The Impact of Migration on Rural Development: A Case Study of EMabhuqwini in Nkandla

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Declaration

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Town and Regional Planning, in the Graduate Programme in the School of Built Environment and Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal,

Durban, South Africa.

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Town and Regional Planning in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Science, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

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Date

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Supervisor Name and Signature

Dedication

This work is dedicated to Mthunzi and Zempilo Shezi, my children, and Gugu Buthelezi, my fiancée.

Abstract

This dissertation concentrates on the subject of migration from the less researched angle of the rural areas losing migrants. This dissertation is premised upon the hypothesis that emigration of skilled people stifles development in rural areas and this in turn leads to the lack of development. The lack of development causes emigration. I am arguing that this vicious cycle must be broken down through leadership committed to achieving development goals and through personal sacrifices of skilled people remaining in rural areas.

Therefore, this dissertation seeks to establish the impact that migration has on rural development. It looks at the case of eMabhuqwini as the study's focal point. There are two arguments that are advanced by the thesis:

(1)   Migration negatively impacts on development in the area of eMabhuqwini. The more able-bodied, skilled and capable people emigrate, the higher the likelihood that the area they leave will stay underdeveloped. This is because people who have the capacity to drive development in the area will have left. At the same time, if the area is underdeveloped, people are likely to leave it and seek greener pastures – especially in terms of better living conditions and employment opportunities – elsewhere, particularly in more developed urban areas.

(2)   Political infighting between political parties appears to be the main cause of the slow (if any) pace of service delivery and development in the area. This is so because of growing political intolerance among political parties in South Africa. This political intolerance is also characterised by an unwillingness to accept political defeat. As such, this process has dictated the terms of and speed of service delivery as there is little will on the part of political leaders to spearhead development in an area governed by the opposition.

I further provide a comprehensive conceptual framework on migration theory, a detailed presentation of the case study area, a three-pronged empirical study consisting of interviews with thirty-two households, household in-depth survey (6 respondents) as well as three focus groups.

Quantitatively, 32 respondents answered a semi-structured research questionnaire. Six of the same people were also requested to respond to an open-ended research schedule that sought to gain answers to open-ended questions. The questions themselves were divided into two sections, a closed-ended part as well as an open-ended part. Quantitative questionnaires were analysed using the SPSS computer program, while the others were analysed thematically.

In terms of conclusions and recommendations, it was observed that the two arguments were confirmed: that migration does have a negative impact on development; and that, to minimise this impact, or to reverse the process, an intensive effort must be put into encouraging the government, together with traditional and local leadership, to deliver services to the people so as to develop the area and minimise the impact of migration.

Acknowledgements

List of Abbreviations

AIDS   Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

ANC   African National Congress

DDP   Democracy Development Programme

EC   Eastern Cape

ESCAP   Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific

GEAR   Growth Employment and Redistribution

GGP   Gross Geographic Product

HDI   Human Development Index

HIV   Human Immune Virus

HSRC   Human Sciences Research Council

IDP   Integrated Development Planning

IFP   Inkatha Freedom Party

IFRC   International Federation of Red Cross

KZN   KwaZulu-Natal

KZNPC   KwaZulu-Natal Planning Commission

KZNPGDS   KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Growth and Development Strategies

NDP   National Development Plan

NGP   New Growth Path

NIF   National Infrastructure Plan

NPC   National Planning Commission

OECD   Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

PGDS   Provincial Growth and Development Strategies

PICC   Presidential Infrastructure Coordinating Committee

RDP   Reconstruction and Development Programme

RCS	Red Cross Societies
SIPS	Strategic Integrated Projects
SPSS	Statistical Packages for Social Sciences
STIs	Sexually Transmitted Infections
TB	Tuberculosis
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION AND THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

1.1   Introduction

Migration has become a hotly debated issue that is now deeply embedded among developing countries. The pace with which migration is taking place in most of the developing countries is particularly not surprising given the globalising and modernising world within which they find themselves. Migration has had damaging effects for virtually all developing regions. It is characterised primarily by decreased numbers among rural-based populations. In many parts of the world, the United Nations (UN) reported that "between 2000 and 2025 … the world's proportion of urbanised populations is expected to rise from 47% to over 60%". This thus implies that migration has become largely elusive and uncontrollable in most parts of the world. South Africa's fragile political, social and economic climate has also become a fertile ground for migration. Given South Africa's history that was inherently divisive and discriminatory resulting in massive poverty and gross inequality, South Africa's migration pattern is from the former homelands or rural to metropolitan cities including Durban, Cape Town, Johannesburg, and Pretoria (Kok et al 2003:3 cited in Mazibuko, 2006:1; and Smith, 2001).

Migration not only deprives rural regions of most economically active populations (18-55 years old), but it also leaves rural regions with a prerogative of having to fend off for themselves. This thus impedes and derails rural development processes and programmes that are being rolled out in the sense that people with skills tend to migrate to the cities in search of better paying jobs and better living conditions. It ultimately leads to complete disregard of rural regions particularly in terms of infrastructural development due in part to reduced numbers of population.

The fragility of developing countries to increased migration is often characterised by incessant surge of "brain drain". Traditionally, 'brain drain' is regarded as the large-scale emigration of highly skilled individuals (Kok, 1999). Nevertheless, the

phenomenon of migration appears to be driven by push and pull factors, respectively. Whilst the former is attributed to lack of employment, natural disasters (earthquakes, floods), lack of food or shelter, lower standard of living; the latter is attributed to hope for better employment, more money and food, better shelter, and hope for family to have a higher standard of living (Kainth, 2009:82). In essence, brain drain is usually regarded as an economic cost, since emigrants usually take with them the fraction of value of their training sponsored by the government or other organisations. It also significantly minimises the threshold of rural populations. Brain drain also potentially breaks social ties and traditional values.

In accordance with this evidence, this study thus uses the case of eMabhuqwini in Nkandla, Northern KwaZulu-Natal to shed some light with regards to the impact of migration on rural areas. The study captures the area of eMabhuqwini because of its fragility to the increasing phenomenon of rural out-migration. It seems fragile because, according to Nkandla IDP, eMabhuqwini only 9 households electrified out of 1464 households. Further, eMabhuqwini faces a huge development gap. The study is justified in the sense that migration has had negative impact on rural development processes at eMabhuqwini. Yet, the literature has paid little attention to its impact in rural areas. The area of eMabhuqwini has typically witnessed a growing number of people migrating to areas including Johannesburg, and Durban to mention but a few.

1.2 Background and Context of the Study

1.2.1 The Apartheid Era

Whilst it is recognised that South Africa plays an integral part in the increasingly globalising and modernising world, the hostile political, social and economic conditions of the past seems to shape the direction that the country takes. Magubane (2010) notes that this could be attributed to apartheid dispensation which created many disparities that were based on racial lines. In this regard, apartheid as a political ideology was built on the premise that the four ethnic groups namely, Blacks, Whites, Indians and Coloureds; each with its own culture, language, history and social traditions were to live separately from each other (Fiske and Ladd, 2004). In this context, whites, on the one hand, occupied superior position in regard to access to resources, access to decent education, and ownership of arable land. Blacks, on the

other hand, occupied an inferior position. They were forcibly moved to reserves and homelands. They only received Bantu Education. This, according to Rosenthal (2010), has thus prompted South Africa to be considered as one of the most unequal societies in the world. Whilst placed at the periphery of economic prosperity and competition because of lack of skills, blacks have never wanted to remain at the homelands. In South Africa, apartheid socialised black people to accept that there were limits to what they could do and become. This climate inevitably paved way for migration.

1.2.2 The Post-Apartheid Era

South Africa is currently engaged in the process of transforming from a system that was characterised by poverty and gross inequalities. According to Magubane (1994), apartheid seems to have collapsed in a peculiarly quiet manner. However, most researchers caution that such a collapse cannot be celebrated openly because it has deeply entrenched mounting pressures of diversity, multiculturalism, and globalisation. Redressing imbalances attributed to poverty and inequality inherited by the democratic government has thus far not been an easy task in South Africa. South Africa has succumbed to the pressures of globalisation wherein many governments have sought to advance and protect their individual national interests. Determined to redress the imbalances of the past, the policy choices taken by South African government after a successful transition to democracy have not yielded any significant results. Large proportions of rural-based communities relentlessly continue to bear the brunt. In particular, economic growth has stalled after the replacement of Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) by Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR). GEAR's philosophy has advocated for the downsizing of public sector while RDP initially sought to improve public expenditure (Rosenthal, 2010:258). The global economic meltdown of 2008 onwards has also caused significant irreparable damage among developing regions. Recently, the South African government has reshaped its policies by gearing them towards 'intervening capably' in the economic affairs of the country through a 'developmental state' model. It is, however, argued that this move faces significant challenges because:

"Most of the East Asian developmental states may have reached their developmental goals under undemocratic conditions, yet in South Africa, a constitutional democracy,

the delivery of the developmental state will not only have to take place in the economic and social spheres, but must also deepen democracy" (Gumede, 2009:7).

South Africa's current environment is conceived to be unfavourable for a 'developmental state'. Gumede (2009) notes that developmental states have mostly been authoritarian, or managed in dominant party democratic systems. In South Africa, not only will delivery have to take place in the economic and social spheres, but democracy must also be deepened. In light of these debates, the model of a 'developmental state' has received mixed reactions.

1.2.3 Reconciling Economic Growth and Democracy in the 'New' South Africa

Faced with growing challenge of redressing the imbalances of the past including poverty and inequality, the South African government has recently implemented the National Development Plan (NDP). Basically, the NDP aims to end poverty and inequality by 2030. It is believed that this plan could successfully yield positives results if inclusive economy, building capabilities, enhancing the capacity of the state, and promoting leadership and partnerships are enhanced throughout society (National Planning Commission, 2012).Central to the NDP is that the economy must grow faster in ways that benefit all South Africans. Critics, however, caution that due to lack of political will, lack of skills and rampant corruption NDP goals will not be achieved.

1.2.4 The Context of KwaZulu-Natal

In accordance with the National Planning Commission, the KwaZulu-Natal Planning Commission has introduced Provincial Growth and Development Strategies (PGDS) in an effort to strengthen its fight against poverty and inequality. While previously regarded as a region ravaged by high levels of conflict and political violence, the Province is now perceived as having won the struggle for peace, a place of opportunity (KZN Provincial Planning Commission, 2011:14). But nevertheless, the difficult challenge facing KZN is to devise people-centred strategies to ensure growth and development that advances a sustainable transformative agenda while also curbing historically derived social and spatial disparities. In KwaZulu-Natal, there is a need of 'doing development' differently to infuse social elements into the notion of growth and development in the Province (KZN Provincial Planning Commission,

2011). Hence, in February 2011 the KZN Cabinet collectively adopted the Provincial Growth and Development Strategies (PGDS) Review Framework at a Cabinet Lekgotla.

1.3 Rationale for the Study

The study is motivated by the impact of increased migration from rural to urban areas. This has long had bad consequences for much of rural communities in South Africa. Bad consequences include ill-conceived economic participation, and the loss of a large proportion of economically active population. Economically active population tends to leave for better jobs in Gauteng and Durban. As such, rural areas have gradually become reservoirs of labour, or retirement sanctuaries for retired and infirmed labour. A study that will provide a detailed analysis of how good or bad has migration affected rural communities is desperately needed.

1.4 Research Objectives

In trying to understand the impact of rural out-migration, the study has formulated the following research objectives:

- o To understand the driving forces behind rural- urban migration in eMabhuqwini local area.
- o To describe the differential characteristics of migrants.
- o To critically investigate the impact of rural urban migration in eNkandla.
- o To investigate planning strategies and mechanisms to bring basic and social services and investment to the community.

1.5 Research Questions

The study has a key research question as well as specific research questions.

To begin with, the key research question is as follows:

What is the impact of migration on rural development, especially eMabhuqwini, in eNkandla?

The study also has other specific research questions which it seeks to answer. These include:

- What is the current state of development in eMabhuqwini and how has this changed over the past 16 years?
- What accounts for this change?
- How significant is the role of urban migration?
- What are the push/pull factors causing rural- urban migration from eMabhuqwini?
- What is the demography of people who are migrating to urban areas (e.g. Age, Gender, education, Income etc) and which major centers are people migrating to?
- What impact does rural-urban migration have on household sizes and structure in eMabhuqwini?
- To what extent and in what ways has political influence in eMabhuqwini affected development, in the light of migration?
- What planning interventions could improve the development situation in eMabhuqwini?

1.6 Glossary of Terms

Migration: Although it is widely described as a controversial and frequently-debated activity, Kok (1999) defines migration as the movement of people over some distance (or at least from one "migration-defining" area to another) and from one "usual place of residence" to another. This thus implies that migration must involve a change of residence and a move across distance (Kok, 1999:1). From this point of view, it is accepted that migration has two important dimensions: "distance" and "time" (Kok, 1999:1). Even though there is no universally accepted definition of migration, this study is going to use this definition. This is precisely so because people tend to move from Nkandla to major cities including Durban, Johannesburg, and Cape Town.

Push factors: Kainth (2009) defines push factors as those that compel a person, due to different reasons, to leave that place and go to some other place. In Nkandla, the residents tend to leave the area because it is mainly underdeveloped. They, then, go to major cities in search of jobs. According to Kainth (2009), the reasons include among others: low productivity, unemployment, underdevelopment, poverty and lack of

opportunities for advancement. The non-availability of alternative sources of income (non-agricultural activities) is also an important factor for migration.

Pull factors: according to Kainth (2009), refer to those factors which attract migrants to an area, such as, better employment, higher wages, facilities, better working conditions. Occasionally, Kainth (2009) further adds, people are attracted to bigger cities because of better cultural and entertainment activities. In this study, understanding pull factors is critically important especially in terms of knowing the difference between Nkandla and the major cities.

Brain drain: according to Grubel (1994), is a phenomenon of abandonment of a country in favour of another by professionals or people with a high level of education, generally following an offer of better pay or living conditions. This is an extremely important hindrance to development in Nkandla because skilled population tend to leave the area in search of greener pastures. Mostly, brain drain occurs when an individual seeks to pursue improved conditions for conducting one's professional activities. Because of its fluidity nature, the phenomenon has taken on different connotations over time (Aspen Institute Italia, 2012:4).

Human capital: is seen to be closely linked to brain drain, although human capital is defined as a loss of the country's highly skilled personnel. According to (Westphalen, 1999:10) human capital can be defined strictly within an economic context, i.e. as a production factor, or it can have a more universal meaning. Further, human capital is defined as "the knowledge, skills, competencies and other attributes embodied in individuals or groups of individuals acquired during their life and used to produce goods, services or ideas in market circumstances (OECD, 1998). The lack of human capital is also currently considered as one of the hindrances to development in Nkandla especially eMabhuqwini area. It is difficult to retain highly skilled personnel in the area because of lack of resources.

Developing country: According to Aronson (2006), a standard definition of a developing country is "a country with a relatively low standard of living, undeveloped industrial base, and moderate to low Human Development Index (HDI). The term has

tended to edge out earlier ones, including the Cold War-defined "Third World". Development countries are mostly hit by the migration. Migration is still high in South Africa because the country is still considered as a developing country.

Consequently, *development* entails a modern infrastructure (both physical and institutional), and a move away from low value added sectors such as agriculture and natural resource extraction (Aronson, 2006:2). Developed countries usually have economic systems based on continuous, self-sustaining economic growth and high standards of living (Aronson, 2006:2). Development in Nkandla, as will be argued later, is not sustainable because the municipality is struggling to retain highly skilled personnel. Secondly, as most people are migrating to the major cities, the area is being neglected.

1.7 Design and Methodology

An overview of the design and methodology is given here while chapter three of the study seeks to provide further details on the research design and methodology employed. The study employs a mixed method, that is, it employs a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches. On the one hand, qualitative approach is interpretive in nature. Further, a qualitative study allows for a flexible and in-depth study of the phenomenon of migration. On the other hand, a quantitative approach is concerned with numeric and quantifiable data such as demographical information. Methodology employed in the study is that of a case study. The synthesis of these methods will help enhance the credibility of the data gathered.

1.8 Delimiting the Study

The methods used; in particular, case study is subject to limits and boundaries. It is thus imperative to categorically state these boundaries in advance. The advantage of delimiting the study is that it actually helps in identifying what the study is and what it is not. Hence, the study acknowledges that there could be a wide range of other cases that could have been studied. Its focus is, however, on eMabhuqwini in Nkandla.

1.9 Structure of Dissertation

Chapter One

This chapter has introduced the research topic and has given the background to the research problem. It has also broadly introduced the key terms that have been used in this study. The research questions and objectives are also enumerated and explained.

Chapter Two

This chapter explores a variety of literature on the issue of rural-urban migration in South Africa in general and in KwaZulu-Natal in particular. While a preponderance of the literature on rural-urban migration is reviewed locally, the other bodies of literature on rural-urban migration are reviewed internationally in order to provide a balanced view. This chapter outlines different theories of migration that are used in understanding migration dynamics in the context of developing economies.

Chapter Three

Chapter Three looks at the historical background of the eMabhuqwini area, socio-economic circumstances, demographic and physical characteristics of the area. Furthermore, it gives a description of the research methodology and methods, sampling criteria, sample size and other items employed, that have been used to collect data for the research.

Chapter Four

Research Results are presented in this chapter to explain the reasons for migration and its impact on the development of the eMabhuqwini area. Various issues that came up during data collection were taken care of in this analysis chapter. Results are analysed using the SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) and are presented in graphic form, as tables as well as in written form.

Chapter Five

This chapter seeks to synthesise the research findings presented in Chapter Four and to provide a summary, discussion and conclusions based on the research findings. This chapter also attempts to make recommendations regarding the minimisation of migration.

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

2.1 Introduction

Whilst the previous chapter has focused solely on introducing the study, this chapter is going to argue that development has mostly reached an impasse in most developing regions due to rapidly growing migration. In other words, migration has complicated development processes. It is thus within this context that this chapter will examine the general trends in migration. This chapter further views migration within the global context. In doing so, the chapter exposes different forms of migration that are typically discernible in the literature. It also provides a wide range of possible causes of migration. This chapter further critically engages with broader issues and effects of migration. Rapid rise in migration patterns has inadvertently generated a lot of responses. As such, the responses to migration will come under scrutiny in this chapter. Furthermore, this chapter also introduces conceptual and theoretical underpinnings that inform the undertaking of the study. Put simply, this chapter encapsulates and organises broader debates and issues regarding the phenomenon of migration.

2.2 Defining Migration

Though much of the literature acknowledges that migration is a highly controversial and hugely contested terrain, there is currently no single universally accepted definition of migration (Kok et al, 2003). The term migration, according to Kainth (2009) is so broad that it lends itself to different interpretations and connotations which are due to the differences in nature, scope and purpose of discussion. On the one hand, Kainth (2009) notes that sociologists emphasise that there are social and cultural consequences of migration. On the other hand, Kainth (2009) further notes that geographers have laid stress on the time and distance while economists give importance to the economic aspect of migration. In light of these inconsistencies, it is thus difficult to ascertain what triggers off migration. As a consequence, in defining migration there are main components which ought to be discernible. In essence, migration can be defined as "a process of moving, either across an international

border, or within a State" (International Federation of Red Cross (IFRC) and Red Crescent Societies (RCS), 2012:2). According to Human Migration Guide (2005), migration is typically the movement of people from one place in the world to another for the purpose of taking up permanent or semi-permanent residence, usually across a political boundary. Further, Skeldon (1990) regards migration as the spatial movement of people at various times of their lives for various reasons.

2.3 Migration in a Global Context

Even though the phenomenon of migration might appear to be dubious and outlandish, migration is not a completely new phenomenon. In reality, migration has been a part of human history since the beginning (IFRC and RCS, 2012). A remarkable rise of migrations in the global context is consistent with the recognition of the right to move. According to International Migration Report (2002), the right to move was recognised globally over a half century ago with the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In this context, the Declaration states in Article 13 that "Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state" (International Migration Report, 2002:1).

Historically, a consideration of global migration provides insight not only into the global reaches of an expanding industrial economy but into how an integrative economy grew concurrently with political and cultural forces that favoured fragmentation into nations, races, and perceptions of distinct cultural regions (McEvedy and Jones, 1978:159). Excessive growth rates in migration trends that have been witnessed around the world have presented new challenges for receiving countries. According to McEvedy and Jones (1978), there had been increasing population growth in continents including America, Europe, North Asia, and South East Asia. To be much more precise, their populations had been increasing by a factor of 4 to 5.5 from 1850 to 1950. It is further noted that growth rates in these areas were over twice that for the world population as a whole, and about 60 per cent greater than in Africa, a region of small net immigration (McEvedy and Jones, 1978).

By contrast, growth rates in the sending regions were lower than world population growth, and less than half of those in the receiving regions. Taken together, the three

main destination regions accounted for 10 per cent of the world's population in 1850 and 24 per cent in 1950 (McEvedy and Jones, 1978). Southeast Asia grew more slowly than the other two destinations, but that growth took place within a much more restricted area with a much more entrenched native population. From 1870 to 1930, approximately 35 million migrants moved into the 4.08 million square kilometres of Southeast Asia, compared to the 39 million migrants that moved into the 9.8 million square kilometres of the United States.

Furthermore, emigration rates tend to be uneven within particular regions, with some villages or countries sending numerous migrants while others send hardly any at all. According to (Mckeown, 2004), 19 million overseas emigrants from China or 29 million from India seems like a drop in the ocean compared to the several millions from much smaller countries like Italy, Ireland and England. Massive internal migration also took place within the major long-distance sending regions. In Europe, migrants from Ireland travelled to England for work, and from eastern and southern Europe to industrial areas in northern Europe, especially France and Germany (Mckeown, 2004). In Russia, migrants moved into the growing cities and southern agricultural areas. Within India, they moved to tea plantations in the south and northeast, to the mines and textile-producing regions of Bengal, and to newly irrigated lands and urban areas of the Yangtze basin left under-populated by the Taipeng rebellion, and to borderland areas of the northwest and southwest, including overland migration to Burma (Mckeown, 2004:161).

Africa experienced net trans-oceanic immigration, but in much smaller numbers than other main destinations and from a wider variety of origins. Labour migration to plantations and mines in southern and central Africa increased throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as did movement to agricultural areas and coastal cities in western and eastern Africa. Millions of people took part in these movements, some of whom were coerced and many of whom went to work for European enterprises, but many of whom also found independent occupations (Mckeown, 2004: 162).

Against this background, Mckeown (2004:163) further notes that: there was an area of massive migration caused by war and politics, a harbinger of the kinds of migration that would become increasingly prominent during the twentieth century. The dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and wars with Russia led to an exchange of 4 to 6 million people, with Muslims moving in the other direction. The massive movement of refugees would extend to other parts of Europe in the wake of World War 1 and the Russian revolution, including the movement of 3 million Russians, Poles, and Germans out of the Soviet Union. In addition to the migration of settlers and workers, some of the traditional merchant Diasporas continued to flourish. For centuries before the 1800s, these ethnic networks had been some of the most prominent examples of long-distance migration (Mckeown, 2004:163).

Mckeown (2004:166/7) also states that migration rates increased dramatically around the world in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. After the depression of the early 1870s, transatlantic migration boomed and clearly surpassed Asian migration for the first time in the late 1870s, although migration to Southeast Asia soon picked up in the 1880s. Migration to North Asia followed suit in the 1890s. Developments in transportation technology such as steamships and railways in all of these areas facilitated the increase in migration. In turn, migration facilitated more industrial expansion, which encouraged more migration. As migration grew, larger numbers of migrants to the Americas migrated to take up industrial occupations in industrial towns rather than frontier homesteading, a pattern that would be followed in North Asia at about a fifteen-to twenty-year delay.

2.4 Migration Trends in Developing Countries

Although it is fairly complex to provide genuine reasons regarding migration among developing countries, the truth nevertheless remains that migration has found its niche among developing countries. Kainth (2009) regards the economic factors as the source of migration. Since the 1990s, there has been a gradual upturn of in migration flows especially among developing countries (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 2001:17). These migration flows are attributed mostly to political instability that is characterised by regional conflicts (OECD, 2001).

To this end, a number of refugees and asylum seekers have increased exponentially among European countries. Accordingly, migrations are also attributed to economic reasons. In this regard, immigration for employment reasons has increased sharply in 1999-2000 in response to economic trends in member countries and the resulting labour shortages in certain sectors.

But nevertheless, the literature notes that illegal migration is the most disturbing phenomenon because its volume is not quantifiable. Yet, persistence of illegal migration indicates clearly that there are difficulties that host and origin countries are encountering in controlling migration flows (OECD, 2001:17). In most developing countries, the trend is that people often migrate from rural to urban areas particularly to big cities in an attempt to find better social services. According to Mazibuko (2006), access to social services and labour opportunities in rural areas are still considerably low and worse off than in urban areas in developing countries. As a result, millions of young people have become part of the urban population. The transference thus implies a reduction of one third of the rural population of that age group (Mazibuko, 2006:31).

Even though the trend signifies the abandonment of rural areas in response to poor living conditions in many countries, the pattern of migration in other countries has not shifted. For instance, migration pattern in India and many parts of Latin America has not always been rural-urban migration (OECD, 2001). Instead, there are other factors that push people away from major cities (Mazibuko, 2006).

2.4.1 Latin America

In Latin America, the most urbanized sector in the developing regions, the migration pattern is different when compared to that of other developing nations. Migration there is less concentrated in large cities, usually the capital, but the growth rate is more remarkable in medium size cities, because of on-going political and social changes affecting urban management and development. It has been argued that many people in Latin America have engaged in internal migration more than once. One of the highlighted reasons that caused people to migrate was driven by the natural population growth and unavailability of land (Mazibuko, 2006:32).

Following the economic crises of the 1980s, economic activity has accelerated, but much of it is in the informal sector. Individuals face increasing job insecurity, lower wages, and a reduction in essential social services, and investment in public works has decreased. Environmental degradation around many of the region's cities is increasing; low-income shanty towns proliferate in the affected areas. Urban road and transport systems do not meet local needs. Latin America is the only developing region with more poor people in cities than in rural areas, although as elsewhere poverty is more prevalent in the countryside (Mazibuko, 2006:32). According to (Marcela et al, 2003), migration in Latin America is currently dominant as a form of spatial movement. He argues that the internal migration flows have diversified throughout the region in terms of places of origin and destination, as well as socio-demographic characteristics of the internal migrants.

Latin America is known as a region with a higher migration level by 76 per cent (estimated in 2001) when compared with other developing nations such as South Africa and Asia. The rapid growth of urbanization and the growth of a group of cities concentrating significant proportions of the urban population took place between 1930 and 1970 related to the industrialization process, and the introduction of capitalist modes of production in small towns. This shifted the movement from large cities to small towns. The flow of migration in Latin America is currently dominated by urban to urban, from big cities to small towns, which is the opposite of rural-urban migration mostly experienced in other developing countries (Mazibuko, 2006:33).

2.4.2 Asia

Asia is the opposite of Latin America in terms of levels of urbanization, because Asia is well below the world average, with only 38 per cent of the region's population classified as urban in 2001. This was approximately the same level as Africa, and well below the 76 per cent estimated for Latin America and the Caribbean. The Asian region remains an exception among Latin American and African nations in the developing world, in that only in Asia have there been consistent increases in levels of urbanization over the period from the 1960s through to the 1990s (Guest, 2003 cited in Mazibuko, 2006:33).

Levels and patterns of internal migration are varying among countries as a consequence of the variations in economic growth, political structures, cultural heritage and demographic parameters (Pejaranonda and Guest, 2003). The Asian region has been increasingly witnessing movement from rural to urban areas, involving a high proportion of temporary migrants, and including a significant and growing proportion of females. Each of these characteristics is a direct outcome of models of development that have been followed by many of the countries in that continent (Pejaranonda and Guest, 2003).

Urban to rural migration still dominates migration flows in most Asian countries because of the high proportion of the population living in rural areas. In Thailand, as in other countries in the region, the amount of migration has been decreasing, while the proportion of rural to urban migration has been increasing (Pejaranonda and Guest, 2003). In Asia, as in other developing countries, migration is an activity undertaken primarily by economically active individuals. The tendency is greater for females than for males, and is most evident in rural to urban migration streams. The majority of female migrants are young and unmarried, usually living away from their families. The concentration of young adult females in urban areas is particularly pronounced in the 'mega cities' of East and Southeast Asia (Guest, 1994).This reflects the demand for young female labour in urban areas, particularly in the service sector. (Mazibuko, 2006:34).

The increase in female migration in parts of the Asian region has been associated with expanded employment opportunities in industrial and service sector occupations (Lim, 1993; Guest, 2003). The movement has allowed households a greater flexibility in the way in which they allocate their resources. Women are also provided with access to jobs and a certain amount of freedom that they might otherwise not have enjoyed. On the other hand, the jobs generally made available, especially in service occupations, require few skills, have restricted opportunities for mobility, and often have dangerous consequences for the health of migrants (Mazibuko, 2006:34).A major factor in the rise in female migration has been the transformation of the labour force structure of East and Southeast Asian countries that has resulted from government

policies that have promoted export-led developments in the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP, 2002).

These policies have centred on the establishment of free-trade zones, encouragement of foreign investment, investment in human resource development and considerable efforts devoted to maintaining a labour environment free of industrial activity. It has been noted that many of these economic policies are conducive to high levels of female labour force participation. In several Southeast Asian countries, over 80 per cent of the labour force of firms established in free-trade zones is female oriented (Jones, 1993; and Guest, 2003 cited in Mazibuko, 2006).

Another feature of internal migration movement in the region is the large proportion of temporary moves. In Thailand, temporary moves include both seasonal movement and other forms of short-term moves. They are particularly prevalent in terms of movement to large cities (ESCAP, 2002). All studies reviewed indicate that in Asia, temporary migrants, compared to more permanent migrants, are more likely to be older, male, have lower levels of education, married (but who leave their families behind in the area of origin), living in poor conditions and remitting more of their income (Mazibuko, 2006). The main purpose of migration is to earn cash in order to support their rural- based households.

In Asia, rates of urban growth appear to be on the decline. Especially in East and Southeast Asia, there has been a slowdown in the rates of growth of the largest cities. However, these trends may be more apparent than real, with the expansion of the influence of large cities into their peripheries, accompanied by a change in migration patterns where areas adjacent to large cities increasingly become the main destination of migrants (Jones, 2002 cited in Mazibuko, 2006).

