farms is generally given as the reason for farm workers coming to town. There is too much poverty: the income was very little. Many early migrants left the farm areas where their fathers had always been workers coming to Durban as a young unmarried man. They said that they disliked farm life because the farm owners made their fathers work all day long in the farms for nothing. Some of these migrants married town-born women and remained in town for the rest of their lives (Pauw 1963:12). In my own study when I asked my respondents whether they were prepared to return home they said they were not. They were interested in consolidating their houses in town e.g. upgrade their houses and invest in the urban areas, in this case Durban.

One man came to town as a young man after the death of his mother who was the right-hand (second) wife of a polygamist. He disliked the great wife, and because of ill treatment decided to come to town. A father whose parents were farm workers came to town because he wished to have his own homestead – an expression denoting a desire for independence, not only from the White master, but also from his own father. It is important to note that psychological tensions often tie up with traditional culture (for example the belief in witchcraft) or social structure (the tensions arising from polygamy or from the strongly emphasized patriarchal organisation of the extended family) (Pauw 1963:13).

Other migrants indicated that they were attracted to settle in town by what they regarded as the more favorable conditions of living there. They liked or enjoyed town life. One respondent at Siyanda said that he did not know what caused his father to settle in town, but he always remarked that town was a better place than rural life. Town was also sometimes preferred from the point of view of health. Those who had experienced illness or deaths in the family, or who had specifically fled from witchcraft, usually found that they were not troubled here in town, although the town location is by no means regarded as a refuge from all witchcraft. Some also positively valued town conditions from a health point of view (Pauw 1963:14). One woman at Wiggins/Umkhumbane who owns a spaza shop who had no strong rural ties, said that "if we had remained in the rural areas, surely we would have long been dead by now". She

said most of the people in her household are sickly, but doctors are quite near here and there is plenty of palatable food, which you cannot get in the rural areas.

Mayer (1963:14) states that a man could also become a town dweller, particularly if married to town-born woman whose own family was well established in town. A man from Siyanda who had come from 'Pondoland' married a town born woman who persuaded him to abandon the country home. They lived much easier in town, sometimes occupying a room free of charge in the wife's parents house, and when she needed any money, her parents would assist her. This is resembling of what one of the respondents at Siyanda (who is a household head) who said she is staying with her boy friend in the house but both of them are not working. When asked how do they survive, she said "the parents of my boyfriend who are staying in the formal township are supporting us, they bring groceries for us every month".

2.9. CULTURAL DIFFERENTIATION

A factor which may infuence urban rather than rural consolidation of a household may also be a decision to reject the cultural practice of polygany. For example, a man in the household at Wiggins/Umkhumbane said that he had a wife and children in his rural homestead and he came to work in Durban. He married another woman in Durban but when he tried to ask her to go back with him to his rural homestead that women refused. He said that she said, "She does not like *isithembu* (polygamy)". He said that they will consolidate their homestead in Durban rather than to return in his rural homestead. As a result that man told the researcher that he is no longer investing in the rural areas, he forgot everything in his rural homestead e.g. children, his wife; cattle etc. Although her second wife was countrywoman herself, she persuaded him to stay in town, because she did not like *isithembu*. (Pauw 1963:14), (although the culture of polygamy was more practised during 1960's downwards but there are people who still using it.) Such a situation of abandoning the rural home causes great hardship for the rural family and precitpates further migration.

2.10. HOME TIES AND DOMESTIC LIFE

It is said that a migrant son is being a good son as long as he sends money home regularly and visits whenever he can. If the father says he needs the money more than he needs his presence, that is an arguable reason for staying longer in town. However, there is always, in the background, the idea of having to go back "some day". On the death of the father all sons

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must come home for a sacrifice. This means that even if such migrants stay permanently in town as long as they are still sending money to their parents, that is appreciated by the parents. That means that for those migrants nothing prohibits them from consolidating their households in the urban areas as long as they are still visiting their parents "some days".

Mayer, (1971:97) states that in the case of the Red Xhosa (those who still believe in traditional ways), if a son earns money in town that earning is not regarded as his own property but as his father's or as the property of the homestead. Even young married men said that to spend all their own earnings would be wrong. The father must receive substantial and regular remittances. If he chooses to put part of the money away as a nest-egg for the son who earned it, that is his own affair but he (the father) is under no obligation to do so. It must be noted that this is no longer extensively prevalent. Now there is a trend that if someone wants to be married he just does on his own will without asking or telling his parents.

To stay in town when recalled by the father, or to withhold money for one's personal gratification, would be final disrespect to the father. These considerations amount to grave sanctions against "urbanisation" in any sense. As has been metioned before there is a general acknowledgement that the ancestors wish migrants to go on living in the real rural homesteads. This indicates that these kind of migrants still have a strong rural link with their rural homestead. For this reason it is not easy for them to invest in urban households, as they are still influenced by their rural beliefs. This is witnessed by the researcher because during the research period he found that there are young migrants who came to work in Durban who stay in the informal settlements, these migrants have nothing to say about their earnings because they have to take their wages and send it to their fathers. Even if they do not like the situation, their parents instructions are obeyed because the money is for *lobola* when the son is to get married. For such migrants it is not easy to do upgrading of their informal settlements because they have no means as they are still under the control of their parents.

If the role of son is bound up with the rural homestead so is the role of a husband. Red young men have always been expected to regard their wives as Wives of the Kraal (Mayer 1971). This means that the young Red son paid lobola in the form of cattle when he was taking the wife, so that wife came to look for his cattle while he is in town for work. In other words that wife is there to look after all his herds, she is his eye at the rural homestead. This research was

done by Mayer who wanted to investigate other purposes of taking a wife in rural areas beside of the purpose of bearing the children. Although nowadays the situation no longer prevails, in this research the same issues around the establishment of new households by migrants are examined. It becomes clear that the migrant's family spends time in the urban or rural setting according to the migrants link with the rural setting as seen in the next chapter.

When they first go to town, as migrants young men are mostly bachelors. It would, of cause, be a serious weakness in the defences of migrant conservatism if they made a practice of marrying town girls. Marriage in migrants society, has to be prearranged between two families. The pre-arrangements are not consistent with picking one's own wife in town. Even the younger informants supported the idea of arranged marriage, which means marriage arranged by the senior kin. A boy or youth expects to have free choice of his premarital sweethearts, but that is not the matter, marrying a sweetheart is not the ideal. It is therefore even possible for a young migrant to become betrothed in the traditional way to a country girl while he is way in town. Betrothal could take place without his being consulted at all. In extreme ases he may even be married in absentia. The girl is *thwalad* on his behalf (i.e. 'abducted' for the purpose of marriage, with her parent's connivance) and he finds her in Kraal, a ready-made wife when he comes to visit at home. They call a wife (*Umtshakazi in Xhosa, umakhoti* in Zulu) that means new wife is bride to the *umuzi* (homestead) (Mayer, 1971:98).

This kind of 'taking the wife', or arranged marriage, sometimes caused the young migrants men to cut ties with their parents and decide to take wives of their own choice and consolidate and invest in the city because there are those who do not like to take their parent's instruction. But there are those who accept it because they believe that if they reject it they will be doing wrong to their ancestors. Such migrants usually let their parents to choose wives for them and usually consolidate in the rural areas rather than in town. That is another factor leading to household consolidation in urban centres.

Since his wife is not primarily his wife, in an exclusive sense, the migrant husband does not consider that he has any right to take her with him when he goes back to town. Leaving the wife at the family homestead has certain obvious economic advantages, but over and above this, the patriarchal values demand that such women remain under the direct control of the senior at home. The result of this is that it forced a circular migration by the husband and to

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pay more attention to the rural homestead than where he stays in town and invest more in the rural homestead and have more frequent visit at home. If the wife is visiting him, it must be of a short period because she must come back to look after the children at home because children and wife would be an economic burden in town.

2.11. URBAN CONDITIONS

According to Wilson (1994), men were exceptionally hostile to women employed in unfeminine jobs. They feared that as wage-earners women threatened their dominant position as 'providers' and argued that women's work should be confined to housekeeping. Men also blame the managers of local industries for creating unemployment among men by employing women in urban areas. Such attitudes generated great tensions within households. This was evident in quarrels over resources and in numerous episodes of marital violence between unemployed husbands and their working wives (Wilson, 1972:122). This is witnessed by the researcher because during the research period it was noticeable that some of the men in the households were not working but their wives and other females were working, yet men in the household demanded to have a say in the use of home resources e.g. they want to have a say in the money earned by the wife and other women.

According to Wilson (1972:122), the mobility of wage earners and domestic tensions resulting from the employment of women greatly undermined conjugal stability. This also resulted in many divorces. The reasons for divorce include quarrels over resources within households, and the failure of men to meet the expectations of the provider role. Men said their wives left them because they were jobless, yet other women state that they believe their husbands absconded while they were employed in the cities.

Philip Mayer (1971:151) stated earlier that, in Xhosa ancestor cult is primarily a culture about the deceased father and grandfather, its observances are domestic. The spirits are usually termed *izinyanya* or *amawethu* in Zulu *abaphantsi* (our people).
Most of migrants believe in these *izinyanya* that they protect them wherever they are, that is why they are come to town and go back to their rural homestead because they believe that if they do not return to their rural homestead these *izinyanya* become angry which is accompanied with misfortune. But Mayer argued that the migrant concept of his town life as temporary exile is directly reflected in his beliefs about the whereabouts of the spirits. Going

to town does not mean disappearing from the spirits view, for in principle 'the spirits of your father and grandfather are wherever you are yourself'. They go with you even to town and to the mines. They are inseparable from you. That is why other migrants said they see their future in urban areas because wherever they are, their ancestors are with them. They argued that it is naive to say that the ancestors are in the rural homestead only, they said "they (ancestors) go with you even to town and to the mines". There is absolutely nowhere the spirits cannot reach.

What was indicated is that the households in both areas of the study had different opinions about the household consolidation and about ties with their rural homesteads. That is why most migrants said they decided to consolidate their households in the cities and bring their families to stay with them permanently.

In the above sections various theoretical perspectives were reviewed to understand migration and the implications for housing consolidation either in the rural or in the urban areas. In this literature review it is indicated that people migrated from rural areas for mainly economic reasons. The question that is addressed in reviewing this literature is whether migrants prefer to consolidate their homes and family resources in the rural or urban areas, and what reasons can be put forward for these decisions. While some people leave their rural homestead permanently, the literature also indictes that substantial numbers of migrants are not interested in consolidating their households in the urban areas, and prefer circular migration between rural and urban areas.

The next section will analyse the reasons given by people for retaining strong or weak ties to their rural hmesteads, and why others severe/cut all ties with their rural homes and families.

2.12. MIGRATION OF HOUSEHOLDS

The previous sections illustrated that there are various causes of migration - the main one being economic reasons. Migration results in the emergence of urban based arrangements that cater for migrants while they pursue their goals. One of these goals is the construction of shelters in accordance with their family or household needs. The consolidation of these housing structures (their permanent or temoprary nature) depends largely on the extent to migrants which have links with their rural households. Some migrants gradually detach themselves from their rural households, while others maintain strong links with their rural

homesteads. This chapter is therefore going to discuss these ties to the rural homesteads. These will be discussed under three headings: strong ties, weak ties, and no ties with rural homesteads. Based on readings the available literature it is suggested that the strength of people's ties with the rural homestead corresponds with the extent of consolidation of their household in the urban settings. There are always exceptions. The headings or catergories above (strong, weak and no ties) are not watertight compartments. They are useful for discriptive analysis of the data. Migration to urban cetres is a process and the maintainace of rural links, is often one of degree in different periods of a migrants life. The migration patterns are continously modified according to the migrant's relationship with his/her rural home.

2.13. STRONG LINKS WITH RURAL AREAS

The strong links of the urban households with their rural homestead is influenced by economic conditions in urban areas. Urban households have to send money to their families in the rural areas. This often results in less resources to consolidate an urban household.

It is difficult for migrants to bring their families in the cities because the city life is expensive, therefore, some of them decide to keep their families in their rural areas and send them money monthly or weekly and undertake periodic visits. Furthermore, it also has been argued that there are other forces that make people to have strong links in their rural areas and that discouraged urbanisation, for example urban push factors such as high crime rate, lack of accommodation, restrictive legal and social framework (Nattras,1982).

2.13.1. CULTURAL BELIEFS

A number of the households beliefs and practices which predipose migrants to retain their rural homes. These will be discussed below. The first is a spirit of family and community co-operation. In the rural areas people borrow money or oxen to plough if that particular somebody has land but lacking in money and oxen. They also give you food to eat if you have none, a kind of life that is difficult to find in the cities. Sibling household heads in the rural areas shared a common inheritance in cattle. The fact that members participated in common rituals and observed and absolute taboo on marriage with follow clansmen also bound them together. This reason made people retain their rural connections.

Other men are proud of their forefathers place, so they do not want to leave these areas and they want to retire and be buried in their rural homesteads even if these rural areas lack the basic infrastructure. Some of the households have strong links with their rural homestead because they have lot of herds for commercial purposes. For these men there is a tendency to wake up in the morning, stand along the kraal watch their herds. Such men are called *Abanumzane* (that means the rich men). This is why these migrant men who have these interests have to go back to their rural homes, and maintain strong links. The migrants therefore have reason to return to their rural homes, most importantly, reuniting with the family and ensuring that rural obligations and rights are fulfilled.

