

The background of the cover is a photograph of a coastal town built on a hillside. The town is silhouetted against a bright, overcast sky filled with soft, white clouds. In the foreground, there are dark, rolling hills. A few power lines stretch across the middle ground. The overall mood is serene and contemplative.

**Essence of Home:
Relevance of home and the assertion of
place amongst Centane migrants, South
Africa**

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Degree**

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Abstract

South Africa is currently experiencing ever-increasing rural-urban migration with many citizens from the former homeland areas migrating to cities to seek employment. Despite long-term residence in urban areas, many township dwellers do not consider these places to be home. Research into circular migration patterns reveal the lifelong relationships that migrants (*amagoduka*) have with their family home (*ekhayeni*). This study aimed to explore this relationship, looking in particular at the meanings imbued in the locality of home. In addition, the role of natural landscapes and social components in constructing meanings and attachments to *ekhayeni* for Xhosa-speaking migrants in Cape Town townships, who have family linkages to rural villages in the Transkei, was also explored. The study found that the landscape of home remains central to migrants' cultural identity, belonging and well-being. Childhood experiences in nature, and cultural and recreational activities that continue to take rural inhabitants into these landscapes, remain key to this relationship. The rural area, as a geographical entity embodied with social and cultural/spiritual components continued to supply and satisfy many human needs for migrants, which were seen as crucial for psychological, mental and spiritual well-being.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Background to the Study

My research forms part of a broader body of socio-ecological resilience research, which aims to explore how concepts of sense of place and place attachment can be linked to ecosystem stewardship. Within this broader body of research, Vanessa Masterson, a PHD student from the Resilience Centre at Stockholm University aimed to explore perceptions and trends around small scale and subsistence agriculture, and how migration¹ may impact upon these trends and perceptions and contribute towards land-use changes in the Centane area, (Masterson, 2013). During her fieldwork in 2012, it became apparent that a large number of inhabitants from the Centane area, located within the former homeland of Transkei, still migrated to Cape Town and returned to their rural homes on a frequent basis and many hoped to return to the area once they had completed their working careers in the city. Building on this work by Masterson, funding for my research was made available through the Resilience Centre, Rhodes University and the National Research Foundation in order to explore migrants' attachments to home within the Centane region and what these associations and attachments mean to them.

1.2. Research Background

Over the last century, human society has witnessed a rapid movement of people into urban areas in Europe, North America and Latin America (UN-Habitat, 2006). More recently, this trend has shifted to developing countries, with the highest annual urban growth rates currently found in North Africa (UN-Habitat, 2006). The increase in urbanization within South Africa is a relatively recent phenomenon; for decade,'s urbanisation, particularly of the Black population, was deliberately controlled and designed to create an impermanence in the urbanisation of Black South Africans (Mabin, 1990; Kok & Collinson, 2006). The control of

¹ "The crossing of boundary of a predefined spatial unit by persons involved in a change of residence" (Kok et al, 2003:10). For a move to be classified as migration; the origin and destination of a residential move must be in different migration defined areas within the same (internal) or in different countries (Kok et al, 2003)

Black people was to ensure that a cheap labour force was created to work on the mines and in industry, while unemployed family members were legislated to remain in densely settled rural areas (Collinson *et al.*, 2006). The infamous and well documented Influx Control and Group Areas Acts (Giliomee & Schlemmer, 1985; Crush, *et al.*, 1991; Gelderblom & Kok, 1994) contributed significantly to these outcomes.

High levels of circular migration² became entrenched into the structure of South African society and economy (Kahn *et al.*, 2003). After the demise of the Apartheid regime in 1994, it was anticipated that circular migration would cease to exist, as the Black population would choose to permanently work and settle in the urban areas and abandon their rural homes (Kok *et al.*, 2003; Kok & Collinson & 2006; Collinson *et al.*, 2006; Collinson *et al.*, 2007). A 2006 statistics report reiterated this assumption when it showed an increase in urban population, over a five-year period, between 1996-2001 (Kok & Collinson, 2006). However, only two percent of the people who initially classified themselves as being of rural origin, identified themselves as urbanites after living in cities for five years; thus challenging the assumption that all migrants wish to remain in a city on a permanent basis (Kok & Collinson, 2006).

In response, post-apartheid literature has shown that circular migration is still a prevalent feature of South Africa's democratic state as migrants continue to have links with their rural homes (Smith, 1998; Kok *et al.*, 2003; Collinson *et al.*, 2007). For many migrants, urban areas have remained a temporary space for work and economic gain, while the rural area remains "home" (Manona, 1999; Posel, 2001; Gugler, 2002). Explanations of why people continue to return home has been linked to a number of motivating factors such as: maintaining spousal and family ties (Posel, 2001, Gulger, 2002, Posel 2004, Collinson *et al.*, 2006); having accomplished one's intended objective of accumulating sufficient money to return home to retire (Collinson *et al.*, 2007), as well as a dissatisfaction with economic and living conditions of the cities that they migrate to (Posel & Casele, 2006, Posel *et al.*, 2014). Migrants' commitment to their rural home has also been extensively examined in relation to how the

² Circular labour migrants are identified as adults who spend six months or more working away (depending on the distance) from home during the year, but return regularly and continue to view their rural home as the centre of their social and economic lives (Lurie *et al.*, 2003; Clark *et al.*, 2007).

rural area is seen as a place of refuge and offering care for people infected with HIV/AIDS (Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) and TB (Tuberculosis) (Collinson *et al.*, 2007; Clark *et al.*, 2007; Coffee *et al.*, 2007; Welaga *et al.*, 2009; Collinson, 2010).

Very few studies, particularly in a southern African context, have attempted to unpack migrants' relationships with rural areas as a place of home, which tie people to a particular place (Wilmsen & McAllister, 1996; Gugler, 2002). Within the international arena, studies on migration have alluded to the significance that locations of birth and childhood have on evoking notions of belonging, purpose and meaning (Proshansky *et al.*, 1983; Inalhan & Finch, 2004; Popov, 2010; La Barbera, 2014). Within such a context, 'home' has become recognised as a central reference point in a person's life, and contributes to notions of identity and a shared sense of heritage and culture (Proshansky *et al.*, 1983; Marchetti-Mercer, 2006; Brehm *et al.*, 2004). The bond that one has with "place" is often considered crucial for individual well-being and social cohesion (Gustafson, 2001).