The large contribution of migration to urban growth in East and Southeast Asia during the 1970s and 1980s can be attributed to the economic dynamism of the region (Rondinelli, 1991). Most of this migration is centred on the region's cities that have increased the attractiveness of city life to rural dwellers (Rondinelli, 1991). The contribution of migration-reclassification to urban growth is generally lower in South

and West Asian countries compared to Southeast and East Asian countries, although trends for individual countries vary considerably.

It has been noted that rural-urban differentials in poverty stricken areas stimulate migration. For all countries in the region, levels of absolute poverty are estimated to be much higher in rural areas than they are in urban areas. The percentage in terms of absolute poverty is between 2.5 and 3 times higher in rural areas than in urban areas (Chambers, 1974). A further factor increasing rural-urban migration has been the expansion of educational opportunities in rural areas. Migration rates generally increase with levels of education. The increased levels of education of the rural population have typically occurred without the expansion of non-agricultural employment opportunities. This has led to increased movement of the young from rural areas in search of employment. The concentration of migrants, especially rural-urban migrants, at a young adult age is a universal feature of migration in Asia (Mazibuko, 2006).

In Asia, large rural populations have been supplying increasing proportions of their population to relatively small urban populations. This contributed to increased rural out-migration rates and to an increase in urban in-migration rates. The relatively small decreases in rates of urban growth in Asian countries were a result of reductions in urban rates of natural increase (Mazibuko, 2006:37).

The arguments for giving priority to rural development even in the countries of Eastern Africa, as in most of the less developed world, are widely accepted. Firstly, it is argued that the majority of people lives and find their livelihoods in the rural areas (Chambers, 1974:12). Secondly, it is also argued that the drift to the town is a matter of concern. From this point of view, it is argued that the high costs of urban housing and services, the health hazards of shanty towns, the security and political concerns of a large body of urban unemployed and adverse economic effects of rural depopulation are the reasons given for wishing to restrain urban growth (Chambers, 1974:12). Thirdly, it is in rural areas where most of the poorer and most disadvantaged people are to be found. Increasing attention has been directed to the very poor and

malnourished people who live almost visibly in pockets of poverty in the rural areas (Chambers, 1974:12).

A major means perhaps of government intervention is to promote rural development and welfare (Chambers, 1974:14). However, this can be achieved through government administration-especially in fields such as education, health, communications, water supplies, co-operatives and marketing, credit, agricultural research and extension, family planning, nutrition, and various forms of production infrastructure (Chambers, R 1974:14).

2.5 Rural-Urban Migrations in Contemporary South Africa

Historically, migration in the region known as South Africa starts long before the arrival of the first white settlers under the leadership of Jan van Riebeck in 1652. In fact, the movement of black Africans in the region occurred before and after the arrival of white settlers. According to Peberdy (2009:3), many of the ethnic groups in South Africa have links with others in the region and not just because of the imposition of colonial national borders. But nevertheless, the wars had pushed most of the people northwards. Peberdy (2009) further notes that Indian and Chinese migration to the country (mostly through indentured labour schemes) started in the late 1800s.Indians, in particular, first came to Natal as part of a triangular pact between the government of Natal, India, and Great Britain (Govender, 1983:1). In this regard, Great Britain played a major control role owing to its control over governments in Natal and India in the period in question. According (Govender, 1983:1), the majority of Indian South Africans are descendants of Indian indentured workers which were brought to Natal between 1860 and 1911 to develop the country's sugar belt.

In 1910, there was a formation of Union of South Africa which was mostly accompanied by the development of racially exclusionary immigration legislation. In particular, Immigrants Regulation Act of 1913 only allowed white immigration and migration (Peberdy, 2009). According to these restrictions, Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland could only move freely into South Africa due to proximity. However, upon arrival in South Africa, they were subject to segregationist and apartheid restrictions

on movement and settlement once they were inside the country (Peberdy, 2009:3). From the 1920s until at least the mid-1960s undocumented migration (or clandestine) was allowed under certain circumstances (Peberdy, 2009).

Furthermore, the proportion of the total population in South Africa's urban areas increased from 43 per cent in the 1960s to 53 per cent in the 1990s. This high rate of urbanization is partially due to massive rural-urban migration since the abolition of influx control in South Africa in 1985 (Eckert and van Rooyen 1994). "The annual average rural–urban migration increased from 15,381 for the period 1962-1985 to 230,062 for the period 1986-2002, which is almost 15 times higher than for the previous period" (Asfaha & Jooste, 2006:8).

Approximately, 65 percent of the poor reside in the rural areas (Machethe, 2004). Van der Berg et al (2002:2) argue that "rural poverty is strongly linked to the nature of rural-urban interactions". Rural poverty and better economic opportunities in urban areas, therefore, appear to have been some of the catalysts for the increasing rate of rural-urban migration in South Africa" (Asfaha & Jooste 2006:8).

2.6 Types of Migration

Providing different types of migration from a global and local context is extremely essential as it helps in identifying types that are most dominant in certain regions around the world. However, providing different types of migration is yet another cumbersome task given the fact that migration is a frequently elusive and controversial phenomenon. Human Migration Guide (2005:1) sums up the six key different types of migration as follows:

> Internal migration: moving to a new home within a state, country, or continent. External migration: moving to a new home in a different state, country, or continent. Emigration: leaving one country to move to another (e.g., the Pilgrims emigrated from England). Immigration: moving into a new country (e.g., the Pilgrims immigrated to America). Return migration: when groups of people move back to where they came from. Seasonal migration: when people move with each season (e.g., farm workers following crop harvests or working in cities off-season).

Having illustrated the different types of migration, it is essential to point out that the form and direction that migration takes vary from country to country. More importantly, migration patterns are largely driven by certain factors. These include among others: 'push' and 'pull' factors, respectively.

2.7 Causes of Migration

Contemporary literature confirms that the causes of migration are theoretically complex, multilevel in nature, difficult to determine, and not easily generalisable. A number of studies have been undertaken on this topic in different parts of the world, but because of the inherent intricacy of the required research, the theory needed for determining the causes of migration has only come of age during the last two decades or so, following the important contributions of De Jong and Gardner (1981), Massey et al (1993, 1994) De Jong (2000) and Van Dalen (2005). Migration generally seems to be at the expense of rural communities in the sense that globally traditional societies are pushed to urban areas owing to poor conditions in rural areas including bad harvests and declining living standards (Groote and Tassenaar, 2000:466).

As it is indicated early on above, the rationale behind migration can be viewed within the context of push and pull factors. While push factors are built on the premise that low productivity and the rise of unemployment would encourage people to leave one place to another, pull factors accentuates the importance of better opportunities for employment and living conditions. In this context, Kainth (2009:84-7) has summarised some of the root causes of migration as follows: economic factors, demographic factors, socio-cultural factors, political factors, and miscellaneous factors, respectively.

2.7.1 Economic Factors

Firstly, Kainth (2009) identified the economic factors as the most dominant causes of migration. In large number of developing countries, low agricultural income, agricultural unemployment and underemployment are considered basic factors pushing the migrants towards the prosperous or dynamic areas with greater job opportunities (Kainth, 2009:84). Coincidentally, almost all the studies conducted

concur that most of the migrants (excluding forced and sequential) have moved in search of better economic opportunities. This is largely an accepted view both on the international and local contexts.

2.7.2 Demographic Factors

Secondly, Kainth (2009) also identifies demographic factors as one of the factors that attract people to migrate. In this regard, the differences in the rates of population increase between the different regions of a nation have been found to be determinant in the internal migration. The point here is that fertility and the natural increase in population is higher in rural areas which drift the rural populations towards the cities.

2.7.3 Socio-cultural Factors

Thirdly, Kainth (2009) has also identified socio-cultural factors as dominant in luring people to go to the cities. In terms of socio-cultural factors, family conflicts, the quest for independence especially in the younger generation, improved communication facilities including transportation, access to the television, cinema, urban-oriented education, and resultant change in attitudes and values also give rise to migration.

2.7.4 Political Factors

Fourthly, Kainth (2009) further identifies political factors as playing an important role in migration. These factors as Kainth (2009) argues could either encourage or discourage migration from one region to another. In India, for example, the reservation of the jobs for 'sons of the soil policy' by the state government would systematically discourage the migration from other states.

2.7.5 Miscellaneous Factors

Finally, Kainth (2009) also identifies the miscellaneous factors as playing a pivotal role in migration patterns. To this end, the presence of relatives and friends in urban areas who mostly provide help, desire to receive education which is only available in urban are factors responsible for migration. In this context, it is assumed that migration is influenced by factors such as the closeness of cultural contracts and cultural diversity.

Against this background, other branches of literature points to hunger and famine as other important factors responsible for migration. From this perspective, Groote and Tassenaar (2000:466) argue that it is often implicitly assumed in historical studies that hunger played a major role in triggering waves of migration. The example of this is that of Ireland, where the population figure plunged after the famine from 8.2 million in 1841 to 5.8 million in 1861, mostly due to emigration. Until recently, the relationship between hunger and out-migration was often thought to have been most direct in rural-traditional areas, where the socio- economic system was always in a delicate balance with available resources. The people involved would not be able to apply modern economic mechanisms to overcome periods of increased stress.

Alternatively, other literature argues that decision-making process has direct implications for migration patterns. The point of departure for this literature is that migration is seen as a decision-making process in which the future attainment of valued goals in the home community (the "stay" decision) is evaluated against the attainment of those goals in alternative locations (the "move" decision) (Van Dalen et al, 2005:743). De Jong (2000) uses the case of Thailand to illustrate that expectations about a variety of aspects of the destination (standard of living, comfort and social support network) and family norms about migration were major predictors of people's intentions to move, particularly in the case of women.

Finally, the other branch of literature states that there are underlying reasons that makes people to migrate. These reasons tend to be based on origin factors, destination factors, intervening obstacles and personal factors. These factors are going to be expanded here.

2.8 The Causes of Migration in South Africa

At the national level, some work has been done by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) with a view to determining the causes and consequences of migration in South Africa. Kok (2004b) describes a 2001–02 national sample survey that, together with the important census data, provides evidence that almost one-quarter (24%) of the 3618 respondents in the survey were planning to migrate (permanently) during the next five years, while an additional four per cent indicated that they intended to move temporarily. However, not all these intended moves result

in actual migration, with unanticipated external obstacles or even personality constraints (e.g. low levels of risk-taking ability and efficacy) preventing many of these planned moves (Census, 2006).

The motives for planned 'permanent' moves recorded in the survey are analysed by Kok and Aliber (2005) in respect of moves from the Eastern Cape, Northern Cape and Limpopo to the nine major cities in South Africa, while Cross et al (2005) analyse the motives for intentions to migrate to Gauteng. Both these sets of analyses use place-related expectations, weighted by the values attached to the underlying goals, as the primary determinants of migration intentions (Census, 2006).

These studies show that people intend to migrate ('permanently'): when their expectations for the current area become lower than those in respect of an alternative place of residence. The intentions are often influenced by the information received about the alternative place of abode from relatives and friends living there. It, however, remains to be seen whether they have reason to believe that these networks at the destination will provide assistance and support during and after the move. Although most people do not necessarily prefer to move to the metropolitan cities, they frequently end up there because of the factors described above (Census, 2006).

High poverty levels in the (local government) area where people reside are an inhibiting factor in the decision to move away permanently, indicating that a significant proportion of people in very poor areas may be trapped there. Because of an inability to get the money to leave, people with a higher score on the scale for risk-taking ability are more likely to plan a migratory move than their more risk-averse counterparts. On the contrary, younger and unmarried adults (especially in the age category 18–29 years) will be more inclined to migrate than their older and married counterparts. As a result, persons who have migrated before are more likely to consider migrating again. Other factors associated with an intention to migrate are: a higher level of educational achievement, being a black African person, and not currently living in a metropolitan city (Census, 2006).

2.9 The Consequences of Migration

As far as the consequences of migration are concerned, the issues involved may perhaps be less complex to determine than the causes of migration. Yet they are also frequently misunderstood. Research into migration consequences should aim to contribute to the debate by studying the following four perspectives as suggested by, amongst others, the Population Information Program (1983) and the Census (2006):

(a) The migrants and non-migrants themselves;

(b) The areas of origin, covering issues such as 'brain drain' (Crush, 2000; Ushkalav & Malakha, 2001; and Brown, Kaplan & Meyer, 2001).

(c) The areas of destination, not only in terms of economic effects and the impact on infrastructure and service delivery (see, for example, CDE 1997), but also taking cognisance of issues around citizenship, xenophobic sentiments and related discriminatory actions (Reitzes, 1995 and Mattes et al 2000) and more indirect effects, such as the impact of migration on education (Potgieter & Bredenkamp, 2002);

(d) The subcontinental/national perspective (e.g. for the entire Southern African region and the individual countries concerned), including the implications of the 'brain gain/circulation' in the region (Census, 2006 and Mattes, Crush, and Richmond, 2000).

In the subsections below, these consequences are discussed briefly. In particular, the context of migration from the rural province of Eastern Cape to the South African Cities Network's nine major cities (Buffalo City, Cape Town, Ekurhuleni, eThekwini, Johannesburg, Mangaung, Msunduzi, Nelson Mandela Bay and Tshwane). The Eastern Cape (EC) is illustrated as a case study in an attempt to highlight the consequences of migration. This is because EC has witnessed higher numbers of migration. It is the lowest served Province of South Africa. Finally, it is a place where migrations are from remote or rural areas to the major urban/metropolitan centres in the country.

2.9.1 The Consequences for the Area of Origin

Kok and Aliber (2005) show the dramatic effects of migration from the Eastern Cape to Cape Town among younger adults (especially those aged from about 15 to 34 years of age) and their children. On average more than 20 000 persons in the age group 20–

24 years were part of this particular migration stream in each of the two five-year periods, as compared to the fewer than about 5 000 moving to the other cities over the same two periods. It may be necessary to state the obvious though: provinces losing migrants might have been worse off if these people had been prevented from moving away. Many of these young people migrate in search of better employment, education and life-style opportunities in the cities. Preventing them from moving would create higher levels of dissatisfaction and therefore an even greater desire to move. South Africa's sad experience with influx control should serve to illustrate the point (Census, 2006).

Collinson et al (2005a) showed a strong correlation between temporary circular migration and socioeconomic status as measured by the households' possession of modern assets or consumer durables. This relationship was supported by household head education status data, which correlated positively with both circular migration status and ownership of modern assets. In addition, cash or non-monetary transfers were, on aggregate, a significant income stream for the rural households (Census, 2006).

There is a growing body of literature on the relationship between temporary migration and the HIV/AIDS epidemic (Jochelson et al, 1991; Lurie, 2001; IOM, 2002; IOM & UNAIDS, 2003; IOM & Care International, 2003; IOM & SAMP, 2005). One study of the zero prevalence of HIV in rural KwaZulu-Natal, found that there was a threefold higher risk of HIV infection associated with a recent migration (Abdool Karim et al, 1992). The reason underlying this risk is that migrants are more likely than non-migrants to practise unsafe sex with multiple sexual partners (Lurie et al, 1997). However, recent studies show that the link between migration and HIV transmission may be more complex than first suggested, and that both communities of origin and communities of destination are affected by the high levels of migration (Lurie et al, 1997, Dladla et al, 2001 cited in Census, 2005).

Evidence from the Agincourt Health and Demographic Surveillance System also strongly suggests that "increasing numbers of 'circular' labour migrants of prime working age are becoming ill in the urban areas where they work before coming home

to be cared for and eventually to die in the rural areas where their families live" (Clark et al, 2005 cited in Census, 2005).

2.9.2 The Consequences for the Area of Destination

The opposite probably applies to areas that experience a net gain of these permanent migrants. To a large extent their gain is the loss of the areas shedding migrants. In Cross et al (2005) some of the spatial poverty consequences of migration to Gauteng, South Africa's main migration destination, are discussed. This follows on the report on migration to Gauteng by Oosthuizen, Peberdy et al (2004), which shows that, while Gauteng has been successful in attracting many highly educated persons from other provinces, in-migrants tend to be employed in less skills-intensive sectors notably women migrants in domestic employment (Census 2006).

These migrants, being predominantly young adults in their reproductive years, can be expected to contribute significantly to the natural population increase in these cities. Further, these migrants also add to the receiving cities' pool of young entrepreneurs with the required personality characteristics. Personality characteristics include risk-taking and efficacy aptitudes which are important contributors to economic growth in the destination cities (Census 2006).

2.10 Migration and Inequality between Migrants and Non-Migrants

The issue of the impact of migration on inequality between migrants and non-migrants has received some attention in literature in the field of economics. It has occurred largely in the context of a discussion on the impact that remittances have on income distribution in the sending areas. This is a special case of the more general issue of inequality between migrants and non-migrants. One possibility is that rural-urban migration may worsen intra-urban inequality (Mohtadi, 1986 cited in Gelderblom, 2006:21). This can occur when the rural areas send a bifurcated migrant stream to the urban areas, consisting of a group of landless people who move to the urban informal sector on the one hand and a group of landed people who find work in the urban formal sector on the other. As a result the rural pattern of stratification is recreated in the urban areas, with the former group working in a low wage environment and the latter group in a sector with higher wages.

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Mohtadi (1986, and 1990 cited in Gelderblom, 2006:21) has found some evidence that this is occurring in the case of rural-urban migration in Iran. It is evident that this pattern can only occur under the following circumstances: a) If permanent migration is the norm for both groups (if there are many circular migrants who send remittances to their home villages it will detract from this trend); and b) If levels of rural-urban migration are high enough (and the urban population small enough) so that migration can have a significant impact on the size of the urban population and thus on patterns of urban inequality.

Against this background, patterns of inequality are promoted by poor public services and infrastructure which seriously limit the potential for contributions to local production. According to Taylor et al (1996), most migrant sending communities are rural villages distant from markets. They also lack basic infrastructure such as paved roads, electricity, running water, sewage systems and telephones. Many of these communities are characterized by

> Having poor quality of land, fragmented tenure systems and unequal land distribution. Indeed, it is not realistic to expect that migration will promote development especially where complementary infrastructure, services and ecological conditions are so unfavourable (Taylor et al 1996:408).

Taylor et al (1996) asserts that people migrate because of the lack of meaningful development in the first place. In this regard, Taylor et al (1996) notes that migration is likely to have larger effect where local institutions exist to gather savings by migrant households. These are also made available to local producers where migrants do not have to play simultaneous roles as workers, savers, and producers.

Furthermore, Stark, Taylor and Yitzhaki (1986) argue that migration, like the adoption of a new production technology, initially entails high costs and risks. The costs and risks are likely to be especially high in the case of international migration (Stark et al, 1986). Given this fact, pioneer migrants tend to come from households at the upper middle or top of the sending areas' income distribution. To this end, the income sent home in the form of remittances is therefore likely to widen income inequalities (Taylor et al 1996:408).

Stark, Taylor, and Yitzhaki (1988) found that migrant remittances had an unequalizing effect on the income distribution in a Mexican village that had recently begun to send migrants to the United States. But, remittances had an equalizing effect on another village that had a long history of participating in Mexican to U.S migration (Stark et al, 1988). They, however, noted that lost labor effects tend to dampen the unequalizing effects of remittances in the short run. They further noted that the positive indirect effects of migration on household income in poorer families (achieved by loosening capital and risk constraints on local production) make migration more of an income equalizer in the long run (Taylor et al, 1996:408).

2.11 National Development Plan (NDP), Provincial Growth and Development Strategy (PGDS), and the Presidential Infrastructure Coordinating Commission (PICC)

2.11.1 National Development Plan (NDP)

Even though the South African government has been criticised for the policy choices taken after 1994 including GEAR, the government has continued to introduce national, provincial and local development plans in an attempt to fight the deeply entrenched structural problems. President Jacob Zuma posits that in "South Africa joblessness is still unacceptably high even with recent growth in jobs numbers" (Presidential Infrastructure Coordinating Commission Report, 2012:1). As a result, the global economic prospects remain fragile. In the national government sphere, the National Development Plan (NDP) featured prominently as a strategic framework for improving economic and fighting poverty. Whilst the economy is plagued by many challenges, the NDP aims to ensure that the economy is inclusive of both black and white (NDP, 2011). This will only be realised if the economy is brought to diversified communities particularly among rural areas where there are disadvantaged people (NDP, 2011). Institutional and infrastructural weaknesses have been identified through the NDP. It is thus through infrastructural development that black can secure jobs. The NDP also aims to ensure rapid improvements in the education system. The education system is important in anchoring and producing the skills that are needed in a developing economy such as South Africa. The NDP is regarded as a blueprint that

helps in projecting the path that South Africa has to go to in order to achieve 2030 vision of economic development and eradication of poverty.

In addition, the New Growth Path (NGP) also aims to fast-tract development projects in South Africa. Unlike the NDP which aims to achieve its vision by 2030, the NGP aims to achieve is goals by 2020 (National Development Plan, 2012). Whilst working hand in hand with the NDP, the National Growth Path specifically seeks to achieve a goal of five million new jobs by 2020 (National Development Plan, 2012). To achieve this, the NGP identifies structural problems in the economy and points to opportunities in specific sectors and markets or "jobs drivers". It also believes that the first jobs driver is infrastructure: thus laying the basis for higher growth, inclusivity and job creation.

2.11.2 Presidential Infrastructure Coordinating Commission (PICC)

The PICC was adopted with a view of trying to transform the economy by setting out the challenges and enablers that South Africa needs to respond to in planning and developing enabling infrastructure that fosters economic growth (PICC, 2012). It is predominantly through engaging in infrastructural activities that the government seeks to respond positively in the creation of job opportunities. According to chairperson of the PICC (Mr D. Gumede), the PICC was typically one of the most important structures for infrastructure development in South Africa. The President has thus established the PICC with a view of fast-tracking infrastructure development. The PICC's main burden is to integrate and coordinate infrastructure projects in the country. Indeed, according to this PICC, 18 strategic integrated projects (SIPS) have been developed with a view of fast-tracking infrastructure development in South Africa (National Infrastructure Plan, 2012). All in all, the 18 SIPS consist of five geographically-focused SIPS, three spatial SIPS, three energy SIPS, three social infrastructure SIPS, two knowledge SIPS, One regional integration SIP, and One water and sanitation SIP (National Infrastructure Plan (NIF), 2012). Together, these SIPS make up 18 SIPS. These SIPS actually came into being because even after 18 years of democracy there are still major challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality. Because of these challenges, the PICC attempts to:

coordinate, integrate and accelerate implementation; develop a single common National Infrastructure Plan that will be monitored and centrally driven; identify who is responsible and hold them to account; and develop a 20-year planning framework beyond one administration to avoid a stop-start pattern to the infrastructure roll-out.

In accordance with strong commitment to infrastructure development, government is going to spend R827 billion in building new and upgrading existing infrastructure. This will be done over the next three years. According to Minister of Finance Pravin Gordhan's 2013 Budget Speech,

> These investments will improve access by South Africans to healthcare facilities, schools, water, sanitation, housing and electrification. On the other hand, investment in the construction of ports, roads, railway systems, electricity plants, hospitals, schools and dams will contribute to faster economic growth (National Infrastructure Plan, 2012:3).

2.11.3 KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Growth and Development Strategy (KZNPGDS)

The province of KwaZulu-Natal has once been embroiled in political violence between African National Congress (ANC) and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). This violence, coupled with the apartheid regime, has adversely affected the economic development in the province. Because of these instances, most people in the province have not been able to find decent jobs. It is in this context that the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Growth and Development Strategy have evolved in order to rid the province of the inequality that was created by the previous regime. Using the following map, priority intervention areas where this strategy is expected to play a meaningful role are identified.

2.12 Theoretical Approaches Underpinning Migration

There have been a number of attempts to formulate theories and models to explain migration behaviour and patterns. The most useful of these, for purposes of this dissertation are discussed briefly below, starting with the work of Rhoda (1983),

which focuses on social and economic models and further looks at the different social models which are relevant and incorporated into a general social theory of migration. Also for the purpose of this study, it is useful to discuss each relevant economic model separately. Consequently this dissertation will look at the work of Todaro and the Dependency theorists' response, moving to distinguish between macro and micro models, before identifying Network theory and Livelihood Strategies as bodies of literature which help to explain contemporary migration patterns in South Africa and Emabhuqwini in particular.

2.12.1 A General Social Theory of Migration

The conceptual theory of migration presented by Lee (1966) is sufficiently general to incorporate other social models relevant to our central hypothesis. The framework focuses on migration decision-making and presents four general factors which influence migration decisions: origin factors, destination factors, intervening obstacles and personal factors (Rhoda, 1983:36).

Origin Factors

In every area there are some factors which tend to hold people in the area while other factors tend to repel them. Such factors may be thought of as "pull" and "push" forces. Rural development interventions are designed to increase production and improve the quality of life in rural areas. Such activities, therefore should increase the attractiveness of rural areas and consequently reduce the propensity for out-migration. This relatively obvious impact is probably the basis for the common belief that rural development reduces rural- urban migration.

Destination Factors

Urban destination factors, such as better employment opportunities, better municipal services, better education systems, availability of sophisticated technology gadgets, better health care facilities are very important to rural-urban migration. However, this study makes the implicit assumption that these factors are essentially constant so that it can focus on migration impacts of interventions in rural areas.

Intervening Obstacles

A simple summation of the push and pull factors at origin and potential destination does not in itself dictate migration decisions. Consideration must also be given to ever present natural inertia and obstacles to movement between origins and potential destinations (Rhoda, 1983:37). Rhoda (1983:37) further notes that "distance is the most obvious obstacle, and countless studies reveal the negative relationship between distance and migration". The physical distance and socio-cultural distance are also important. Physical distance is related to the time and cost of travelling to the urban area (Rhoda, 1983:37). Further, socio-cultural distance includes difference between origins and destinations with respect to language, degree of modernity, religion, values and social behavior (Rhoda, 1983:37. Lack of information concerning opportunities and characteristics of potential destinations is related to socio-cultural distance. In some cases, physical barriers and enforced migration restrictions act as intervening obstacles to migration (Rhoda, 1983:37).

In general, rural development interventions tend to reduce intervening obstacles to rural-urban migration. Physical distance is reduced by road and highway improvements, building of bridges and improvements in transportation services. Interventions which increase rural incomes enable people to overcome financial obstacles associated with rural-urban migration. Perhaps more important than the reduction in physical distance is the impact that development has on socio-cultural distance. The most obvious example is the development of formal education in rural areas. Education enables rural youths to acquire literacy in Western language and other skills, as well as urban attitudes and aspirations. Thus formal education greatly reduces socio-cultural distance, and therefore, results in considerable rural-urban migration (Rhoda, 1983:37-8).

Personal Factors

According to Rhoda (1983), personal factors and characteristics are an important consideration in relation to rural-urban migration. Perceptions of origin and destination factors and of intervening obstacles are crucial to migration decisions. While most theories implicitly assume that migration decisions are made by potential

migrants, evidence from developing countries suggests that family heads often make migration decisions for members of their households" (Rhoda, 1983:38).

Furthermore, Rhoda (1983:38) argues that "development tends to be associated with a number of individual factors which may influence rural–urban migration". Factors which stimulate migration include increased levels of education, aspiration, awareness of urban opportunities and general level of modernization (Rhoda, 1983:38). It appears that the net impact of development interventions on personal factors tends to increase the propensity for rural-urban migration (Rhoda, 1983). However, these impacts are likely to vary considerable from place to place and from individual to individual.

2.12.2 Economic Models of Migration

Three economic models of migration are particularly relevant to this study:

(1) The human capital or the cost–benefit approach;

(2) The expected income model; and

(3) The intersectoral linkage model.

2.12.2.1 The Human Capital Model

Rhoda (1983:39) argues that "the Human Capital model uses the concept of investment in human capital to focus on the costs and benefits of migration decisions". This model developed by Sjaastad in 1962. It assumes that people will migrate when benefits outweigh costs. In this regard, benefits of migration are defined as the present value of potential income gains resulting from the difference in income between origins and destinations (Rhoda, 1983:39). Non-monetary benefits such as those arising from location preference are also included in the model. Costs include moving expenses, opportunity costs of foregone earnings between jobs and the non-monetary "psychic cost" such as the disutility of leaving one's home community and settling in an unfamiliar environment (Rhoda, 1983:39).

The cost-benefit model is attractive because it recognizes the effect of the individual characteristics of potential migrants. Older people are less likely to move because differential income returns from migration accrue over a shorter remaining lifespan and psychic costs may be greater. Educated youth tend to be more mobile because

their lifetime origin – destination income differences are usually larger and their greater awareness probably reduces the psychic cost of migration (Rhoda, 1983:39).

2.12.2.2 Expected Income Model

This model was developed by Todaro (1969, 1978) in an attempt to explain the seemingly paradoxical situation of continued rural–urban migration in the face of rising unemployment in cities (Rhoda, 1983). The model is based on the idea that migration decisions depend upon perceptions of "expected" income rather than actual wage rates. Expected income in rural areas is based on prevailing rural wages (Rhoda, 1983:40). In urban areas, expected income is a function of the arbitrarily high urban sector minimum wage and the probability of gaining urban employment. According to the model, rural–urban migration will continue until expected urban income is equal to the expected rural income (Rhoda, 1983:40). The Todaro model suggests that rural interventions which reduce rural-urban income differentials will result in decreased rural-urban migration. The model and the economic perspective in general contribute to the common belief concerning the negative relationship between development in rural areas and rural–urban migration (Rhoda R 1983:40).

2.12.2.3 Intersectoral Linkage Model

This approach is based on the idea that different sectors as well as rural and urban areas are interconnected by systems of backward and forward linkages (Hirschman et al, 1958). Through such linkages, development in rural areas influences economic activities in urban areas. Agricultural development is associated with increased demand for farm inputs; this backward linkage results in the growth of such urban activities as production and distribution of farm implements and machinery, fertilizer, credit and agricultural information. Forward linkages include transport and storage of agricultural commodities, agro-processing activities and the wholesaling, transporting and retailing of agriculturally based products. Final demand linkages resulting from increased rural incomes are particularly important. Rural produced goods tend to be income inelastic while urban goods and services are generally income elastic. Consequently, as incomes rise, rural consumers are expected to spend an increasing proportion of added income on urban goods and services (Rhoda, 1983). To meet this

added demand, urban production will increase resulting in employment generation in urban areas and induced rural-urban migration (Rhoda, 1983:40).