There is also a negative reason for retaining strong links with the rural homestead. For example, according to Mayer, everyone in the countryside knows that a someone who "melts away" (*Nyibilika*) in town is one of the worst misfortunes that can befall a peasant family. When someone "melts away" or in other words becomes an absconder *(ITSHIPHA, in Xhosa IBHUNGUKA in ZULU)*, his family may consult a diviner. Sometimes the diviner explains it as a punishment sent by the ancestors and sometimes as an effect of witchcraft.

Other reasons which compel them to leave the urban areas, include the absence of family accommodation and suitable social services and higher sustenance costs. The main aim of moving from the rural areas to the urban areas are economic reasons, as a results, it appears reasonable to refer to the migrant labour system as being determined by the interaction of a set of push/pull factors (Mayer 1989:59) But not only that, apartheid and segregation was also responsible for migrant labour and rural decline.

2.13.2. LABOUR TENANCY AND MIGRATION

Mayer (1971:171) states that before they migrated to work in town, some of the migrants have to get the permission from the farmer where they have their homestead and if the farmer demands his return at any time she or he must return, to avoid having his or her father, mother and family kicked out. This is another reason for migrants to visit their rural homestead regularly, because she or he must always go and check how is the situation between his or her family and the farmer. He must report to the farmer whenever she or he is at home from the town. This is a rule from the farmer. It is difficult for such a migrant to consolidates the household in the city because he/she is not migrant of the concern for the welfare of the rural

homestead. However this kind of concern is not widespread any longer. Furthermore, new land laws protect labour tenants.

2.13.3. CUTURAL AND SOCIAL HABITS

In the past lineage segments among the Nguni were held together, partly because the male members who are prospective heads lived in one homestead, and partly because they shared a common inheritance in cattle. In addition the fact that members participated in common rituals and observed an absolute taboo on marriage with fellow clansmen also bound them together (Wilson & Mafeje, 1963:76). Furthermore, most of the time such household heads speak about their rural homestead because they are coming from the same homestead or same environment. It is not easy for them to forget their traditional way of doing things. For such people it is not easy for them to consolidate the household in urban areas because most of the time they speak about consolidating their rural homestead where they have strong hold. But Wilson and Mafeje (1963) suggest that migrants from the same clan or lineage and rural areas do not encourage direct duplication of their rural households in city. For instance I also discovered that it was very rare for a household head or any member of the household to be staying with his brother or sister or any lineage member in the city. Most of the time when I asked the respondents where are their relatives, they normally said " my brother stays at Umlazi" and "I am staying here with my girl friend". Such migrants were urban orientated, they even stated clearly that they want to invest in the urban areas. Indeed one of the interviewee at Wiggins, suggested that such circular migration is *isidala* meaning that it old fashioned. He called such a person *inyoni*. *Inyoni* in literal English means bird, but in the *tsotsi* language is somebody who is behind the times. Being urban orientated does not neccesarily imply cutting all ties with the rural families.

Meyer's 1950's study (1971:176) and Wilson and & Mafege's 1960's (1963:78) study suggest that traditional or customary marriage and the associated institution of *lobolo* reinforced the strong ties to rural areas, and rural households. However, recent practices of taking concubines, the bearing of illegitimate children and greater freedom of movement of women, or rather women becoming migrants, has undermined the practices observed by Meyer and Wilson & Mafege. New household arrangements with regard to partners and new christian and civil marriages rather suggest a change in attitude towards household consolidation in urban areas. Thus, for example, women who have children from different fathers may settle down

with one man. He may have only one child from his partner, but accepts all of her children as his own and supports them. Children who have different fathers but from one mother, are referred to as "choice assorted." This term is taken from the name of certain brand of mixed biscuits. It was clear to me that some of the women who stay in these urban informal settlements are intent on securing the support for all their children from one partner.

2.14. WEAK LINKS WITH RURAL HOMESTEAD

This heading covers the information about what makes migrants have weak ties in the cities and decide to consolidate their rural homestead.

Nattras argued that (1982) there are two distinct set of forces that encourage some people to cut ties with their rural homestead and become more urbanised. Firstly, the urban pull forces such as better economic opportunities, attraction to urban lifestyles, better access to amenities. Secondly, push factors, for example, hardships of rural life, increasing poverty and population growth. It is the hardship of rural life that encourages migration and impacts on the kind of links retained with rural homes. In addition to those generally mentioned by Nattrass as push factors, the following categories are also important to maintain: lack of infrastructure, social economic conditions, rural violence, forms of governance, patriarchy, poverty, job opportunities and poor life condition in the rural areas. Furthermore, there are poor health conditions, poor education due to the lack of facilities e.g. not enough schools or clinics. Some ran away from faction fights, domination by chiefs, not enough transport, poor roads, electricity, scarcity of water and wood. Another thing is male domination where women are restricted in many things due to the beliefs of traditional way of thinking e.g. white marriage, where a woman is expected to marry being a virgin, otherwise she is considered disgraceful. There are other customs to be observed in marriage e.g. the bride must not eat amaas (sour milk) and eggs at her husband's house *(EMZINI)* until she gets permission from her husband's parents. Furthermore, bride usually fights with her mother-in-law about the money sent by her husband from the urban area, or maybe mother-in-law dislikes her son's wife because she is not producing children. They are attracted to urban areas by better chances of disregarding strict customs and social obligations. Nomusa who stays at Siyanda said, " I was very much in love of our rural homestead but my mother in-law made me to become less interested in my home because she was always fighting with me ". She said that, "[her] husband, Bheki was according to her, [mother-law] not supposed to give [her] money". She (mother) said that he was

supposed to give her because she is his mother". Nomsa also said what made things worse is that she could not concieve children. So Nomusa said she has weak ties with her rural homestead due to the above-mentioned reason. She said both her and her children visited the rural home once a year while her husband visits, during Christmas and Easters holidays.

Such a kind of life usually influenced many people to have weak ties with their rural homestead. Furthermore, most of the migrants are compelled to leave and have weak ties with their relatives in the rural homestead due to the low levels of agricultural productivity and few employment activities. All the above reasons influenced the weak ties from other migrants with their rural areas.

2.15. BREAKING TIES WITH THE RURAL HOMESTEAD: PERMANENT URBAN SETTLEMENT

This section deals with what influences the migrants to break ties with their rural homestead permanentely. The reasons offered by migrants range from availability of livelihood opportunities to personal circumstances and access to facilities.

For example,Nomsa said, she left home about five years ago. She ran away after she realised that she is pregnant, but at that time her husband was a migrant working in a mine in Gauteng. She decided to run away because she was afraid that her husband might kill her. So she said she decided to cut ties totally with their rural homestead and stay in cities permanently. There are many men who have broken their links with their rural homestead because when they arrived in the cities they formed partnership with other women who also came look for the jobs. Living together prompted them (living like that is called *UKUKIPITA*) and they did not return to their rural homestead they rather prefered to consolidate the household in the cities. Such kind of people who cut ties with their families are those migrants who enjoy the city life better than their rural life. They are called (*AMATSHIPHA in XHOSA, AMABHUNGUKA in ZULU*).

2.16. CONCLUSION

The primary reason for migration is economic, that is to get employment in order to get money for eduction, food, clothes, better houses and living conditions. But to understand consolidation in either rural or urban settings, various social, cultural and politcal factors have

to be taken into account. This relates to the varous types of migration patterns, but also to what is available and possible in urban areas. The provision of housing in the post-apartheid period is an important factor in the way people perceive their options, possibilities and make their final dicesions. In the next chapter the issue of housing delivery is analysed to assess its impact on decisions to consolidate households in urban or rural areas.

CHAPTER THREE

PERSPECTIVES ON HOUSING DELIVERY

This section focuses on different views about housing delivery. Housing delivery either provided by the state or made possible though its development programms may be linked to housing consolidation. Whereas the state may provide a starter house or infrastructure, consolidation is about individuals and families taking advatantage of such opportunities or rejecting them.

In many countries delivery is a problem. The public sector fails to provide houses to the poor, the reasons mainly being population growth, or unstable economic and political circumstances. In many developing countries unemployment and lack of income hinders people in accessing affordable housing. Housing provision also requires a heavy commitment of the household's time and labour. It also requires, if it is formal housing, infrastructure by the state. Turner (1976) argued that people are the best judges of what their housing needs are and whether they are capable of attaining it. Turner's theory on housing provision encourages housing development or incremental housing, which includes house improvement by the beneficiaries. He argues that the government can enable the users to partake in housing activities like planning, organising, building and maintenance. According to Turner, the government has to set rules in terms of which the game has to be played and the means to play. These elements include land, building materials, tools, credit and know-how (Turner,1976:61). His contention is that the government should either reduce or stop producing standardised housing for the poor and instead should acknowledge their potential to build their own shelter by developing popular housing. This criticism, supported by the World Bank and other international institutions, has influenced many countries of the developing world to adopt flexible housing policies such as site and services schemes and slum upgrading (Turner, 1978).

Other theorists argue that flexible policies have not been able to meet the needs of the urban poor in terms of housing provision. However, Turner explicitly warns against the misunderstanding that autonomous housing implies that people themselves should build their houses: having to build one's house may be as oppressive as not being allowed to (1972:154). Sometimes their houses are demolished after they have been finished because they are seen not to be the appropriate standard of low cost housing. This is very common in many countries

where the poor are given houses without really contributing as to what they would like. Turner is however, arguing against people not being given the chance to build their own houses. He (1975:28) argues that while both public and private sectors have their own roles, house building should be in the hands of the community. From the perspective of migrants access to housing is two edged. It is becomes an asset, and implies making an investment in it. For some migrants with strong rural links urban housing does not give them any advantages.

3.1. THE WORLD BANK'S VIEWS ON HOUSING DELIVERY

The World Bank (1972:5) argued that the provision of conventional permanent housing by the state is not possible given limited resources. The issue of affordability amongst the poor makes it impossible for them to acquire houses even if they are desperately in need of them. According to the World Bank (1972), conventional permanent housing by the state provision cannot quench the demand, rather, the government has to provide the means to enable the housing of the poor.

People who are in continuous mobility such as migrants might make different demands on urban services, including housing, from the permanently urbanised portion of the population. International evidence has shown that in some cases migrants are prepared to be accommodated in the cheapest possible dwelling in the destination area, in order to save money for the collective consumption fund and the costs entailed in maintaining links with areas as of origin (Hugo, 1985: Stretton 1985).

South African research into home ownership subsidies in the mining industry (Jooma, 1991, Crush and James, 1991) and on the circular migrant in Transvaal Village (Gaffane, 1990) seems to suggest a preference for housing investment in the rural village at the household base. Financial institutions might however, be unwilling to approve loans for this purpose (Jooma, 1991). Housing affordability in the urban area is of growing concern to trade unions (land and service cost included), as is the potential of housing schemes to benefit only a portion of the migrant population (Jooma, 1991).

The Urban Foundation report in 1991 suggests that as circular migrants who are less committed to the city they will often erect rudimentary shelters in free standing settlements, with little intention of upgrading them. The insignificant incidence of circular migrants in their

finding points, perhaps, to the need for further research into this contention. They go on to propose the potential in effectiveness of upgrading interventions and site and service schemes, if investment priorities lie elsewhere. The Urban Problems Research Unit (Upru) (1991) suggests that "*in Situ*" as opposed to "roll-over" upgrading is more appropriate in conditions of circular migration as less displacement is likely to occur. This, however, is not a planning implication of circulation per se. It applies to upgrading in general.

3.2. THE ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES OF MIGRANTS

Yahya (1982) states that economic circumstances are of vital importance since they affect the ability of households to afford different types of settlements. It is argued (Dunkerley, 1983) that the issues of housing for the poor is largely the issue of affordability. It is also said that (Oberlander, 1992) that the lack of cheap and affordable housing leads to the development of a thriving market in illegal settlements. Furthermore, in most third world countries, particularly in Latin America there are moves for the commercialisation of the illegal land market.

This is illustrated by the fact that illegal land occupation is being replaced by illegal subdivisions and there is also a significant growth of commercial markets for rented rooms in illegal settlements (Dunkerley 1983, Oberlander, 1985). Moreover it is argued that the squatter and illegal subdivisions continue to expand as the means by which the poor and migrants (particularly the new migrants) can help themselves to at least acquire some land to live on (Yahya, et al 1982).

Payne (1977) argued that although there is a direct relationship between the cost of the dwelling and household income, there is a limited proportion of income which families can devote to shelter as opposed to other necessities of substance. It is also noted that a sizeable proportion of the city's households in most developing countries cannot afford the minimal or even the heavily subsidised dwelling offered by public housing programs (Payne,1977 & Lansley,1979).

Mabin (1990) argues that circular migrants and less permanent migrants are often found in less secure accommodation. He says that they do not feel the need for secure accommodation or tenure and rather invest in the rural areas that is, they may not want to invest much in the housing or be really interested in the expensive forms of tenure. The implications are that

policies aimed at investment in housing are not necessarily appropriate from the migrants' perspective, especially those aimed at expensive and secure forms of housing. They are always appropriate because state policies investing in housing or in subsidised freehold sites are open to " downward raiding".