1.3. Historical and Post-apartheid Migration Patterns

1.3.1. Historical context

Migration is by no means a new phenomenon in South Africa. As early as the mid-1800s a system of labour migration was already in place. Bapedi men, from Sekhukhuneland, migrated to work on farms in the Cape Colony, and Mpondo men migrated from coastal areas of the Transkei to work on the sugarcane farms in the Natal, to gain access to money for bridal wealth and for agricultural activities (Wentzel & Tlabela, 2006). The intensity of these numbers increased significantly during the first half of the nineteenth century, with the discovery of diamonds and gold, which lured thousands of migrant labourers from peripheral regions to the mining and industrial centres of South Africa (Wentzel & Tlabela, 2006).

The legacy of labour migration in South Africa is characterised by specific institutional conditions, which the state implemented through a series of interventions to mobilise and control a black labour force (Legassick, 1974; Mathabane, 1986; Smith, 1998). The measures

introduced such as the betterment-planning, group areas act and influx control; resulted in the alienation of Black Africans from their land, forcing them to enter the labour economy and dictating where they could and could not live and work. These actions were politically motivated, as the apartheid government sought to create a white supremacy system that maintained a white minority rule and exercised control over Black African lives (Davenport, 1969; Legassick, 1974; Mathabane, 1986; Brown, 1987; Maylam, 1990; Smith, 1998; Feinberg, 1993). To control the labour force, the apartheid government encouraged employers in urban areas to house their workers, which resulted in large numbers of male workers living in hostels or compounds who then became placed under the surveillance of their employers and local municipalities (Cox *et al.*, 2004). Women, on the other hand, were restricted to occupy employment positions as live-in house cleaners. They regularly experienced police raids to ensure no Black children were being sheltered in their living quarters (Cox *et al.*, 2004).

The machinery providing the systematic influx control of Black African labour was implemented through the passing of a series of Acts. This began as early as 1937, with the passing of the Native Law Amendment Act, which made it illegal for Black people to move to the cities without special permission (Davenport, 1969; Legassick, 1974; McClintock, 1991; Wentzel & Tlabela, 2006) and compelled urban authorities to keep a record of all Black people living in urban areas. If the number of the Black African population exceeded the labour requirements of a particular area, the Minister of Native Affairs had the right to expel excess numbers (Wentzel & Tlabela, 2006). Under the Native Law Act passed in 1937, urban authorities were encouraged to set aside land for Black African occupation (but not ownership) to house those working in urban areas. Such areas became known as locations or townships (Davies, 1981; Wentzel & Tlabela, 2006). The passing of the Group Areas Act of 1950 further supported these measures as the Act prohibited people of different racial groups from living in the same residential areas, and made it illegal for Black Africans to purchase land outside of township areas (Davies, 1981). The land set aside by urban authorities for township development was hugely insufficient for the number of labour migrants working in the areas, which ultimately resulted in overcrowding and squatter conditions in most township areas (Davies, 1981; Wentzel & Tlabela, 2006).

With the abolishment of African freehold rights to property, landowners, local authorities and government officials were able to evict the Black population at any time they wished to do so (Wentzel & Tlabela, 2006). Therefore, many migrants seldom gained access to any formal tenure rights within the cities where they worked. Under these restrictions, many retained a base in rural areas, to which they returned each year (Smith, 1998). The inaccessible land tenures in the city meant that migrants, particularly men, were unable to maintain gender specific identities of *ubudoda* (manhood) which were grounded on patriarchal proprietorship over a homestead (*umzi*); maintaining a rural base therefore provided male migrants with the material foundation for building *umzi* (Bank, 1999).

Historically, rural areas also played a key role in providing labour to the South African labour economy (Letsoalo & Rogerson, 1982). This was also achieved through the passing of various laws which were instrumental in turning the rural areas into labour reserves (Letsoalo & Rogerson, 1982; Kahn *et al.*, 2003; Benjaminsen *et al.*, 2008). The passing of the Glen Grey Act of 1894, for example, limited the size and number of plot holdings that Black Africans could own, which prevented Black African farmers from ever engaging in commercial farming practices, as it was impossible for them to gain sufficient land for extensive farming. The taxes imposed could only be paid in cash thus forcing households to have family members earning a wage (Butler *et al.*, 1978:2). The passing of the Native Land Act of 1913 further restricted Black Africans as they were forced to only occupy areas referred to as “homelands” (Butler *et al.*, 1978). The Act prevented Black Africans from purchasing or owning land outside the ethnically defined “Bantu homelands”. Homelands and or Bantustans became the administrative areas where Black people were forced to move to (Butler *et al.*, 1978:2-5). The Native Land Act demarcated the boundaries of the Bantustans which amounted to just over seven percent of South African territory where Black Africans were legally allowed to live, thereby attacking the very basis of African livelihood - land (Feinberg, 1993).

The Native Trust and Land Act also included the implementation of a government programme to modernize traditional land-use practices by restructuring living patterns, reducing the number of livestock owned and introducing what the state considered sound agricultural practices to reduce land deterioration (Letsoalo & Rogerson, 1982; de Wet, 1989; Hebinck &

Averbeke, 2007). The programs were commonly referred to as Betterment. Prior to betterment, homesteads were scattered and characterised typical African farming practises (Letsoalo & Rogerson, 1982). Betterment did away with the traditional system of land holding, and communal grazing lands were replaced by fixed residential plots and fenced areas for arable and grazing land (Letsoalo & Rogerson, 1982; de Wet & McAllister, 1983). In the rural areas that were subjected to betterment; each family was allocated a portion of land considered sufficient for a subsistence livelihood (Letsoalo & Rogerson, 1982). For many families this meant a massive reduction for land on which they could plough and graze their cattle. These interventions ultimately contributed to a growing landlessness amongst Black people, many of whom then became forced into selling their labour as a means to earn a wage (Kahn *et al.*, 2003).