2.12.2.4 Macro and micro rural- urban migration models

In a broad sense, migration models are divided into micro and macro approaches. While the macro approach is concerned with where migrants move and what triggers migration, the micro approach attempts to answer questions such as who moves and why. The popular macro based migration model is that of Harris-Todaro in which migration is explained by expected urban-rural wage differentials and the probability of getting a job in the urban sector. Godfrey (1973:72) extended the Harris-Todaro model by including the gap in social and infrastructural assets between urban and rural areas, an educational variable and the number of kinsmen already in urban areas. Hart (1975:174) and more recently Bhattacharya (2002:956) argue that "since a dynamic and productive urban informal sector is capable of attracting and sustaining labour in its own right, income from the urban informal sector must be included in the migration model". Bhattacharya (2002:957) further argues that

"the more urbanized a state is, the greater, ceteris paribus, would be the number of people in the rural areas of the state who would have contacts in urban areas, and therefore, the lower is the cost of migration and the higher is the rate of rural urban migration" Bhattacharya (2002 cited in Groote and Tassenaar, 2000:469).

2.12.2.5 Neo-classical Theories

The most well-known migration theory within the neo-classical economic tradition is probably the classical Harris-Todaro (1970) model. It is a migration decision-making model, with Todaro postulating that "an individual makes a rational choice to increase his or her welfare or utility by moving to another place where he or she expects to earn a higher income". Todaro (1970:4) defines expected income as the average income in the destination area multiplied by the probability of finding employment. According to neo-classical models, individuals search for places of higher potential advantage, and if any known place offers such advantage compared to the present locality, then the individual takes a decision to migrate (Skeldon, 1990 cited in Cross et al, 2006:104).

According to this theoretical perspective, migration impacts positively upon all stakeholders. To this end, sending sites and the migrants themselves benefit because migrants get jobs, develop their skills, earn some money and remit part of it to their places of origin while destination sites benefit from skills and labour they get from migrants. On the other hand, sending sites benefit from remittances, which sometimes help in supplementing incomes, and in so doing ensures some kind of resource redistribution. As such, migration has the potential to contribute towards the development of receiving sites and of assuaging economic suffering at the places of origin. Looked at from these perspectives, migration potentially leads to redistribution of resources and maintains social institutions (Jones, 1992 cited in Cross et al, 2006:105).

2.12.2.6 Dependency Theory

During and after the 1970s, migration theory was expanded to include the Anti-Capitalist Dependency Perspective, which took up the impact of structural and institutional arrangements on the lives of migrants. It criticised the neo-classical view that migration is caused by the individuals' choice to relocate to places of possible maximum utility. Dependency theorists argued

"that migration results from economic forces of a western-dominated world system characterized by structured inequalities, including the continued underdevelopment of regions in the excluded periphery" (Wallerstein, 1974 cited in Cross et al, 2006:106).

Under such circumstances, migration tends to entrench marginalisation in that labour and skilled individuals move to better-off areas and participate in the development of these instead of developing their own places of origin. As such, peripheral areas exist as suppliers of natural resources and labour to the core, and hence the two are related in an unequal and exploitative manner, locked in a negative power relation. Therefore rural to urban migration disadvantages rural areas because it is characterized by the departure of younger, more innovative, educated, ambitious, skilled, more resourceful and more enterprising people, and represents a form of brain drain. As this happens migration reduces rural human capital, thereby causing the disempowered peripheral areas to fall far behind the centre (Jones, 1981 cited in Cross et al, 2006:106)

2.12.2.7 Network Theory

According to the Network Theory, people choose to move to where they can be most productive, given their skills, but before they can capture the higher wages associated with greater labour productivity, they must undertake certain investments, which include travelling costs, and the cost of maintenance while moving and looking for work (Massey et al, 1998). This is a very frustrating experience for the migrants. In some cases they have to adapt to a new lifestyle, culture, and learn a new language. For such reasons migrants need assistance from other migrants and from the locals; this is where the connections and network concepts are necessary to provide support when required (Mazibuko, 2006:25).

2.13 Conclusions and position of this study in relation to the existing literature

The existing literature on migration is based on rural-urban migration due to economic reasons and therefore as a survival strategy. People move from places where labour is less in demand to places with a high demand for labour (Neoclassical and Structural perspectives). International literature focuses more on the causes and challenges of migration, while the South African migration literature also focus on rural-urban migration problems and the challenges faced by migrants in urban areas. Therefore, both global and local literatures focuses mostly on reasons for migration to urban areas, and challenges of immigrants in urban areas, and less on the effects of emigration in areas where employment is less in demand (rural areas). The position of this study is rather different in that it attempts to establish the reasons that cause migration from rural areas as well as how this impacts on rural development, specifically in the eMabhuqwini rural area.

International migration analysis tends to either follow a "macro" approach or a "micro" approach (Greenwood 1997). The macro approach provides less insight into the behavior of individual migrants and the factors leading to their decision to migrate. Also, in the macro approach it is difficult to link people migrating with their motives for doing so. It is also possible that the higher and lower social strata are equally prone to migration, but for different reasons. To overcome this problem, the

macro-approach should be conjoined with a micro-approach. The latter argues that account must be taken of the fact that people in different places, at different times, and with different personal characteristics may respond differently to stimuli. According to the micro- perspective the perceived individual difference in opportunities for utility gain must be analysed, not merely the aggregate flows resulting from it. A persistent problem with aggregate migration models is that the co-efficient for regional unemployment often shows up as insignificant or even with the wrong sign (Greenwood (1997). However Hertzog et al (1993) have shown that the use of micro data offered a solution to this problem. Their conclusion is that it is personal or individual unemployment that induces migration, not high regional or structural unemployment (Groote, P and Tassenaar, V. 2000).

On the other hand, the above studies reflect the fact that migration patterns in developing countries are influenced by many factors other than the motive of economic improvement. In Bangladesh, for example, many people have undergone several rounds of displacement due to climatic shocks or conflict based on unavailability of land, so these movements are not so much about social or economic improvement, but rather as a survival/ livelihood strategy. In Latin America, as in South Africa, migration is largely influenced by political systems. The remaining question now is to understand how migration affects socio-economic and political development in places of origin. This chapter also paid attention to the South Africa's development policy – NDP, PICC, and KZNPGDS. As such, this has helped to understand the stance of KwaZulu-Natal's development policies in relation to the national development policies. The following chapter will deal with research design and methodology used for gathering relevant data.

CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate the research design and methodology employed in gathering the data. For any research project to be credible, it is essential that methodologies are scientifically sound. To achieve this, the strengths and limits of approaches used in gathering data and knowledge are ought to be recognised. Recognising the strengths and limits is of utmost importance since the ultimate goal of research is to make impact by influencing policy choices and directions. Making an impact is achieved via research outcomes and recommendations. It is within this context that research methodology concentrates on planning, structuring and executing research in a manner that is considered to be scientifically sound (Jacobsen & Landau, 2003). This study utilises both qualitative and quantitative methods as a research design for gathering data. The use of both qualitative and quantitative approaches has proved to be useful in collecting the necessary data in relation to the study. While quantitative approach enabled the researcher to assess the current situation in terms of demographic, social and economic conditions, the qualitative approach enabled the researcher to obtain the responses and precise information from the respondents and key informants about the issue in order to arrive at more meaningful conclusions.

3.2 Methods

Essentially, methods, tools and procedures constitute the research design of a particular study. It is this research design that is of utmost importance in order to generate a quality research. According to Cohen and Manion (1986), carefully considered methodological decisions are likely to yield positive research results. The use of more than one method is consistent with the sociological approach known as "triangulation". Triangulation was thus employed in this study in order to cut across the qualitative-quantitative divide and to minimize the inadequacies of the single-source research. Cohen and Manion (1986:254) further notes that "in social sciences triangulation is an attempt to map out, or explain more fully, the richness and

complexity of human behavior by studying it from more than one standpoint". Altrichter et al (1996:117) concurs that triangulation gives a more detailed and balanced picture of the situation. In this study, triangulation is thus reflected in the use of multiple methods in order to generate a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon of migration at eMabhuqwini.

3.3 Sampling

Conducting a research project requires researcher's ability to choose participants who are relevant to the study in question. Terre Blanche and Durrheim argue that sampling involves decisions about which people, settings, events, behaviours and / or social processes to observe (1999:44). The main concern in sampling is representativeness. According to Terre Blanche & Durrheim (1999), representativeness is the underlying epistemic criterion of a 'valid', that is, unbiased sample. In order to ensure adequacy and representativeness, the study has used the probability sampling method to select the participants randomly.

The sampling method used in this study is the random sampling. In a random sampling, participants are selected randomly so that they will have an equal chance of participation (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). The settlement pattern of eMabhuqwini is a combination of clustered and scattered arrangements. The researcher chose the random sampling method in order to ensure that all the patterns are equally represented.

3.3.1 Selection of Study Participants

The study did not include everyone. Rather, the unit of analysis in the study was selected randomly. The household survey basically sought to establish emigration patterns in the eMabhuqwini area. On the contrary, structured interviews were conducted on individuals within the household set up. The main purpose of structured interviews was to ascertain the reasons that make people to relocate. Consequently, the focus group interviews were conducted on local organisations and groups in an attempt to get collective information with regards to the reasons as to why people migrate.

3.3.2 Sample Size

There are 1464 households in eMabhuqwini area which is ward 2 of the Nkandla Municipality. Of the 1464 households, the researcher selected 32 households in the area where he administered questionnaires. Firstly, this number was arrived at after careful consideration of the settlement pattern in the area. The settlement pattern in the area is very much dispersed, that is, households are located far apart from one another. As a result, each household interviewed in the study was believed to be representing the large proportion of each section of the area of eMabhuqwini.   A bigger sample size would have necessitated bigger costs and time. Secondly, it was thought that since the study uses focus group interviews, focus group by its very nature, tends to be composed of people who live far apart and who come from different sections within the same population. In other words, the membership of focus groups tends to be representative of the entire population. The researcher has had limited funding for the research and even less time to increase the sample size.

3.4 Quantitative and Qualitative Methods

3.4.1 Quantitative Inquiry

Quantitative data usually comes in the form of numeric, statistical, and quantifiable data (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999:42). Quantitative methods rely solely on a series of predetermined categories, usually embodied in standardised quantitative measures, and use this data to make broad and generalisable comparisons (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999).   Since the demographics particularly information relating to social and economic conditions was needed, the study employed migration survey. To this end, the questionnaire was used as an instrument of collecting quantitative data.

3.4.2 Qualitative Inquiry

The purpose of the use of qualitative approach was an attempt to collect a detailed and in-depth understanding of the phenomenon of migration in the area. The qualitative data depends on how respondents interpret the situation. It is interpretive. The qualitative data was collected through the use of case study, structured interviews, and focus group interviews, respectively.

3.4.2.1 Case Study

The study is confined to the case of eMabhuqwini. In this context, a detailed analysis of the phenomenon of migration in eMabhuqwini is being investigated. The study has thus employed a case study approach. A case study is an intensive investigation of a single unit (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Leedy and Ormrod (2010:137) note that "in a case study a particular individual, program, or event is studied in depth for a defined period of time".The advantage of the case study is that "it can penetrate situations in ways that are not always susceptible to numerical analysis" (Cohen et al, 2000:181). Case study's strength is that it observes effects in real contexts.

3.4.2.2 Structured Interviews

On the one hand, the structured interview route conducted emphasised consistently that all respondents are asked the same questions in the same way (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Using the structured interview actually makes it easy to repeat ("replicate") the interview. The structured interview type is easy to standardise (Cohen and Manion, 1986). The structured interviews conducted with individual households actually sought to get information with regards to the reasons that made them to relocate. Further, the structured interviews were also premised on finding out about the reasons relating to individual households occupations, their social roles in the community; the state of their infrastructure in the area; and their participation in the development processes of the area. The structured interviews further sought to establish respondent's thoughts about the emigration of other people to urban areas, and consequently, it sought to establish the ways in which the emigration of people could be minimized in order to support the local economy with skills and other human resources.

On the other hand, structured interviews have been subjected to various degrees of criticisms. Most notably, the criticisms state categorically that there is a limited scope for the respondent to answer questions in any detail or depth (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). This limitation thus makes the quality and usefulness of the information to be highly dependent upon the quality of the questions asked. When using a structured interview, the interviewer cannot add, subtract, and deviate from the sets of research

questions s/he has. As a result, flexibility is very limited. The study has recognised and acknowledged these critics in order to create a balanced picture about the situation at eMabhuqwini.

3.4.2.3 Focus Group Interviews

Focus group interview is described as 'formal' and 'directive' having a 'moderator' who structures the discussion (Frey and Fantana, 1993). The focus group interview normally ranges from 6-10 participants in order to be practical (Wilkinson, 2004). Wilkinson (2004) further notes that a researcher using focus groups needs to be able to 'people manage' to ensure equal participation from all the participants involved in the discussion. In this study, the respondents interviewed were identified from the local organisations and groups. Four organaisational groups were interviewed in order to acquire information about their sentiments concerning losing their organisational members and potential group members due to emigration. Among the four organisational groups interviewed were the sewing group from church and the Masifundisane group. The reason for targeting the above groups was that their membership consisted of economically active people. By virtue of working as a group, it was thought that these groups were able to make a difference in the community. The questions asked were related to;

- o the reasons which cause migration, the impact of migration on development of the area,
- o whether they think traditional authority and a local councillor play a positive role in bringing and lobbying for development into the area, and
- o to describe the nature of the relationship between the local councillor and the community,
- o Other questions posed to respondents were related to;
- o to assess how they thought development should be attracted into their area, and;
- o whether they had access to basic services.

While recognising the strengths of focus group interviews, the study also recognised the weaknesses of the focus group discussion. Wilkinson (2004) warns that if the focus group is led by an interviewer who has no capacity to manage, it is likely to be dominated by one or two participants. In most cases, other participants would not want to share sensitive information with the interviewer in the presence of their leaders. Sharing this kind of information is most likely to ruin their relationship with their leaders.

3.5. Secondary Sources of Data

The secondary sources of data were premised upon the already existing analysed and interpreted data. Secondary sources of data are widely considered as existing scholarly literature. The study has thus built upon the discoveries of other researchers. These discoveries were in the form of journal articles, published books, research reports, and dissertations focusing on rural emigration and its impact on rural development. This literature also included the use of Integrated Development Plan (IDP) of 2008-2009.

3.6 Data Analysis

The data collected from thirty-two households were analysed using the computer software known as Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). The SPSS refined and analysed the data by illustrating patterns and frequencies that emerged in the themes. Qualitative data collected through the use of focus group discussions was analysed thematically. In this context, the data was checked, cross-checked, categorised and organised according to the themes. In practicality, the similarities were put together, and the differences were put together, respectively. Finally, the conclusions drawn are then analysed against the conceptual framework and included in the discussion chapter.

3.7 Reliability, Validity, and Trustworthiness

Irrespective of any methods, approach, and technique used in collecting data, the research results ought to be reliable, valid, and trustworthy. According to Terre Blanche & Durrheim (1999:88), validity is based on determining whether the findings

are accurate from the point of view of the researcher, participant, or the readers of an account. Reliability, on the contrary, refers to the extent to which results can be repeated, and the dependability of a measurement instrument, that is, the extent to which the same results can be arrived at using the measurement instrument on repeated trials (Terre Blanche and Durheim, 1999:88).

Further, there are methods which could be used to enhance the credibility of the research results. These include: checking transcripts for mistakes; ensuring that the coding of data is consistent; cross checking codes developed by different researchers in a team by comparing results; finally, communicating with members of the research team through regular meetings, and sharing analysis (Cresswell, 2009:190-191). Qualitative research projects places so much emphasis on trustworthiness and credibility of the research results (Marshall & Rossman, 1995:143). By contrast, quantitative research projects emphasizes that results must be replicable and verifiable. Meeting these requirements, the study has applied all the above prescribed techniques to ensure reliability. Further, triangulation approach has also been employed to enhance the results. This was done so that the strengths of one method can offset the weaknesses of another method.

3.8 Limitations

The settlement pattern in which rural areas find themselves has proven to be extremely problematic for data collection phase. In rural areas in general and in eMabhuqwini in particular, the neighbours often live far apart. This distance with which the researcher has to travel between the households actually took a lot of time and energy. The Nkandla area is characterised by slopes and hills which poses a threat in terms of accessibility and speedy delivery of basic services. Distance was time-consuming.

The language has proven to be a barrier in the sense that the research questions were initially written in English. But owing to the fact that the population is predominantly IsiZulu speaking, the questions were subsequently translated into IsiZulu. The research project was not funded. Shortage of funding and other relevant support

structures have actually hindered and derail the progress of the research project. As a result, the researcher had to use his limited budget which did not go anywhere near the costs of the entire project.

There were also methodological limitations which were recognised in this study during data collection. The sample size drawn was largely determined by the financial problems. In fact, the sample would have been bigger if there were enough funds to support the study. Further, the qualitative data collected through the use of structured interviews and focus group interviews was not well balanced. In this regard, the researcher was not able to deviate from the sets of questions he had. The structured interviews did not allow any flexibility. Consequently, the focus group discussions conducted were sometimes dominated by two or three individuals regardless of the efforts that were made to encourage equal participation from all the participants.

3.9 Recording and Transcription

The interviews conducted were audio taped to ensure that all the relevant data was captured. The recorded data also served to supplement the field notes were taken while the researcher was collecting data. By recording, the researcher was able to make sure that no data is inadvertently or accidentally lost. The advantage of recordings is that they offset the field notes by capturing the data that was not captured. The data that was captured through the use of audiotapes has first been translated back into when it was transcribed into written versions.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

The study merely targeted study participants that are above eighteen years of age. In other words, no minor was interviewed in this study. If the minor was to be interviewed, necessary prior arrangements would have been made in advance. No interview was conducted without getting the informed consent from the study participants. The informed consent was clearly explained both verbally and in writing in the language that the participants have understood fully. Participation in the study was completely voluntary. Participants were advised about their rights of participation. For instance, participants were allowed to withdraw at any stage should

they so wish. The study further protected the confidentiality and anonymity of study participants. The purpose of protecting confidentiality and anonymity was served through the use of disguised or pseudo names during data collection. It was also explained to the study participants that the dissemination of research data will be in the form of finished thesis.

3.11 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the research method/s, approaches, and techniques that were used in gathering the data. It provided the reasons why certain methods and approaches were used over others. It discussed the limitations that are critical in this research project. Finally, it also discussed the ethical issues that are involved when conducting research. The following focuses on outlining the contextual factors in EMabhuqwini. It essentially talks about why the area of EMabhuqwini has become vulnerable to migration.

CHAPTER FOUR
A CASE STUDY OF EMABHUQWINI, NKANDLA

4.1 Introduction

Unlike the preceding chapters that reviewed the existing literature and the research design and methodology employed in this study, the purpose of this chapter is to provide contextual factors that have increasingly become a fertile ground for migration in eMabhuqwini. Although migration is taking place in other areas, Nkandla appears to be hardest hit. The population is currently predominated by females. It should be acknowledged, from the beginning, that this chapter will continuously draw its examples from the Nkandla Integrated Development Plan (IDP) for 2011-2012 in order to make meaningful and analytical assessment of the area of eMabhuqwini in Nkandla. The IDP will help provide accurate contextual factors. As a result, an overview of eMabhuqwini, targeting particularly socio-economic conditions, location, and history of the study site will be provided in this chapter. Although the emphasis is placed on cross-cutting issues that lead to migration, the implications for these issues for livelihood strategies will also be shown. The map showing the area of Nkandla will also be shown in this chapter. This chapter deals with the case study in particular and the reasons why the area came under scrutiny.

4.2 Overview of Nkandla Context

The study was destined for comprehensively understanding the extent of migration in eMabhuqwini which is located at Nkandla. While the ubiquity of migration is largely dominant at EMabhuqwini, it would be naïve and mediocre to ignore contextual factors that exists in Nkandla as a whole. Nkandla is actually located in KwaZulu-Natal in the northern part of the province. Specifically, it is found in the western end of UThungulu District Municipality (DC 28). According to 2011-2012 IDP, Nkandla is currently home to114 416. Of this total population, 80% of the land is held by Traditional Authority which falls under the jurisdiction of INgonyama Trust. In contrast, the remaining 20% of the land falls within the jurisdiction of trust farms.

In essence, 20% of the land is communally owned through the use of communal gardens. The Nkandla Town is located at the north-east of the municipal boundary and a Nature Reserve in the form of the Nkandla Indigenous Forest and aMatshenezimpisi Game Reserve in Ward 6. The municipality is surrounded by the following local municipalities: Ulundi to the north, Nquthu in the north-west, Msinga in the west, uMvoti in the south-west, Maphumulo in the south, uMlalazi in the south east and uMthonjaneni in the east. It is totally land-locked and is remote from the National Road Routes.

Accordingly, the topography of Nkandla is characterised by slopes and hills which poses a challenge in terms of accessibility and speedy delivery of basic services because of the settlement patterns. The main rivers running across Nkandla are the UThukela River which runs from the north-west to the south of the municipal area, the Mhlathuze River which runs through the eastern part of the municipality and the Nsuze River which runs from the north towards the south of the municipal boundary. Basically, the municipal area is accessible via P16 linking Nkandla with Kranskop, Greytown and Pietermaritzburg, P50 linking Nkandla with Eshowe, Nquthu and Vryheid and P15 linking Nkandla with Melmoth and Ulundi.

Like most predominantly rural areas, Nkandla has high levels of poverty and unemployment. Even though the development practitioners including ward councilors and mayors have tried to bring about changes, Nkandla is still regarded as one of the most poverty-stricken areas in KwaZulu-Natal. The map of Nkandla in which Mabhuqwini is found is going to be illustrated.

4.3 Demographic Profile

The Nkandla Municipality is a massive area. In fact, it consists of 14 wards. The total population of Nkandla has been fluctuating in recent years. It was 129493 in 1996, it grew slightly to 133602 in 2001, and more recently, according to 2011 census it has dropped to 114 416 (Nkandla IDP-Budget Review, 2013/4). The eMabhuqwini area forms part of Ward 2. However, according to Statistics South Africa (2011) the entire population was estimated to be 127 451 which indicates a decline when compared to the 2001 statistics that showed the population to be at 133 602. The number of households is at 22 387 from the 24 216 in 2001. Further, the Nkandla population is

dominated by black Africans i.e. it has 100% black population. The population composition, as stated above, is scattered as Nkandla covers a wide area, resulting in the development processes being uneven. This thus inadvertently results in other areas being marginalized when it comes to the roll out of development processes.

The classic examples of this are that in Ward 6, where the mayor lives, and in some parts of southern Nkandla. These areas appear to take priority over other areas in terms of development processes that are rolled out. However in ward 2 and 14, the development indicators are, relative to the other wards, suggests that populations there do not get anything at all. It is indicated in the Nkandla IDP of (2008/9) that women comprise 57% and males comprise 43%, this indicates that there are more women than men and that there are more men who have left the area to seek better living conditions somewhere else, in this case urban areas such as Johannesburg, Durban, and others.

As a consequence, the absence of men suggests that women are supposed to head their households. Hence, many children grow up under one family headed household. Given this scenario where men are migrating to urban areas, young men are also encouraged to leave the area, and migrate to urban areas due to scanty resources. Below is a map which illustrates Nkandla and other surrounding areas. It contains the roads leading to and from Nkandla.

Fig 4.1 Map of Nkandla, KwaZulu-Natal
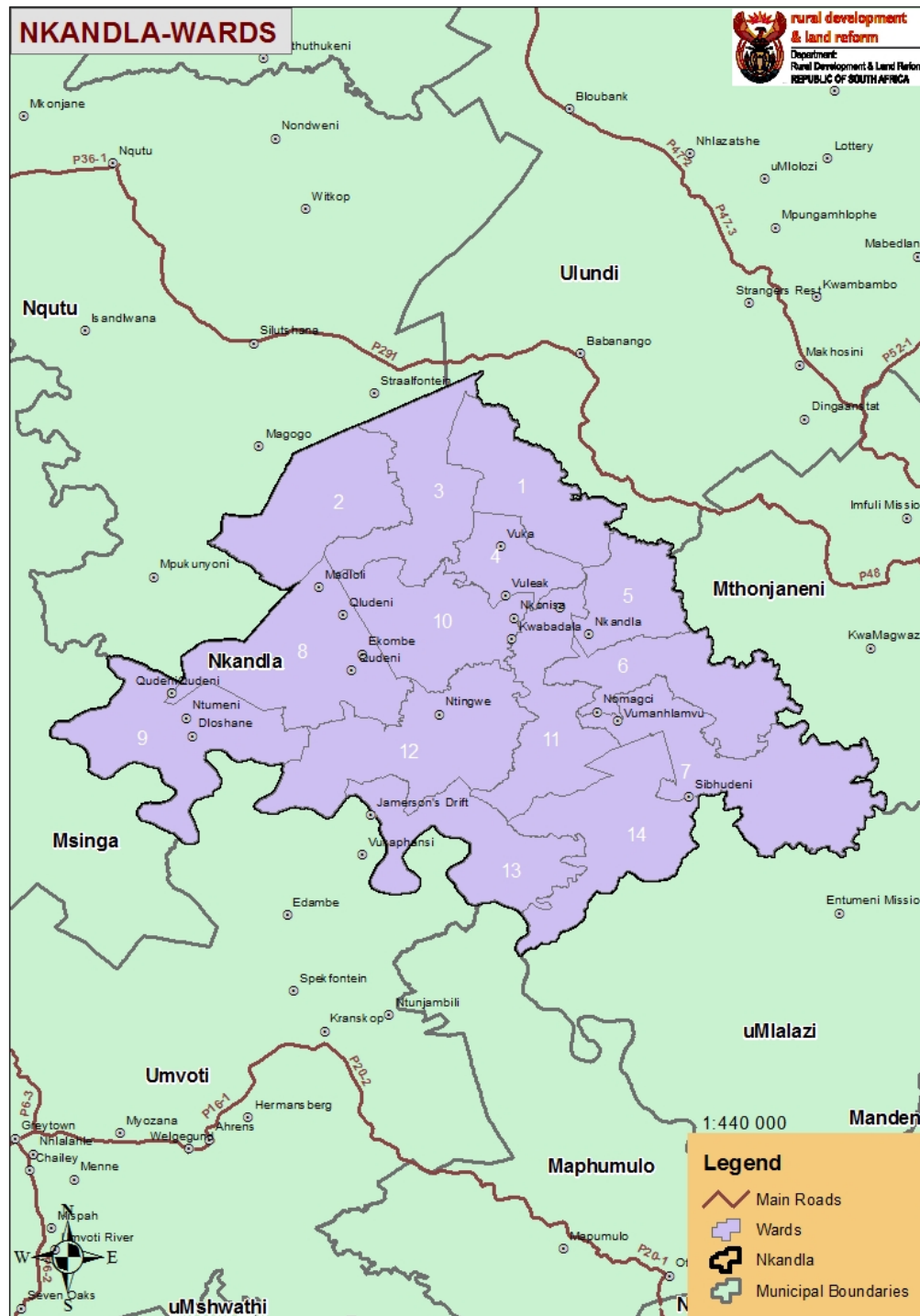
Source: Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (2014)

4.4 Local Municipality

The administrative responsibility of the local municipality lies with the Nkandla Local Municipality. The Nkandla Local Municipality is the only one that serves the entire population of Nkandla. The social services offices are within the Nkandla town where they are accessible to its entire population. Social services offices and a skills development centre office have been decentralized to minimize the distance travelled by people who reside far from Nkandla town.

4.5 Ward 2

The administrative responsibilities of Ward 2 are all carried out at Nkandla or Nquthu depending on the geographic allocation of people's households. Some people within Ward 2 have easy access to Nquthu and Nkandla towns; however, the travelling expenses to both towns are high and the same. Usually the people of Ward 2 go to Nkandla for administrative purposes, which is where they are registered according to the Nkandla Integrated Development Plan (IDP).

4.6 EMabhuqwini Administration

EMabhuqwini forms part of Ward 2 and falls under the control of the emaChunwini Traditional Authority. It is administered by the Traditional Authority of emaChunwini in eMabhuqwini and in Nkandla. Due to the scattering of houses, people can decide to remain in Nkandla or go to Nquthu depending on their geographic allocation within eMabhuqwini. This is because some areas within eMabhuqwini access Nquthu more easily than Nkandla town.

4.7 Settlement Pattern in Nkandla, and Emabhuqwini

As stated in the Nkandla IDP of 2008/9, the area is rural with 80% of its land under control of Traditional Authorities and 20% of its land under trust farms. It is included under Ingonyama Trust Land, is underdeveloped, and lacks job opportunities, which are push factors to migration. Nkandla, being a rural area, has limited social services and infrastructure which is a common characteristic of any rural area in KwaZulu-Natal. Due to these reasons, the family pattern in Nkandla results in males moving to urban areas in search of work.

This movement pattern starts with one member of the family leaving Nkandla to Johannesburg, Durban or Richards Bay etc. Once the family member is well established in the new area s/he starts drawing other family members left at home to join him/her in the new area. This movement pattern is not static in the sense that migrants sometimes come back home once a month or on holidays. Sometimes migrants do not ever come back. The settlement patterns in the entire Nkandla area tend to be female dominated since most males move to urban areas.

However, more recently women have also started to follow men by moving to urban areas with some of their children, and leaving others behind. The idea is that the cities provide rural immigrants with the foundation they need to enter the national job market, educate their children, and invest in their future (Kok et al, 2006:205). In contrast to this, children that are left behind tend to remain dependent on their family members who have migrated and are left with no choice but to attend schools that have no sufficient resources in terms of schooling materials.

In eMabhuqwini area, the settlement pattern is similar to that of the entire Nkandla area as eMabhuqwini is part of it. Drawing from the research conducted in the area, eMabhuqwini is largely dominated by females because males tend to migrate to the urban areas in search of job opportunities. The general trend in the family pattern shows that males are leaving women and children behind when moving to urban areas for better job opportunities.

4.8 Economic Base: Agriculture and Forestry

The economic base of Nkandla is a major challenge to Nkandla and eMabhuqwini as it has a poor revenue base, leading to high grant dependency, a high level of unemployment, and slow infrastructural development of Economic Nodes. The municipality is 88% dependent on grants. The revenue base is minimal, mostly due to the fact that the municipality owns a meagre 2% of the total land (Nkandla IDP-Budget Review, 2013/4). As mentioned before, prime commercial land is privately owned and this impacts on the speed with which investments may flow to the area. The isolation of the municipality from the major transport routes and development corridors impacts negatively on the economic growth. Poor infrastructure & the

unorganized settlement patterns within the municipal area are major investment deterrents (Nkandla IDP 2008/9).