Tomlison (1988) has illustrated "downward" raiding by elucidating the housing problem in terms of priorities. From the government's point of view housing may be considered as a priority largely because it viewed housing as a form of consumption and not productive investment. On the other hand, from the perspective of the really poor, their priorities include cheap food, educating children, and a shack for shelter. If they are given subsidised land or subsidised house that they can easily sell, they are more likely to lose it through the process of "downward raiding".

It is argued that patterns of mobility, which are largely characterised by less commitment to the urban areas and in some cases a lack of desire to invest in the urban areas, are more likely to reinforce the process of downward raiding, given the dominance of economic motives in general among different patterns of population mobility. For instance, typical circular migrants are mainly in the city in search of employment and seek to minimise accommodation costs in the city since their investment priorities lie elsewhere and housing is not a priority and thus a rudimentary or any shelter may be adequate (Urban Foundation, 1991).

Tomlison (1988) argues that if the poor, including various groups of migrants are offered subsidized sites they are more likely to vacate them and trade off housing against increased income. He consequently recommends that the only way of assisting the poor is to provide them with facilities, which are not attractive to other income groups so that one should not promote downward raiding. Oberlander (1985) points out that one such "solution" is communal tenure of land with security of occupancy for all residents to prevent it from being sold.

However, it is also argued (Dewar, et,al.1991) that people who are not committed to remaining in the urban area and those whose housing investment lie elsewhere other than urban areas, may not be committed equally to home ownership. In other words, circular

migrants and those with unclear commitment to the urban area are unlikely to be interested in more permanent tenure or housing.

It is argued that permanent migrants might invest most of their efforts and money in securing a permanent stable and secure accommodation. On the other hand it is argued that people engaged in circulation tend to minimise accommodation costs since their investment priorities lie elsewhere. (Dewar, et al.1990, Urban Foundation). The implications are explored in some depth through some issues which include tenure, economic circumstances, duration of stay of the rural migrants in the urban area and the locational aspects of their housing.

3.3. THE LOCATION OF HOUSING IN RELATION TO EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES.

From the discussion on population mobility patterns it is apparent that the presence of rural urban migrants in urban areas is largely for economic reasons. It follows that one of the major features of their shelter needs will be the location, which would enable them to gain optimum access to an employment area. It should be noted that this also includes opportunities offered by the informal economic activities.

Dewar et al. (1991:29) point out that groups, such as circular migrants, which do not intend to settle permanently will frequently make sacrifices in terms of quality and security of the shelter in favor of access to employment opportunities.

They further argue that one of the important factors which motivates people to move to the city is the desire to generate high levels of income since the conditions in most of rural of South Africa are so poor that for many perceptions of better life in the city area are very strong although the reality is harsh. The study by Dewar et al (1991) shows that all the people interviewed acknowledge that it is almost impossible for new migrants to secure any form of stable employment in short term. In general, Gugler (1988) highlights that most rural dwellers have no prospects in the city, but some venture forth nevertheless, to succeed or to fail, or to return to the village. That is why some households in both areas of the study said they can't afford city life because it is expensive.

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It is argued that people who wanted to be closer to their work places have often established informal settlements. Moreover, Dewar et al (1991) highlights the fact that some people actually move to informal areas because of greater opportunities of generating income via the informal sector which is usually not subjected to regulations applied to other businesses. This shows to the researcher that some people left their areas of origin with the intention of coming to open their businesses in the informal settlements. Furthermore, they do not want to see these areas upgraded because that will force them to be entitled to the regulations that applied to other small businesses and to pay rent, while their aim is to generate money and send it to consolidate their rural homestead.

3.4. THE DURATION OF STAY MIGRANTS IN URBAN AREAS

It is argued that the duration of stay of the migrants in the urban areas is often the results of rural ties and obligations and perceptions of rural security. This is better illustrated by looking into some causes of migration (which have been explored above). In brief, it is postulated that economic circumstances are necessary conditions for migration out of subsistence rural area into wage earning centres while rural return depends on personal and social circumstances (Van Velsen & Mitchell, 1985). Gugler objected by arguing that the causes are situational. For instance, in South Africa apartheid legislation and its attendant legal and administrative procedures which were used to govern the entry and residence of Africans in the cities may be regarded as a general set of conditions which form part of the setting and thus contribute towards creating the necessary conditions for return migration. However, there is a fair consensus on the dominance of economic factors in migration process.

One might accept the above statement as true, because the apartheid laws were isolating the blacks in many ways e.g. they were not allowed to stay in inner city, they had to stay in the township on the urban fringe and in peri-urban areas e.g. in the informal settlements. They were also often disadvantaged in terms of services such as electricity, roads and healthy living conditions. That is why most of the households in both areas of the study and other places decided to return to their rural homestead after retirement and others who were entitled to circular migration and decided to consolidate their households in their rural areas.

Waston (1991) points out that despite the repeal of restrictive apartheid legislation, which in previous years necessitated the return to rural areas by migrants, this movement pattern still

persists. One might argue that these movement now are voluntarily e.g. one might return to rural homestead because he or she is going to do commercial farming with the money which she or he had been investing while he or she been working in the urban area, but on other side one might argue that some people are moving because they are encouraged by certain circumstances to return to their rural homestead e.g. ancestors, social activities as mentioned earlier.

It may again be argued that this is due in part to the institutions which were established before and during the apartheid era, for example, the compound and hostel system and also due to the institutions built during the post apartheid period e.g. the government subsidies, e.g. one rooms and two rooms. Most of the households at Wiggings/Umkhumbane complained about those small houses in such way that some were prepared not to invest and rely on those housing rather to rely on consolidating in their rural homestead. They regarded them as the shelter to stay just for employment purposes, not as real home, calling them match boxes. However a significant number said that it is better to have these houses than to stay in the informal settlements.

Hugo (1985) points out that it would be improper to depict all rural-urban movement patterns as the results of a push from the village in order to obtain some subsistence although this motive is a dominant one. It may also in some cases result from people viewing it as a chance to supplement income and prove their living standard. Laite (in Gugler,1988) further argues that population mobility particularly circulation is not a flight from the land by the landless but rather a means of maintaining work alternatives across a number of economic sectors. In contrast to the conventional view, which sees migration as a transition, more recent views argues that migration patterns are shaped by the context and in the third world where the potential for earning secure income is low, circulation happens to ensure survival from poverty. (Gaffane, 1990:78)

Given the diversity of patterns of the population mobility from their rural homestead, implication for urban housing will equally be diverse. It has been argued above that people engaged in the processes of moving from their places of origin usually find accommodation as tenants in both formal and informal settlements. It is noted that for many tenancy is only common during the initial stages of coming to urban areas. Later most rural migrants tend to

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move to expanding squatter communities where there is more housing space at lower costs. The researcher noted that most of the households who stay at Siyanda informal settlement enjoyed low costs of housing. For those households who have a strong link with their rural homestead, and who are investing in their rural homestead, do not seem interested in household consolidation in the cities.

Attempts at addressing housing problems of rural migrants should be multifaceted. For instance, for circular migrants and migrants with less interested in housing consolidation in the urban areas and with less commitment to the urban area who may not be interested in secure forms of tenure and improvement of their households, the issue of tenancy should be emphasised, particularly in the informal settlements. That is, housing policies which intend to provide cheap peripheral location or those aiming at expensive securing forms of tenure may be in appropriate. In general, policies for investing in urban housing for those who still have strong link with their rural homestead particularly the circular migrants may not necessarily be appropriate. On the other hand, for permanent migrants and those with intentions to settle in the urban area, and those who totally have no links with their rural homestead, securing their occupation of the settlement may be critical.

In general, as highlighted above, it was recommended (Oberlander, 1985) that there should be some means of promoting appropriate mechanisms for ensuring security of occupancy, since it is argued that for the poor the critical question lies less in the formal legislation of the mechanisms than in effective security of their right to continue to use the land. Furthermore policies promoting upgrading and site and service schemes may also be considered .

3.5. THE RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME (RDP) POLICY:

3.5.1. DEFINITION OF RDP

The (RDP) is an integrated programme, based on the people, which aims to provide peace and security for all, build the nation, link reconstruction and development, and promote democracy.

The housing problems created by apartheid and by the limited range of the capitalist housing markets have been aggravated by the absence of a coherent national housing policy. A mass

housing programme can help to generate employment, skills and economic activity, both directly and indirectly, and should help to ensure peace and stability. The private sector and civil society, the development of small, medium-sized and micro enterprises owned and run by black people must be incorporated into the housing programme (Mafatle, Bond, Mayekiso & Mgidlana, 1996).

3.5.2. AIMS OF RDP

The RDP aims to channel the country's people and resources to build a democratic, non-racial and sexist future. The five key programmes are meeting basic needs, developing human resources, building the economy, democratising the state and society, and implementing the RDP. The most urgent priority of the (RDP) is to meet the basic needs of the people: jobs land housing, water electricity, telecommunications, transport, a clean and healthy environment, nutrition, healthy care and social welfare. It also wants to develop education and training to be available to all people through their lives, not only formally in schools or other institutions, but in all areas of society- homes, places of work, public works programmes, youth programmes and in the rural areas. The RDP wants to address serious weaknesses in the economy and also to end racial and gender inequalities in ownership, employment and skills. Democracy is an essential aspect of the RDP. It involves processes and forms of participation by organisations outside government. In terms of this aspect, it is evident that the households can now consolidate wherever they like, because the RDP tries to address the problems for every one wherever he or she is.

3.6. DURBAN METRO HOUSING POLICY

This study was undertaken in an informal settlement and within an urban renewal project in the Durban area. It is appropriate that the allocation policy of the Durban metro be briefly reviewed. It will be reviewed against background of national government policy and legislation taking into account these policies:

(1) Reconstruction Development Programme,

(2) Housing Act

(3) Durban Metro Area Policy

3.7. THE DURBAN AREA POLICY

The Durban Metro housing allocations policy states that housing development on vacant land should, in principle, be available to any qualifying beneficiary in the DMA, but that *in situ* upgrading developments will cater largely for existing informal residents. Further, it states that special needs groups will be targeted for particular forms of housing. These groups may include relocatees, refugees, employer-linked groups and street traders. While the principles of this policy received widespread political support, in practice its implementation has been fraught with difficulties particularly the frequent attempt to "gate-keep" access to such projects. This indicates that there is a need to either review the policy or for greater political enforcement in applying it (A Strategic Housing Framework for the Durban Metropolitan Area, 1999:58).

3.8. HOUSING POLICY

The governments housing Policy commits the government to assisting all South African who are not adequately housed. In terms of the Housing Act 107 of 1997, all spheres of government must ensure that housing development is economically, fiscally, socially and financially affordable and sustainable, that it is administered in a transparent, accountable and equitable manner, that it promotes the effective functioning of the housing market while levelling the playing fields and taking steps to achieve equitable access for all to that market, that it promotes the use of public money available for which stimulates private investment in, and the contribution of individuals to, housing development (Durban Metro Housing,1999).

In terms of Durban Metro housing policy, the Durban Metropolitan Council concentrated 75% of its housing efforts on providing housing opportunities for the very poor, that is, people earning up to R1,500 per month. Another 25% will address the needs of people earning between R1,500 and R3, 500 per month. This means that even those households who wish to consolidate their households in the city but who could not because of not having enough money, can afford to consolidate their households.

3.9.CONCLUSION

This chapter began by broadly categorising migrants settlement needs through identifying the type of links they maintain with their rural points of origin. Based on a literature review three types of links were outlined: those with strong ties, those with weak ties and those with no ties

with their rural homesteads. It attemps to come to grips with the reasons as to why people have these types of ties. Those who maintain strong rural ties have given economic, political and cultural reasons for maintaining their links, while those with weak ties point out the lack of facilities as the main reason for not settling in the urban areas. However, some still retain links with their families. In the third category, recent migrants claim to have no links with their rural homestead. They said they cut ties because in the homestead there is a lack of facilities, there are faction fights, and generally felt they had no compelling reasons to return. This chapter also examined the Durban Metro Policy concerning housing and the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) Policy.

CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIO - ECONOMIC DYNAMICS INFLUENCING CONSOLIDATION

This chapter deals with general findings of the interviews conducted at Wiggins/Umkhumbane and Siyanda Wiggins/Umkhumbane. It begins with the background of both areas and then proceeds to analyse the data obtained from the formal interviews conducted with some of the household in these respective settlements.

4.1. SUMMARY BACKGROUND OF SIYANDA

In order to examine and understand migrant settlements and house consolidation in Siyanda and Wiggins/Umkhumbane, it is essential to outline the historical background of these areas and its people, so that the research can be understood in an appropriate context.

In 1990 a number of families fled the Besters Camp informal settlement as a result of political conflict and settled on a tract of land located within Newlands East on the south edge of KwaMashu often refered to as the KwaMashu-Newlands East Interface. This is an informal settlement called "Siyanda MaZulu" development. It is divided into 3 sub-community areas. This land belonged to the erstwhile Kwa-Zulu government and was sold to the National Investment Corporation (NIC). Further land was occupied later by the people who belonged to the political organization called the African National Congress (ANC). This was privately owned land known as Bassa's Land.