Not all rural communities however succumbed to the restrictions imposed through betterment, particularly regions in the former Transkei. This was because, the former Transkei was one of the last areas of South Africa to be conquered and little land was taken for white settlement (Porter & Phillips-Howard, 1997), and a number of communities subject to betterment in the Transkei rigorously rejected the scheme (McAllister, 1980). Resistance largely came from people who were traditionally orientated and were described as holding conservative ideologies to protect themselves from the effects of white dominance (McAllister, 1989). Resistance in these areas consisted of less formal acts; of homestead waiting to see what would happen if they did not comply with the order to resettle in grid planned villages (de Klerk, 2007). Whereas other forms of resistance involved the organization of a military coup under General Holomisa in 1987, which resulted in the cancellation of a range of taxes, and the abolishment of enforced betterment (Fay, 2012).

Betterment was rejected largely because it involved reduction in livestock, which 'traditionally orientated' groups strongly rejected as a reduction in the number of cattle owned was considered to undermine one's status and identity (McAllister, 1980). Betterment had also become associated with economic hardship and deprivation. Areas located in coastal regions of the Transkei wild coast such as Shixini, in the Willowvale district and surrounding districts of Centane resisted the implementation of betterment planning (McAllister, 1989).

Despite the resistance to betterment planning process, wage employment had already become an integral part of rural communities, dating back to the late 1950s, as agricultural inputs and investment in cattle was no longer possible without access to money (McAllister, 1989). This led to increasing reliance on male family members becoming migrants (Mayer, 1961; McAllister, 1989; Delius *et al.*, 2014). By this period, contemporary markets had also begun to penetrate the rural areas, increasing the need for income to purchase daily necessities (Mayer, 1961). Access to a wage also provided young men with the means to start their own lives by saving money to establish their own homesteads (*ukwakha umzi*) (McAllister, 2001), and contribute to marriage payments to start their own family (Beinart, 2014). Therefore, wage earning became accepted as a secondary means in the struggle for economic survival and security in rural areas (Mayer, 1961; Beinart, 2014).

Many young and middle-aged men began to work in local small towns, and later migrated to the large city centres such as Cape Town, as well as Johannesburg and the Rand to work on the mines to earn an income (Mayer, 1961). Work carried out by Philip Mayer on migrants provides a detailed description of two variant groups of migrants in the Eastern Cape, who migrated to the city of East London during the mid-1960s. These included the Reds (*Amaqaba*), and the School (*Amanene* literally meaning the School/gentleman) (Mayer, 1980).

The school migrants, predominantly came from parts of the former Ciskei where Christian missions had a strong influence and were described as embracing a western orientation and valued western consumer goods (Mayer, 1971). Their educational qualifications afforded them the opportunity to occupy white-collar jobs that required a formal dress code. The term Gentlemen (*Amanene*) was used to describe their “sophisticated” appearance (O’Connell, 1980). Red migrants predominantly originated from the Transkei and north-west of East London (Mayer, 1971) and came largely from communities that did not succumb to the restrictions imposed through betterment (McAllister, 1989). Red migrants were described as holding onto traditional values and ways of livelihood and rejected the urban lifestyle, Christian values and westernisation (Mayer, 1980; Bank, 1999). *Amaqaba* was a term used to

describe Red migrants; “the term Red came from the red ochre (*imbola*) which Red migrants used to paint or smear (*ukuqaba*) their bodies” (Mayer, 1980:72).

Mayer attributed the differences in identity, between the two groups at the time, to their place of origin (1980), and went as far as to describe the social boundaries between the Red and School migrants as being as strongly definable as those between different cultural groups (Mayer 1980). The distinction between the red and school was however criticised for as being overly clinical (Magubane, 1973; Sharp, 1980). Reviews of Mayer’s work described the categories between the migrants as representing ‘cultural styles’ manipulated by people in order to position themselves socially (McAllister, 2006). For example, Red migrants on arrival to the hostels would move into communal rooms with other migrants from their home area and share living and communal cooking areas (Bank, 1999). Communal living spaces provided key spaces for bonding, social networking and the reawakening of rural ideologies (Bank, 1999).

Past anthropological studies on migrant identity in southern African have, however, tended to either ignore or down play place of origin as contributing to processes of migrant identity. Mayer’s work (1971), amongst two groups of School and Red migrants in East London, were one of the few studies which described the social boundaries between the two subgroups of migrants as being as strongly definable. This premise was strongly criticised by scholars at the time, as it was seen as feeding into the basic principles of apartheid, i.e. cultural and ethnic differences which the state then used to justify segregation of races (Magubane, 1973; Sharp, 1981; James, 1999). Subsequent work done, particularly by South African anthropologists within and from South African on cultural consciousness amongst migrants, framed issues of identity and ethnicity as forms of resistance, related to issues of class identity and membership (Mayer, 1960; Bozzoli 1990 in James 1999; Bank, 1999), and not place of origin.

This is in stark contrast to other anthropological works done on migrant identity in other parts of Africa at the time, which provided detailed descriptions of how migrants on the Zambian Copper belt and in West and East Africa used their ‘tribal’ backgrounds to organize themselves in town. Stressing ethnic identity amongst the workers on the Zambian Copper

belt was not in any way acceptance of ethnic identities engineered by the apartheid state, but was a way of constituting new ways of interacting with other people within the world of work and the city (James, 1999). This was because ethnic association in the city provided workers with greater opportunities of getting work, arranging accommodation and funeral transport, saving money, finding companionship in town, and articulating their grievances (James, 1999).