The economic base of eMabhuqwini is derived from old age pensions, child social grants and from remittances. Given the fact that Nkandla, which is a mother county to eMabhuqwini, has a higher number of unemployment, eMabhuqwini contributes to that unemployment hence eMabhuqwini itself has a higher rate of unemployment. EMabhuqwini has 1494 households, some of which are female-headed and others child-headed with no income except pensions and child support grants. Within the area there is a higher number of unemployed people than employed and those doing menial jobs.

4.9 Economic Profile: Labour Force and Income Levels

Nkandla is the poorest area in the province. It generally suffers from income inequality. In Nkandla, there are very few local opportunities for employment. Further, women outnumber men, who have migrated out of the area in search of work in Richards Bay and Durban (Nkandla IDP-Budget Review, 2013/2014). The Gini coefficient of 0.58 is amongst the highest in the country, and the HDI (3) is extremely low (Nkandla IDP-Budget Review, 2013/2014).

The earning power of the Nkandla labour force is related to the levels of education of people in the area. Measuring education is a means of measuring the Human Capital of the region and is an indication of the ability of its people to successfully undertake training and acquire new skills. In Nkandla, the proportion of people over the age of 20 years with no schooling is high.

Income Levels

According to Nkandla IDP (2012-2017), there are five sources of income in Nkandla. These incomes are expressed as percentages for all the households in Nkandla. The sources of income are as follows: subsistence agriculture 16%, informal sector 13%, local wages 0.5%, migrant remittances 20%, and government grants 50% (Nkandla IDP, 2012-2017:45). From this point of view, it is quite apparent that government grants are the biggest source of income followed by migrant remittances and

subsistence agriculture, respectively. The table below illustrates income levels in Nkandla.

4.10 Average Annual Household Income in Nkandla

Rands Per Annum	No	%
No Income	9,220	37%
R1 – R4, 800	2, 568	10%
R4 801 - R 9 600	6,647	27%
R9 601 - R 19 200	3, 200	13%
R19 201 - R 38 400	1, 753	7%
R38 401 - R 76 800	882	4%
R76 801 - R153 600	402	2%
R153 601 - R307 200	72	0%
R307 201 - R614 400	44	0%
R614 401 - R1 228 800	13	0%
R1 228 801 - R2 457 600	35	0%
R2 457 601 and more	32	0%
NotApplicable (institutions)	40	0%
TOTAL	**24, 908**	**100%**

Source: Nkandla IDP 2012-2017 p42

This table suggests that the majority of individuals earn less income partly because poor levels of education. The rest of the community earns between 0- R153 000 which further suggests that they are not high income earners. Another proportion of the community that is marginally lower than 10 000 do not have income at all. The rest of the community do not earn anything higher than R153 000. The overall impression is that people are paid badly in Nkandla.

4.11 Education

As mentioned above, at Nkandla the proportion of people over the age of 20 years with no schooling is double that of the provincial average. The proportion of people with secondary, matric and tertiary education is about a drop in an ocean of that achieved in the province. The number of residents with no schooling is compounded by the dire poverty in which many people live in Nkandla and particularly eMabhuqwini. In essence the level of education in eMabhuqwini is seen by its level of underdevelopment. Drawing from the 2009 matric results, the Bhuqwini high school had a pass rate of 48% of matriculants (Langa Newspaper dated 07-01-2010). In 2012 this figure decreased drastically as only 5 matriculants made the grade. It appears that the level of education in the area is affected by underdevelopment and an absence of resources which could improve the standard of education. This shows that the level of education in the area will remain low until the issues of underdevelopment and supply of resources are addressed.

4.11.1 Education Levels

Description	Number	Percentages
No Schooling	28 265	50%
Some Primary Schooling	9652	17%
Complete Primary Schooling	2394	4%
Some Secondary	9428	17%
Std 10/ Grade 12	5639	10%
Higher Education	1428	2%

Source: Nkandla IDP 2012-2017, p.46

This table suggests that the majority of individuals over 20 years old had minimum levels of education i.e. 50% had no schooling, 17 % some primary and 4% complete primary. Only 12% had Grade 12 or higher education levels. The proportion of people with grade 12 and above is also very low. This thus suggests that skills level at

Nkandla is relatively low. The proportion of people over the age of 20 years with no schooling is double the provincial average (Nkandla IDP-Budget Review, 2013/14).

Given this unpromising scenario, with Nkandla appearing as a town of eMabhuqwini, one can assume that the average number of people with no schooling is an indicating factor to the stagnant economic growth of Nkandla in general and eMabhuqwini in particular. Hence, this indicates the measures taken by the economically active people who are unemployed in Nkandla and particularly eMabhuqwini to be a push factor. Furthermore, this economic profile has also laid the foundation for other survival mechanisms that are present in eMabhuqwini. In this context, crime could be said to be a survival mechanism practiced mainly by the people who are not working due in part to high level of unemployment in eMabhuqwini. It must first be acknowledged that crime is a national concern. Crime in Nkandla was very high in previous years (Nkandla IDP, 2012-2017:71). It included cases like livestock theft, house breaking, assault, rape and murder. However, drastic changes made by the Police Force in consultation with leadership of Nkandla, have seen major & positive changes. In this regard, Nkandla police station has been awarded with a token of being a leading police station in the province Nkandla IDP, 2012-2017).

4.12 Health

Although every effort has been made in improving health conditions, health-related issues including the escalation HIV/AIDS scourge continue to undermine government efforts. Currently, the main challenge facing Nkandla is the raid rise of HIV/AIDS scourge within the community. Efforts are thus supposed to be made to minimize the effects of HIV/AIDS in its community. The estimated number of people living with HIV/AIDS at Nkandla now exceeds 15,000 with almost 2,000 of those being children under the age of 14 years. There are no clear statistics in Nkandla that can be reliably used to determine the rate of HIV/AIDS infection. As a result, the stated ratio of 1 out of 4 people in Nkandla being HIV positive was used. It is perhaps proper to say that the absence of reliable data hampers planning or means planning from an uncertain or less informed position. The most productive members of the society are the ones that are most often infected with HIV/AIDS. This impact negatively on production levels

within the area and this has an impact on economic development of the municipality (Nkandla IDP, 2008-2009).

4.12.1 Access to Basic Services and Infrastructure

Access to basic services and a lack of infrastructure is still a challenge at eMabhuqwini as the area is completely underdeveloped with few accessible communal water sources. In terms of infrastructure there is none. There are no community halls where meetings are held, instead meetings are held in an open space with no roof. There are gravel roads which run from the R66 joining Nkandla and Nquthu to Kranskop. There is no electricity and there are no Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) Houses. There are no skills development centers. In essence people of eMabhuqwini are denied access to basic services and infrastructure by the current situation in which they live.

4.12.2 Cross-cutting Issues and Implications for Livelihood Strategies

While KZN is the 4th poorest province in South Africa, rural municipalities like Nkandla suffer from further income inequality. There are very few local opportunities for employment. Women outnumber men, who have migrated out of the area in search of work in Johannesburg, Richards Bay, and Durban. The Gini coefficient of 0.58 is amongst the highest in the country and the HDI is extremely low. The average income earned by Nkandla workers is R0-R800 per month compared with R800-R1600 per month earned by employed people across the province.

The skills level at Nkandla is relatively low. This also indicates that there is substantial leakage of people with managerial, business and technical skills out of Nkandla. As a result of the low skills base, Nkandla has a particularly high proportion of people seeking work in comparison to those who are actually employed. There is a sense of hopelessness about obtaining work. The number of people in the 15-64 year age group who are not actively seeking employment is very high in comparison with the provincial and national figures. Unemployment will impact on crime levels, creating unfavorable conditions for further business investments in the area.

4.12.3 Crime, Poverty, and Family Life

Given the disparities in terms of income at Nkandla, one may justifiably deduce that it is a factor that pushes people to participate in illegal activities which could be employed as survival strategies for those who have no income. The income disparities have negative effects for the Nkandla population given the fact that some working and economically active households members are absent from home. The absence of adults in families exposes young children to abuse and recruitment by people who are involved in criminal activities. Children who have lost parents are an easy target. The evidence of this is the group of people who embarked on stock theft using children. These children end up in jails or as prostitutes. When resources are committed to other issues, there will be fewer resources dedicated to protection and crime fighting. A rise in unemployment results in an increase in criminal activities. Young girls become active in the sex industry because of poverty and become exposed to dangers and drug abuse. Family life is disrupted, especially with the absence of adults from homes and young boys and girls have to play senior roles in their families (Nkandla IDP, 2008-2009).

4.12.4 Social Capital

The social capital of eMabhuqwini varies. Putman (2000:19) refers to social capital as "comprising physical, human and social capital. Physical capital refers to physical objects, human capital refers to the properties of individuals, and social capital refers to connections among individuals–social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. In that sense social capital is closely related to what some have called civic virtue. The difference is that social capital calls to attention the fact that civic virtue is most powerful when embedded in a sense network of reciprocal social relations. A society of many virtuous but isolated individuals is not necessarily rich in social capital." Putman cited in www.infed.org/biblio/socialcapital.htm

The social capital of eMabhuqwini means that people of the area still value the idea of one being part of the whole, in the sense that they help each other in times of crisis. They assist each other with what they are able to offer. An example of this was the

2008 natural fire disaster where people supported those who were affected by fire by rescuing what they could from those houses which were burnt. They also assisted with providing shelter to those whose houses had burnt down.

The human capital is similar to that mentioned above. The human networks of eMabhuqwini revolve around the area and around those who have left the area for the urban areas. There is greater dependency on this network as many people leaving the area to urban areas gain acceptance through being known to people from the rural areas i.e. eMabhuqwini. Moreover, many people from eMabhuqwini get to know urban areas through this human network which starts in the rural areas.

The social networks of eMabhuqwini come from the same cultural practice of connectivity and from the idea that one is part of whole. Through this network people engage in a culture of reciprocity and trustworthiness. Through this network in eMabhuqwini people participate in food stokvels and working together. An example of this is that of the sewing and chicken poultry and farming groups who are connected through a church known as Dutch of England in eMabhuqwini. Furthermore there is Skebhe, a disciplinary group which maintains order in the community and makes it governable in the sense that there are few or no criminal activities within the community. This disciplinary group is also connected to one that is based in Johannesburg. This was made to bring those who commit crime in eMabhuqwini and run away to Johannesburg back to the area. The link between these groups shows that there is no place to hide when one has done something wrong, as this group travels as far as where the person has gone to hide and brings them back to face the consequences of their criminal activities.

4.12.5 Household Survival Strategies

Household survival strategies vary in eMabhuqwini depending on what the household is capable of doing as its survival strategy. A key factor is the ability to obtain income from a diversity of sources. A 10-year longitudinal study at Nkandla showed that household income is derived from remittances, pensions, subsistence agriculture, and a wide range of informal activities (house building, thatching, felling timber, grass

work, pottery, sawing, hairdressing, shoe repairs, trading, herbalist practices and piece wage work. It is important to note that although migrants' remittances are an important source of livelihood, they contribute only 20% toward total household income. Another key to survival is the ability to withstand shocks (death in the family, illness, abnormal weather conditions, etc), normally through the sale of household assets (livestock, savings) and reliance on social networks. The activities and coping tactics adopted by a household constitute its livelihood strategy. However, these activities are largely determined by the capital available to households. Household capital includes human (skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health), social (networks, membership of groups, relationships of trust, access to wider institutions of society), financial (savings, supplies of credit, remittances, pensions), natural (land, water, wildlife, biodiversity, environmental resources), physical (transport, shelter, water, energy, communications, production equipment) (Nkandla IDP 2008/9).

4.13 Conclusion

These conditions combine to provide the incentive for some people to migrate, while at the same time constitute barriers behind which other people are trapped in underdeveloped conditions. Rural areas are at a great disadvantage in relation to urban areas as far as the provision of basic infrastructural facilities and services such as roads, drinking water, electricity, schools, hospitals, police protection, transport and communications are concerned. Not only are these public facilities and amenities inadequate in rural areas but they are also very poorly organized and undependable. As a result eMabhuqwini negatively affected, generation after generation, to poor education, health, unemployment and poverty. To alleviate such problems of underdevelopment and impoverished conditions there is an absolute and urgent necessity to develop the rural areas, and particularly eMabhuqwini. The following chapter will look at the research analysis of the situation as found in eMabhuqwini.

CHAPTER FIVE

INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

5.1. Introduction

This section sets out to analyse the findings of the research. These data were gathered using a mixed method approach; that is, combining qualitative and quantitative approaches. The use of more than one method is traditionally referred to as triangulation. It begins with statistical analysis of the household sample, followed by qualitative analysis of local leaders, and ends with a synthetic analysis of the findings.

5.2. Statistical Analysis of Variables

This section starts off by presenting data in the form of statistics or statistical analysis. This helps greatly in providing demographical information of the study participants.

5.2.1. Research Findings[1]

This section begins by presenting data relating to gender. The participation between males and females vary as follows:

Figure 5.2.2 Gender
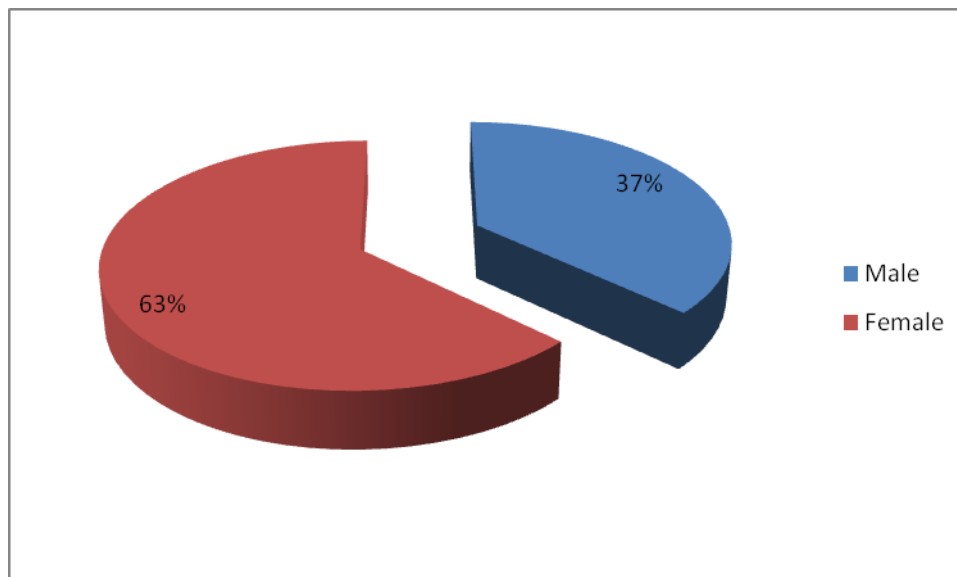
[1] More substantive analyses follow these descriptive presentations.

Figure 4.2.1.1 shows that 37% of household interviewees were male and 63% were female. This presents a clear picture of migration patterns and is in line with general population distribution in South Africa. There is no need to control for gender in the analysis as interviewees were from the area, and in fact we can see that those who carry the brunt of underdevelopment in the local area on their shoulders are women. Again, the graph further lends credence to the fact that there are few males in Emabhuqwini because they have migrated to other areas. One reason for this is that males are more often involved in migration to urban areas to seek employment and better living conditions that are not obtainable in eMabhuqwini.

Figure 5.2.3 Age
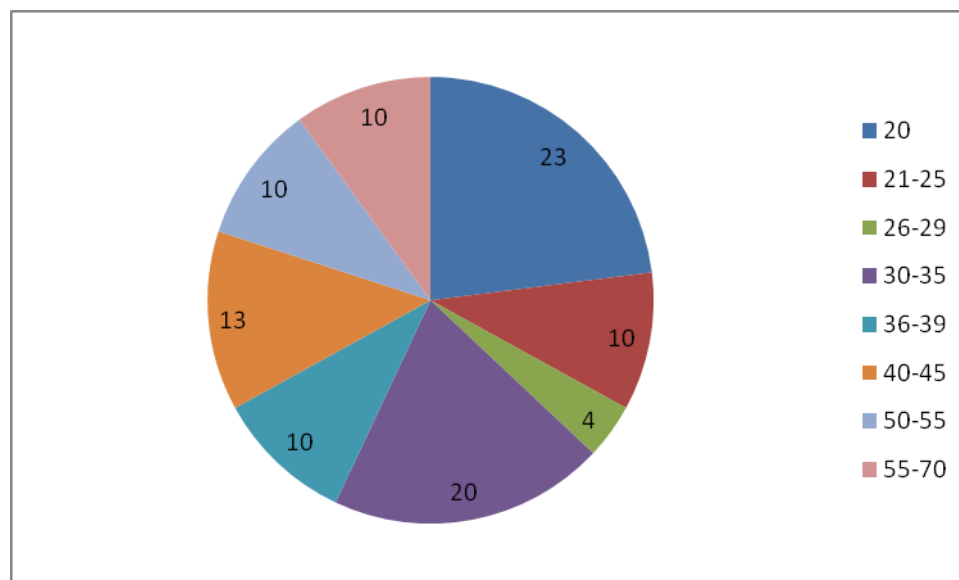
The majority fall into the age 20 category, followed by the age 30-35 category. It is interesting to note that many age categories, except the 26-29 age category are nearly equally distributed in the sample. The age group of 26-29 have only recorded 4% participation in the study because they are probably in search of job opportunities outside the area. The age category 36-39 seems to have left the area already because their participation is also poor.

Figure 5.2.4 Marital / Civil Status
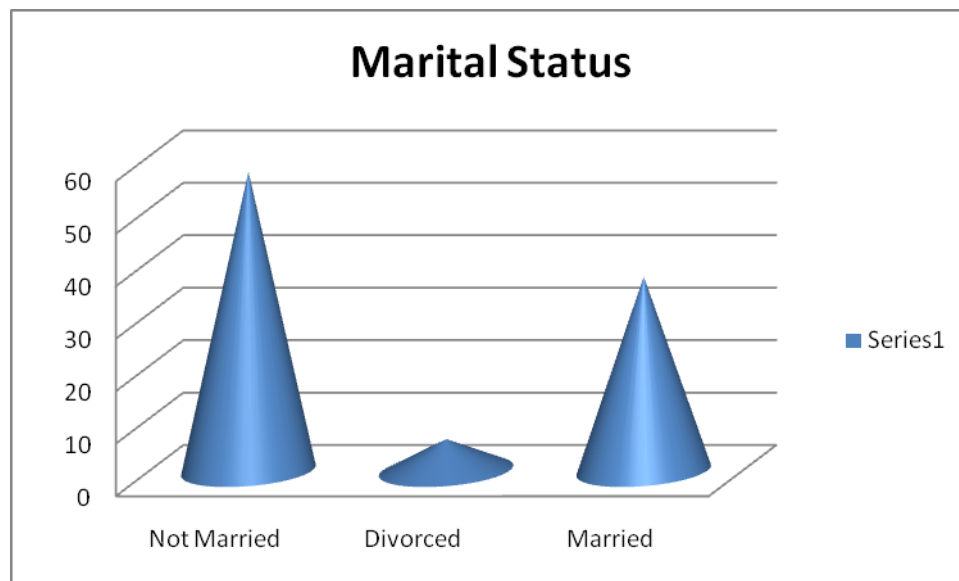
Clearly, the majority of the research participants were not married at the time of the interviews. This has little implication for the study of migration. By stretch of the imagination, married people may be seen to be more likely to migrate as they need income dearly to provide for their dependents. On the other hand, many unmarried people find it easier to move about geographically than married people. This is the reason for saying that this variable does not present any interpretative significance for the purposes of this thesis.

Figure 5.2.5 Place of Birth
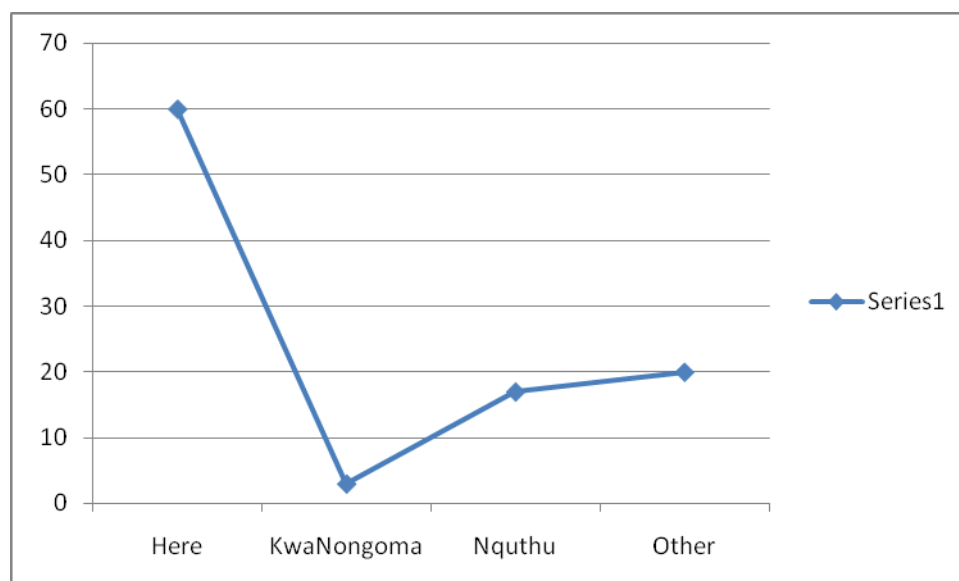
Many respondents were born in the research site, while a handful was from Nquthu and a few more were from other places of origin. This means that the place consists of people from different areas. It also means that the people of Nquthu like to visit the research site.

Figure 5.2.6 Level of Education
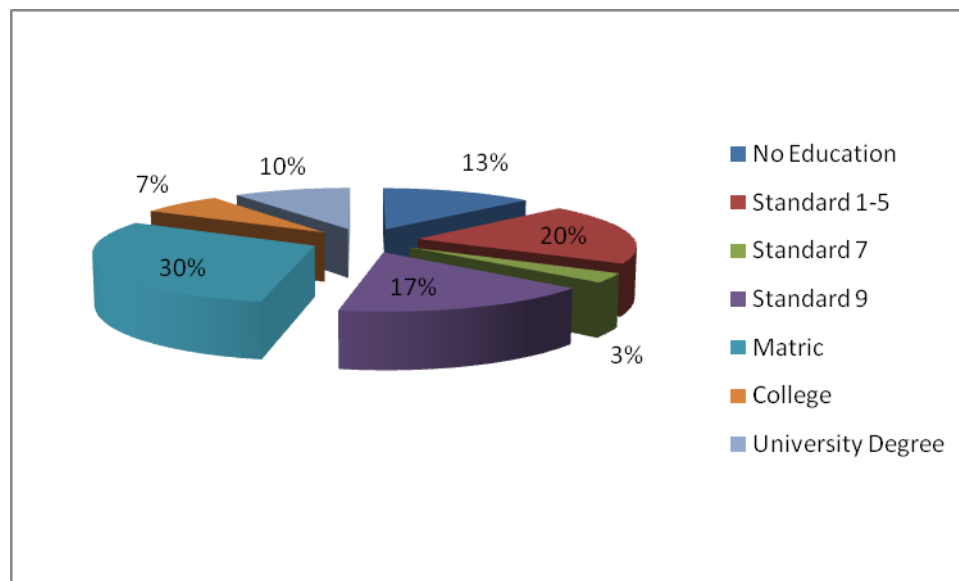
As represented above, 13% of the interviewees had no education at all, while 10% had a university degree or some tertiary qualification. 30% had matriculated, while 20% were primary school drop-outs. This finding suggests that the level of education in the research site is low. This is particularly so because most children do not finish the primary school education. Although 30% of them matriculate, only a few of them who manage to further their studies.
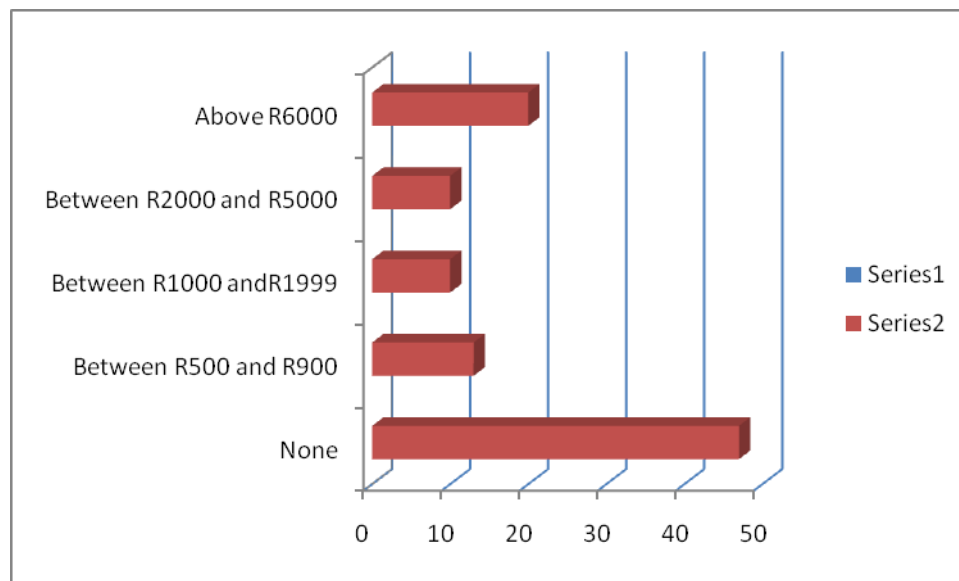
Figure 5.2.7 Employment Status
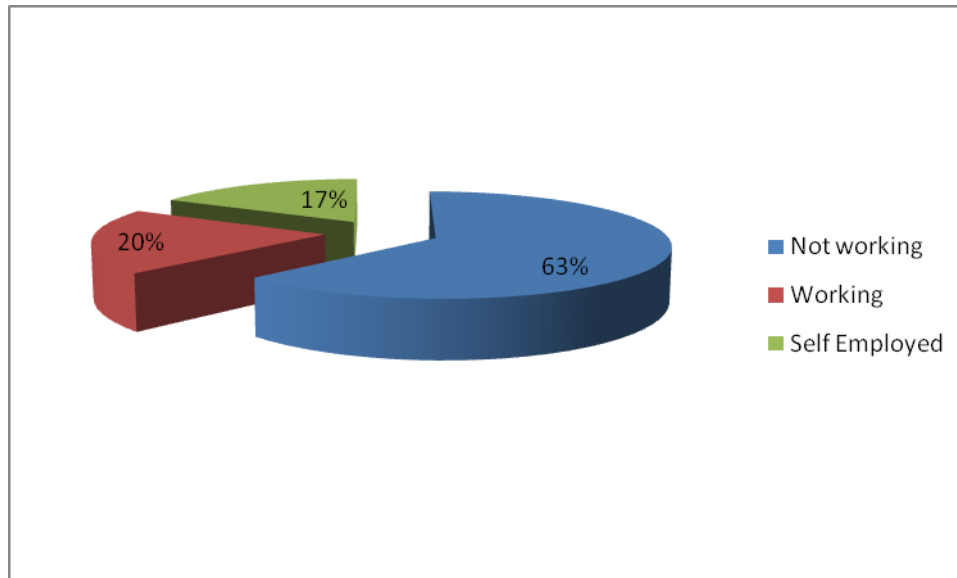
While greater income opportunities were the main cause for migration, the picture was bleaker for those left behind, as the above illustration (Figure 4.2.1.6) demonstrates. Indeed, in our sample, employed and self-employed status only held for 37% of respondents. This has many implications for our study.

Figure 5.2.8 Level of Income

Clearly, many respondents were not in receipt of any income at all. This would imply either lack of job opportunities, no government grant being received or no migrant sending money home, or no migrant at all. Either way, close to 50% of people in Emabhuiqwini do not have any form of income.

5.3. Cross-tabulations of Gender and Substantive Variables

The following graphic cross-tabulations and the corresponding analysis are based on Gender as an independent variable and "substantive" variables that are dependent or contextual. The purpose is to understand what 100% of the sample thought on particular issues in the survey. Thus, the rest of the demographics did not make it on this criterion.