4.2. SUMMARY BACKGROUND OF WIGGINS/UMKHUMBANE

The area of Cato Manor known as Wiggins/Umkhumbane is bounded in the north by Wiggins Road, in the west by the Outer Ring Road, in the south by Booth Road and in the east by Bellair Road. Most of the land in this area was acquired by the former Community Development Board. With the advent of "own affairs", ownership of those properties was vested in the House of Delegates as the area was proclaimed for Indian ownership and occupation. This area is divided into three phases of development i.e. phase one, two and three and is called Wiggins/Umkhumbane Development

With the termination of "own affairs" and the demise of the Housing Development Board the properties are now in the ownership of the National Housing Board. The other major property

owner in this area is the Durban City Council. There is also a purification plant owned by Umgeni Water Board is constructed on portions of land owned by the National Housing Board. This land should also eventually be owned by the Durban city council.

4.3. GNERAL FINDINGS: BOTH AREAS OF STUDY

This section deals with the general description of data in terms of the following: the age of interviewees, the area of their origin, reasons for moving towards the city, access to first accommodation, remittances, compositions of the households, links to the rural areas as well as consolidation process. It covers the information of the household heads about migration and house consolidation. It must be noted that the household heads in the interviews served as representatives of the whole household when they provided the information. This was done because it would not have been easy to interview each and everybody in the household. Furthermore it would be difficult to find all the members of the household together.

(a) Age Distribution

Table 1: Age Distribution

Age of household	Wiggins/Umkhumbane	%	Siyanda	%
20-25	1	5	0	0
26-30	3	15	2	10
31-35	6	30	4	20
36-40	3	15	4	20
41-45	2	10	2	10
46-50	1	5	3	15
51-55	3	15	2	10
56-60	1	5	3	15
Total	20	100	20	100

This section describes the age distribution of the respondents from Wiggins/Umkhumbane and Siyanda. It maybe noted that most of Wiggins/Umkhumbane households are between the ages of 31 to 35 whereas at Siyanda are between 31 to 40 years. This suggests that the Wiggins/Umkhumbane households are younger than Siyanda households. The likely reason for this is that the Siyanda informal settlement is relatively older compared to Wiggins/Umkhumbane. It was noted that most of the household heads were in the age range of 31 to 35 years.

(b) GENDER FOR THE HOUSEHOLDS

Table 2: Gender of the households

Gender for the households	Wiggins/Umkhumba ne	%	Siyanda	%
Male	10	50	12	60
	10	50	8	40
	20	100	20	100

What is noticeable in table 2 there were more females headed households than male headed households at Siyanda, but at Wiggins/Umkhumbane there was a balance between genders. This is because some these women were coming to the nearby location kwa-Mashu e.g. C, D and K sections. They left their homes because their wanted to cohabit, which it was not easy if they were staying with their parents in the location.

(c) Area of Origin

Table 3: Area of origin

Area of origin	Wiggins/Umkhumbane	%	Siyanda	%
Kwa-Zulu/Natal	14	70	17	85
Eastern Cape	5	25	3	15
Gauteng	1	5	-	-
Total	20	100		100

Most of the migrants in Wiggins/Umkhumbane and Siyanda originated from different places in KwaZulu/Natal. 70% in the case of Wiggins/Umkhumbane come from Kwa-Zulu Natal and 85% in the case of Siyanda informal settlement. Table 3 also indicates that there are more households at Wiggins/Umkhumbane who came from Eastern Cape 25% as compared to those at Siyanda which is 15%. There are very few people from other parts of the country living in these settlements. These settlements tend to be enthnicllay homogenous.

(d) Year of Departure

Table 4. Year of Departure from Area of Origin

Year of departure	Wiggins/Umkhumbane	%	Siyanda	%
60-70	1	5	4	20
71-81	9	45	3	15
82-92	7	35	11	55
93-99	3	15	2	10
Total	20	100	20	100

This section describes the year of departure in both areas of study. The first households departure from their area of origins was between 1960 to 1970 and the last departure from the area of origin was between 1993 – 1999. The reason why there were many people that departed from their area of origin during 1970's and 1980's is because of the economic and financial hardships of rural areas, such as unemploment, the legislation controlling black African access to the urban areas was repealed, and Group Areas Act and strict racial segregation was difficult to enforce and finally abolished. So people were moving en mass to the cities to look for employment. According to the Central Statistical Service in 1986 migrants comprised 26% and 27% of the labour in the manufacturing and financial sectors respectively. Migrants comprised roughly 80% of the workforce in the mining and construction industries. There were over 2,5 million migrants employed in South African industry in June 1986. 2,2 million were South African and the remainder came from neighbouring states. These statistics are not, however, an accurate reflection of the number of migrants employed as were many illegal migrants in terms of the Black Labour Relation Act of 1964 (Jooma, 1991).

What should be noted is that migration into Wiggins/Umkhumbane reaches a peak in the 1970's and early 1980's before the abolition of legislation controlling migration and residential segregation. In part this reflects the futility of trying to stem the tide of rural urban migration through discriminatory legislation. In Siyanda however, the peak is reached in mid to later 1980's. This reflects continued migration to places like Siyanda on the outskirts of the city. It is interesting to note that migration drops in the 1990's reflecting perhaps the reconfiguration of migration patterns, and the beginning of consolidating and permanent residential settlement for migrants. This should not imply that migration no longer takes place but that the communities of Wiggins/Umkhumbane and Siyanda began to stabilise into a settled residential population, albeit not necssearily a permanent urbanised one.

(e) Reason for Migration

Table 5: Reason for Moving from the first Area of origin.

Reason for Moving from the place of origin	Wiggins/Umkhumbane	%	Siyanda	%
Seeking Job	8	40	3	15
Family Problems	8	40	12	60
Violence	4	20	5	25
Total	20	100	20	100

The table 5, categorises the reasons why people in Wiggins/Umkhumbane and Siyanda left the rural areas It shows that 40% of Wiggins households moved from their first area of origin with the aim of seeking jobs, whereas 15% at Siyanda also moved with the aim of seeking jobs. At Wiggins/Umkhumbane 40% of households left their rural homesteads because of family problems and 60% at Siyanda also moved because of a similar problem. They mentioned different reasons in both areas of the study. Some of these reasons are that they left their area of origin because of violence, faction fights, male domination and lacking of facilities. However, seeking a job may often mask reasons such as landlessness or land scarcity or lack of rural employment opportunities. Others left because of the severe overcrowding while others gave family problems as reasons for leaving homes of origin. For example, one of the respondents said she left her homestead because her stepmother was treating her badly so she decided to leave. Another household head said he is staying with his cousin who ran away from her homestead because she became pregnant. She was ashamed of the residential community finding out and was also afraid of her parents. She decided to escape from her rural home and came to stay with him at Wiggins/Umkhumbane in Durban.

One of the household heads at Siyanda said he was schooling but he left school because he saw his friends who migrated to urban areas wearing smart clothes then he decided to run away from the school. He also said he saw them smoking cigarettes while he was still smoking " *imboza* " (rolled tobacco) for which he felt ashamed. One woman said she left her home because she was no more a virgin. She said women who are not yet married are not allowed to have sexual intercourse. She decided to run away because at her rural village normally all the young women are checked each and every month to see whether they are still virgins or not. If the woman is not a virgin before marriage she is a disgrace to the family. Rather than endure the disgrace she left the family. One of the household members at Siyanda said that he decided

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to leave his homestead because his mother was jealous of him when he posted money to his wife while he is working in the urban area. He alleged his mother attempted to kill his wife with *umuthi* (traditional medicine) which she obtained from *an Inyanga* (Herbalist). She was doing what is called *Ukuthakatha* (to kill somebody using traditional medicine). But his mother has not killed his wife yet.

Not all migrants moved straight from their places of origin to Durban. Some went to other places before arriving in Durban. But it must be noted that there were many individuals and families who left from their place of birth and moved directly to Durban than those who moved to other places of settlement before coming to Durban.

(f) Access to first Accommodation

Table 6: Access to First Accommodation

Access for Accommodation	Wiggins/Umkhumbane	%	Siyanda	%
Relatives	4	20	6	30
Friends	5	25	4	20
Father + Mother	7	35	6	30
Street Dweller	2	10	2	10
Brother + Sister	2	10	2	10
Total	20	100	20	100

As seen above in table 6, roughly a third of the households both at Wiggins/Umkhumbane 35% and Siyanda 30% got their access for the first accommodation in Durban through their fathers, or mothers who were already staying in various kinds of accommodation such as informal settlements, formal houses, back yard rooms and hostels. Some were accommodated by their relatives and friends. Some migrants in both areas of the study made several moves before arriving in Durban. In other words the arriving in Durban was a result of a second or a subsequent move to urban areas. The reasons given for their moves in table 7 are similar to the reasons given in table 5.

(g) Moving/Migratory to Durban

Table 7: Moving to Durban

Reason for Moving to Durban	Wiggins/ Umkhubane	%	Siyanda	%
Seek Job	13	65	14	70
Better Accommodation	5	25	3	15
Family Problem	1	5	1	5
Violence	1	5	2	10
Total	20	100	20	100

Table 7, indicates that 65% of Wiggins/Umkhumbane households moved to Durban to seek employment whereas 70% at Siyanda also moved to seek employment. Although the majority of people came to Durban for employment opportunities, others gave additional reasons. Thus, for example, 25% of Wiggins/Umkhumbane moved to seek better accommodation, whereas 15% came to Siyanda for same reason. There were also other reasons such as family problems, divorce, pre- marital pregnancy and violence. There other reasons accounted for 10% in Wiggins/Umkhumbane, and 15% in Siyanda settlement. For example, Thoko claimed she was made pregnant by another man while her husband was in Gauteng. When her husband divorced her, she decided to leave her rural homestead to seek a job in Durban. Another example of violence induced migration is of Zondi. He had many cattle in the rural area but during the violence in 1980's everything of his was destroyed. He decided to send for his family to join him in Durban. He said he is not prepared to go back to the rural areas. He wants to consolidate his household in Durban. In both areas of the study some respondents moved from their areas due to the prevailing violence in rural areas as well as informal settlements and formal townships around Durban.

(h) Other type of Accommodation

Table 8: Prior accommodation (by type)

Prior types of Accommodation in Durban	Wiggins/ Umkhumbane	%	Siyanda	%
Informal Settlement	17	85	16	80
Formal Settlement	3	15	2	10
Back Room			1	5
Rental House			1	5
Total	20	100	20	100

From Table 8, it maybe noted that 85% of respondents at Wiggins/Umkhumbane stated that due to the strict laws of Durban Corporation, they left hostels to stay in different informal settlements around Durban. 80% in Siyanda gave the same reasons. Only 15% of people interviewed in Wiggins/Umkhumbane and 10% in Siyanda said they resided in formal houses in the townships around Durban during the 1960's to 1970's. Respondents stated that they moved away from the hostels because the Durban Corporation was not allowing them to stay with women in the hostels. The respondents also stated that even if you were married you were supposed to stay with your wife only 14 days in the houses which were separated from the hostels and you were supposed to report to the Township Manager before your wife arrived from the rural homestead. If you keep your wife more than 14 days, she was arrested. For many men this was a major reason alternative accommodation was sought in the formal townships and in the informal settlements. Other households at Siyanda and Wiggins/Umkhumbane decided not consolidate their houses any more as they feared that government may come up with other laws which might restrict them if they consolidate their households in the city. In other words they were unsure of the government laws and intentions in the future.

(i) Satisfaction with Accommodation

Table 9: Feeling About Present Accommodation

Feeling About Present Accommodation	Wiggins/Umkhumbane	%	Siyanda	%
Not Happy	1	5	2	10
Happy	17	85	16	80
Happy but not much	2	10	2	10
Total	20	100	20	100

Table 9, depicts that 85% of residents in Wiggins/Umkhumbane said they feel "happy" about present accommodation and 10% who said they are "happy but not much" and 5% who said they are not "happy". At Siyanda 80% said they were "happy" about the present accommodation because they stated that they are not paying rent at all, but 10% said they were "happy but not much" and also 10% said they were not very happy.

While this number represents a minority it is important to consider as the issues raised are critical in an informal settlement with very few resources and services Those who said they are not happy in both areas of study complained that the crime rate is high. At Wiggins some

of the respondents stated that the residential committee neglected this situation. At Siyanda some respondents said that they are not happy about the place because there is no service delivery of the basic in frustructure such as telephone, water, electricity and roads. They said they even buy water from the location (township)residents by paying 20c for 20 litres of water every day. Others said they paid R35.00 monthly for the water to the location residents.

Siyanda residents argued that townships residents are acting illegally because they do not pay a cent for the water, yet they demand payment from them if they come to ask for water. They even said that the township residents abused the water by using them as a source of generating income. These residents come from C, D and K sections in KwaMashu which are very close to the Siyanda informal settlements. They were also complaining about high level of crime from the youngsters of these areas. This has an effect on the possibilities of consolidating households in urban areas. For example, Sithole, when asked where does he invest he said " I will not invest in the cities. If I do so I will be playing with my money, and because I am unhappy about the people who are stealing my stuff ". He said even if he reports to the councilors, they do not seem to be keen to do anything because they are to busy fighting for power, and are less concerned with development.