1.3.2. Post-apartheid migration patterns

Proceeding the first democratic elections of 1994, the National party slowly dismantled apartheid laws that governed the lives of black South Africans; this included the deracialisation and protection of property rights (Wotshela, 2014). In 1991, the National Party passed the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act, which was intended to abolish the legal underpinnings of the territorial segregation between black and white that the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 had first laid down (Wotshela, 2014). Following the release of the National Party's 1991 White Paper on Land Reform, freehold title became available to Africans, at least officially, through the Upgrading of Land Tenure Rights Act (Act 112 of 1991) and the Less Formal Townships Establishment Act (Act 113 of 1991). Access to title deeds and land tenure in township areas, in urban centres meant that African people were no longer compelled to retained a rural base. African people could for the first time reside in urban areas on a permanent basis. Spouses and children were allowed to accompany their husbands and the possibility to live as a family unit was opened up through the provision of government RDP houses (Bank, 2001). The opening up of these possibilities was portrayed as weakening rural links (Bank, 1999) and as a result it was anticipated that families which prospered financially would choose to settle permanently in the cities (Collinson, *et al.*, 2006), and that they would not remain attracted to the isolating nature of rural areas (Herselman, 2003; Gandhi *et al.*, 2006).

Studies on internal migration have however shown that circular migration is still an integral part of the "New South African" labour market (Lurie *et al.*, 1997; Kok *et al.*, 2003; Posel, 2004; Collinson *et al.*, 2006, Clark *et al.*, 2007). In 2004, it was reported that over 300 000 rural African households still reported household members who are away from the household for work

purposes and are expected to return home (Posel, 2004). Reasons cited included: the rural home continues to provide a form of 'insurance' for work seekers as the risks attached to a city's labour market have remained high because of poor job security and high unemployment and the increasing costs of living in the urban areas (Posel, 2004). Even migrants, who have settled in the city with their families for long periods of their working life, continue to contribute to family occasions and return home in cases of family emergencies and to attend funerals of loved ones and relatives (Gugler, 2002). The rural areas are perceived by many migrants as a place for their children to be cared for while working age men and women go in search of work in the urban centres (Posel, 2004). Peoples' commitment to their rural home has also been extensively looked at in relation to how the rural area is seen as a place of refuge and offering care for people infected with HIV/AIDS and TB (Collinson *et al*, 2006; Clark *et al*, 2007; Coffee *et al.*, 2007; Welaga *et al.*, 2009; Collinson, 2010).

Although the city is seen as providing better economic and educational opportunities, it is considered a trade off as many migrants have expressed concerns of their "culture" being broken down while in the city (Posel, 2004). For example, Posel (2004) reports how many Xhosa migrants in Cape Town felt that their children would not be able to go about their Xhosa cultural practices and learn how to speak "proper" Xhosa. Ainslie has shown how ideologies of Red migrants have persisted in post-apartheid migratory contexts, as males from rural areas continue to attach importance to owning cattle and arable land in the rural areas (2005). Families continue to invest in the building of the homestead in the rural areas as they have desires to return home when they retire and to be buried in their ancestral land (Gugler, 2002; Posel, 2004; Bank, 2015).

Although rural youth living in urban areas have been portrayed as losing interest in the rural lifestyle (Bank, 1999; Bank, 2001), more recent research on migrants from Gatyana living in Hout Bay, Cape Town, has shown that they have continued to maintain rural kin relationships, and invest in agricultural activities and in building the rural homestead (Bank, 2015). There are also evident traits of modernity in post-apartheid rural areas, as many villages now also contain smattering of new suburban style houses, which indicate that at least some of the new elites and stabilised urban working class have not entirely turned their backs on their countryside (Bank & Minkley, 2005).

1.4. Research Motivation and Research Aim

1.4.1. Research motivation

In this research, I therefore want to illustrate how geographical localities of birth and childhood are ascribed meaning through social, religious and cultural ties, which in turn evoke notions of origin, and belonging and tie people to a particular place. This research therefore tries to add this layer by explaining why people have continued to maintain their rural links in a post-apartheid South Africa. In trying to achieve this, concepts such as sense of place and place attachment will be used to demonstrate how the social and the physical environment of rural place provide a significant locus of sentiment and meaning for self and identity.

1.4.2. Research questions

The key research questions include:

1. What continues to motivate migrants to return home, and how does mobility affect the attachments to the home place?
2. What features of the rural landscape, do migrants attach meaning to, and why?
3. How does the rural home supports elements of migrants' identity?

1.5. Synopsis of Chapters

This thesis is divided into seven chapters: The Introduction (Chapter one); Study Sites and Research Methods (Chapter two); Theoretical Framework (Chapter three); Sisekuyo Imfuduko (We are still journeying) (Chapter four); Realities of Cape Town for Rural Migrants (Chapter five); Ekhayeni-Home Place (Chapter six); Concluding Remarks (Chapter seven).

Chapter one, provides a contextualisation of the dissertation. It gives the reader an outlook into what the thesis entails, as I describe how and why I conducted the research, and where funding was made available for me to carry out the research. The reader is also provided with a literature review on migration at an international and local level, provide a research context to my work, which is followed by a description of my research aims and questions.

Chapter two introduces the reader to the multi sites nature of the proposed research and the various research tools utilised while carrying out the research. A pictorial image and contextual background of each of the research sites is given. The chapter also provides a description of the research approach adopted as well as description of the various research methods used at different stages of the research. I also discuss the ethical considerations I undertook while carrying the research. I complete the chapter by including my own my personal reflections of conducting multi sited fieldwork and how my embodied identity as a young black, Xhosa, female potentially affected the outcomes of the data collected.

Chapter three, provides an outline of the theoretical framework I used to unpacking the meanings attached to *ekhayeni* by Centane migrants. The chapter begins with a theoretical description of what home is and how attachments are formed within places. For a more inclusive understanding of the various layers of meaning and attachments to home the concept of landscape is included. The interlinkages between migration and migrants sense of attachment to place is further interrogated by unpacking how migration impacts on processes of place attachments and/ attachments to home places. The chapter also provides a detailed outline on the concept of sense of place, and how attachments to places are formed. .

Chapter four, provides a context to why migration still remains a crucial part of rural livelihoods strategies and how migration patterns have change. A detailed description of how migrants from Centane economic motivations to migrant are deeply embedded within broader social processes is given. Reasons include being supported by a social network, mending broken family ties, following spouses, in pursuit of a better education, social status and acceptance.

Chapter five, unpacks the realities that migrants are faced with once they are located in Cape Town, which includes poor living conditions and a high level of job insecurity. The chapter describes how these unfavourable conditions often lead to migrants feeling alienated, homesick and wanting to return to their rural birthplaces.