Figure 5.3.1. People who are working in the Household
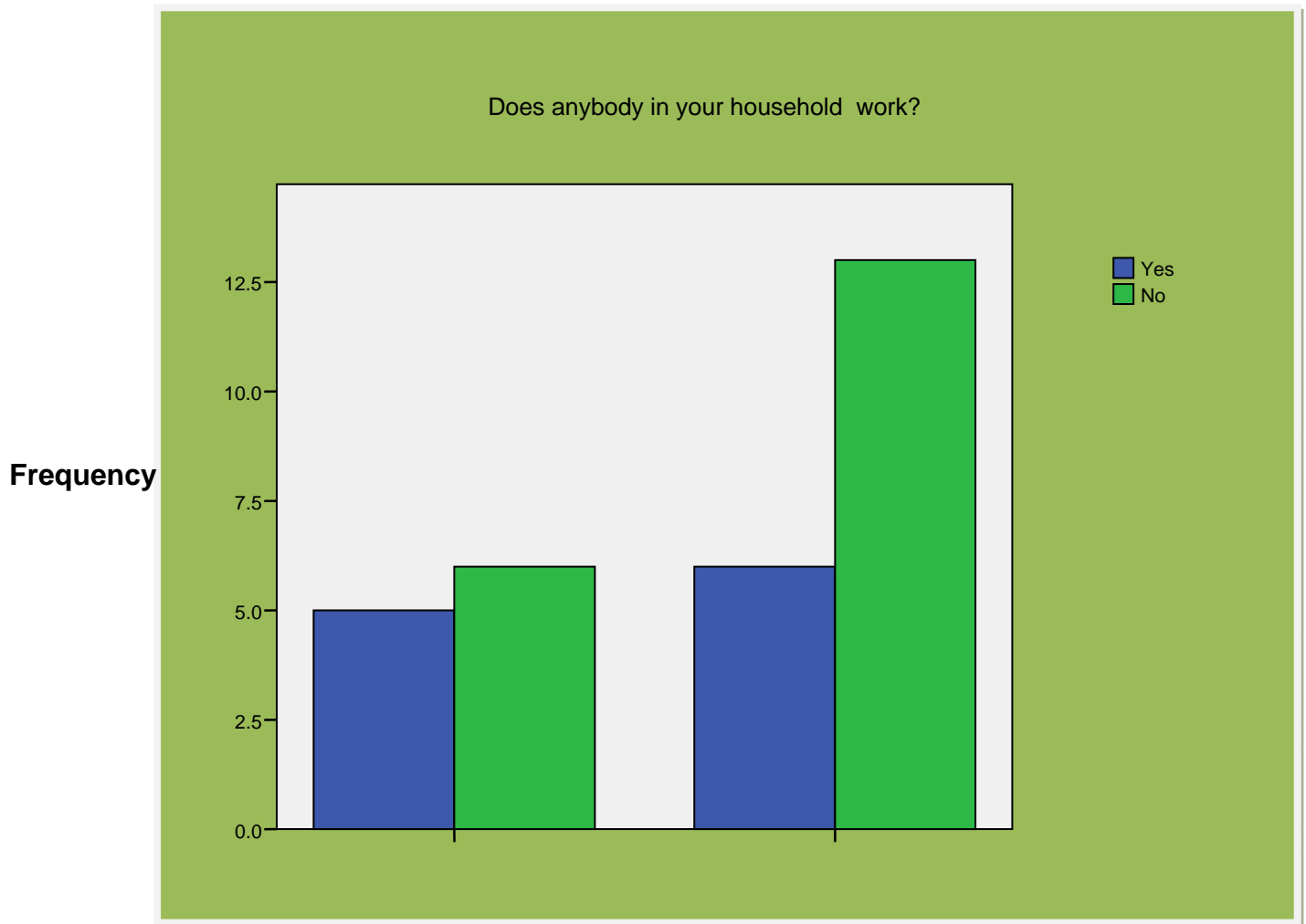
Unemployment seemed to be one of the central issues affecting the community that were discovered by this research, as Figure 4.3.1 demonstrates. The majority of the respondents were unemployed, more so in the case of female respondents than male respondents. The generalizability of this information is obvious as clearly poverty, lack of income (Figure 4.3.7), lack of education (4.3.5) and general underdevelopment of the area contribute to miserable living conditions in the area inhabited by the poorest of the poor. Lack of employment alone may have been sufficient reason for migration and thus causing a brain drain.

Figure 5.3.2 Head of the Household

Head of the Household
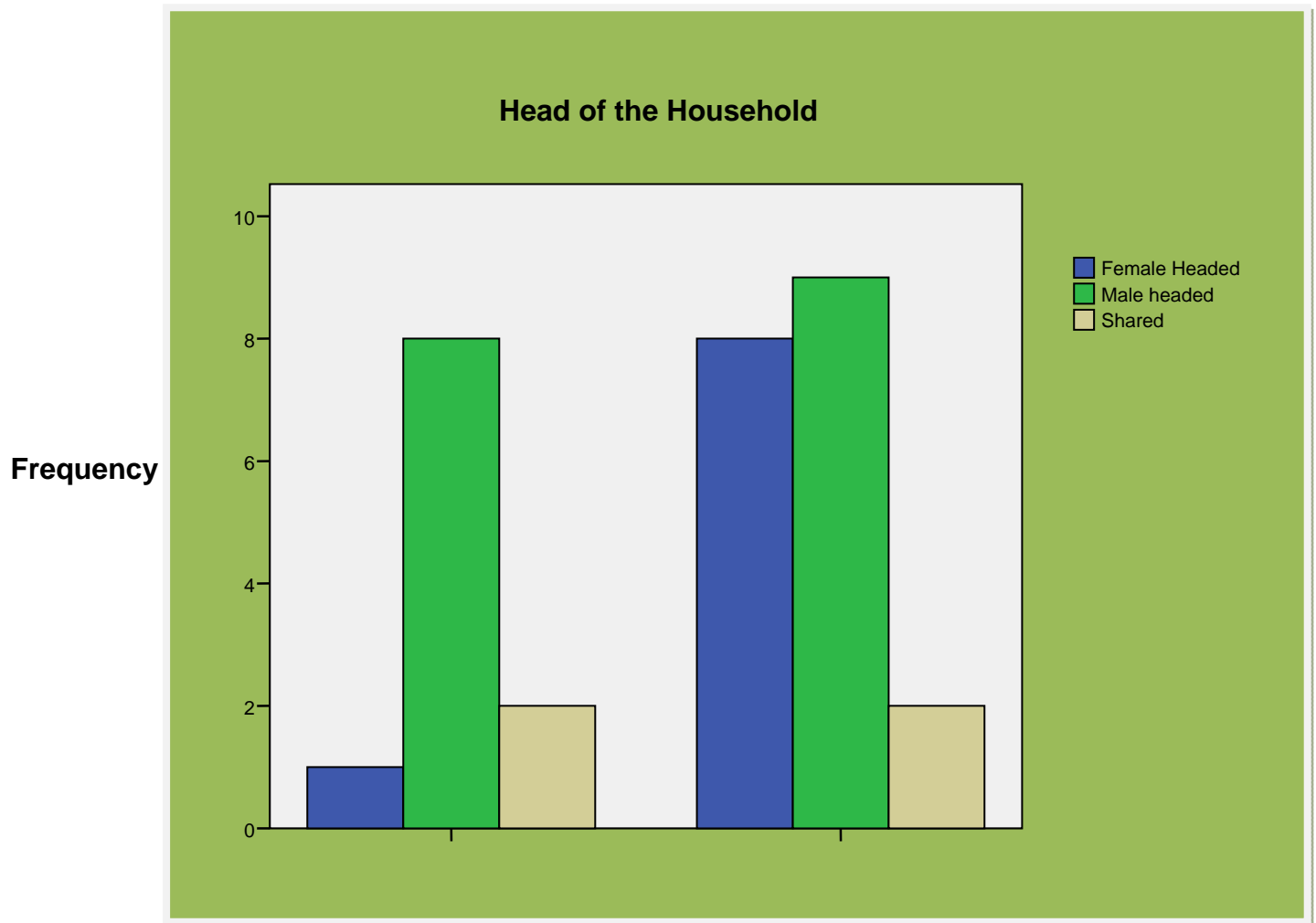
Many households in Emabhuqwini are male-headed as demonstrated above. This is a bit awkward for the study as it would seem that female household heads would be at 'home' and male one gone to metropoles. Instead, a large portion of household men are male. The chart suggests that even though men are not found in the area female respondents did indicate that their head the household.

Figure 5.3.3 Pensions and Grants

Does anybody in your Family receive Pension/Grant
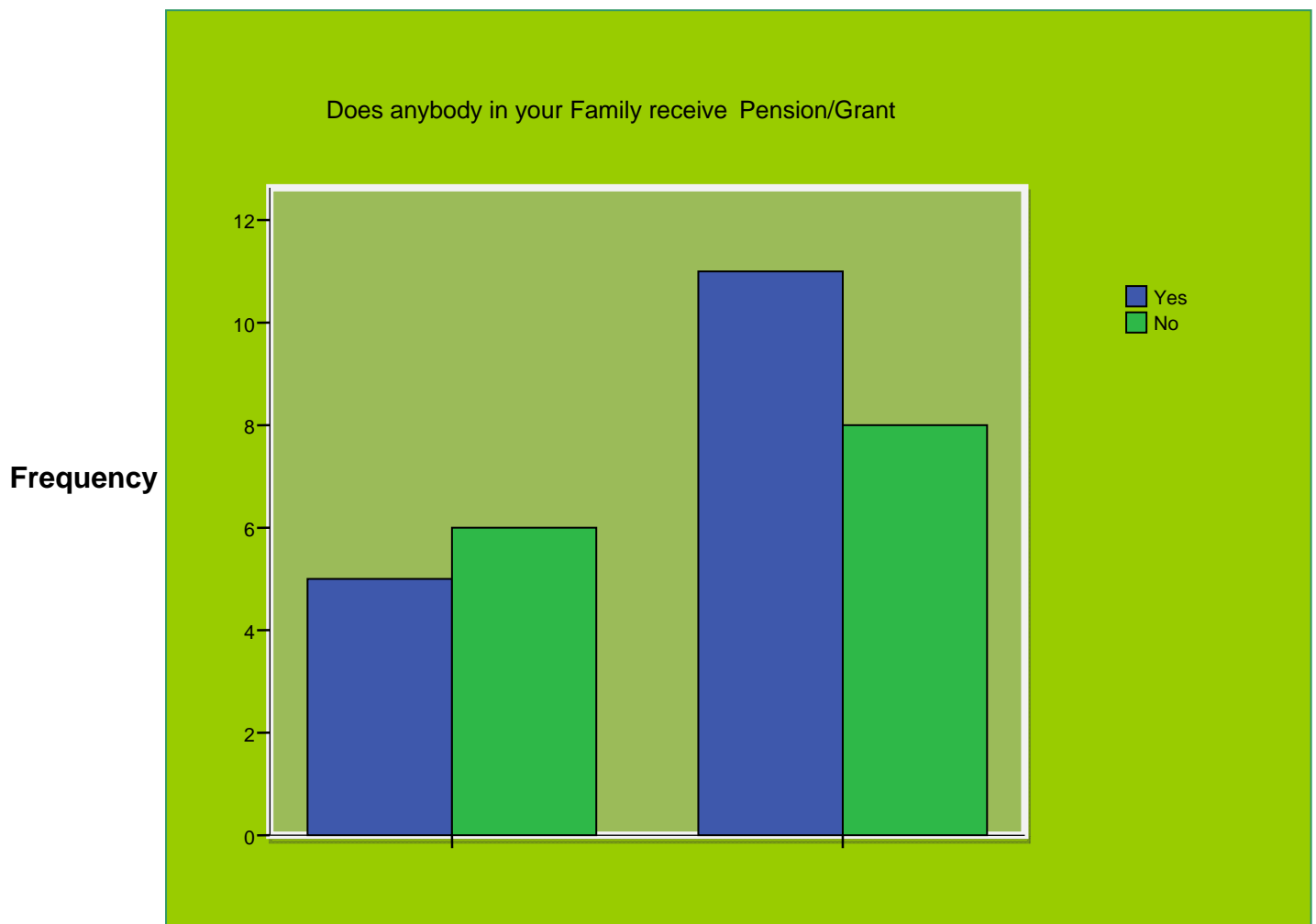
As demonstrated above, many a household survive on government's social grants. This is expected of the research site because of the socio-economic context discussed in Chapter One and Two above. The females are not working so pensions and grants tend to serve as a main source of income. The frequency of the people who receive pensions and grants is extremely high.

Figure 5.3.4 The type of social grant that is received
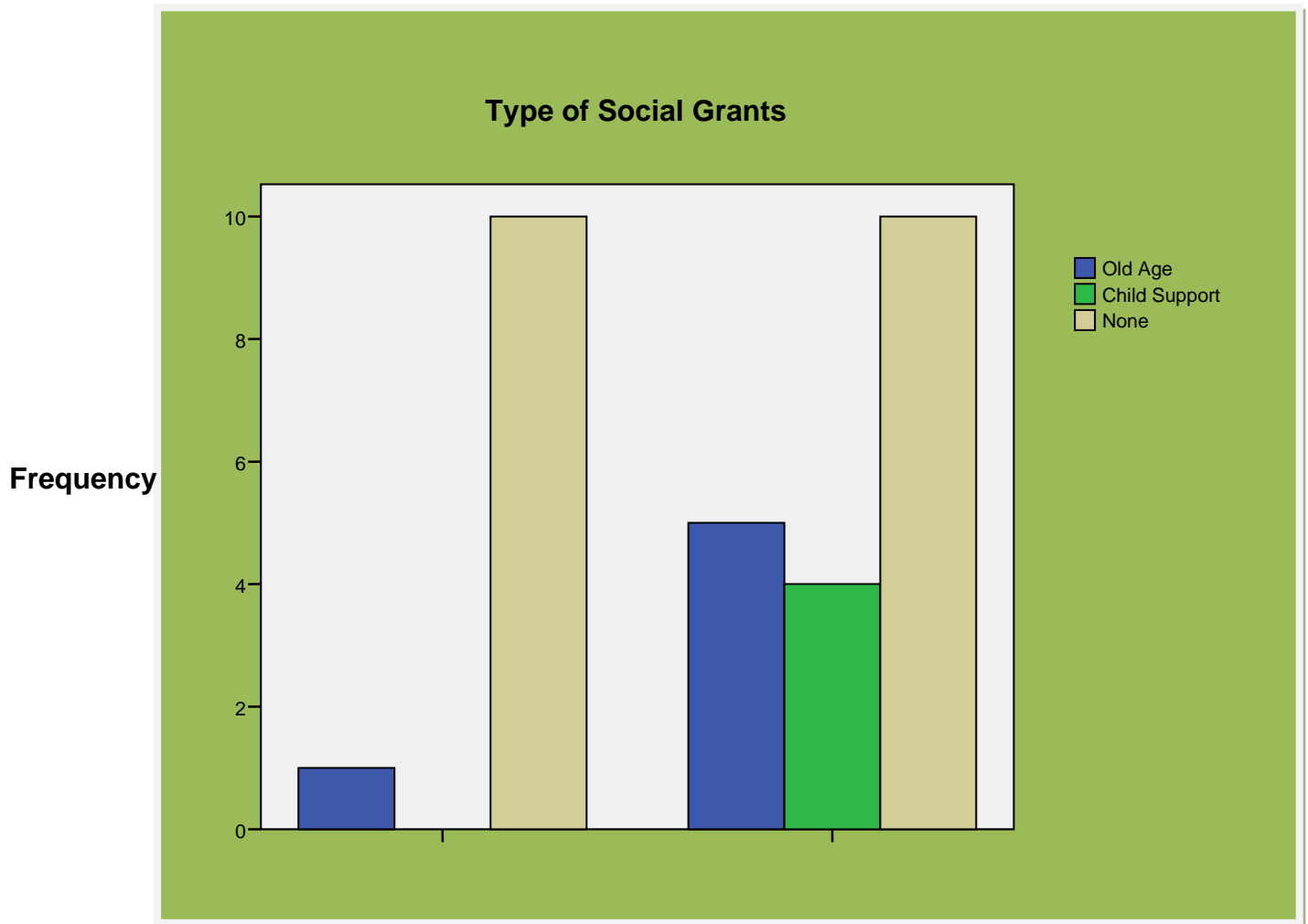
From Figures 4.4.3 and 4.4.4 it is clearly evident that many people do not receive any grants. There are more female respondents who do receive a grant than those who do not, and more male recipients who do not than those that do. The single most relevant explanation for this pattern is that child support grants are normally collected by children's mothers rather than their fathers. The few males that do receive a grant are probably in receipt of a disability grant.

Figure 5.3.5 Working People in the Household
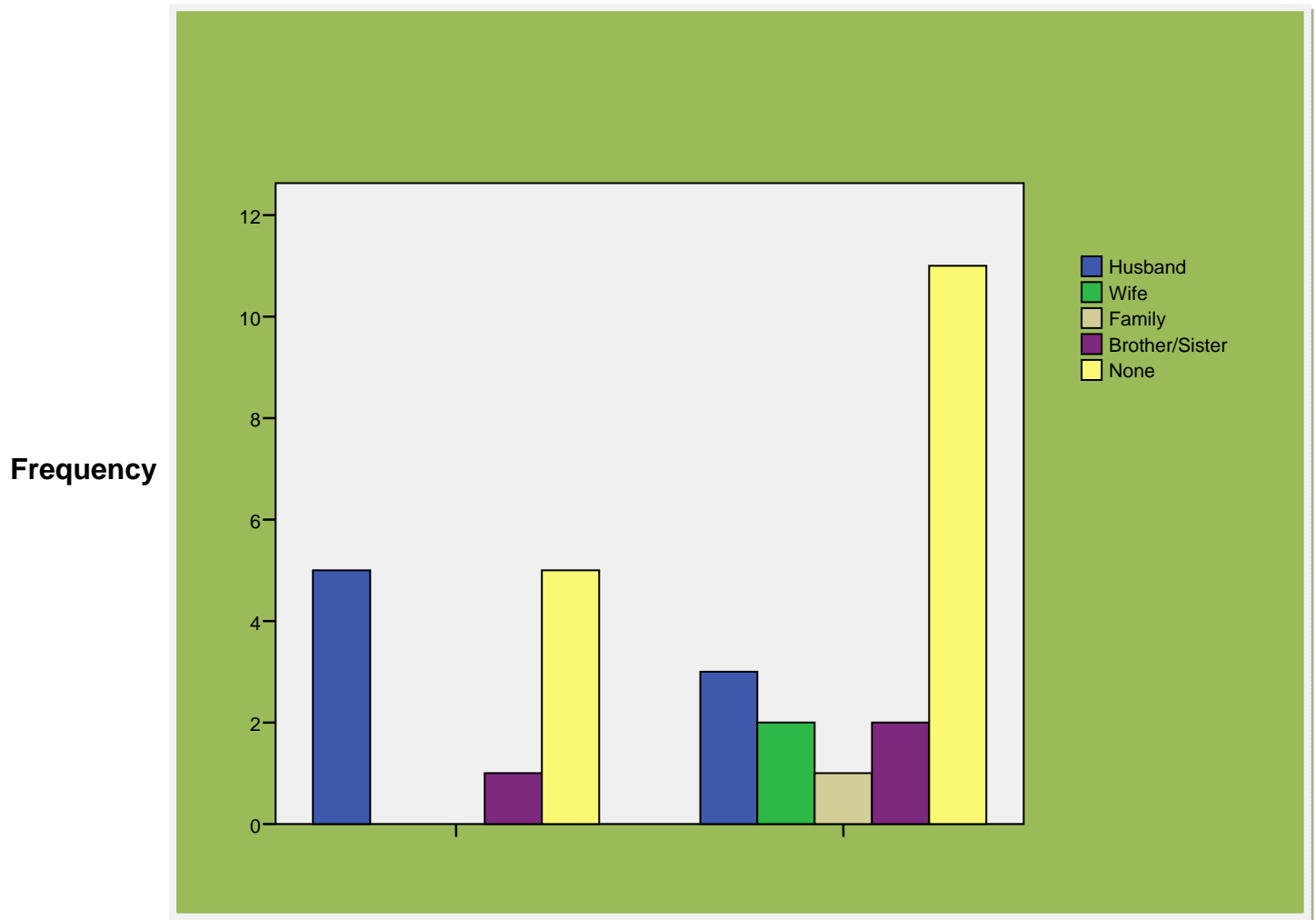
The large percentage of households that do not include employed person confirms earlier observations of a lack of employment opportunities as well as a lack of income. There are fewer households with unemployment for male respondents than there are for female respondents.

Figure 5.3.6 Length of period in the area

Number of Years
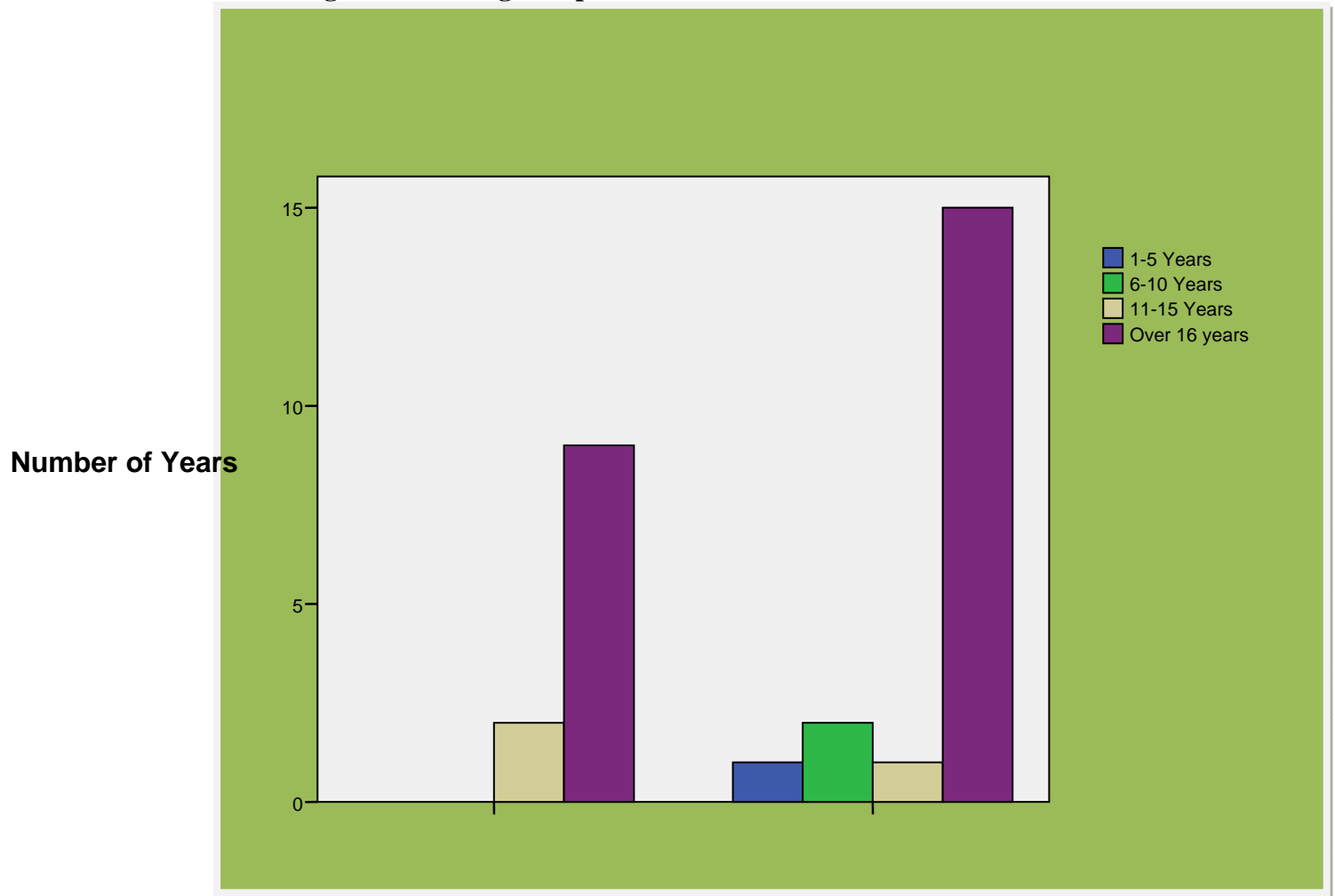
Many people have lived in eMabhuqwini for longer than sixteen years. Some of these are those that originated or were born in eMabhuqwini, because the other percentiles are too low for any significant analysis. This means that although people migrate there are those who still like the area probably because they were born there.

Figure 5.3.7 The Number of People in the Household
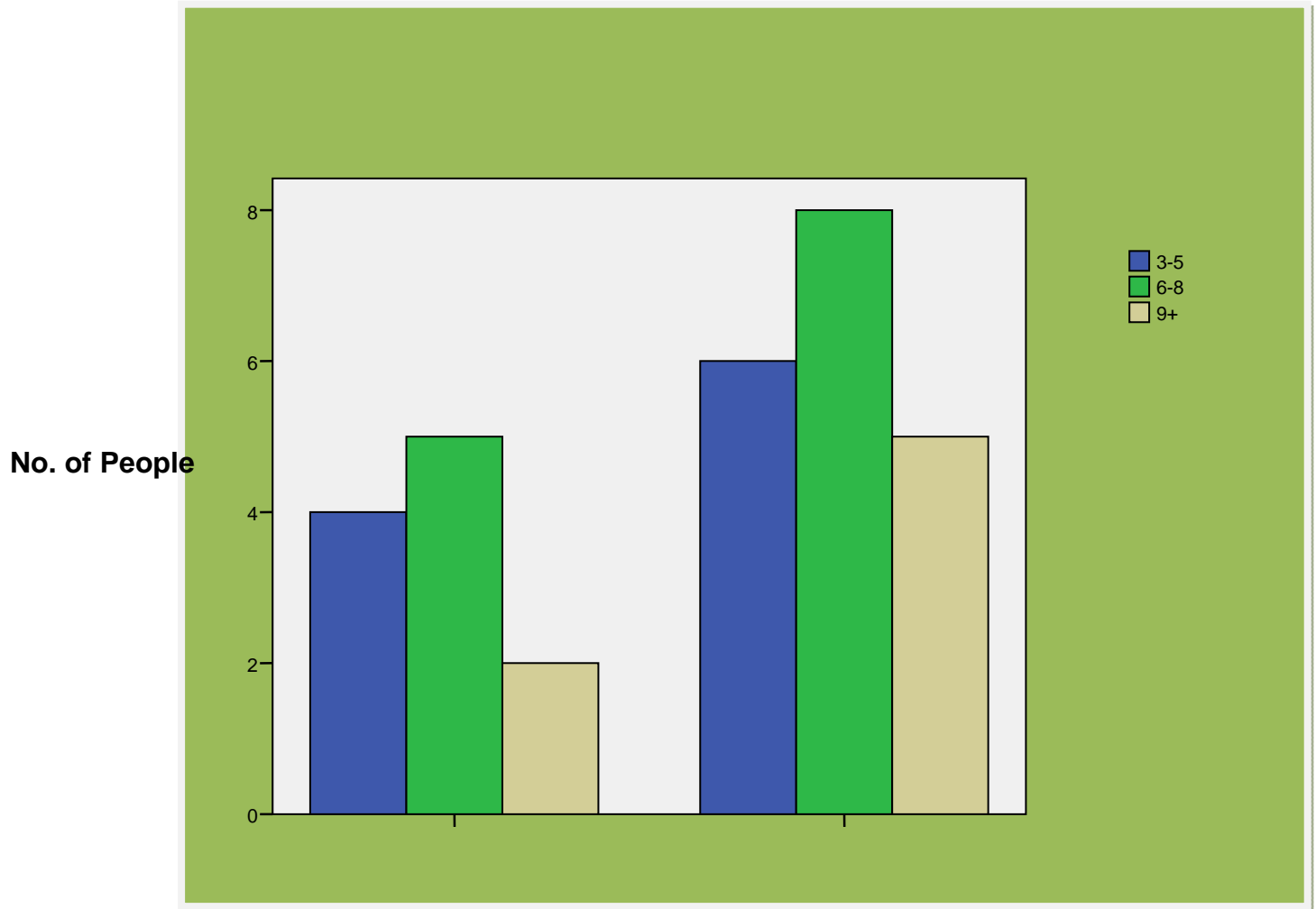
Figure 4.3.7 illustrates the fact that eMabhuqwini is mostly populated by extremely large households. All the people in the household may have no grant, employment or any other form of income, as seen previously. All these figures make it possible for any potential researcher to determine indicators that show poverty levels in eMabhuqwini. As it stands, it seems as if a large proportion of the community is living below the poverty threshold / below the breadline. These poverty levels might be very important in the explanation of migration as adult members of households would certainly have to look beyond their local areas for income in order to earn a living for the whole family.

Figure 5.3.8 Materials Used in Building a House
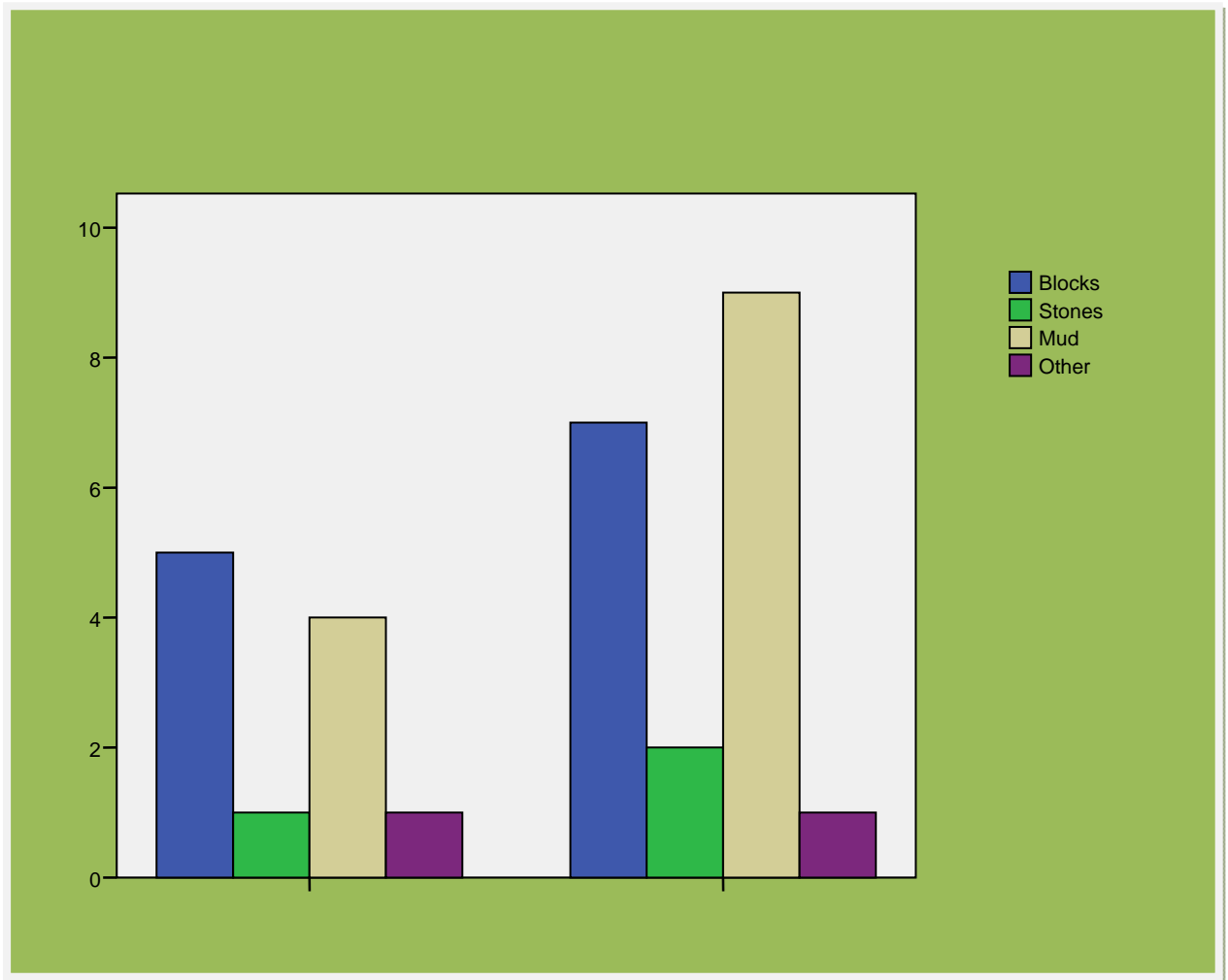
Many houses in eMabhuqwini are built using mud (simple sand and water). Firstly, building with these types of materials is difficult, as it involves a lot of physical energy. Secondly, the products, the houses themselves, are very unsafe to inhabit, as they are vulnerable to harsh weather conditions and can be dangerous in case they collapse.