(j) Remittances

Table 10: How regular you send money to your rural homestead?

How regular you send money to your rural homestead	Wiggins/Umkhumbane	%	Siyanda	%
Weekly	-		-	
Monthly	5	25	11	55
Once	-		-	
None	15	75	9	45
Total	20	100	20	100

Table 10, depicts that 25% at Wiggins/Umkhumbane send money monthly to their rural homestead. In Siyanda settlement 55% respondents remit part of their income as a monthly or weekly basis to their rural homestead. This indicates that the Siyanda households retain a stronger rural link with their rural homestead as compared to Wiggins/Umkhumbane.

This table also indicates that there are households who send money at different times during the year to their rural homestead. It is 25% at Wiggins/Umkhumbane and 55% at Siyanda who send the money with the aim of consolidating their rural homestead. Others specifically said that they send the money in order to pay for ploughing and planting for commercial farming purposes. But others they said they sent the money only for food purposes

At Wiggins/Umkhumbane most respondents said were not sending money to their rural homes. In this group of repondents there was a strong interest in household consolidation in the city, 75% of them. By contrast, in Siyanda settlement 45% were not sending money to their rural homestead. In Wiggins/Umkhumbane area 25% of those interviewed were sending money monthly and 55% at Siyanda. The reason for this is that much more resources was being spent in Cato Manor than any other urban renewal project in the whole of South Africa. It would be surprising if residents said they wanted to move away or return to their rural homes.

Because of that, many of Siyanda respondents said there are still visiting their relatives at rural homestead. Some visited their rural homestead, weekly, monthly and, more especially, during December and Easters holidays. Furthermore, others said they still want to return to reunite their families at their rural homestead which was scattered during the period of violence in the late 1980's. But in Wiggins/Umkhumbane there were few who were still visiting their relatives in the rural homesteads because most of the Wiggns/Umkhumbane residents are staying with their families in the city. That means few had strong links with their relatives in the rural homesteads in Wiggins/Umkhumbane than in Siyanda.

4.4. SUMMARY SECTION: GENERAL FINDINGS

Table 1 – 10 indicates that more than 50% of the households in both areas of study left their rural homestead and moved straight to Durban. There are a number of those who came via other places before they came to Durban. It is also indicated that most of them came to Durban to seek employment because of the lack of productivity in their rural homestead. Although there are some other reasons like family problems, violence, looking for better accommodation etc. Migrants moved from farm lands to look for better income but some moved to Durban due to the faction fights as well as political violence. These migrants were accommodated in a variety of places such as formal townships, rental houses in townships,

informal settlements, and backyard room. Some were happy with their accommodation, but others were not. Those who were unhappy in these places decided to move to other places elsewhere around Durban e.g. Lindelani Clermont and Cato Manor. Among those at Cato Manor some were removed to Wiggins/Umkhumbane because of road construction at Dunbar road area. At Lindelani others were moved to Siyanda to look for better accommodation and also ran away because political violence. In general people decided to consolidate their households in these areas. In the next section the composition of the households is analysed. The composition of households is an important indication of the degree of consolidation of urban living and the extent of movement away from rural areas.

4.5. COMPOSITION OF THE HOUSEHOLD IN BOTH WIGGINS/UMKHUMBANE AND SIYANDA

The composition of the migrants household in the cities as well as in the rural areas is important in order to understand the decisions by household heads concerning the consolidation and investment of the households in these respective areas. The question can be asked: if a couple is cohabiting does it have the intention of consolidating its household in the city? Or does it mean that being unmarried may compromise long term urban consolidation and investment? Furthermore, it is also important to know whether the migrants are staying with relatives, and whether it is better to consolidate the households either in the city or rural areas.

In the book *The Second Generation* Pauw states that "in the location situation where a large proportion of the population lives in tenants type houses, and where what are obviously separate households often occupy only part of house, or even a single room, it would clearly make no sense to regard the inhabitants of a single house as constituting the household unit. The most appropriate criterion seems to be the sharing of common eating and cooking arrangements"(Pauw, 1963). The group thus identified is also one which can be easily distinguished in the vernacular, as the Xhosa have a standing expression referring to them as 'those who eat from one pot' *(abatyela mbizenye)* In Zulu, this means that the people who do their things together. Usually there was no problem in applying this criterion. Occasionally a case was encountered where a daughter with children sometimes cooked in her own room, or a member of the household sometimes ate at home and sometimes elsewhere, but it was

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always possible to make a distinction between what was regular and what was a deviation from regular practice.

Pauw (1963:141) states that there are people in the city who are sharing one room and, who eat together and form binding relationships or friendships. The interviewer found that some of such kind of households are not interested in housing consolidation in the cities because most of the time they talk about their rural activities which prediposes them to always remember their rural homesteads and influence them to decide to invest and consolidate in their rural homestead. But others would like to consolidate their households both in the rural area and cities but due to the lack of money they have no means to do both. Rather it is better to consolidate in one area either in the rural or in the cities. The Siyanda residents showed more interested in consolidating in the rural homesteads than Wiggins/Umkhumbane residents.

Pauw's point about household and family structure is relevent today in the wave of migration to urban areas in the 1980's and 1990's. My research found that there are related migrants who stay together in the household e.g. household head staying with his brother, both contributing to household expenses and who cook and consume food together as apart of wider family. However, while sharing is an important criterion in households composition and living conditions, it is important to note who is the original owner of the informal house, so as to ascertain what happens to this structure after a decision to consolidate in an urban area is made.

During the fieldwork it was noted that at Wiggins/Umkhumbane most of the household were composed of unmarried couples, but were living as if they were married (cohabited). They were practising what known as *Masihlalisane* (let us stay together) In contrast at Siyanda there were more married couples than those who were cohabiting (60%).

When households heads were asked who they are living with, some of the respondents said they were staying with their sisters, some said they were living with their brothers in-law. For example one household head living at Siyanda said he is staying with his brother-in-law in a two room house. They shared the cost of their groceries, each contributing R100.00 every two weeks. His brother-in-law stays with his family, in the same house. But he (household head)

stays with his girl friend. His brother-in-law sleeps in one room with his whole family. He said both him and his brother-in-law they still have rural homesteads, but they are no longer investing in their rural homesteads in terms of sending money, building and commercial farming. He said when he visits his relatives at rural home he brings a provision for them only and he has no say in what is taking place at his rural home because he has nothing to do with their activities.

The household head said they cook separately with his brother-in-law, but if any one between them has a function, or party they enjoy together. In terms of upgrading the physical structure of the house they do it together. Both of them are keen to consolidate in the city. The household heads girlfriend is a town born women, she cut ties with her parents long ago because of pregnancy. She is not interested in returning to her rural home. This shows that these people were enjoying the town life more than rural life. But the construction of households and families is complex and is affected by the choice of long term consolidation in either rural or urban areas.

When household head asked whether he wants to bring his children to stay with him, he replied that he did not like to bring them because he was staying with the girl friend. He said "my children are grown up children, they might not like what I am doing or they might tell my wife and my parents at home, which is something regarded as very much disgraceful in the rural areas, to be in love with a woman in the cities, they even said *uqonywe Izifebe*" (you are in love with a prostitute). He angrily denied his girlfriend was a prostitute, claiming that even in the rural areas there are prostitutes. He said the people who are extremely rurally orientated believe that there is no virgin lady in cities and that to be in love with and have such a woman is a disgrace.

One household head at Wiggins/Umkhumbane, who originally comes from Umzimkhulu said that he is staying with his young brother. In terms of contributing to the household resources his young brother only buys the electrical card because he is saving the money for *lobolo* in order to get married at his rural homestead. He said he also stays with his uncle who uses another room with his family. But he said if any one among them receives visitors from their rural homestead of which these visitors normally came with provision, which they eat together.

This shows that people who are related usually stays together in the cities and shared things together.

Both of them, that is the household head and his uncle are contributing to the house. The household head said both of them are investing in both rural and urban area. That means they consolidate both rural and urban areas. He said the aim of investing in the urban areas is to prepare accommodation for their children so that they must not have a problem when they coming to seek jobs in the cities.

Nondumiso who comes from Eshowe, a household head at Siyanda got married after she built a house at Siyanda. She lives with her two children and her husband. She is a dress maker, but does not regard this as a permanent job because she is getting very little money and her husband is doing *toro* (temporary work). She said she and her husband still have contact with their relatives at rural homesteads and they are visiting them during the holidays. She said in terms of consolidation they want to consolidate in the urban areas where there are many facilities of improving life e.g. jobs, schools etc. She said her father has three wives and only two who are staying in the rural homestead, the third one is staying with her father in the formal house at L section at Kwa Mashu. She said her father is still visiting the rural homestead but only during holidays. She said her father is working in the urban areas and the reason why she is staying with the third wife is because she is younger than others, so his father is still so much in love her as compared to the others. But she said her father is interested in consolidating both in the rural and urban cities.

There were cases in which the male migrants have no more linkages with his relatives at his rural homestead but have the linkages with his wife's relatives in her rural homestead. This migrant, it was noted, stays with his wife's relatives than his relatives. The researcher found that another male migrant was supporting two of his sister's in-laws together with their children, of which one has got two children and the other has got one child. Both of those sister's-in-law were not working, but they were not prepared to go home in the rural areas because of witchcraft.

These groups of people almost invariably live under the same roof. It does happen that a daughter of the household head, who belongs to the household in terms of eating

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arrangements has a separate room in the house for herself and her children, but even apart from eating, their life is so closely tied up with that of the extended family of which they form part that it seems only reasonable to regard them as part of the same household.

Pauw (1963: 143) states that the urban household in the informal settlement generally extends beyond the elementary family, it is essentially a group of kin. This research was done in 1960's. In the case of Siyanda and Wiggins/Umkhumbane the key figures in the informal settlement household were the head and the head's partner. But in nearly half the number of households in the sample these were a male and his girl friend. They were living together *ukukipita* (cohabiting) rather than as a formally married couple. A large number of households heads were unmarried women, so that in these cases there were no key male figures. A few household heads were men without wives but they have girls friends who used to visit them at certain times. These migrants retained contact with their relatives in the rural homestead. Furthermore, there were women who were staying with their children only, and their boyfriends were visiting them. Sometimes the women in the informal settlement visit their boy friends in the location (the formal houses in townships). They said they do that because it is difficult to call a boyfriend to sleep in the informal settlement because it has only one room (so it becomes difficulty because she has children who also sleep in the house.), but if the woman visited her boy friend in the township she usually left her children with a friend in informal settlement.

While kin and family ties do not appear to be absolutely reliable indicators of consolidation in urban or rural areas, the degree of investment and the commttment by individuals and their families seem to point to the degree of consolidation either or both areas. Below, in table 11, the degree of investment in urban and rural areas is shown. The point is also made that there is also a distruction between first and second generation migrants to urban areas.

(a) Rural and Urban Investment

Table 11: Locality For Financial Investment

Locality for financial investment	Wiggins/Umkhumbane	%	Siyanda	%
Rural	4	20	5	25
Urban	12	60	13	65
Both	4	20	2	10
Total	20	100	20	100

Table 11, indicates that 20% of Wiggins/Umkhumbane households were investing in their rural homestead, whereas in Siyanda there a the figure is 25%. There were 60 % of Wiggins/Umkhumbane of the households who were investing in the urban areas whereas 65% at Siyanda were investing in the urban areas. There were 20% at Wiggins/Umkhumbane and 10% at Siyanda who invested in both rural and urban areas. The reason why the Siyanda households invest much more than Wiggins/Umkhumbane is because the latter were paying rent e.g. rates and water whereas the Siyanda are not paying the rent, they only bought water from the location households. Furthermore the Siyanda households have stronger rural links compared to the Wiggins/Umkhumbane households. As we have seen above most people in Siyanda left their rural homestead because of family problems and faction fights and political violence. These are the first generation migrants from the rural areas in the post-pass law period. The Wiggins/Umkhumbane households are composed of the son and the daughters of the household heads who came to Durban some time ago. In other words the household consist of second generation people, whose ties to the rural areas are getting weak, or are weaker. For example, two household heads at Siyanda ,Nontobeko Zulu and Thembisile Jali, stated that they still are prepared to return to their father's lands as soon as the faction fights ended. This was the reason they gave for not consolidating in the cities. One household head at Siyanda Zama Masuku, said he is not prepared to invest in the urban areas because he said he does not regard the informal settlements as really home. He even said that the informal settlement is not the real home but is just the place to sleep and wake up in the morning and go to work. He said, " my real home is in the rural areas where I have cattle, sheep, and goats for commercial farming in order to consolidate my homestead". He said, "to work in the city is just to supplement to what I have at my rural home".

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The next section investigates what it means to supplement the rural home or to consolidate the rural homstead.

4.6. INVESTING IN RURAL HOMESTEADS: HOUSE CONSTRUCTION, COMMERCIAL FARMING AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES.