Chapter six, unpacks the processes associated with returning home. A rich collection of narratives is provided to portray the depth of attachment to home. The sense of place theoretical framework is used to conceptualise how Centane migrants formulate their attachments to their rural home and why it is important to return.

Chapter seven, provides a summary of the key research findings of the research and tries to answer the research questions. In this chapter, the findings of the research are discussed and interpreted, as I try to show how my research has contributed in better understanding the geographies of home and the various meaning that people attach to them. In interpreting the findings, the chapter concludes with recommendations of how we can better read and understand geographies such as rural areas in South African, as they not simply degraded and unproductive places but represent people's homes, identities and heritage.

Chapter 2: Study Sites and Research Methods

2.1. Preface

Ethnography is considered both a product and method of anthropological research (Mngomezulu, 2014). Johannes Fabian describes ethnography as the process of making knowledge out of experience (1990: 755). Ethnography is used to describe a group or culture (Fetterman, 1998). According to Angrosino (2007), ethnographers search for predictable patterns in the lived human experiences by carefully observing and participating in the lives of those under study. Anthropologists have used ethnography to collect data, through various methods, which include; case studies, personal experiences/life histories and interviews that range from structured, semi-structured, and in-depth interviews, observations, and interactional or participant observations (Murray, 2003).

This chapter will provide a description of my ethnographic study as I contextualise the two study sites I conducted my research in as well as provide a description of the various research methods I used at different stages of my field research. I will also enlighten the reader to the ethical guidelines I considered while conducting the research as well provide a reflection on my own personal experiences of carrying out fieldwork.

2.2. Multi-Sited Fieldwork

Conventionally, ethnographic research involves long-term stay in a single field site of research (Falzon, 2016). However, with globalization and mobility contemporary societies become located within larger wholes, as such ethnographers have begun to follow their research participants so to cover in depth the social connection between places. This becomes particularly relevant in the instance of migration studies (Falzon, 2016). The 'follow the people' research technique seeks to uncover what happens to the same research participants in other locations and has led to the development of multi-sited research (Marcus, 1995).

Multi-sited research has been described as opening up unknown territory to bring forth unexamined part of the functionalist whole particularly in urbanizing and globalizing societies, where individuals are scattered (Marcus, 1999; Falzon, 2016).

My research was multi sited, I followed migrants from Centane to Cape Town and returned to Centane when they returned home over the Christmas holidays. Such an approach was adopted to uncover the kinds of sentiments migrants attached to home while they were away. I then followed them back home to Centane to observe how the sentiments shared in Cape Town about their rural homes manifested.

2.2.1. Centane

Centane falls under the jurisdiction of the Umnquma local municipality, in the Amathole District. The region is located along the coastal region of the Eastern Cape (close to Mazeppa Bay) in the southeast of the former Transkei (Statistics South Africa, 2011). Mquma Municipality has a population of approximately 252 390 people of which 99 percent are Xhosa speaking. The remaining one percent are English, Afrikaans, Zulu, and Sesotho speaking people (RIDP, 2014-2015). Centane is a small town, and consists of approximately 49 *ilali* (administrative rural areas) (RIDP, 2014-2015), which are characterized by a high rural population density of 100–300 persons/km² (Statistics South Africa, 2011) with very little development and infrastructure. More than half (54 percent) of the population are categorized as poor; the majority being Black Africans (53 percent) and Colored (one percent) (RIDP, 2014-2015).

My research was mainly carried out in the remote villages (*ilali*) of Centane namely; Nobuswana, officially known as KwaKabakazi, Gqunqe and Gcina (Figure 2.1). The villages are marked by a lack of employment opportunities and heavy reliance on social grants and migration. The migrants I interviewed despite coming from three different villages identified themselves as collectively coming from Centane.

All rural areas within the Mnquma municipality are administered and controlled by traditional leadership structures. Centane falls under the Gcaleka chiefdom and the locals refer to themselves as *AmaGcaleka* (Mc Allister, 1989; RIDP, 2014-2015). Mnquma municipality has one of the highest levels of poverty, illiteracy and unemployment rates in the Eastern Cape Province (RIDP, 2014-2015). Limited employment opportunities exist in the area and only 25 percent of the population are employed. The remaining 75 percent are either unemployed (11 percent), or economically inactive (64 percent) and are reliant on welfare support (RIDP, 2014-2015).