Figure 5.3.9 Problems Caused by Migration
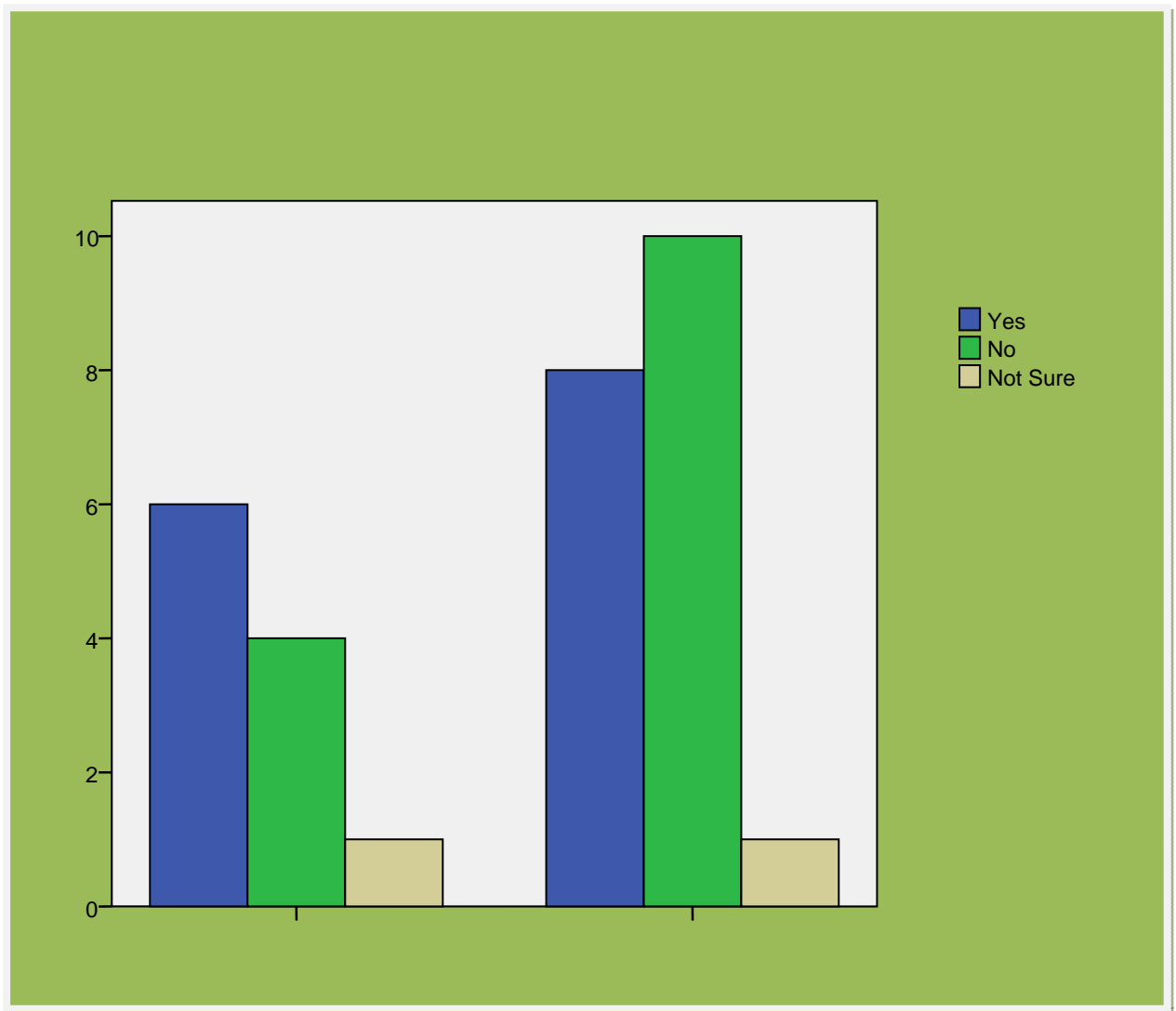
Surprisingly, many respondents thought that migration causes no problems in or for the area. There are those that thought otherwise, but the majority perceived there to be no problems at all.[2] This means that people do not recognise the extent of the harm that is caused by migration. This further suggests that they have come to accept and live with it.

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[2] This cross-tabulation is further discussed below.

Figure 5.3.10 Patterns of Migration in the Area
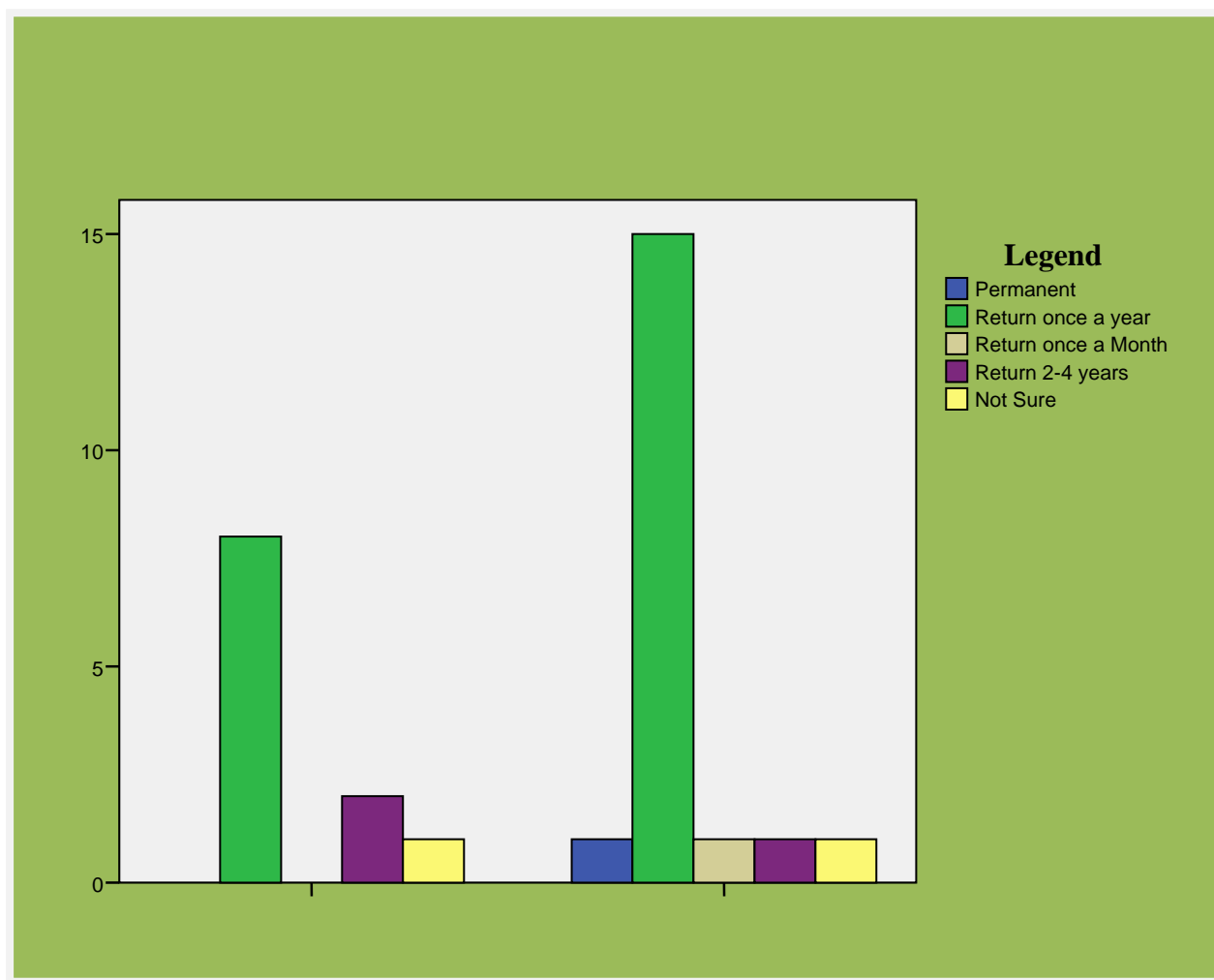
Migration patterns are mainly not ones of permanence. The number is even lower for those who return after many years. The majority are those that return home at least once yearly.

Figure 5.3.11 Role of Traditional Authorities / Councillor in the Area

Do you think traditional authorities/councilors are playing a positive role in bringing development in this area

Many were of the opinion that the leadership is not playing any positive role in bringing about development in eMabhuqwini. Only a small fraction believed they do. The impact of a lack of development pioneers in the area is directly responsible for lack of development in the area and thus migration levels.

Figure 5.3.12 The Nearest Schools in the Area

Where are the nearest schools ?
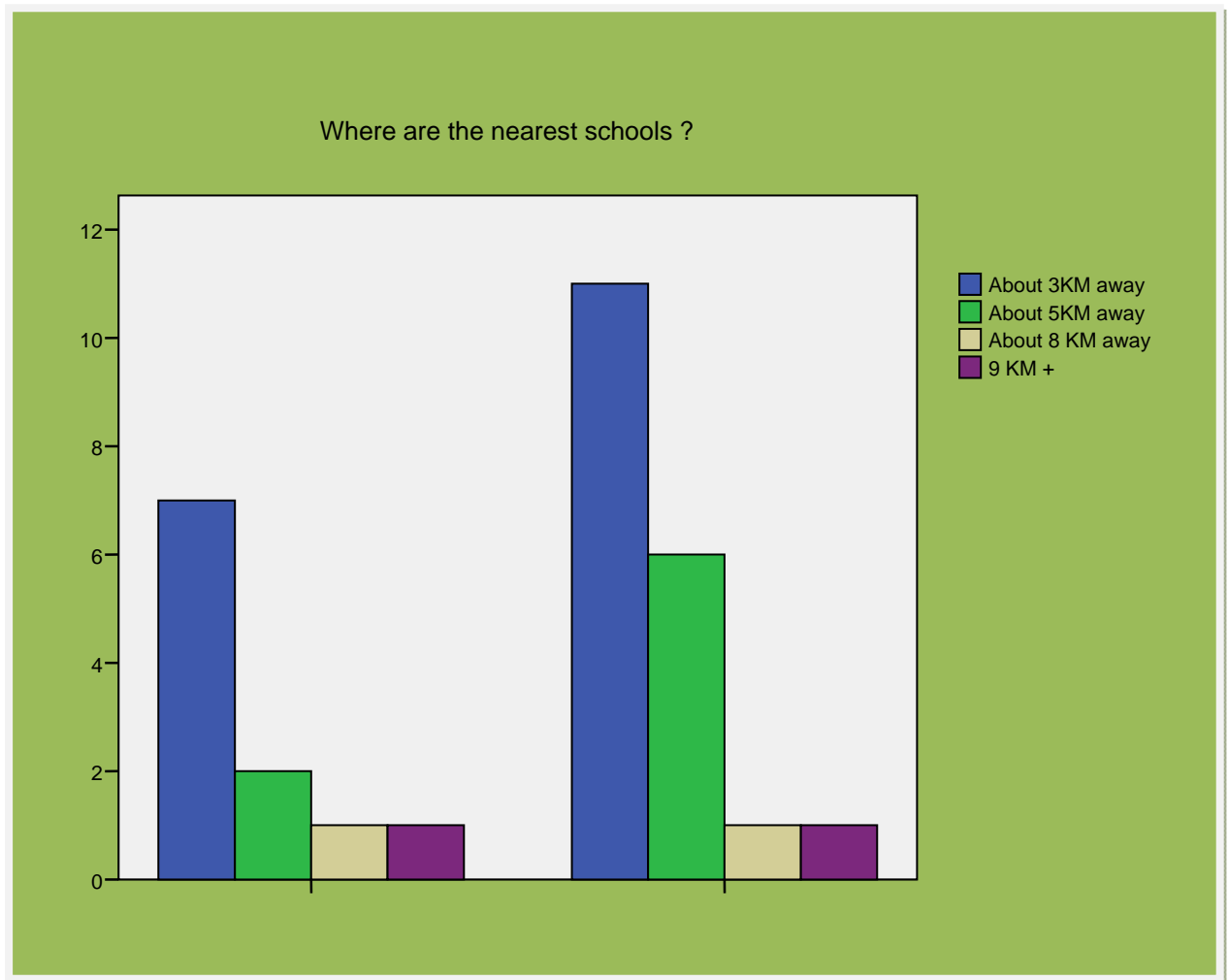
The nearest schools are at least 3 kilometres away from the people who use them. Some are even farther than that. This testifies to the lack of infrastructural development in the area.

Figure 5.3.13 Access to Basic Services

Where do you access basic services not available here?

Legend
- Nqutu
- Nkandla
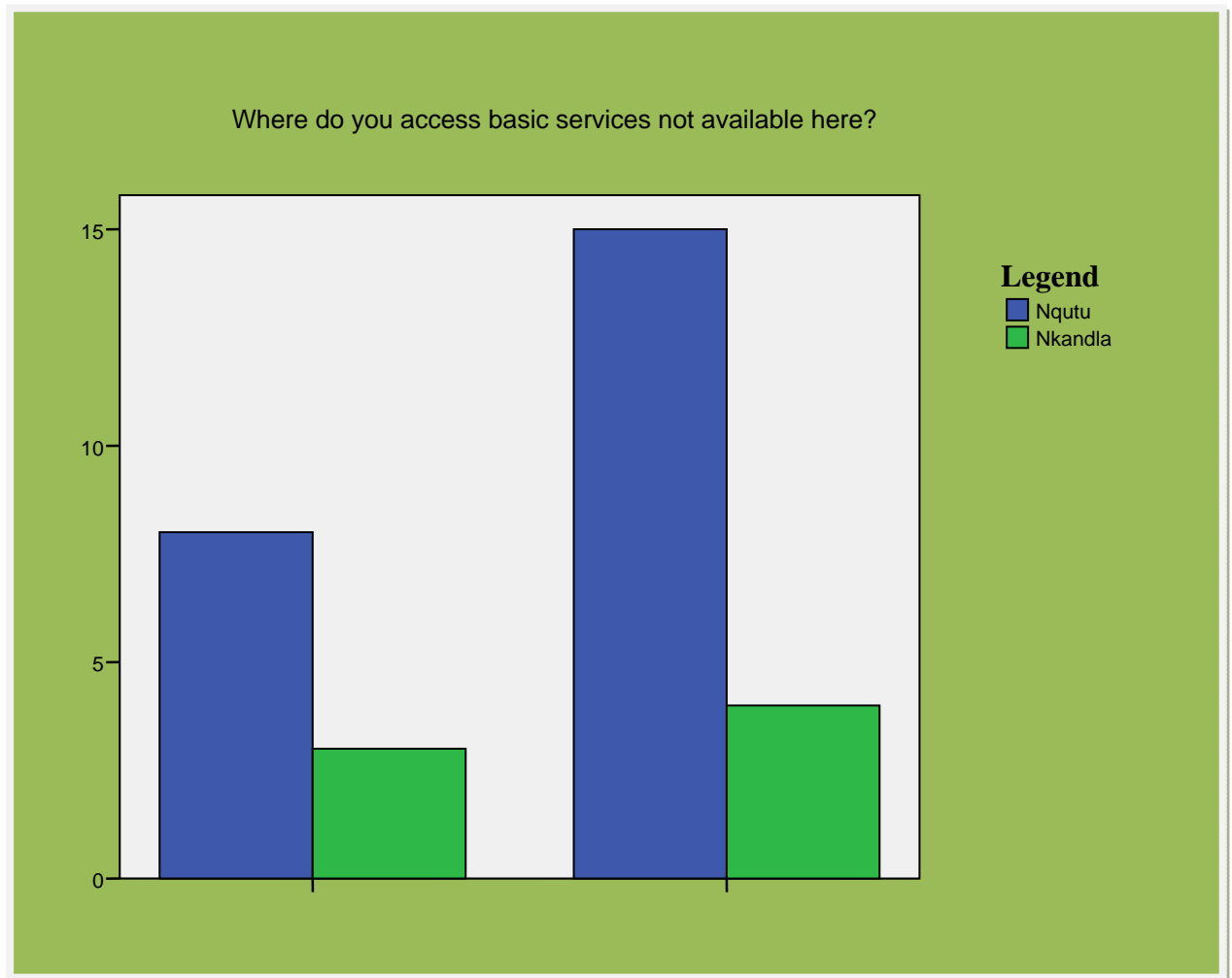
Most people who do not receive any amenities in eMabhuqwini receive these from Nquthu or, for fewer people, from Nkandla central. Like the schools shortage, all basic services are absent in eMabhuqwini. This is the main reason why people find it difficult to stay there and would rather migrate to better serviced areas. This further exacerbates underdevelopment in eMabhuqwini following the 'brain drain' that usually results from migration.

Figure 5.3.14 Meetings with the Councillor

How often do you meet with the councilor?

Legend
- Every three Months
- Once a Year
- Twice a year
- Three times a year
- never met
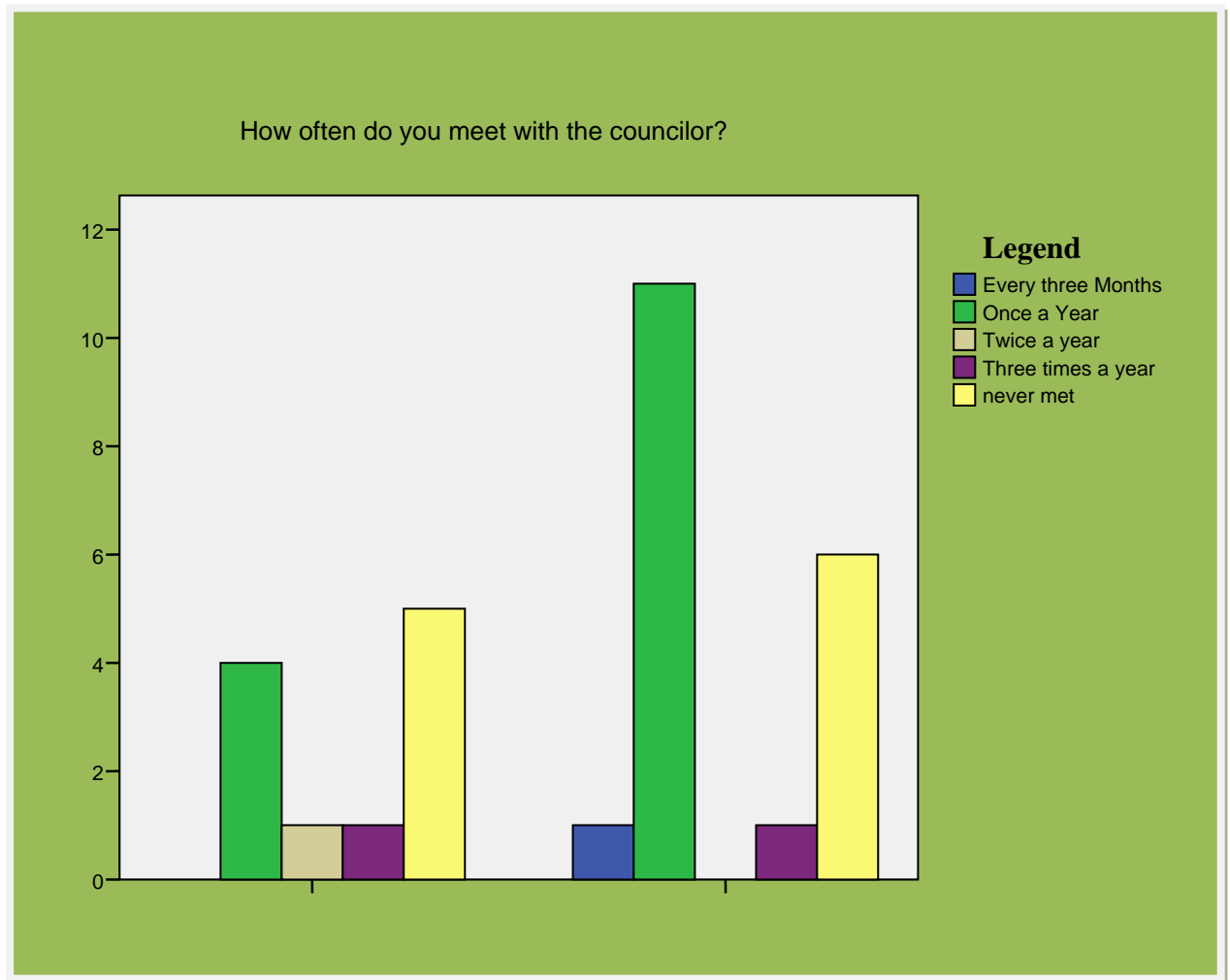
Figure 4.3.15 demonstrates clearly that the people of eMabhuqwini normally only meet the councillor once a year. This is an unacceptable situation in an area that requires development. The migration that results from lack of development is the main cause for a subsequent lack of development since the two are mutually reinforcing.

Figure 5.3.15 Familiarity with the Councillor
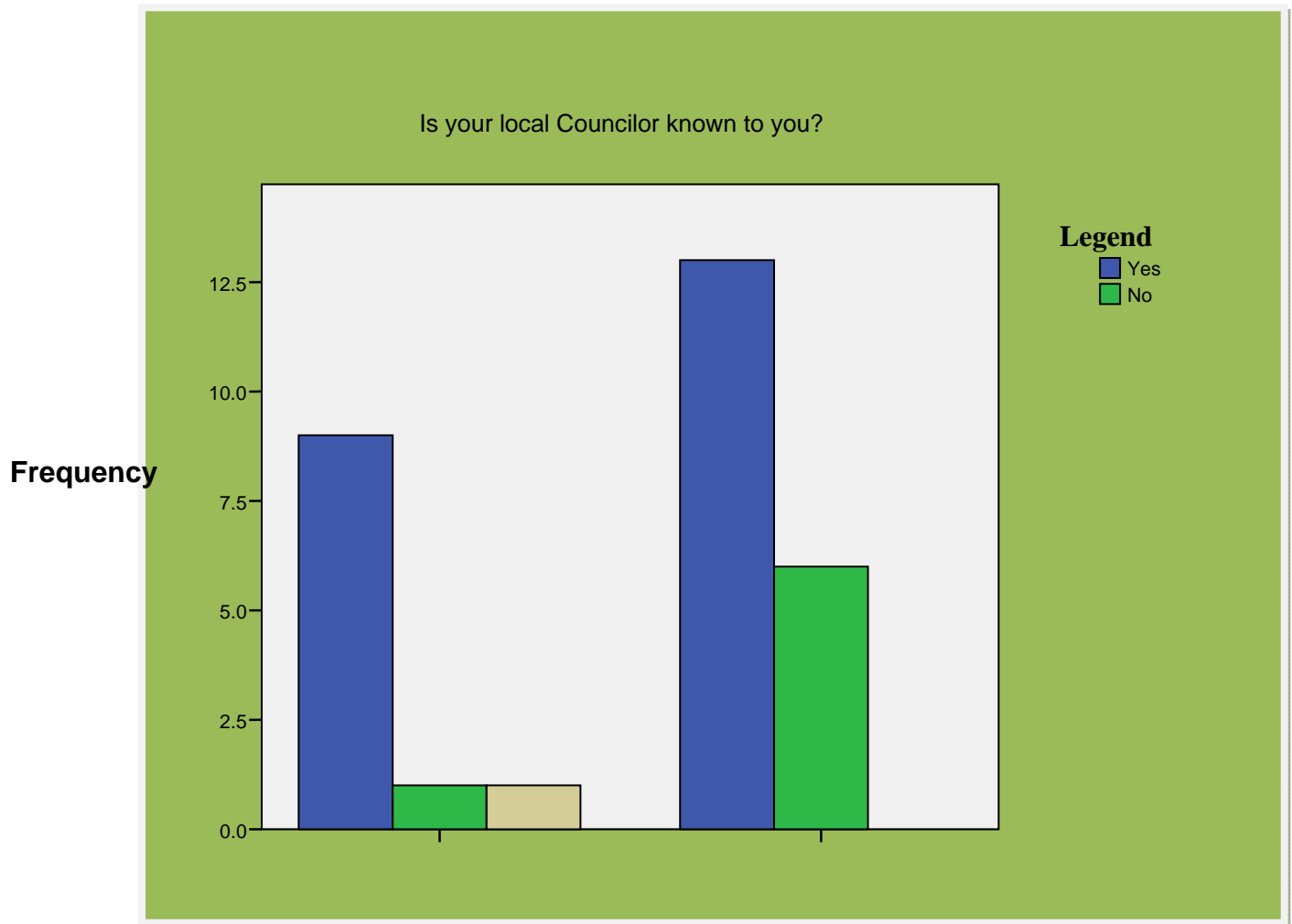
Figures 4.3.15 and 4.3.16 should be viewed closely as they portray political engagement of the local community with the leaders in the area. Further to this, Figure 4.3.16 demonstrates political participation and should be very important in an analysis of this nature as development itself is for the people, so the people should participate. The suggestion that many people do know who their councillor is although they meet them once a year so they do not know who they are is confusing and goes against the provisions of the Constitution and other national statute and legal precepts. They should surely meet the councillor more than once a year, especially in light of the fact that there is such a lack of progress in the developmental trajectory.

Figure 5.3.16 Public Participation in Community Meetings

Have you participated in community meetings?
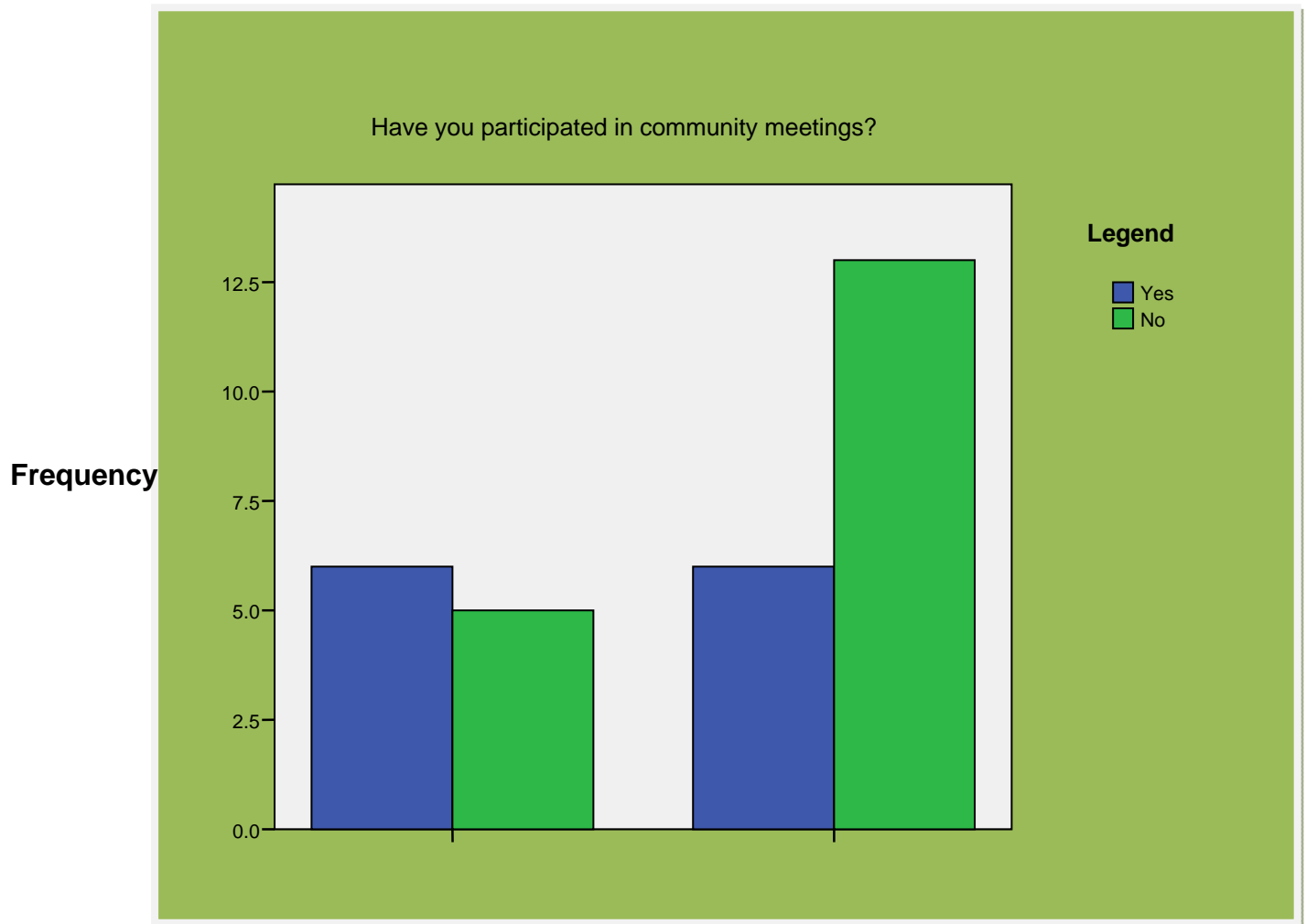
Participation in meetings is also very poor in eMabhuqwini. The reverse side of this is that community leaders do not summon any community meetings, or do so only once a year. Of course, one cannot expect a rural community to develop to a significant extent in such a political context. There is little participation of groups and individuals in governance or in politics generally. This lack of political attention to issues that matter to the community is one of the main reasons for migration and its impact cannot be underestimated.