A household head called Linda, living at Siyanda claimed he is investing in the rural areas. He said "I have intentions to invest in the cities, but I am investing in the rural areas where my parents and my family live". Others said they want to invest in the rural areas because most of their belongings are at their rural homestead. These types of migrants send money monthly to their families. Some of the money is for buying groceries and other household items and some is for commercial farming. Other households said they are not investing in the rural areas because it is their father's lands and they have to choose their own place to stay and consolidate it in terms of building houses. They said they prefer the city life as compared to the "dull rural life". But they said they wish to be buried near they forefather's graves. Mr. Zungu, one of the household heads interviewed at Wiggins/Umkhumbane, said before the elections of 1994 he was investing in the cities because he was thinking that he will spend his whole life in the cities. But after the election he said he changed his mind, he started to invest in the rural areas because facilities were decentralised from the urban areas to the rural areas.

It should be noted that some migrants who decided to leave their rural homestead in 1970's and 1980's to stay in the city and consolidate their households there started to change their minds about consolidation in the city. They started to involved themselves in migrancy-circular migration. as we mention above, because the government of national unity had started to bring the facilities even in the rural areas.

4.7. INVESTMENT IN URBAN AREAS: HOUSES CONSUMER GOODS AND EDUCATION

The were more than 60% of the households in the both areas of the study said they are investing in urban areas because there are more facilities as compared to the rural areas. Others said they invest in the urban areas because they enjoy the good town life as compared to the rural life which is very dull. They said they want their children to learn in the city because of good education they received in the city 60% intend to do so in both areas of the study.

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4.8. INVESTMENT IN BOTH RURAL AND URBAN AREAS IN TERMS OF REMITTANCES

There were 30% of migrants who were investing in both rural and urban areas. Those who were investing they were investing in terms of remittances, money, land house and cattle.

4.8.1. STRONG LINKS

Those who have strong links with rural areas are investing by sending money to their rural homesteads, e.g. they are sending money for food at the end of every month, they are also investing in land and cattle for commercial farming, as well in housing. They normally visit their rural homes each and every month, especially when they get leave. They have a full say in their rural homes activities, that is, they share the ideas with their families and relatives in their rural homes.

4.8.2. WEAK LINKS

Those who have weak links said they were not always sending money regularly to their rural homesteads. If they were sending money, it would be twice a year and not with intention of investing, but as a gift to their relatives who stay in the rural homesteads. They were visiting they rural homes twice a year, that is, during christmas holidays and Good Fridays. Some of these households have nothing to say about their families rural activities. For those urban based migrants returning to their homes is just to visit their relatives only. This is because they are no longer connected with their rural homes in terms of sharing ideas about any rural activities. They may discuss some matters of common concerns, but make no real decesions about buildings, crops, or expenditure on cosumption.

4.8.3. NO LINKS

Those who have no links are totally not investing in the rural areas. They are not visitng their rural homes, they are not sending money at all to their rural homesteads. Such migrants are consolidating their households in the city. But among them there are those who have intention to return to their rural homesteads when they retire to rebuild their rural homes. These migrants to the city have nothing to say about rural activities because they are no longer connected with them in any real activity.

Mr. Langa, the household head, at Wiggins/Umkhumbane said he is investing in both rural and urban areas because he likes to do that and he can afford to do so. Furthermore, he said he is investing and consolidating in the urban areas with the intention of selling his house when he retires and return to his homestead permanently. He said to invest and consolidate in both areas is good because it gives you chance to visit your family in both rural and urban areas. It also makes them to understand both town life and rural life. He said that this is the main factor for investing and consolidating in both areas.

One of the household members at Wiggins/Umkhumbane said that although he was sharing a two room house with his cousin and his brother he sends R200.00 to his parents at rural homestead monthly. He said all of them are working but only two who are paying the money for the groceries, that is, himself and his cousin. When asked why his brother is not paying, he said his brother is still paying *intlawulo* for making a woman pregnant outside of marriage, (*Intlawulo* is the penalty you pay because of your wrong deeds). The household head said "our family are staying in the rural homestead but our wives, that is my wife and my cousin's wife used to visit us". They have turns because our house is too small and there are no enough rooms. He said 'if my cousin's wife visited him my younger brother sleeps in my room with me. If it happens my wife visits with the children I have to pay more money for groceries my cousin also does the same if his family visits him.

It was noticeable that there are those who are investing both in the rural and urban areas, they do so because they left their families in the rural areas. This category of migrants came to realise that they need to invest and consolidate in the cities as well as in the rural areas. They felt they needed to create a base for the children to come to work in the cities when they are grown up. Furthermore, they said it is important to invest in both areas because it makes "you are not to feel ashamed of a bad home when you have visitors in both areas".

4.9. DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME EXPENDITURE

Although many households have several members enjoying cash income, household income is nevertheless low, the majority of households recording a monthly income of less than R500.00, a considerable proportion being less than R100.00 per month.

It was indicated that most of the migrants that are supporting the household were the households heads. Although in those households there are brothers and brothers-in-law

assisting one another in terms of paying money for groceries, the household heads were paying extra because they were also paying money for the rates, water and other facilities. This is also important in the sense that if the households stay together they can consolidate in the city much easier than those who stay as individuals because they share the expenses.

(b) FAMILY AMONG MIGRANTS

Table 12: Other living migrants (Relatives Migrants)

Other living immigrants	Wiggins/Umkhumbane	%	Siyanda	%
Family	6	30	6	30
Alone – man	1	5	3	15
Children brothers	3	15	3	15
Girlfriend	4	20	2	10
Boyfriend	3	15	2	10
Wife	3	15	3	15
Husband	-			
Widow	-	-	1	5
Total	20	100	20	100

From table 12, it maybe noted that 30% of Wiggins/Umkhumbane and Siyanda residents are staying with their families. In both areas of study the households mentioned different things when asked with whom they are staying. Others said they are living with their relatives or their girl friends, or boy friends, but what is noticeable is that most of them are staying with their families, or are cohabiting (masihlalisane or ukukipita).

It was noted that in Wiggins/Umkhumbane most of the household heads are women. The women were not working but the boy friends were working and who support them. In these conditions the government structures are boosting their consolidation e.g. government housing subsidy, while they also getting some help from their boyfriends. However, two women household heads stated that it is not easy to consolidate the household if you are cohabiting because your boyfriend or your partner can leave you at any time, then you fail to carry on with consolidation . But in the case of Siyanda those women who were married were doing crafts while their husbands were gone to find temporary employment. In Siyanda 40% of households heads are staying with their children. Usually those who are staying with children are investing in urban areas. They intended to consolidate in the urban areas because almost most of their belongings are in the urban areas. At Siyanda 50% of the households intend to bring their children to the urban areas. They said they intend to bring their children because

there is better education compared to the rural areas. But they said because there is not enough accommodation so they fail to bring their children in the urban areas, then they are forced to consolidate in the rural areas.

But it should be noted that some of these women were to found to have children from different fathers (what was refered to as "choice assorted" in chapter 3) For example two of the children would not be fathered by her current boyfriend, while the boyfriend has got one child from her but instead of supporting one, he is supports all of them. It was noted that households who were staying with girl friends were not sending money regularly to their rural homesteads because they are supporting those girl friends. They were interested in consolidating in the cities than to the rural areas.

(b) Choice of Locality in the future

Table 13: Choice of locality in the future

Choice of locality in the future	Wiggins/Umkhumbane	%	Siyanda	%
Urban	9	45	7	35
Rural	11	55	13	65
Total	20	100	20	100

Table 13, indicates that 45% of Wiggins/Umkhumbane households said they see their future in urban areas, whereas 35% at Siyanda see their future in the urban areas In Wiggins/Umkhumbane 55% see their future in the rural areas whereas at Siyanda 65% see their future in the rural areas. This shows that there are more households in both areas of study who see their future in the rural areas. This also indicates that even if most people are in urban areas they still think about their rural homestead. This is not to say that those who see their future in the rural villages will actually return. While some are unambigous about their future in the urban city environment, they are those who say they want to return but feel also the ambiguity of returning home in the future.

One of the households at Siyanda stated that although he sees his future in the rural area (he wants to start commercial farming) his wife and his elder son refused to return to the rural areas because they said there are no facilities in the rural areas. He even stated that they said

they want to consolidate the household in the cities rather than to return to the rural areas. Mr. Zulu at Wiggins/Umkhumbane said he sees his future in the rural homestead because in the rural areas you drink beer and eat meat without paying a cent but in the urban areas whatever you do you have to pay. He said "your neighbour in the cities can't give you food even she or he sees that you are hungry." In contrast with that, one of the household member said, "there is no meat in the rural areas because there are no more cattle, so what is the use of returning to the rural areas".

Others said they see their future in the rural homestead but because of violence there is no way they would go home. So they decided to consolidate households in the cities although there is a high crime rate in the cities but it is better than violence. Ngema the household head at Siyanda said he sees his future at the rural homestead because they dig a deep grave 6 to 8 feet and they make a room or shelf along the hole before they put the coffin in and they put the coffin in that shelf after that they put wooden sticks on top of the coffin before they throw the soil. The intention of this is to prevent the soil from touching the coffin so that the dead body should not easily rot it is so called *IGUMBI*. He said in town they dig a very short hole, which he said, he does not like that, because if there is heavy rain coffins come out from the graves. That shows to the researcher that some of the households in both areas of the study were still more rural orientated and were still very attached to their rural lifestyle and more interested in these activities. Even if they are interested in consolidating in the city but because of above mentioned reasons they prefer to consolidate and stay in the rural areas. They go to the city just for working purposes and return to their rural homestead during the holidays They lock their houses until they come back from they their holidays. Such kind of migrants are perhaps permanent circular migrants.

(d) Residing with Parents

Table 14: Reason for Residing with Parents.

Reason for children residing with parents	Wiggins/ Umkhumbane	%	Siyanda	%
Education purposes	2	10	10	50
Visit	-		1	5
Not intend to bring them	3	15	7	35
Wishing to bring children	8	40	1	5
No children	7	35	1	5
Total	20	100	20	100

Table 14, indicates that 10% of Wiggins/Umkhumbane have their children stay with them to receive an education, but 15% do not intend to bring them and 40% wish to have them stay with them. There is 35% who have no children. But at Siyanda 50% want to bring their children to stay with them for education nreasons, 5% allowed their children to visit them, 35% do not intend to bring their children to stay with them. There is 5% who wish to bring their children to stay with them and 5% who have no children.

Those households who said they want to bring their children for the purpose of sending them to schools, claim that education in the cities is much better than in the rural areas. They said there are no facilities in the rural areas such as computers at schools. Some of respondents at Wiggins/Umkhumbane said they like multi racial schools in the cities, it is very rare to get such schools in the rural areas.

In contrast, other respondents, especially at Siyanda said they do not like to bring their children to the urban areas because they will not attend schools, become thieves and smoke dagga. This is witnessed by Thembi Mthembu when she said " I don't want to bring my children in the cities because I use to see my neighbour's child staying with his friends smoking dagga instead of going to school after his mother had gone to do a temporary job. It is very rare to see such thing in the rural areas. This also make me to consolidate in the rural areas where my children will not be tempted by these bad things". One of the respondent in the household said that he does not want his children to stay with him in the town, he said "I want my children to stay there in the farm and learn all the work that is done there especially traditional ones, so that they must not forget their customs and norms". He said " even me I am here because I am working otherwise I should be at my rural homestead".

Furthermore he argued that he would not like his children to become highly educated, for fear that they might leave him and go far away. Furthermore he argued that he regards the farm as his permanent home, although he can get better pay in town. He said he is not interested in town friends. He said "mother father wife and children are my constant worry" That respondent had a very strong family and emotional attachment to his rural homestead.

One of the household head's sister at Wiggins/Umkhumbane was asked whether she intend to bring children to stay with her. She was asked because the household head was not in, she said she wants to bring them, because school in the rural areas are too far and there is a violence. She said the worse part of it the children have to walk the long distances to fetch the water and carry woods. She said such a kind of life disturbs the child in her or his study. She said "I wish to consolidate my household in the cities but it is difficult because I am staying with a boyfriend and he does not like my children to come to stay with us". She added that he complains that it will be a costly to him and they are not his children.

Mr. Ngcobo a household head at Siyanda said that he does not want to bring their children to stay with him especially the girls, because they might easily fall pregnant in town. He said in town many people tend to neglect the traditional things. He said in the rural homestead they still have old mothers who conduct vignity tests on young women (*UKUHLOLWA KWEZINTOMBI*). Furthermore there are old women who teach the young women how to sleep with a man or boyfriend who is so called (*ISOKA*) these women are called (*AMAQHIKIZA*). So he said that because of the above mentioned reasons he does not want his children to come in town, especial in the informal settlement, because it is overcrowded and people speak any how. He said "even the boys too, "I do not want them to come and stay with me permanently but I want them to come during holidays when school are closed, in order for them to seek temporary jobs".

Such respondents were showing no interest in the house consolidation of their households in town. For example, Mr. Mthembu said he wants the upgrading of his house but he is not worried as such because all his belongings are not in the urban areas but in his rural homestead. Furthermore he is investing in the rural homestead.