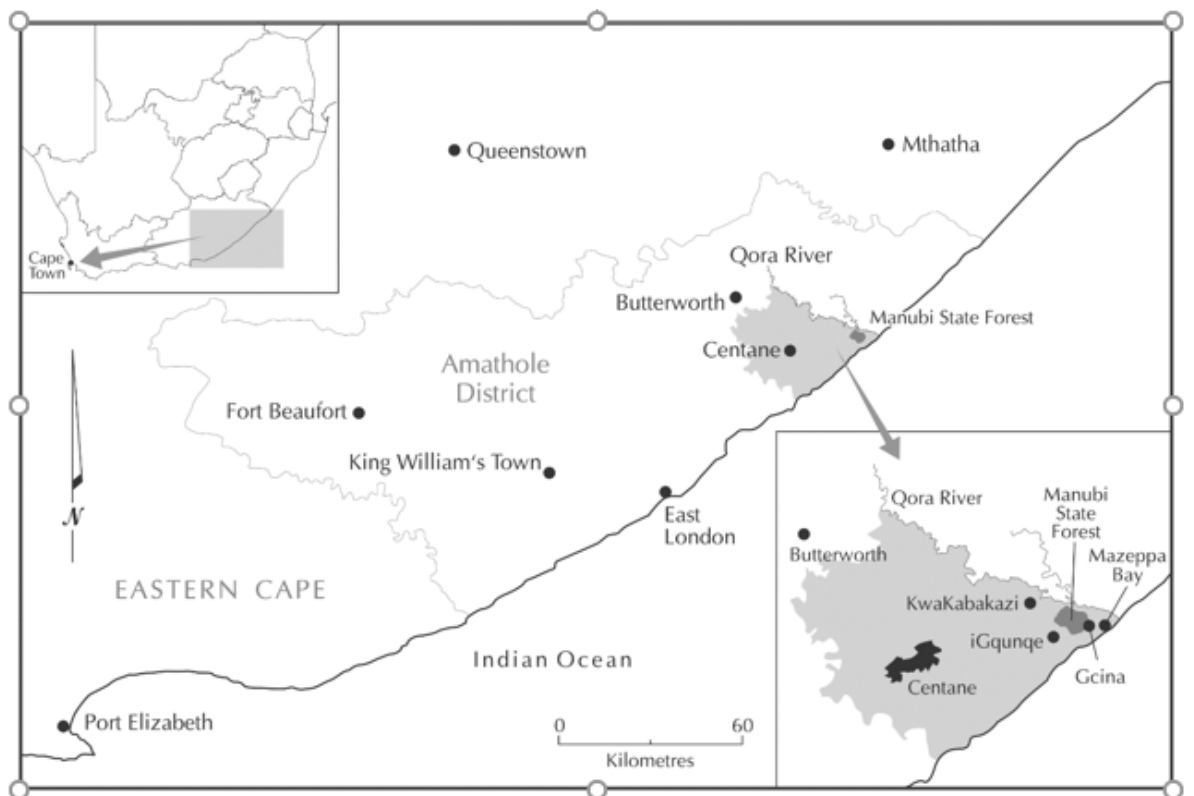


Figure 2.1: Location of field site (Centane)

The rural areas in this region, similar to other rural locations in South Africa are characterised by isolated geographies, away from economically developed areas with poor roads, infrastructure, resources and public services (Bank & Minkley, 2005). These are areas where their geographies are still characterised by agricultural activities (McAllister, 2001), and livestock keeping (Ainslie, 2005). Engagement in these activities is strongly linked to social identity of the local inhabitants (McAllister, 2001; Ainslie, 2005).

The rural landscape in the three rural areas comprises of undulating grasslands, and patches of scarp forest and steep cliffs, especially along the Qora and Gqunqe rivers. The grassland areas include abandoned agricultural fields and rangelands (Masterson, 2013). Households in the area rely heavily on the natural environment for resources for provisions and cultural purposes (Shackleton *et al.*, 2013) and these are usually harvested from the Manube Forest and patches of indigenous forests found along the ravines of the Qora and Gqunqe rivers.

Like most villages in the Eastern Cape, the people of Nobuswana, Gqunqe and Gcina are still dependent on labour migration for maintaining a rural existence and lifestyle, which has led to an intensification and solidification of the migrant labour system (McAllister, 2004; De Klerk, 2007; RIDP Review, 2014-2015). Without access to cash, many households would find it impossible to fund the resources that they require to carry out a rural lifestyle (RIDP, 2014-2015). Financial resources are needed to maintain one's homestead, pay taxes, school fees and or purchase livestock (De Klerk, 2007). The ability to produce agricultural outputs has also been positively linked to the ability to access a wage income. For many young men labour migration remains institutionalized within their lives as it remains one of the few ways to build up resources to be able to afford bridal wealth, and to build their own homesteads (De Klerk, 2007). Khayelitsha and Philippi in Cape Town are two of the main areas that migrants from Centane go to, to find work and build up capital resources. My research participants lived predominantly in Khayelitsha site c and Browns farm block 6 in Philippi.

2.2.2. Cape Town

Under the apartheid laws, Black migrants seeking work in Cape Town were treated as illegal immigrants, and as such no new land for housing or houses was made available for them (Anderson *et al.*, 2009:5). New arrivals were faced with great difficulties in finding a place to live and work in Cape Town as they were largely restricted to living in hostels provided by the municipality (see section for 1.3 for details). In the 1970's, Crossroads was founded as a residential area to accommodate migrant workers who were flooding into Cape Town to seek employment based on the insecurities many faced in the rural areas (Anderson *et al.*, 2009).

With the opening up of Crossroads as a location for Black migrants to settle, the area soon became inundated with new arrivals erecting informal houses constructed from wood, corrugated iron sheets and plastic. By 1975, there were over a 1 100 people living in Crossroads and this number had grown to 18 000 by 1977 (Anderson *et al.*, 2009:5). In 1978 Crossroads was declared an ‘emergency camp’ by the Cape Supreme Court (Anderson *et al.*, 2009). In response the municipality of Cape Town established Khayelitsha (*new home*), on the outskirts of the city of Cape Town. The area was designated exclusively for the Black population of Cape Town (Anderson *et al.*, 2009). Such a vision was in line with the then apartheid government’s attempts to segregate the city’s population (Gqada, 2012). Residents from Crossroads were forced to relocate to Khayelitsha.



Figure 2.2 Location of Field sites (Cape Town)

Khayelitsha is located roughly 35 kilometers south-east of Cape Town, between the northern shoreline of False bay and the N2 highway (Nleya & Thompson, 2009). Khayelitsha is

delineated as part of the Tygerburg substructure and falls under the jurisdiction of the Cape Town Metropolitan Council, in the Mitchell's Plain district (Ndingaye, 2005). In 1985, when Khayelitsha was established it consisted of hostels which housed 250 000 workers (Smith & Hanson, 2003:1527). Today it is said to be the largest Black township in Cape Town, with an estimated population of 400 000 to 600 000 people, in 2003 (Smith & Hanson, 2003). In 2013, the population size was estimated to be around 1.6 million (Brunn & Wilson, 2013). Khayelitsha consists of a number of subsections, including Site B, Site C, Green Point, Litha Park, Mandela Park, Makaza and Harare (Ndingaye, 2005). With the exception of affluent residential places in Litha Park, the remaining sections remain underdeveloped, with high numbers of informal settlements and RDP housing (Plate 2.1). The area holds the lowest development index measures within the city of Cape Town.