Figure 5.3.17: People who Support different Political Parties in the Area

Do people support different political parties in the area?
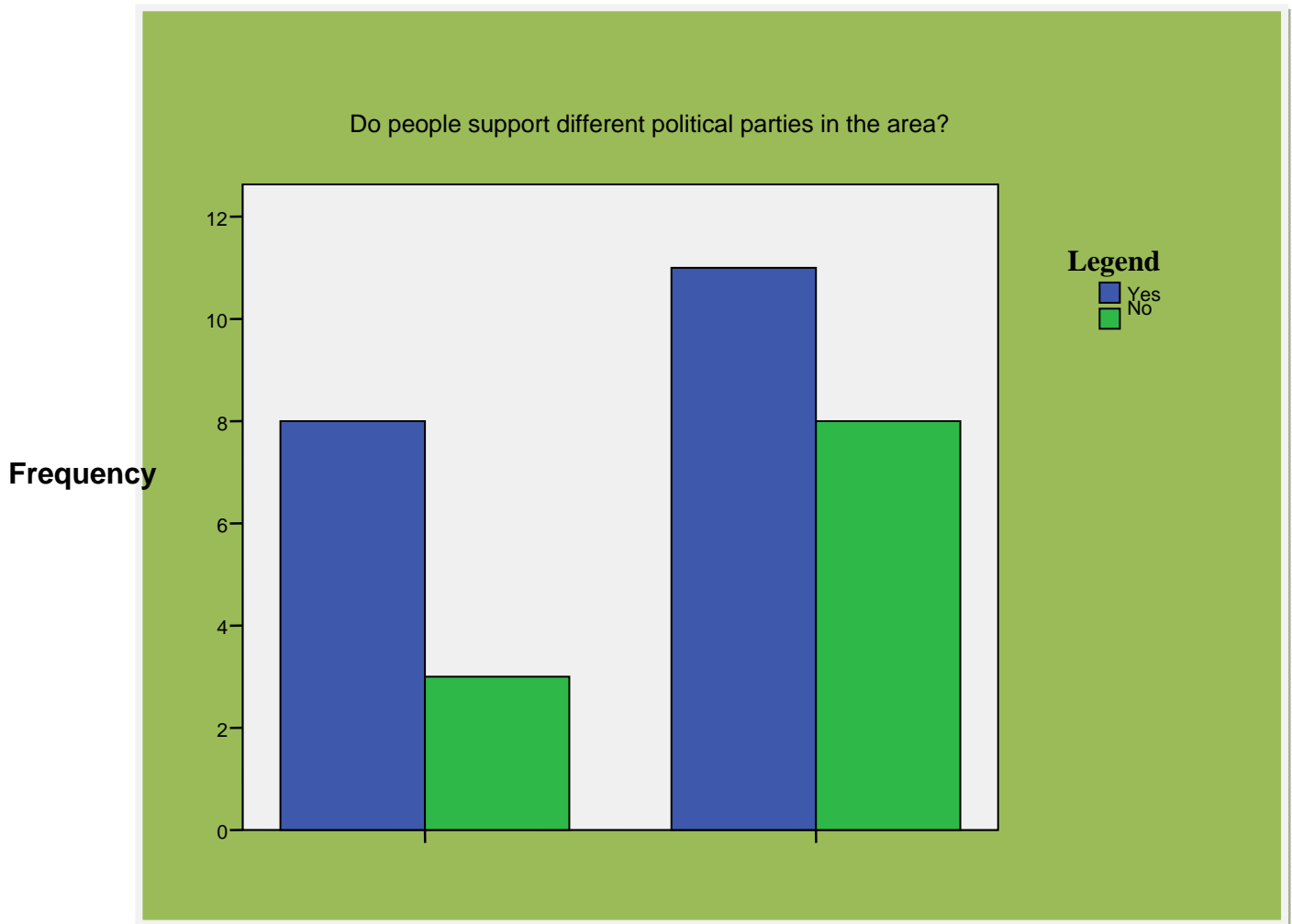
Indeed the different parties would sometimes ignore their constituencies and continue the factional conflicts among them. Large proportions of both males and females agreed to this statement meaning that many people think that there is a variety of political parties in the area. In fact, there are two dominant ones: ANC and Inkatha. The following figure (Figure 4.3.19) speaks about the impact of having more than one political party being supported in the area where there is lack of development.

Figure 5.3.18: Problems attributed to supporting different political parties

Are there any caused by supporting different parties?
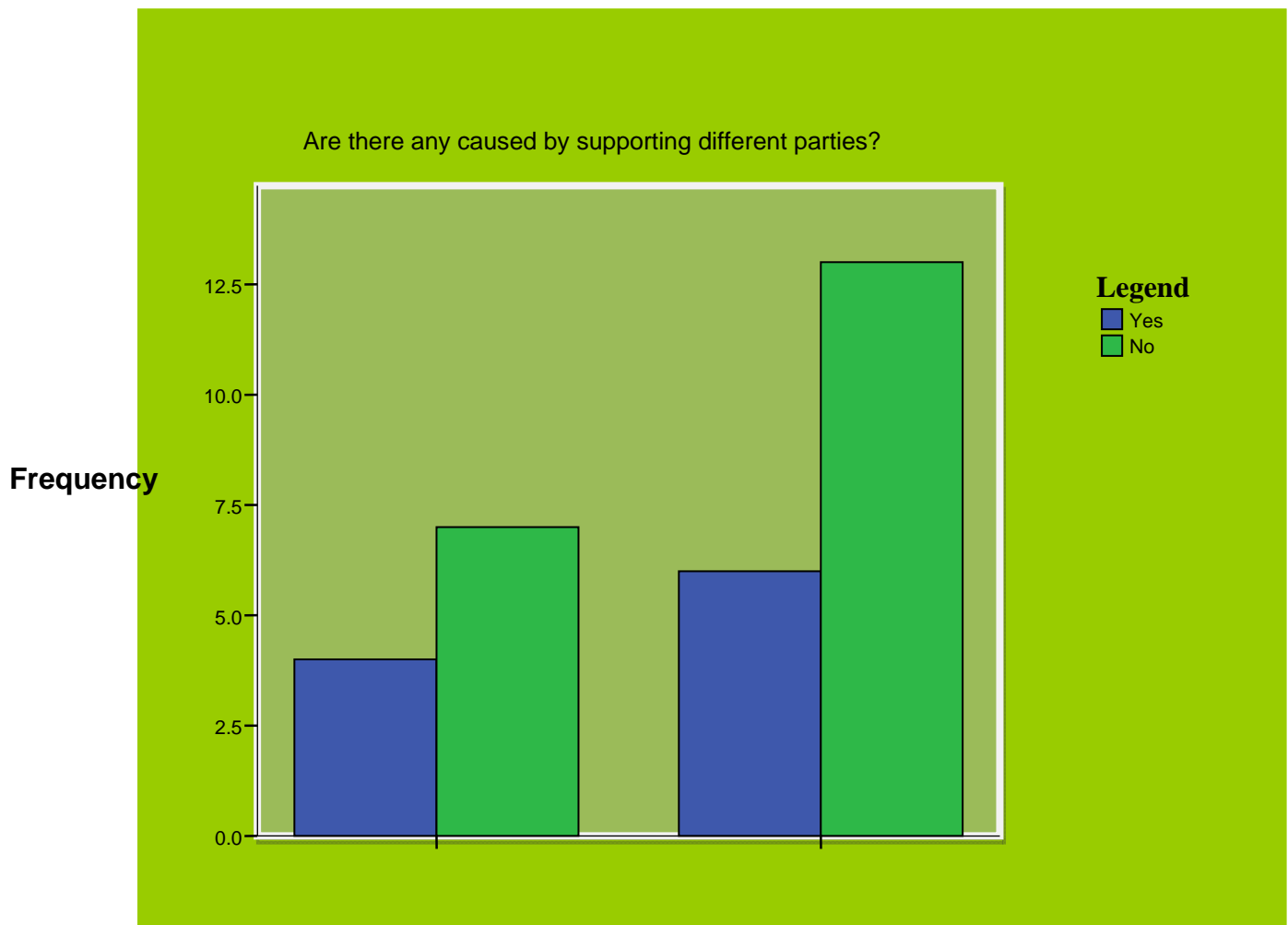
Many respondents argue that there are no problems associated with supporting different political parties. This provides similar statistics to those obtained from the question on whether there are problems associated with migration. Many respondents thought that there are no problems associated with migration, when clearly there are. They are there when we look at development indices, income levels, employment etc. Indeed, the problems associated with supporting different parties explain why there is lack of development in the area. This is because the constant fights engaged in by the different parties necessarily leads to development taking a backseat and thus contributing to migration. These political faction fights by power hungry authorities do not help the community who have to struggle on a daily basis for a means of survival.

Figure 5.3.19: Development Meetings in the Area

How many times do meeting about development take place?

Frequency

Legend
- Once a Month
- Three Times a month
- Once a Year
- Twice a year
- Never
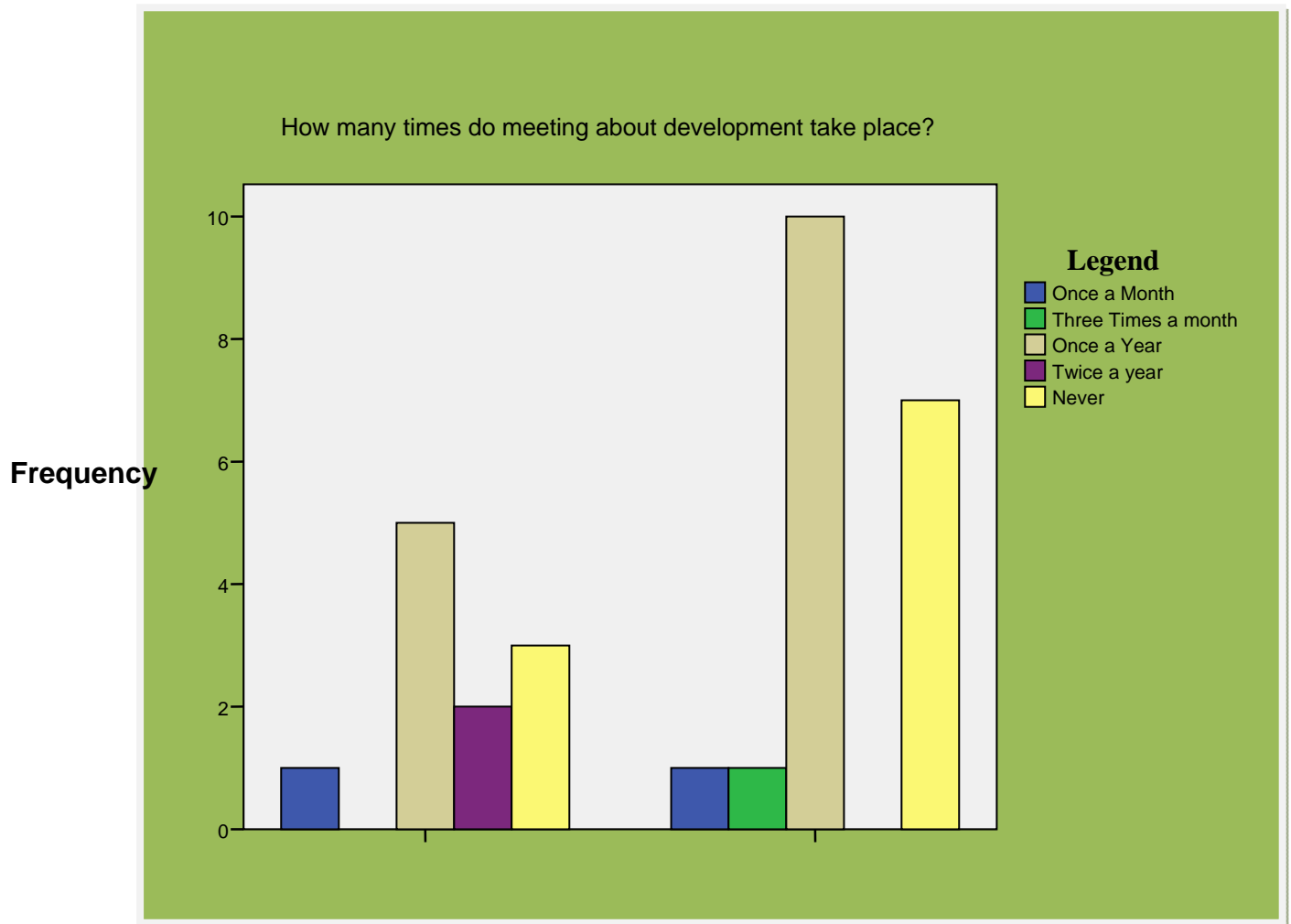
Figure 4.5.20 clearly shows the responses that interviewees gave when asked about the number of times that community development meetings take place in their area. The two largest response categories are 'once a year' and 'never' respectively. These are alarming statistics considering the fact that the problem of migration is caused by a lack of development, and thus more poverty in the area.

Figure 5.3.20: Household Monthly Costs
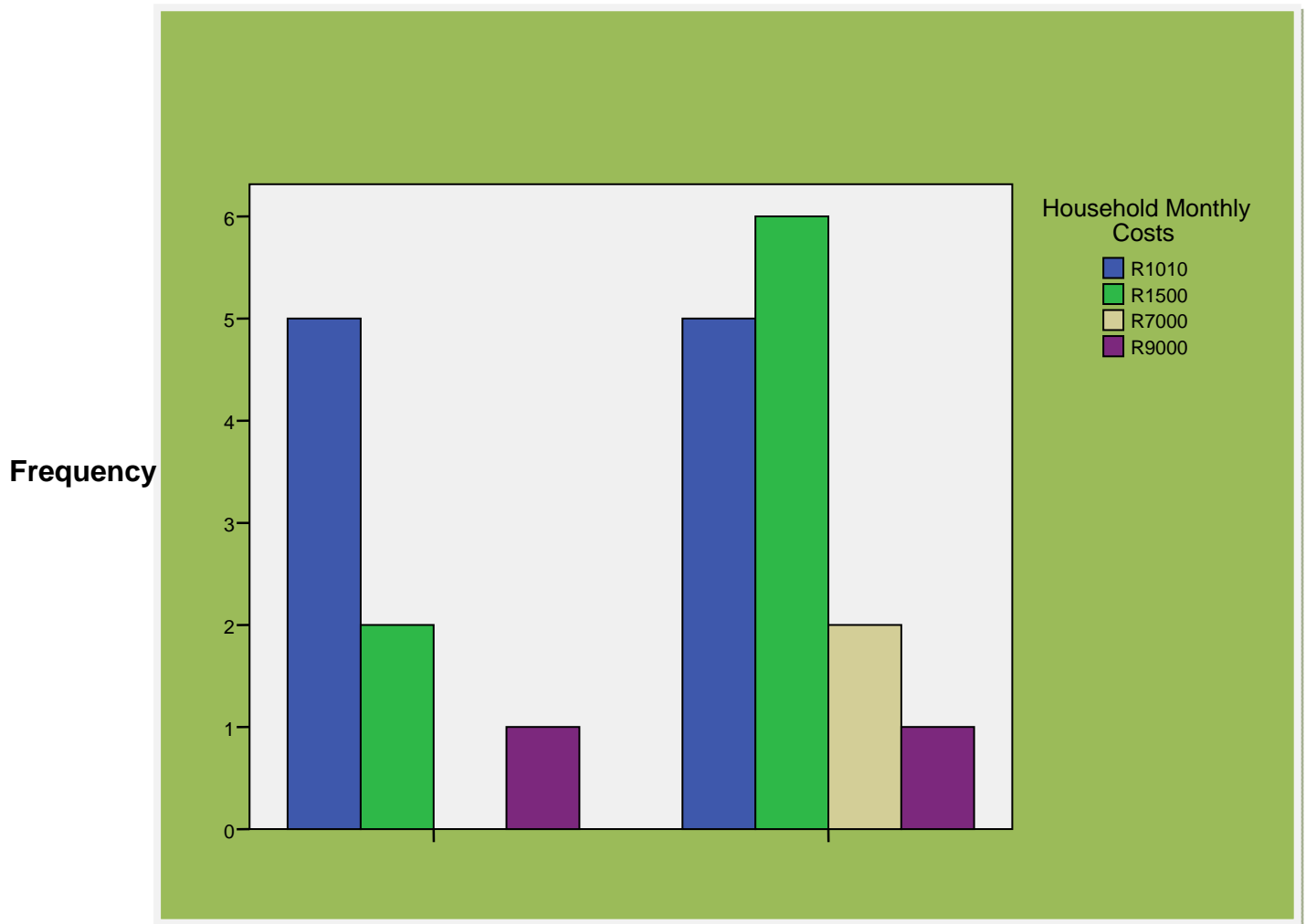
The two largest figures above are R1010 and R1500, meaning that many households survive on about R1500 or less as a monthly budget. This speaks to those families only that do not have some income as verified in Figures 4.4.6, 4.4.7 as well as 4.5.1 above. We are aware by now that many households do not even have a breadwinner or any income at all. Of course these levels of misery would force any thinking person to migrate to a place where employment and income opportunities are better than the place of origin.

Fig 5.3.22 A Map Illustrating Priority Intervention Areas in Nkandla

Source: http://www.kwanalu.co.za/upload/files/PGDS.pdf
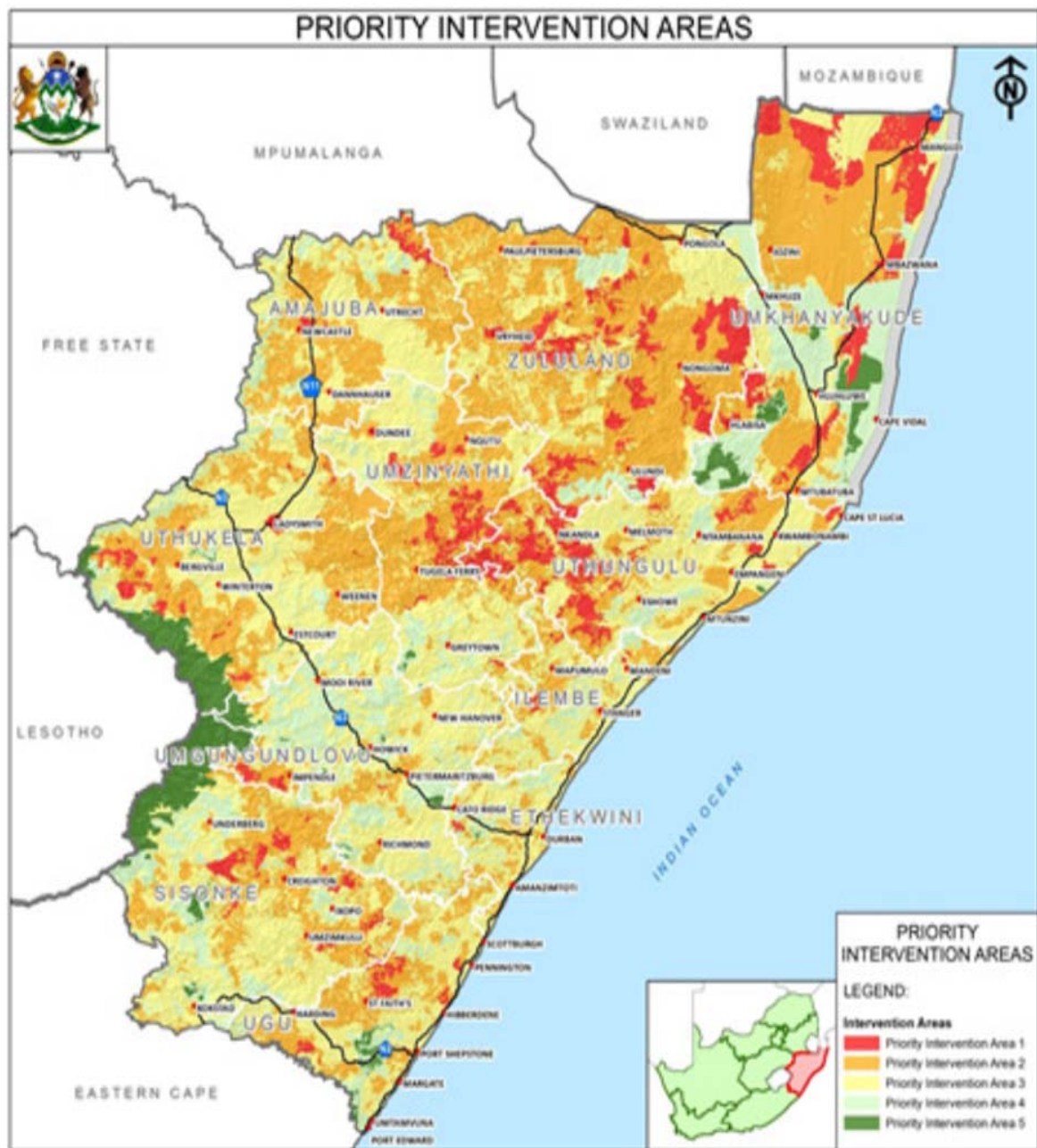
The following map highlights the areas where the Provincial Growth and Development Strategy (PGDS) is required in order to improve the economy of the province. The emphasis is actually placed on the infrastructural development as an effective and viable way of creating employment opportunities.

Fig. 5.3.23 A Map Illustrating KwaZulu-Natal Spatial Development Framework

Source: http://www.kwanalu.co.za/upload/files/PGDS.pdf
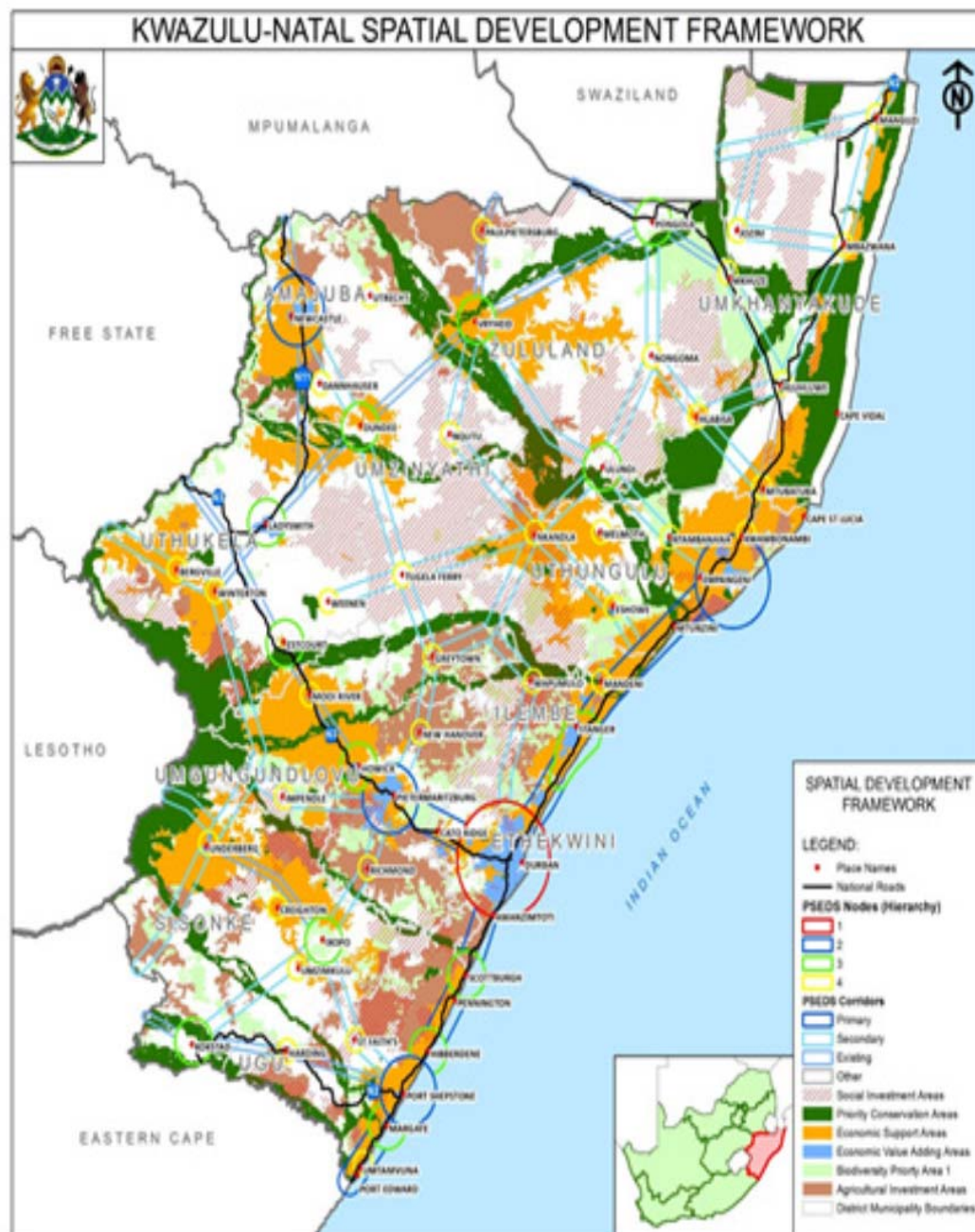
Whilst these maps have been used to illustrate the gaps where development interventions are needed, it is also important to outline the provincial growth and development strategy of KwaZulu-Natal into greater detail. According to the Provincial Planning Commission, the cabinet adopted PGDS Review Framework at the February 2011 Cabinet Lekgotla. It tasked the Planning Commission with the

mandate to draft a vision and to review the KZN PGDS (KwaZulu-Natal Planning Commission (KZNPC), 2012). Thus, after a series of broad consultations and engagements, the KZN PGDS was finally adopted. In short, the PGDS has to:

> Set a long term (20 years +) vision and direction for the province; serve as an overarching objective for development in the province applying 80/20 principle; provide spatial context and prioritization; guide the activities and resource allocation for provincial government and other spheres of government, business sectors, organized labour, and other role players from the civil society that contribute to development in the province; alignment and integration; structured consultation; clear roles and responsibilities; and resource commitments and budget alignment (http://www.kznppc.gov.za/Portals/0/Documents/1217%20KZN%20Growth%20and%20Development%20Strategy%20Base%20Presentation%20V30.pdf)

In accordance with the 18 SIPS initiated by the Presidential Infrastructure Coordinating Commission, the Provincial Government of KwaZulu-Natal has instituted a 20 year plan to grow the economy of the Province for the improvement of the quality of life of all people living in KZN. According to KZN Top Business Portfolio (2013), the vision of the Province is that by 2030 KwaZulu-Natal will be prosperous with a healthy, secure, skilled population, acting as a gateway to Africa. The KZN Top Business Portfolio (2013) maintains that seven point Strategic Framework has been put in place in an attempt to address issues of job creation; human resource development; human and community development; strategic infrastructure; environmental sustainability; governance and policy and spatial equity. According to Democracy Development Programme (DDP) (2013), PGDS has come into existence in KwaZulu-Natal as a strategic tool that maps the growth trajectories of the province, particularly the potential strategies to boost economic growth, and through which the province may realise the ultimate vision of becoming the gateway to Africa and the rest of the world.

5.4 Interpretation of Qualitative Findings and Analysis

5.4.1 Introduction

While the previous chapter outlined the characteristics of the municipality in terms of infrastructure and service provision as being the cause of migration, this chapter seeks to present the findings regarding the causes of migration. This is done in an attempt to get an overall perspective of the responses of the community in answering questions related to causes, patterns and impacts of migration on the development of eMabhuqwini.

The two major questions which inform this chapter are juxtapositional and are:

- how migration impacts on the development of eMabhuqwini in terms of 'brain drain' due to skilled people leaving the area.
- The second question is whether migration of the economically active population is linked to the poor provision of services and infrastructure in the eMabhuqwini area.

5.4.2 The Research Findings

A number of research methods and tools were used to gather the information being analysed here. These methods included interviews, structured interviews, household survey and focus groups. The latter were recorded and transcribed for ease of capturing and analysis. The analyses in this section are for focus groups as well as in-depth household respondents. The results of the findings will be presented in great detail for each theme investigated.

5.4.3 Household Survey and Focus Groups

This section analyses themes from open-ended household research schedule as well as focus group discussion schedule.

5.5 The Causes, and Consequences of Migration

The data obtained indicated that 4 out of 6 eMabhuqwini households have two or three members who have started to come back every one or two months or during the holidays (Good Friday and Christmas). However, the migration trends had changed

into permanent moves to areas such as Nqutu, which is seen as much better in terms of service delivery and to the urban areas of Johannesburg, Durban and Richards Bay. Most people who move for employment reasons are temporary migrants, while those who move nearby have left permanently. This means that unemployment is not the only cause of permanent migration, but people who migrated on a permanent basis had social reasons (such as quality of life) other than employment, for migrating, especially since there are limited numbers of job opportunities in urban industries as well.

This research indicates that migrants are people who are economically active and range from 18 to 55 years of age, who are financially needy, mostly educated and with the potential to bring change in the form of development to the eMabhuqwini area. While in most cases the migrants are both males and females, males have a higher rate of movement than females. The survey captured information of the targeted population group (any present household member) so as to understand the character of the migrants, the trends and movement patterns; as well as three focus group meetings where each group consisted of not more than four participants.

The findings of the survey reflect that large numbers of people who live permanently in the study area comprise women who are not working, and who have a very low level of education. Most of them are dependent on government grants, on remittances and on subsistence agriculture. The subsistence agriculture is used to supplement the meagre sum received on a wide range of informal activities (house building, thatching, felling timber, grass work, pottery, sewing, hairdressing, shoe repairs, trading, herbal medicinal trade) and piece wage work. It is important to note that although migrants' remittances are an important livelihood source, they contribute only approximately 20% toward total household income.

The eMabhuqwini population is approximately 80% female. The reason noted for this is that most women are illiterate, unemployable and unemployed and/or married in customary law to the migrant men who are working in urban areas and who usually come back on month ends or on holidays.

5.6 Causes of Migration

The information obtained indicated that underdevelopment of the area causes pain in the livelihoods of eMabhuqwini people. This is because, as one respondent puts it, "... many people leave their area to go and work in areas which are already developed hence this poses a challenge to the development of their area as many people never come back to uplift their area in terms of striving for development to be seen and not only heard of." He also alluded to the fact "... that there are many things we can do collectively with the people who have left the area and this means that we are left with people who have scanty abilities who are a load to one's activeness within the household and the community." On the issue of the impact migration has on development, he said that "... since there are no job opportunities in the area and that since people are moving away from the area, there can be no development".

A respondent detailed her take on the issue of how underdevelopment of the area causes migration: "... There are many factors that cause people to migrate from eMabhuqwini to urban areas. Such factors include the fact of underdevelopment that creates strain to our jobs as nurses since we have to attend to 80 to 90 patients a day. This is because of the shortage of nurses because they do not want to work in underdeveloped areas." She mentioned that "eMabhuqwini clinic has four staff members. Among the four staff members there are two professional nurses and two staff nurses." She went on to say that those nurses who work in the clinic are under pressure because they do not enjoy their work at all. They persevere nevertheless because the motivation is that they do want to help people who are sick and cannot help themselves.