(e) Linkages with rural homestead

Table 15: Linkages with rural homestead

Linkages with rural homestead	Wiggins/Umkhum bane	%	Female %	Male %	Siyanda	%	Famale %	Male %
No	8	40	20	20	5	25	10	15
Yes	12	60	-	-	15	75	-	-
Total	20	100	-	-	20	100	-	-

From table 15, it may be noted that 40% at Wiggins/Umkhumbane households no longer have linkages with their rural homestead whereas at Siyanda 25% no longer have linkages with their rural homestead. Among 40% of those who have no linkages at Wiggins/Umkhumbane 20% are the women ranging between the age of 31 to 35, whereas out of 25% of Siyanda members households who do not have linkages with their rural homestead, 10% are the women ranging in age between 31 to 40. At Wiggins/Umkhumbane 60% said there were having contact with their rural homesteads whereas 75% at Siyanda who still have contact with their rural homestead. This indicates that there are more households who are still connected and are consolidating their rural homestead than those who are not. However, despite this strong link with their rural homestead they are interested in the housing consolidation in town as well as in the rural areas.

One interviewee (but not household head) at Wiggins/Umkhumbane said he has contact with his rural homestead but he visits only once a year. When asked why he said "my parents do not like my wife especially my mother. They said "our marriage is not legal so my wife is not accepted in my rural homestead. They said I did not inform them when I was marrying her, as a result when I go home I leave her in the informal settlements". He has already decided to cut ties with his parents and consolidate his house in Durban. To the researcher this indicated that sometimes the traditional way of doing things can be a negative influence where people want to invest for their future. This is especially the case if people want do not be restricted by the traditional rules.

In this study it is mentioned earlier that some of these households are staying as if they are married whereas they are not. One of the women (not a household head) at

Wiggins/Umkhumbane; when asked "are you sending money at rural homestead?" She "said yes". The researcher said "you said you are not working, where do you get money? She said "I get money from my boy friend" The researcher continued to ask "Do your parents know that?" She said " I told them that I got a job". It was indicated to the researcher that most of those girl friends who were staying with their boy friends in the informal settlements left their rural homestead and do not inform their parents that they are not working. When asked whether they are willing to consolidate the household in town or in the rural homestead they said they are prepared to consolidate in their rural homestead by using the money they get from their boy friends. But other women in the areas of the study said they do not take that risk, because boy friends can sometimes leave them. Nomathemba from Siyanda stated that although she is staying in the informal settlement she has no intention of consolidating in the cities because of the above mentioned reasons, rather it is better to invest in the rural areas using the money she took it from her boy friend.

Among the respondents of both areas of the study there were those who said that even if they can die they prefer to be buried in Durban because it is very much expensive to hire an undertaker or hearse or to carry a corpse from the urban to rural areas. One of the household heads at Siyanda said that it will depend on her family who will still be alive whether they bury her in the rural areas or in the urban areas. But she prefers to be buried in the urban areas in order to save the money taking her body to the rural homestead.

The maintenance of links also occurs by means of remittances, investment in housing visits to the home place or by members of family from the rural homestead to the place of work. Such visits and remittances serve as the connection between rural homestead and urban areas. These visits tend to be expressed in certain ways such as leaving money, buying food and clothes. But there is considerable variety in the strength of these links. Some rural households received the assistance upon which they depend for survival at the end of every year or at the end of the every month. Some households articulated that the migrants did remit regularly and others did not seem to care about the people at 'home' while others regularly remit money to their rural homes.

(e) Frequency visit rural homestead

Table 16: Frequency visit rural homestead

Frequency visit rural homestead	Wiggns/Umkhumbane	%	Siyanda	%
Not visiting	10	50	5	25
Once a year	0	0	3	15
Twice a year	5	25	5	25
Monthly and once after three months	5	25	7	35
Total	20	100	20	100

Table 16, indicates that 50% of Wiggins/Umkhumbane household were not visiting their rural homestead whereas at Siyanda 25% were also not visiting their rural homestead. There were 25% in both areas of study who were visiting their rural homestead twice a year. This indicates that the people at Siyanda are still more connected than those of Wiggins/Umkhumbane with their rural homestead.

Others said they are visited their rural homesteads at different times during the year e.g. once a year, monthly etc. They also mentioned different reasons when asked why they visit like that, for example, one household head at Wiggins/Umkhumbane said he visit his rural homestead regularly because he always thinks about his herds (*IMFUYO*) e.g. Cattle, goats and sheep. One respondent at Wiggins/Umkhumbane said she is not visiting at the rural homestead because her parents died long ago, so her homestead no longer exists. She wants to consolidate her household in town. She said her brother has his own rural homestead but she can't visit there because his wife dislikes her.

Another household head at Siyanda said that he and his brother have no contact with their relatives in the rural area, they no longer visit their rural homestead due to a family problem which he refused to talk about. But he said they are still adapted to the traditional way of doing things, like to slaughter a beast for ancestors and they also sprinkle with medicine so called *intelezi* right round the household to prevent the evil spirits and to stop or prevent the witches to come with their medicine to *thakatha* them (*Ukuthakatha* is to put a traditional medicine in an other men's household so that members or one member of the household becomes sick).

(f) Family in rural area

Table 17: Rural family home

Rural family home	Wiggins/Umkhumbane	%	Siyanda	%
Yes	12	60	15	75
No	8	40	5	25
Total	20	100	10	100

From table 17, it maybe noted that 60% of Wiggins/Umkhumbane households and 75% of Siyanda still have relatives in the rural homestead. Some migrants have no intention of retaining links with their rural relatives. But they do not even want to be identified by those migrants who came from the same rural villages as themselves. Some migrants even changed their surnames and their names in order not to be easily found by their relatives. There are those who are staying with whole families in the urban areas who said they were not prepared to return to the rural areas, and argued that they were no longer investing in the rural areas. Furthermore, they argue they are no longer familiar with rural life and their children have been born in the urban areas.

(h) Relationship between Neighbours

Table 18: Relationship between Neighbours

Relationship Between neighbours	Wiggins/Ukhumabne	%	Siyanda	%
Yes	17	85	16	80
No	1	5	-	-
Not much	2	10	4	20
Total	20	100	20	100

From table 18, it maybe noted that there is a good relationship among the residents both from Wiggins/Umkhumabne and Siyanda, although it is slight in Siyanda. Only 5% said there is no good relationship among the residents at Wiggins/Umkhumbane. There was 10% who said there is a relationship but "not much" because of crime in the area. At Siyanda only 20% said there is "not much" relationship. The main reason for this is that there are those who still provoke each other about political issues e.g. some criticising those who are the members of ANC and others criticising IFP. Most of the household heads criticised the political fighting because they said it hinders development in their areas.

Among of those who were complaining about political violence, they said they do not know what they must do now because in the past they ran away from the political violence in the rural areas and now they meet with more violence in the cities. They said " we are still undecided where we must consolidate our households but in the mean time we are still investing here" (that is in Durban)

(i) Sharing material with rural homestead

Table 19: Sharing of material resources with rural homestead.

Sharing of material resources with Rural homestead	Wiggins/Umkhumbane	%	Siyanda	%
Not sharing	9	55	13	35
Yes sharing	11	45	7	65
Total	20	100	20	100

Table 19, indicates that people in Wiggins/Umkhumbane share less than Siyanda in the rural areas. The researcher's interpretation is that the reason why the Wiggins/Umkhumbane share less than Siyanda in the rural areas is because the Wiggings/Ukhumbane households are younger than Siyanda households. The younger people of Wiggins/Umkhumbane are the second generation of the first time migrants. They have less ties with the rural areas. Because they have less ties, they do not wish to spend time or money there. Instead they use their money on housing consolidation in urban areas.

(j) Degree of attachment to rural/urban setting

Table 20: Future preferencess

Reason for change of locate	Wiggins/Umkhumbane	%	Siyanda	%
Buried at rural homestead	7	35	10	50
Rural for commercial Farming	4	20	2	10
Urban because of distance rural homestead	7	35	5	25
No rural homestead	1	5	1	5
Retire at Rural Homestead	1	5	2	10
Total	20	100	20	100

Table 20, above illustrates the degree of people's attachment to their urban and rural localities by using some indicators. This determines their intentions for the future. There were 35% of Wiggins/Umkhumbane residents who wanted to be buried in their rural homestead whereas 50% at Siyanda shared this feeling. There were 20% at Wiggins who wanted to return to rural homestead because they want to start commercial farming and only 10% at Siyanda who also said so. There were 35% at Wiggins/Umkhumbane who want to stay in the urban areas and 25% at Siyanda.

Others said they want to be buried near their forefather's graves. Others said they want to reunite their rural homestead. Among the households who said they want to return to their rural homestead, there were those who also want to consolidate in the city as well. They said that, to say they want to reunite their homestead in the rural areas does not mean they do not want to consolidate in the city. This means that they wish to consolidate their households in the city, but retain links with family in the rural area.

Out of 100% household interviewed at Wiggins/Umkhumbane 35% of them said they want to be buried near their forefathers graves and 20% said they want to return to their rural homestead to start business. Most of those migrants are investing in the rural areas, but among them there are those who are investing both in the rural homestead and urban areas. Such migrants are doing circular migration between rural homestead and household in the cities. There are 50% Siyanda households who also doing the same thing and there is 10% who want to return to thier homestead for commercial farming. Some of the migrants said they want to return to their rural homestead in order to reunite their families which disintegrated during the time of violence and wars.

The intention of the researcher was to find out from the interviewees whether are they feel happy about their current residence and where they want to consolidate their households. Furthermore, it was also the intention of the researcher to find out whether the households heads want to consolidate and invest in these areas with the aim of staying there permanently or with the aim of selling their households when they retire and use that money to consolidate their rural homestead.

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To illustrate the extent of dependence or investiment in their urban localities I will discuss the difference in the manner through which these communities educate their children.

(k) Children Schooling

Table 21: Children Schooling

Children schooling	Wiggins/Umkhumbane	%	Siyanda	%
Yes	11	55	17	85
No	9	45	1	5
None			2	10
Total	20	100	20	100

Table 21 indicates that at Siyanda, 85% chidren are schooling 5% are not and 10% of the households have no children. Because Siyanda has more rural oriented people most of their children are attending school in rural areas. Even in terms of education Siyanda residents are dependent on rural schools and senior members of their households who earn a pension. At Wiggins/Umkhumbane, 55% children are schooling in the urban area and 45% are not schooling. The household heads who have most children atteding in urban schools do not invest much in their rural homestead. Their children are dependent on these urban schools for education.

Some Wiggins/Umkhumbane respondents argued that because the area is close to the town, some of the children are not attending school because they spend most of their time by going to town where they are tempted by many things. This caused them to run away from the school. Children seem to be more engaged in income generation such as selling fruits, vegetables, being taxi conductors (osicabhabhoyi), washing taxes and playing du-boxes than being in school.. This tend to make Siyanda to have more children who are schooling as compared to Wiggins/Ukhumbane. When I ask why this happens, two household heads replied that some of the parents are not taking reponsibilty to see whether their children are attending school. Other said teachers are not doing their work properly.

(l) Income as remittances

Table 22: Income as Remittances

Income Remittances	Wiggins/Umkhumbane	%	Siyanda	%
Working	3	15	5	25
Temporal	9	45	6	30
Self Employer	7	35	6	30
Pensioner	-		1	5
Not Working	1	5	2	10
Total	20	100	20	100

From table 22, it may be noted that 30% of Siyanda households are temporarily employed and 30% are self-employed, 5% are pensioners, 25% are working and 10% are unemployed, whereas at Wiggins/Umkhumbane 15% are working, 45% are temporary workers and 5% are unemployed and there no pensioners. The interviewer found that there are more households at Wiggins/Umkhumbane who are self employed and temporary workers than at Siyanda households, but there are more who are permanently employed at Siyanda as compared to Wiggings/Umkhumbane. However, the households at Wiggings/Umkhumbane shows better standard of living as compared to Siyanda households. At Wiggins/Umkhumane there are already upgraded houses whereas Siyanda is still largely constituted by informal houses(imijondolo) many of which are made of plastic and card board. One of the respondents at Siyanda said "I can't put my furniture in these card boxes, if I do so I will be playing with my money because these houses are leaking". In both of these areas of study, people are doing different temporary jobs like domestic services, and handyman jobs. Those who were self employed, especially in Siyanda households, were making crafts, selling beers, dagger, fruits, and cutting grass lawns.

(m) Number of the wives

Table 23: Number of Wives

Number of wives	Wiggins/Umkhumbane	%	Siyanda	%
One	7	35	9	45
Two	1	5	2	10
None	9	45	8	40
Chabit	3	15	1	5
Total	20	100	20	100

Table 23, indicates that 35% men at Wiggins/Umkhumbane have one wife and 15% cohabit, whereas 45% men at Siyanda have one wife. One might argue that, 10% of Siyanda households who have two wives is because they still follow traditional polygmous practices, which still prevails in rural areas. One of the household heads at Siyanda said he did not want to cohabit but what made him to do so was because he had no money to pay for *lobolo* (dowry). Secondly his custom does not allow him to marry someone who is not virgin. He said, he was not interested to marry a town girl because he was still preparing to return to consolidate his rural homestead because town life is expensive. Yet he cohabits!.