Plate 2.1: Site C in Khayelitsha

(Source: Google images)

Philippi was originally called "The Dunes" and was predominantly used for grazing. The earliest record of residents living in Philippi dates back to the 1833, its subsequently growth and development emerged only in the early 1980s (Anderson *et al.*, 2009). The relocation of Black residents from Crossroads to Khayelitsha led to a chaotic infiltration of Black migrants into Philippi as it become a place of refuge from political conflict and violence which was being experienced in Crossroads (Anderson *et al.*, 2009). Political conflict had also broken out in the former homelands of the Eastern Cape in response to the betterment program which was

being rolled out, and many families fled to urban areas seeking security (Anderson *et al.*, 2009; see section 2.1 for more details). Many sought refuge in Philippi East (a division of browns farm), Philippi West, and Weltevreden Valley. These areas were opened up in response to the flood of people seeking a place to live (Anderson *et al.*, 2009). By 2011 the population of Philippi had increased to 191 025.

Philippi, is situated on the sandy Cape Flats region (Anderson *et al.*, 2009) and its boundaries follow along Lansdowne Road, Duinefontein Road, Vanguard Drive and the R300 (Adlard, 2009). The average household size was 3.09 people/m² (City of Cape Town, 2011). The rapid increase in population in Philippi led to deteriorating living conditions, with increased informal settlements and overcrowding (Anderson *et al.*, 2009) see (Plate 2.2)



Plate 2.2 Informal settlement of Block 6 in Philippi

Source: (Google images)

Both areas are characterized by shack housing, overcrowding, inadequate water supply, poor sanitation and solid waste management (Ndingaye, 2005), and high levels of crime (Marks & Bezzoli, 2001). Fifty-eight percent of the residents in Khayelitsha are between the ages of 15 and 65 and are unemployed. In Philippi 80.8 percent of those working are unskilled and earn below R1 600 per month (Shale, 2010).

Poverty, socio-economic inequalities and political fracture arising from colonial and apartheid legacies continue to shape the landscape of townships in Cape Town (Katzchner, 2013). Townships were planned and designed by the apartheid system to serve as “dumping” grounds for Black people affected by forced removals from the city centre or arriving from rural areas in search of work, and did not consider the welfare of the people who would live there (Katzchner, 2013). Such areas therefore lack access to facilities that provide people with support for physical, psychological and emotional health (Milliken, 2015) and continue to fail to offer a place of comfort and happiness (Katzchner, 2013).

2.3. Research Methods

2.3.1. Qualitative and quantitative research methods

Both qualitative and quantitative research methods were employed during the study. Qualitative research methods provide access to research material that is rich, detailed and descriptive accounts of the phenomenon under investigation (Gelo *et al.*, 2008) and allows one to collect one’s participants “stories” which is useful in describing their views of reality (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Such an approach also “allows the researcher to go below the surface of the topic being discussed, and explore what people say in as much detail as possible, and uncover new areas or ideas that were not anticipated at the outset of the research” (Britten, 1995:252).

I collected life histories and personal experiences from the migrants I interviewed. The interviews techniques I used ranged from structured to in-depth interviews. I also made observations and participated in cultural activities that I was permitted to partake in. These methods were particularly useful in helping me understand why migrants attach so much value and meaning to their home/land, and its surrounding landscape. Through these methods, I gained insight into the meanings that migrants attached to their engagement in cultural activities such ritual performances and maintaining one’s *ubuhlanti* (kraal) and *igoqo* (woodpile). Having context based information and understanding respondents’ meanings, I

was able to probe questions through interviews that range from structured, semi-structured, and in-depth interviews, in an interactive, specific and sensitive manner.

The observations I made while I was in the field allowed me to give a rich description of each location as well as provide a detailed description of the various activities people partook in as well as the people themselves. Hoepfl (1997) notes that observation can lead to a deeper understanding than interviews alone, because it provides a knowledge of the context in which events occur, and may enable the researcher to see things that participants themselves are not aware of, or unwilling to discuss. This research technique was particularly useful when I returned with migrants to their rural homes, during their holidays as I both participated and observed various cultural activities they carried out while they were at home. Engaging and observing these activities meant that I was also given an opportunity to embody their landscapes of home.

Quantitative research methods were only used to numerically measure Centane dwellers who migrated to Cape Town, and explain the differences in home visits across different age groups and genders.

2.3.2. Sampling

Participants for the research were selected through the snowballing technique. Snowballing is a technique of finding research participants, through other research participants who suggest their friends, family members and other people in their circle who could be of assistance to you (Atkinson & Flint, 2001). I made use of the technique to locate migrants and their families within both Centane and Cape Town. When I first went to Centane I was given contact details of key informants by Vanessa Masterson and her research assistant, Ma'Faith who was based in Centane. Through them I was given contact details of fellow migrants and family members who were living in Cape Town. This approach proved particularly useful as in a big city people are often sceptical of others, it becomes difficult to, randomly approach people without being referred to them by a trusted person. It also would have been impossible to locate people from Centane without prior contact.

2.3. Stages of Fieldwork

2.3.1. Stage one

My fieldwork was divided into four stages. I first visited the villages of Centane, Nobuswana, Gcina and Gqunqe in April 2014, for a period of two weeks. I was accompanied by my supervisor Michelle Cocks and her research assistant, Dabula Maxama. We had made a prior arrangement to meet up with Mam'Faith, who had previously worked with Vanessa Masterson while she was doing her research in the area (see Masterson, 2016). Mam'Faith is a retired teacher who had worked in one of the local schools for most of her working life. She is well known and respected in the village of Nobuswana and surrounding communities. Mam'Faith introduced us to families who had family members working in Cape Town and/or family members who had worked in Cape Town.

On my first visit, I interviewed eight migrants and returnees and their respective family members. Three women (between the ages of 40 and 50), and five men (between the ages of 27 and late 70s). My interviews were informal and casual and as I documented their life histories, I asked questions around what had motivated them or members of their family to migrate. Once I had gained an understanding of their motivations to leave, I followed up with questions to find out what kinds of things they missed once they were away from home. The questions I asked were about whom they missed, what they missed doing as well as the sounds, smells and sights they missed.