Some challenges nurses encounter is in emergency situations. For example, "a shortage of patient transport vehicles (there is only one ambulance in the area) makes the life of the community and ours very difficult ... this poses problems for us as at times people die because of the shortage of equipment to support them." She further notes the extent of stress caused by working in an underdeveloped area. She also noted that she thinks working in a remote area a person requires a support system. "... at times you feel like taking out from your pocket to help people that are suffering ...", she said.

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Another respondent interviewee said that "... migration is caused by climatic conditions which are one element that pushes people away from eMabhuqwini to urban areas. Such climatic conditions include lack of rain even in summer when it is supposed to be raining. Hence many people who live by farming cannot rely on farming because the soil is dry and hard. Hence, many people cannot cope; as a result they move out of the area". The respondent further said that "... there is no support from the government to help alleviate the increasing poverty levels faced by the people of eMabhuqwini".

On the question of what she thinks about people migrating into urban areas, she stated that she feels unhappy about people migrating into urban areas as one of her brothers migrated to Johannesburg to look for work and had not found a job up until the time of the interview.

The people of eMabhuqwini responded in more or less the same way when asked about issues relating to migration. On the issue of migration, according to this respondent, "It is good for people to migrate as there are no employment opportunities in the area...." He believes that the absence of employment opportunities causes migration. He went on to mention that he also believed that "…there is a need for people to come back to their area as the urban areas they migrated to also started off underdeveloped and then transformed into developed areas". In other words, according to him, people need to drive development themselves in their own areas. On the issue of youth moving away from underdeveloped area of eMabhuqwini, he mentioned that "the youth need to follow the structures so that they would see development in their area. This means that they have to ask the people who are in positions to lobby for development".

5.7 Relatives and Migration

On the issue of how the respondents felt about relatives migrating into urban areas, one mentioned the fact that "... it is worrying because it affects the area in terms of skills shortage and that those who are skilled should help in developing their community. Many problems that arise in the community showed that the movement

of people of eMabhuqwini to urban areas leaves people with no skills in the area". Furthermore the respondent also believed that migration is a two way scenario: it is good for people to go to places where they can find employment but it is bad when they just leave their area to go and live somewhere else without finding a job. He also said that as much as they are in rural areas there are projects given by the government to the community. The one project currently in the area is Masifundisane for adult education. The problem is that these are too scanty!

Another sense in which migration is bad is that "...when people migrate they leave their children behind", he noted. In this way children tend to maintain themselves without the guidance of their parents. This gives them (children) self-control in that when the migrants come back they find that boys have impregnated the girls and girls would have had children out of wedlock while still at home". Another noted that "... those who leave their area for good tend to forget about their relatives left behind. They also forget about their wellbeing and upbringing values. They turned out to be too civilised in such a way that they look down upon their social upbringing values". Further note was made to the effect that "... migration has negative results on many families as they lose grown-up children due to lack of basic services and when they need help they cannot get it from their grown-up children who have migrated. Those who come back help with a few skills they acquired in terms of encouraging youth to formulate plans and generate ideas that could help their community." On how she felt about relatives migrating into urban areas, she said: "I feel unhappy as the brother who migrated to Johannesburg is not getting a job". She further mentioned that she would like it if they were all living together but because they are suffering there is a need for others to go and try to get jobs elsewhere as well.

One also noted that: "I tell myself that they go because they want jobs which can help them earn money which I cannot give them". There were no problems when her relatives went to urban areas.

5.8 Migration Patterns

From the researcher's point of view, migration patterns in Nkandla in general have become blatantly obvious that there is a preponderance dominance of women in the

area. The overwhelming presence of women in Nkandla is largely believed to be caused by the fact their husbands neither works in Johannesburg, Cape Town or Durban. Indeed, the exorbitantly high traveling costs from and to work seems to have kept the men away from their homes. Owing to exorbitant prices, the vast majority of men do not come back home.

Another critical point relating to the dominance of women in the area is that, in women's view, migration is not a problem per se. Women are of the view that men to work, pay the bride price and get married, and build new houses regardless of the fact that they leave their spouses alone. In their view, women are required to cook and clean for their husbands in order to ensure a good household management.

Correspondingly, after having been in the field for a long time, it also became blatantly obvious that there is high propensity of older persons in the area. The majority of these older persons are heavily dependent on social grants including old age pension grants along with child support grants particularly among youths. EMabhuqwini in particular, there are very few economically active persons. The large number of these people usually plies their trade in Johannesburg in search of employment opportunities. As a result, eMabhuqwini area is mostly home to discouraged work seekers.

From the respondents' point of view, migration pattern is another theme that respondents felt strongly about, as one respondent puts it: "These vary because in most cases you find that those who migrate only come back twice a year and this is mainly a result of low wages in urban work points". The respondent further alluded to the idea that "... migration has some benefits to those who migrate in the sense that they live in developed areas. However, it has disadvantages for those who are left behind because they live in underdeveloped areas and are therefore not exposed to job opportunities and better living conditions that are available in urban areas". On the issue of migration patterns the respondent mentioned that relatives come back on holidays and further said that "... it depends on one's choice as others decide to leave for good".

In contrast to these negative sentiments the respondent suggested that "... people do cope with living in underdeveloped areas". He says: "Many people have no problem with the area, only the youth is mostly affected because when they migrate to urban areas they notice positive changes in their lives but when they come back they come across problems of having to live in underdeveloped areas". On this issue, the respondent described a pattern of migration that varies depending on the migrant's interests. "Approximately 80% of the migrants return once a month". To elaborate on this, it transpired that "Underdevelopment is one element that pushes people out of eMabhuqwini and many people like to live in areas that are developed such as Johannesburg and Durban".

While on the issue of how people cope with living in an underdeveloped area, the respondent noted that they do cope "because they are used to the area, but they are also not aware of its long term impact on their lives". Such impacts are marginalising them from activities which could help develop their area. For example, if there is no electricity in the area they cannot watch television which sometimes broadcasts programs that are educational in content and purpose.

Another female respondent said: "My brother only comes back home on Easter and December holidays and it is because he has not found employment so he does not have money to come back home every month end". She further notes that she believes there are no benefits from migration. On the issue of what she thinks about migration of people to urban areas, the respondent said that "... because there are no job opportunities in the area it is better that they move to Johannesburg where they can find employment".

5.9 Relations among Community Structures

On the issue of the relationship between the councillor, the Ward Committee and the community, one respondent said: "…there is a relationship but it is stagnant because the councillor keeps on promising that there will be development but it is not getting implemented". The respondent further said that "the councillor only goes to tribal court and does not meet with the community. I do not participate in community meetings because meetings are called for the contribution of the money that would

assist the Inkosi. People do not support political parties in the area and since I was born we were told about one political party, Inkatha".

Trying to curb this situation, the respondent alluded to the fact that they do ask the Councillor about development and when it will come. But in reaction, the Councillor turns out to be angry and aggressive when asked about development matters. When they ask about when the roads will be tarred, the Councillor keeps on saying there are surveyors busy with roads and they would be tarred soon. However they have been told this for more than fifteen years as the councillor has served for three consecutive terms.

In addition to this, approximately 99.9% of the people noted that there is no positive relationship between the Councillor, the committee and the community. These negative political relations have had a worse impact on the people of the area than on those directly responsible for the strained relations.

5.10 Access to Basic Services and Income

Based on what the researcher has seen at eMabhuqwini, there are varying degrees of access to basic services. The Emabhuqwini community has long been dependent on the windmill to produce basic services such as water. Whilst this windmill was very expeditious in providing water services, its generator has, however, been stolen. The provision of water is now mainly through standpipes. Cases relating to thefts were widely reported in the area. Yet, successful prosecutions are very few.

On the issue of having access to basic services such as water, electricity etc. one respondent said "... there are communal standpipes of water which are far and there is no other basic services provided in the area. The level of service is not good at all in the area. The respondent said: "We live in a difficult situation as the area is underdeveloped and we fetch water far from where we live". She further notes: "We use wood for cooking and there is hunger in this area with no assistance from the people she thought would assist them", i.e. the councillor. She further mentioned that the absence of electricity and RDP houses makes life very difficult.

The household monthly costs are a bit too high to afford as the respondent mentioned that they spend approximately R400 on food and the rest they keep safe in case of emergencies before month end, "But, in essence, the money is all used for food which is bought twice a month". On the issue of how they cope with living in an underdeveloped area, the respondent said: "We have a problem and such problems occur because we cannot charge our cell phones because there is no electricity, and there are no water or ablution facilities. Further it has been very long without development meetings and we are still waiting for them to take place".

The income they get is from old age pension and child support grant which bring in equal to R1730 per month. The whole income acquired from the grant is used to buy food. This subsequently answered the question of them having access to basic services with her saying there are no basic services in the area whatsoever. The nearest schools are Ntanyeni, Mangomuntu and Bhuqwini which are approximately 4 kilometres away. As the other respondents noted, the social services offices are in Nqutu and Nkandla and the money spent to get there is huge and this is the same as in respondent two's evidence.

On the issue of social spending the respondent alluded to the fact that he spends approximately R1000 for transport to school for his children who are schooling at Newcastle. On water, he spends approximately R1500, for food approximately R4500, for telephone bills R500 and another R1000 for Hospitals and Clinics (health). These spending patterns indicated how far the services in Nkandla were located as they are found in towns such as Nqutu, Nkandla, Newcastle, Vryheid and Dundee.

5.11 Traditional and Local Leadership

My personal observation of leadership squabbles in this area is that leadership is fiercely contested between traditional and political authorities. The relationship between these structures is complex, ambiguous and contradictory. Traditional leadership, on the one hand, claims to have jurisdiction over the land in which political authorities operate. Because of having jurisdiction, traditional leaders thus need to be consulted regularly on issues that have a bearing over their land. It should

further be maintained that traditional leaders are widely accepted as custodians of culture.

Political structures, on the other hand, believe that they are entitled to lead the area because they regard themselves as democratically elected representatives. The local government within the area has been accused of poor service delivery. To this end, no tap water has been provided in the area. Visitors usually drive on gravel roads. Ward councillor does not reside in the area. This ambiguity in terms of the role each institution is supposed to play is very detrimental to the development initiatives in the area. Development in the area has largely been marred by poor co-operation between political and traditional leaders.

A sizeable response rate was recorded from participants of focus groups who blamed community leadership for lack of development in the area and thus migration. Many felt that since the Inkosi, Induna and the councillor are not doing their jobs effectively there will be no progress in development." They even mentioned that "... there is a need for change on the positions occupied by the Inkosi, Induna and the councillor as these people especially the Inkosi and Induna, are old and do not clearly see any need for development in the area." "In actual fact", one said, "They are the ones blocking development in the sense that they do not want to be opposed or challenged when it comes to development matters."

Much like the previous respondent, another interviewee further noted that "The traditional authorities and local councillor are not playing any positive role in terms of bringing development into the area". He also mentioned that "The councillor does not have time to engage with community matters as he is busy where he is working". On the issue of the chief the respondent noted that "... the Inkosi is naïve, hence he receives orders from the councillor". As is noted above "... the Inkosi is old and uneducated and this is why he does not want to bring development into the area, hence he says his people are fine while they say they need development".

Another respondent was very negative saying that "... the traditional authority and the local councillor are not playing positive roles in terms of bringing development in the

area". He continued to say that "... approximately 99.9% of the people of eMabhuqwini can emphasise that the councillor and the chief have never done anything to bring development to the area. The result of this is that a huge number of the people of eMabhuqwini do not have basic services such as water, electricity, sanitation, waste removal and paved roads, to mention a few examples".

On the issue of the councillor meeting up with the community it appears from this respondent that "The councillor only appears when it's time for political elections. Other than this the councillor does not call any developmental meetings with the community." The proof of this is evident from views of other respondents who mentioned that "... the councillor had served three consecutive terms doing nothing for the community he was chosen to serve. Furthermore the councillor is working as hospital clerk for the Ekhombe Hospital which is one of the hospitals that are in Nkandla."

On the issue of the councillor another respondent noted that "... the councillor sometimes makes empty promises to the community. For example there are two tanks that were installed for the community to get water from, but up until now there is nothing happening with these tanks". Another respondent noted that "… they get water from the tanks, which is rain water and the basic services are a dream to them in eMabhuqwini as the area is absolutely underdeveloped". As a result of this, 100% of the people of eMabhuqwini do not have piped water in their dwellings except standpipes at the road side which are sometimes waterless and far from the people who need to use them. There are no basic services such as electricity etc. As a result the respondents think that the Inkosi and local councillor are not playing a positive role in bringing development into the area. Moreover the people of eMabhuqwini have to travel and spend a great deal of money to access social service offices at Nqutu and Nkandla which are far from eMabhuqwini. "... the councillor", according to one respondent, "only engages with the community when asked to do so." "Other than this the councillor does not come to the community to listen to issues faced by the community.

Moreover, the respondent mentioned the fact that when it comes to living in an underdeveloped area, many people are scared of the Inkosi in terms of challenging him to allow development to come into the area. He said that when you are nervous you have to keep quiet but when you are not, you have to be bold and challenge whosoever is stopping development, whether it is the Inkosi, induna or councillor.

The leaders are failing to bring development into the area. According to this respondent "... there was a person by the name of Sibiya who was the one lobbying for development to come into the area but it ended with him when he died. On top of this the respondent argued that any initiative by youth the Inkosi stops it under the false impression that they want to bring African National Congress (ANC) ideas in the area". On the issue of whether traditional authorities and the local councillor are playing a positive role in terms of bringing development into the area, this respondent said she thinks the Inkosi, Induna and the local councillor are doing so. In her explanation she said that "they promise to bring development but they do not implement it."

On the issue of the traditional authority and the local councillor, she said: "I do not think that they play a positive role in bringing development into the area". She said that "... in our area there is no change in terms of development but in other areas there is. The Inkosi and the Induna are the same." She said that the councillor makes arrangements for his people, but these end up merely being lip-service. She said: "I think that the traditional authority, that is the Inkosi as well as the local councillor, are not playing their roles in terms of bringing development into the area. This is because they still compete with cows and donkeys ... where they fetch water from". She further said that in other areas there is water, electricity and toilets but there are none of these in their area.

5.12 Meetings for Development

On the issue of developmental meetings taking place, the respondent indicated that "... the meetings are only called by the headmaster of Bhuqwini High School for school

matters. Other than this there are no development meetings taking place." Another was not sure how many times development meetings take place in eMabhuqwini.

On the other hand the respondent indicated that "... there is a dilemma between knowing who is above the other between the Councillor and the Chief". "Furthermore, the relationship between the councillor and committee is not good but when the councillor calls meetings people turn up in large numbers". Note that this meeting may only occur once in a whole year. The respondent further indicated that "... the meetings with the local councillor vary in frequency because his area of jurisdiction is wide". The respondent noted: "The local councillor is known to him and he has personally participated in community meetings in the form of AIDS awareness campaigns and other campaigns depending on what activities are taking place within the community at any particular time."

The respondent also stated that "at times when meetings are called, the community are not active in the form of attending meetings regularly". He continues to say that "... the cause of this is the empty promises made by the local authorities and the councillor". He further suggested that "... if the community was active, development meetings would take place regularly".

Furthermore, the respondent alluded to the fact that approximately 80% of the eMabhuqwini people can state with conviction that they have never met with the councillor and that, "... maybe the councillor does not see the need to meet up with them, so that they would be able to voice their concerns regarding the challenges they are faced with in living in an underdeveloped area". This respondent noted that he has been attending meetings but has never been exposed to opportunities that would influence development as there are no development meetings in the area. Given the fact that "… when meetings are called people do not have a say, as in most cases they are addressed by the councillor in the form of a top down approach to the people of the area, the respondent on this issue argued that he never participated in meetings because they are not democratic in their conduct.

This other respondent, also a female, noted on the issue of the councillor's relationship with the area committee and the community, that: "If there are meetings, the councillor appears for a short time then leaves". Therefore she said that she cannot say exactly whether there is a relationship between the councillor and the community. She further said that she had never met the local councillor because there is nothing which would necessitate such a meeting.

She further said: "I have participated in community meetings. I am participating deeply. I was chosen to lead traditional healers in the area". She also noted the same issues expressed by other respondents: that of wanting to see their area developing. She said that it hurts to live in an underdeveloped area; they need water, electricity, roads and houses just like those provided in other areas.

She also said: "I am not sure about community meetings because the Induna does not even attend meetings ... I cannot say there are developmental meetings taking place for the development of eMabhuqwini". Other respondents further noted that the meetings are called and when attending them they receive no answers about development of the area. This causes many people to be reluctant to attend meetings. In addition one of the respondents in the focus groups noted that what is said by people is not followed upon, such as their views regarding development of the area.

On the question posed regarding the relationship between the councillor, the ward committee and the community, she said she was not aware of the relationship between the councillor and the community as she does not know the ward committee. The respondent further mentioned that she had never thought of meeting up with the local councillor, however the local councillor is known to her.

On the question of whether she had personally participated in community meetings, the respondent said she had not, nor did she know why she had never participated in community meetings. In the subsequent question of how many times development meetings take place she said: "I do not know as I do not attend meetings."

5.13 Political Intolerance

According to the respondent there is one political party which is dominant in the area. "There are, however, people supporting other parties secretly, for fear of political intimidation." One respondent was actually saying that "... if those who support other political parties could come out clear, then they could be victimised and tortured for supporting other parties and this shows political intolerance." This suggests or implies how backward eMabhuqwini is in terms of providing space for its people to support any political party they choose. In other words, this demonstrates the lack of sophistication of South African rural areas in terms of political education etc. Moreover, the respondent was not sure about the problems caused by supporting different political parties. For example, "... there was a time when the ANC Women's League came into the area to sponsor the community with computers and there was no tension whilst they were there, whatsoever".

On the other hand it was noted that "... supporting different political parties does not at all affect development in the area. This means that people support any party they like to support. This was the case until something else happened. This started with the current vote where people had to say in public which political party they had voted for. For many years people supported Inkatha, not only because they were forced to through political intimidation, but also because supporting the ANC looked like a bit absurd. Inkatha was the only party that had been prominent in the area since time immemorial", he concluded.

On the issue of voting, it appeared that "... people would vote for someone they do not know because the dominant political organisation coerces people to vote for a particular candidate, irrespective of the fact that the community did not choose the "representative" to represent them. Given this situation one again gets the sense that this councillor does not do his job in a dedicated way because he has the full backing of his organisation. One may conclude from this that development will not be seen in eMabhuqwini until people are educated about their rights and what they are entitled to, such as better living conditions. All these adverse conditions push people away from eMabhuqwini." This scenario holds everywhere in South Africa as this electoral system is enshrined in the Independent Electoral Commission Act. In South Africa, in

other words, voters would not vote for individuals as the case is in the United States, but for the Party of their choice, irrespective of whether or not they would like to see a particular councillor in the political driving seat. These matters are only the preserve of the membership in their branches, or so the political systems would have us believe.

They also commented on the level of crime in the area. It was noted that "... there was crime some time ago and it was mainly stock theft and now it is minimal as there is a forum called Iskebhe which punishes criminals who are known to be committing crime". This was uttered by the respondent from the Iskebhe Disciplinary Committee. On the issue of underdevelopment and its consequences on migration, the following transpired. The Inkosi is uneducated and would therefore not fully appreciate the need for development or the impact underdevelopment has on the community. Hence he stops some community members who would rather have development in the area from raising their concerns. He said: "The Inkosi is one person blocking development in the area. When he is asked about development he says the area is his and needs no development i.e. he wants his words to be the last within the community." On the issue of problems caused by migration, he reiterated that "... there are problems caused by migration in such a way that this leaves women and children vulnerable to abuse as at times crime was very rife in the area. Those people who get left behind cannot defend themselves."

Some respondents answered questions on their own role in reducing crime in the area. One of them mentioned that he has a soccer team and cultural teams that practice Zulu Dance and compete with other groups. "This is done to keep young people together so that there will be no criminal activities practised by unemployed youth." Given the underdevelopment and poor level of schooling in the area one could therefore see the importance placed on minimising the level of crime by the respondent. The respondent went on to mention the fact that "... one day his shop was broken into and bags of maize meal, cooking oil, bread and other items were stolen...". While analysing this he said that this breaking into his store was encouraged by hunger as he could identify what was stolen. Given this situation one could therefore draw the conclusion that unemployment leads to hunger which, in turn, leads to crime.

5.14 Other Issues

When asked if they had anything to add that could be helpful that was not asked by the interviewer. Respondents from the group discussion said that "... there is a need to focus on providing support for education from parents and teachers as well as people who are at university. In addition to this there is a need to elect someone from the community who is not working and who will address developmental issues faced by the community as the current councillor is working and focusing too much on his own work".

In terms of sicknesses that are common in the area, the respondent noted that "... there are sexually transmitted infections (STIs), chronic diseases, diarrhoea but it is not much, Tuberculosis (TB) and HIV which are highly prevalent among mothers who have contracted it from the fathers who come from Johannesburg and Durban". Due to the large number of patients they have to treat the respondent noted that "... at times when doing physical analysis they do not spend too much time with one patient because they have to attend the other patients waiting to be seen. The reason for this is that these patients walk long distances to get to the clinic hence they try their level best to attend to them all but without spending the time they are supposed to spend on the physical analysis".

In addition the respondent noted that "... there is a need for park-homes to accommodate nurses so that they would be able to serve at least 80 to 100 patients per day". Furthermore, the respondent noted that: "Nurses working at Nqutu get better rural allowances than those working at eMabhuqwini and this is because eMabhuqwini nurses are being assigned to nurses working under uThukela Municipality which is described as one of the better areas with a better developed health infrastructure. However uThukela Municipality is far from them and has fairly developed areas than eMabhuqwini." On the other side the respondent noted that "... there is poverty in the area and the rate of unemployment has dramatically increased in the recent past. This has resulted in malnutrition with patients who are very sick and are attending the clinic." She made an example of a child that was transferred to the clinic from the local school. During the examination of a child they discovered that the child was hungry and had lost weight due to hunger at home. They then gave

the child food that is usually given to patients. The respondent further mentioned the fact that she asked the teacher to contact social workers to help the child.

Chapter Six

Discussion and Conclusion

This dissertation has critically discussed the impact of migration on rural development in South Africa, with particular emphasis on eMabhuqwini, Nkandla in Northern KwaZulu-Natal. This research site was identified because it is one of the sites that had witnessed migration of multitudes mainly to big metropolitan cities such as Durban and Johannesburg (but also elsewhere), and could therefore be useful as an example in this regard.

The UN reported that: "Between 2000 and 2025 … the world's proportion of urbanised populations is expected to rise from 47% to over 60%".[3] It is clear that such growth in urban areas is not only based on natural growth, but also on migration, given changing circumstances in world economy as well as urbanisation trends which normally attract more and more people to big cities. Various factors associated with the rural-urban migration patterns are normally based on the hope of improving economic and social conditions. People are moving to cities in the hope of getting better paying job opportunities in urban industries, or gaining easier access to a better quality of social services, such as tertiary education, the health sector, a variety of entertainment services and shopping facilities, sophisticated technology and communication networks, which are absent in rural areas.

The impact of migration on the development of rural areas in general and eMabhuqwini in particular, is a negative one. While many respondents in the analysis Chapter above felt that there are no problems associated with migration, the researcher feels that the problems outlined by respondents in the analysis of other variables justify the claim that there are indeed many problems associated with migration. There is general feeling among women that men are supposed to look for jobs. This feeling makes women to view migration in the positive light. However, the scholarly evidence suggests that the departure of men does not add value to the families because the majority of them end up contracting HIV/AIDS while they are in

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[3] Hall, 2000 in Robinson et, al 2004:104

the big cities. Furthermore, both the literature and the empirical research component of this thesis confirmed this claim. However, hope remains that social, governmental and institutional attempts to develop rural areas might make it more 'enticing' to remain there and be a better option to minimise migration.

The economic reasons associated with leaving the area will remain a critical matter in determining movement of people. While these reasons appear to be central, they may also be said to be 'socially irresponsible and individually beneficial'. This causes the community left behind to have difficulty of having to deal with a lack of development, poverty and disease, or to contemplate leaving themselves. Neither of these alternatives would benefit the local community.

This research has further demonstrated that this trend in migration patterns is a global one and need not, in any sense of the word, be treated as a peculiarly South African notion. International as it may be, this notion, however, is very critical in South Africa as this country is a dual economy. There are vast differences between Black and White, urban and rural, formal and informal sectors etc. It is for this reason that local governments, including those from KwaZulu-Natal and eMabhuqwini in particular, must take reasonable and serious steps in trying to curb migration.

These initiatives invariably involve the development of the area of eMabhuqwini, which will have two positive spin-offs. On the one hand, job opportunities created will help in fighting poverty and underdevelopment in the community while retaining skills that are needed locally. On the other hand, migration will be curbed and more financial resources ploughed back into development projects. However, under the prevailing status quo of political and social processes, this appears to be an insurmountable task. The task is mammoth because of a leadership failure and the predominance of issues that make leaders differ rather than work in unity. For example, both the literature and the empirical research above show that political intolerance, 19 years down the South African democracy road have not yet been viewed by both traditional as well as political leadership as a key to social and economic prosperity. This has therefore stood in the way of development in many rural areas and urban communities in the whole country.

The point is that these leaders are failing to put their political differences aside to the benefit of development and are focussed on internal battles rather than on community development or service delivery. Besides, some respondents alluded to the fact that the chief is uneducated and therefore does not understand the complexities of the task of development. This is in addition to his loyalty to the IFP which is notorious for its opposition to community development and service delivery, in both historical and contemporary politics in KwaZulu-Natal. The problem with this is that it exacerbates the problem of migration, because people will move to find better opportunities in urban areas rather than stay in an undeveloped area. This lack of development is in terms of both human resources development as well as infrastructural development.

The existing literature on migration is based on rural-urban migration due to economic reasons and therefore as a survival strategy. People move from places where labour is less in demand to places with a high demand for labour (Neoclassical and Structural perspectives). International literature focuses more on the cause and challenges of migration, while the South African migration literature focuses on rural-urban migration as well as problems and challenges of migrants in urban areas. Both global and local literatures focus more on reasons for migration to urban areas, and challenges of immigrants in urban areas, and less on the effect of emigration in areas where employment is less in demand (rural areas), or areas with less economic activity.

International migration analysis tends to follow a "macro" approach or a "micro" approach (Greenwood 1997). The macro approach provides less insight into the behavior of individual migrants and the factors leading to their decision to migrate. Also in the macro approach it is difficult to link people migrating with their motives to do so. It is also possible that higher social strata as well as lower social strata are equally prone to migration, but for different reasons. To overcome this problem, the macro-approach should be conjoined with a micro- approach. When conjoined they argue that people at different places, different times, and different personal characteristics may respond differently to stimuli. According to the micro-perspective the perceived individual difference in opportunities for utility gain must be analyzed,

not the aggregate flows resulting from it. A persistent problem with aggregate migration models is that the co-efficient for regional unemployment often shows up as insignificant or even with the wrong sign (Greenwood (1997). However, Hertzog et al. (1993) has shown that the use of micro data offered a solution to this problem. Their conclusion is that it is personal unemployment that induces migration, not high regional unemployment (Groote, P and Tassenaar, V 2000).

On the other hand the above studies reflect that migration patterns in developing countries are influenced by many factors other than economic improvement. In Bangladesh, for example, many people have undergone several rounds of displacement due to climatic shocks; conflict based on unavailability of land. So these movements are not so much about social or economic improvement, but is a survival/ livelihood strategy. In Latin America, as in South Africa, migration is largely influenced by political systems and economic need.

The usefulness of using triangulated methods is that one gets differing perspectives on the same subject matter and this gives the researcher a good angle of viewing the matter from different perspectives, thus making logical deductions more conclusive and more compelling. Thus this study employed both quantitative as well as qualitative empirical research methodologies. The study confirmed both research assumptions:

- Migration stifles development of place of origin, because all capable and young people simply move away from that area.
- Lack of development in areas of origin causes migration because people would move to better areas in search of better lives, or indeed, of basic income to send to places of origin.

Therefore, the quagmire remains with the local community and their leaders, who would stay in an undeveloped area while everybody else who is employable would migrate to look for employment in big metropolitan cities.

Recommendations

The issue of how migration could be minimised. While this section draws largely from the recommendations made in the literature, it was felt that it is important to also include the views of the respondents. Taking into cognisance what the community is saying is important in order to implement home-grown solutions, and bottom-up approach to service delivery. Firstly, a first respondent maintained that "…. there must be job opportunities in eMabhuqwini together with better education in order to stop people from moving". In the respondent's view, migration can be minimised in this way. He also said that "… there should be skills development centres to help boost the rural economy." In the church where he goes he said that there is a sewing group which involves church members and other members from the community. "This group is helped by the NGO known as Sizanani and they are funded by the European Union".

Secondly, another respondent maintained that "... many people in eMabhuqwini lack skills which could be necessary to help develop their area. In addition to this it transpired that underdevelopment is one element that is a push factor towards areas that are developed". He believed that "... the government should bring in development into rural areas to minimise migration. Provisions of skills to eMabhuqwini community could also help in minimising migration. Such skills should be based on agricultural activities due to changing climatic conditions and provision of tractors to help tilling hard and dry soil. Provision of water and improvement of irrigation systems could help in minimising poverty faced by the people of eMabhuqwini".

Thirdly, another respondent was of the view that if the area can get assistance in the form of any kind of support, maybe things could be better than what they are now and maybe in this way migration could be minimised. She further noted: "... if there can be job opportunities in rural areas maybe migration can be minimised as the money is the same". She further said that "... at first when my relatives migrated to urban areas I felt bad but now there is no problem. There were problems when they left. Such problems were that the departure of one's family member affected the household because the house had to be left without someone to look after it while I was in school for traditional healing. The patterns of migration are permanent". Her sister had

migrated to Johannesburg, had originally gone on a visit but changed her mind and went to settle for good.

Finally, the other respondent noted that many people do not want to come back because of absence of electricity and water. She further said that if there can be water and electricity many people can come back. She said that some people want to start small businesses which require electricity and since there is no electricity in the area people move to areas with electricity. She further said that "... others move because they want to access opportunities to the higher education system which is absent in the area". These views need to be taken into consideration in order to make sure that people do not leave the area. It has been argued in the literature throughout the study that it is important to look critically at what makes people leave (push factors) in order to stop them stop going.

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