(n) Monthly rent

Table 24: Monthly Rent

Monthly rent	Wiggins/Umkhumbane	%	Siyanda	%
R30.00	20	100	-	
No rent	-		20	100
Total	20	100	20	100

From table 24, it may be noted that 100% of Wiggins/Umkhumbane households are paying R30.00 for rent rates and water, whereas 100% of Siyanda households are not paying rent at all. Siyanda residents said they buy the water from formal residents at the nearby kwa-Mashu township. The reason why the Siyanda households were not paying rent, was that the place was not upgraded, so there was no electricity, water, as well as no roads. Wiggins/Ukhumbane area on the other hand was an upgraded place and residents were expected to pay rent, which was only R30, 00 per month.

(o) Feelings about service delivery

Table 25: Feelings about service delivery

Feelings about service delivery	Wiggins /Umkhumbane	%	Siyanda	%
Not satisfied	6	30	20	100
Satisfied	14	70	-	-
Total	20	100	20	100

Table 25, depict that 30% of Wiggins/Umkhumbane are not satisfied about service delivery, whereas 100% at Siyanda are also not satisfied. The Siyanda households were complaining they have been waiting a long time for development of the area. Many promises have been

made but no development has taken place. They also said it is ridiculous to ask about service delivery while there is not even one house upgraded yet.

At Wiggins/ Umkhumbane 30% of households said they are not happy about the water tanks which are on top of the roofs, because during **the hot** days these tanks made the water to hot to drink. One woman at Wiggins/Umkhumbane said "these houses are not of good quality. They are full of cracks". She said the reason for this is that developers built those houses too fast and now they are falling apart. She said this is the reason why the area is called Wiggins Fast Track.

(p) Residencial Area of Preference

Table 26: Residential Area of Preference

Residential area of preference	Wiggins/Umkhumbane	%	Siyanda	%
Siyanda	-	-	11	55
Wiggins/Umkhumbane	17	85	-	-
Masixhawulane	3	15	-	-
Newlands	-	-	2	10
Avoca	-	-	1	5
Anywhere	-	-	6	30
Any other formal place	-	-	-	-
Total	20	100	20	100

From table 26, it may be noted that 55% of Siyanda households want to stay at Siyanda and 30% want to move elsewhere. The other 15% want to move to nearby townships of Avoca and Newlands. Most of Wiggins/Umkhumbane (85%) want to stay where they are and 15% want to move to the nearby Masixhawulane (Lets us shake hands) location. Siyanda households said that lack service delivery and houses which are not upgraded makes them want move to other areas. They also want to move because they are sick and tired of the conflict between the leaders of IFP and ANC in that area which hinders development. They even stressed that they are no longer interested in politics but they need improvements in the area. Table 25, therefore illustrates the degree to which people are committed to stay in these areas.

(q) Priorities in the upgrading of houses

Table 27: Priorities in the upgrading of houses

Priorities in upgrading of houses	Wiggins/Umkhumbane	%	Siyanda	%
House Improvement	5	25	5	25
Water + Tel.Shops	5	25	2	10
Water+ Electricity	-	-	4	20
House+Water	-	-	5	25
House+Road	-	-	4	20
Incremental house	6	30	-	-
None	3	15	-	-
Health	1	5	-	-
Total	20	100	20	100

Table 27, indicates that 25% of both areas of study households want house improvement as their first priority. There were 25% at Wiggins/Umkhumbane who wanted water and telephones whereas there were 20% at Siyanda who wanted water and electricity and there were 25% at Siyanda who wanted houses and water. There were 30% at Wiggins/Umkhumbane who wanted incremental houses, whereas no one at Siyanda could talk about incremental of houses. The reason why the Siyanda households did not talk about the incremental is because the place was not upgraded yet, they even said' "We cannot talk about incremental houses while our informal settlements are never upgraded yet". But among the households interviewed one member of the households said "I am not interested in upgrading because I am here to work only, I am not interested in the town, once I retire I am returning to my homestead". She said "to me it is better to stay in the informal house rather than to stay in the formal house whereby you are supposed to pay rent'. She said her strong hold is at the rural homestead. Most of the households were showing strong links to their rural homestead in terms of traditional beliefs e.g. ancestors some showed interest in rural investment e.g. commercial farming. Some were pushed to their rural homestead by the economic situation e.g. the expensive of the city life.

4.10.CONCLUSION

The above chapter has dealt with general findings on household consolidation of both areas of the study. The researcher found that there were similarities and differences in both areas, e.g. In both areas there were those who were involved in cohabitation. There were also those who

wished to consolidate their households in the urban areas as well as those who do not want to consolidate there because of the different reasons which are already mentioned above.

Some differences are that there are more household heads at Siyanda who are investing in the rural home than to Wiggins/Umkhumbane households. Another difference is that Wiggins/Umkhumbane area is an upgraded area whereas Siyanda is non upgraded informal area. Most of Siyanda household heads came to Durban because of faction fights and violence. But most of the Wiggins/Umkhumbane households heads came to Durban from their areas of origin to seek for job. The last chapter will be concluding the whole research.

These similarities and differences in terms of house consolidation urban areas means that there are those households who wish to consolidate in the city but who could not because of their cultural beliefs, for example, those who believe that their ancestors become angry if they are not returning to their rural homes. People who still have this belief have strong ties with his rural areas. There are those who want to consolidate in the city because of the bright life of urban areas in terms of facilities and who believe that the ancestors are every where, where ever you go, you with them, so there is no need to afraid that they will be angry if a man is not returning to his/her rural homestead. At Siyanda there were those who did not want to cosolidate their households in the city even if they would be upgraded, because they left their rural homesteads because of the faction fights and violence, they did not plan properly to leave their rural homesteads. That means they would still return to they rural homesteads, hence they are attached to them. So they may not invest in the Durban even if upgrading was brought in.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

This chapter dicusses some conclusions about the type of strong or weak ties, and situation where links with the rural areas has been abandoned.

Most of the people who stay in the informal settlements in the urban areas are the people who came from the rural areas. Although many different reasons were given, the main one is because of the poor economic conditions in the rural areas. When they came, they came to work with the intention of returning to their families in their rural homestead. However, some of them began to enjoy urban living. They said they felt interested in staying in the cities and decided not to return to their rural homestead. They were tempted by many different things, e.g. better life of the city in terms of economic situation, good transport, education and so on. All this makes people want to consolidate their households in the cities rather than in their place of origin. Some began to bring their families to join them in the cities, while others decided to abscond and forget totally about their relatives in their rural homestead and regarded the city as their permanent residence. Others said they had weak ties with their rural homestead because of the dull life of the rural areas. Others go to the urban areas with the aim of looking the jobs and forget their rural homestead and decide to consolidate household in the cities with cohabited women. All these people have began to invest in the city and have all their belongings in the city. They now identify with the city.

The interviewer observed that not all migrants in these areas of study wanted to live the rest of their lives in the cities but there were those who still had links with their relatives in their rural homestead. There are those who still practice their norms and customs albeit adapted to the urban living, and who still visited their rural homestead. Some became circular migrants. These people are divided into two categories. The first category there those who like both city life and country life. Such people usually consolidate the household in both the city and rural homestead. But depending on the economic situation some stay with their children in the city with the aim of getting better education for them. The mothers of these children are left at home in the rural areas looking after the home, while children are staying with their fathers in the city attending the school. But during school holidays children return to their rural homestead while fathers return to their rural home during their vacation leave. Among this category are also those who want to consolidate the household in the city but who said they

wish to retire to their rural homestead. One particular type in this category were those who want to consolidate their households in the cities as an investment so that when they retire with all their belongings to consolidate their rural homestead. This was witnessed by one interviewee who said "'by upgrading this house I want to sell it after five years and take the money and return to open a business in my rural homestead", which shows that there were those who wanted the house consolidation with the aim of generating money

In the second category there were among those households interviewed, those who wanted their households in the cities to be upgraded but were not much interested in housing consolidation in the cities. Some prefer to consolidate their rural homestead rather than in the cities. These are people who were rurally orientated in terms of beliefs, who normally visited their rural homestead because they have strong links with their relatives at home. Some others offered a very simple reason for not consolidating the home in the cities: it is too expensive.

5.1. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

During the research period the researcher observed that most of the Siyanda households were not happy about the place because there was no service delivery, that is why others said that they would leave the place to stay elsewhere. The interviewer noticed that while the Siyanda residents were not hostile many were tense because of the conflict situation between the councillors of the different political parties. The researcher also noticed that those who came in the informal settlement of their own free will had better households as compared to those who came due to the effects of violence and faction fights. They were the ones who were interested in housing consolidation. Many of them survive by hand crafts: making mats, wooden brooms, Zulu necklaces etc. Some also survived by selling dagga.

Crime is also a problem in the area. There are many hooligans and gangsters. Because it is not easy to enter the area due to the lack of the roads, is difficult to arrest them. The lack of crime prevention strategies influences many in their decision as to where they will consolidate their homes. Thus many want to consolidate their homes in rural areas once the faction fighting is over, and to get away from the crime in the urban areas.

At Wiggins/Umkubane the researcher noticed that most of residents were happy about the place because of service delivery. Although there were those who were showing no interested

in city life most residents of this area were still young as compared to the Siyanda residents. The households were living harmoniously the same way as in the Siyanda households. In both areas of study the researcher noticed that some of the households were willing to return to their rural homestead. The researcher observed that there were those who wanted to return to their rural homestead but were afraid because they have for a long time been absent at home and they had no money to show to their families. They are also afraid that if they can return to their rural homestead they will be a heavy burden on their they relatives. The researcher also observed that most of the households who stay at Wiggins/Umkhumbane were the generation of the people who came in the city due to severe economic situation in the rural areas. The children of these households are not willing to return to the rural areas because they are born and bred in the city and are not familiar with the rural activities.

5.2. RECOMMENDATIONS

In the light of my research and conclusion, I would suggest the following recomendations. The researcher's view about the informal settlement at Siyanda is that, it should be upgraded so that the people who live in the informal settlement would have better living conditions. However it requires a commitment from the residents to pay rent because if they are not paying there will be no service delivery. On the other side government should train people to know how to build houses for themselves and create more job opportunities so that opeople can able to consolidate their households wherever they like. Perhaps even those who are not consolidating their households in the cities due to the economic reasons can have a choice to do so. It is important for everyone to upgrade his/her household these days, especially in the informal settlement because these homes are easily burnt, and people can die in the fire. Also the upgraded homes become assets.

In creating a variety of urban tenure types for housing, even for those that are not intrested in consolidating urban existence may be catered for e.g. through cheap rented housing. Furthermore, to those who are not prepared to consolidate their household in urban areas because of their strong links with their rural homestead in terms of traditional beliefs should review the reality of these beliefs. Because to consolidate the household in the cities does not mean you must forget your norms and values as well as your beliefs. It is said that wherever you go your ancestors go with you, which means it is naïve to believe that when you are consolidating your household in the city you will lose your ancestors.

Another option if you are less interested about household consolidation in the city it is better to return to rural homestead to practise the commercial farming, because to be honest the norms and values of rural home is not as the same as of the cities. The researcher's view is that it will be better if government subsidise or provide development programmes for the rural people in order for them to start the businesses. Rural development will probably do more to ease the burden of migration than housing projects in urban centres. Government should also decentralise the jobs so that those who are not willing to stay in the cities should not come.

<u>APPENDIX</u>

Appendix covers the questions that were asked from residents of Siyanda and residents of Wiggins/Umkhumbaan

<u>Questions for Interviews</u>

1. When were you born?

2. Where did you live ?

3. When did you leave your place of birth ?

4. What were your reasons for moving ?

5. After you left your place of birth where did you move to ?

6. What were your reasons for moving ?

7. In which year did you come to Durban ?

8. What were your reasons for moving to Durban ?

9. How did you get access to your first accommodation in Durban and what type of accommodation was it ?

10. What other type of accommodation have you occupied in Durban ?

11. In which year did you move to your present accommodation ?

12. Why did you choose to stay in this place ?

13. How did you get access to your present accommodation ?

14. Are you happy about living in this place ?

15. What improvements would you like to see happen in this place ?

16. Are there harmoniously relations between neighbours ?

17. How is the situation in terms of crime, social, life and so on ?

18. Are you working ? If not, how do you survive ?

19. If yes, what do you do ?

20. Where do you work ?

21. How far do you live from your work place ?

22. What is your weekly or monthly wage? (household income)

23. Do you send money to your rural homestead, if so how much and how regularly and what for ?

24. Who are living with ?

25. Are your children at school ?

26. How many wives do you have ? If you more than one, whom do you stay with, where do others live, how often do you see her or them ?

27. How much rent are you paying monthly ?

28. Are you satisfied with the service delivery : water, electricity, refuse-removal and other ?

29. Do you want to move out of the this place ? If yes, where do you want to move and why ?

30. Do you still have contact with your relatives in your place of birth/ rural homestead ?

31. How often do you visit them?

32. Do you have a rural homestead?

33. Who lives there ?

34. Do you send goods (food, gifts, etc) to your rural homestead ?

35. Do your send money-if yes what is it used for ?

36. Do you intend to bring your spouse / children to stay with you ?

37. Why ?

38. Where do you see your future, in the rural or urban area ?

39. Why ?

40. Where do you invest: urban, rural or both ? What amount do you invest and how often do you invest ?

41. What do you invest in? (housing, Commercial activities etc)

42. Would you like to upgrade your house? Where can you get the money for upgrading ?

43. What are your priorities with regard to improving your urban or rural homestead ?

44. When do you want to see this happening ?

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