I found this phase particularly useful as the collection of the eight life histories of current and past migrants allowed me to gain an insight into the context of their lives that impacted on the decisions they made. Just as important, I was also made aware of both the physical and social landscape that home was associated with. By walking through the landscape I was made aware of its physical beauty. I also became aware of the strong sense of tradition, to which Mayer (1980) referred to as Red ideologies, that exists in the area, as many of the women still wear traditional attire, head wraps and smear white ochre around their eyes and walk barefoot, particularly when there is a ceremony/ritual in the village (Plate 2.1). Households remain scattered, as the area did not undergo betterment planning (McAllister, 1989) (See

Chapter 1), and many households still have access to large plots for agriculture and livestock keeping.



Plate 2.1 Village women in their traditional attire attending an initiation ceremony

2.3.2. Stage two

In July 2014, I journeyed to Cape Town in search of migrants from Nobuswana and Gcina. I was accompanied by Mam'Faith and Vanessa Masterson. Together we compiled a list of 30 migrants to interview, whose contact numbers we had been given by family members whom we had met earlier in the year. Through these initial contacts, I was introduced to other migrants from the Centane area, who were predominantly living in Khayelitsha and Philippi. Ten were also based in Delft, Emfuleni, Gugulethu and Langa townships. The bulk of my case material was collected from those living in Khayelitsha and Philippi as they all tended to live in close proximity to each other.

My interviews in Cape Town tended to be more formal as Vanessa, Mam'faith and I would formally interview migrants in their homes. The dominant focus of these interviews was to capture what they felt about home and the kinds of experiences and aspects of home they were missing while they were living in Cape Town. I also made use of more informal interactions I had with migrants; for example, we would often provide them with lifts to and from work and these opportunities were also used to talk about living conditions in Cape Town. Towards the end of my stay I was introduced to Sibusiso, a traditional healer from Nobuswana, who lived in Khayelitsha Site C, by Vanessa and Mam'Faith. The arrangement was made that he would assist me by introducing me to more migrants from Centane when I returned in October, as Vanessa and Mam'Faith would not be accompanying me during this phase of my fieldwork.

2.3.3. Stage three

I returned to Cape Town in October 2014 for a period of four weeks. I was accompanied by Luthando, a field assistant from Rhodes University, for security reasons, and whenever possible Sibusiso also accompanied us, which was mostly on the weekends. The priority of my second visit to Cape Town was to get a fair representation of women migrants as on my previously visit I had predominantly spoke to men. Sibusiso assisted us greatly by escorting us around as we did not always know how to find the people I had contact numbers for.

I used this opportunity to do follow up interviews with the migrants I had been introduced to beforehand. By this stage, I had a clear idea of my line of questioning so many of my interviews tended to be more structured and focussed. I often met my informants in their homes. The questions I posed were around the importance or significance they attached to maintaining links with their rural kin and homesteads, and whether they still upheld cultural practices now that they have been exposed to city life. I also asked if returning home was still important to them, about the types of activities they engaged in when they returned home and the kind of emotions they felt when they were back home.

2.3.4. Stage Four

For the final stage of my fieldwork, I returned to Centane in December, for a period of two weeks accompanying those migrants who had returned home for the Christmas holidays. For this stage of the fieldwork, I relied mostly on participant observation, as I wanted to observe the types of activities that migrants engaged in while they were at home. Most of my time was spent with Sibusiso’s family. It was particularly eventful as I attended a circumcision ceremony, which was being arranged for his nephew. I actively participated as I was invited by the young and elderly women to join them in collecting wood in preparation for the ceremony. I also accompanied Sibusiso to neighbouring villages in search of a goat that was to be slaughtered for his nephew before he went to the “bush” to be initiated. While I was there, I went to the river with Sibusiso’s family and their children and to the forest with Sibusiso to collect medicinal plants for his patients, before he went back to Cape Town.

2.4. Summary

Table 2.1. Age range amongst migrants

Age	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55+	Total
Male	3	7	11	1	2	24
Female	3	1	7	1		12

In total I collected life histories and experiences from 36 migrants (12 females and 24 males) and eight returnees (see Table 2.1). Female migrants’ ages ranged from 23–46, and male migrants’ ages ranged from 17–67. The range in age helped to ensure I captured a diverse range of responses, in relation to length of time spent in the city and the frequency of the respondents’ return to the rural areas. In all stages of the research, interviews were used and they varied from casual, semi structured and structured. Some participants were interviewed more than once, and this was particularly the case when I was documenting life histories, following migrants back home and chairing group discussions (See Table 2.2).

Table 2.2. Methods and stages of research

	Centane				Cape Town			
	Methods				Methods			
	Interviews	Life Histories	Group Discussions	Participant Observation	Interviews	Life Histories	Group Discussions	Participant Observation
Stage 1	✓	✓		✓				
Stage 2					✓	✓	✓	
Stage 3					✓	✓		
Stage 4	✓	✓	✓	✓				

In stage, one I used participant observation to study both the physical and social landscape that home was associated with, by walking through the landscape. I also interviewed eight returnees; three men and three women and collected their life histories. In stage, two I interviewed 20 migrants, eighteen men and two women, I also collected five life histories and facilitated one group discussion (see table 2.2). In stage, three my aim was to do follow up interviews with the 20 migrants I had previously interviewed as well find more women migrants to interview. I interviewed 16 new participants; 10 women and six men and collected three life histories. In stage, four I followed two male migrants home, I engaged in-group discussions with their family members, had in-depth interviews with them as well as casual conversations. I also documented their life histories. In the final stage, I also observed and participated in cultural activities that I was invited to by my research participants.

2.5. Ethical Considerations

Like many social researchers, anthropologists are faced with the responsibility and obligation of ‘doing no harm” in the field in which they work. As such, anthropologists have a responsibility to anticipate potential ethical problems or clashes of interest, and insofar as possible to resolve them without harming the research participants or the scholarly community (ASA, 2011). When I spoke to my respondents, I realized that many of them did not fully grasp that the information they provided me with would be used to compile my

thesis. I had to continuously explain this to my participants so that they were aware that the information they provided would be used for.

Many of my respondents shared very personal and private information with me. Most of this information was shared with me when I was alone with them. For example they spoke about the personal experiences that they had had while they were in the forest and or by the river. Many of which they had only previously shared with close friends and relatives. Some even asked me to switch off my recorder and not write the information down. In order to ensure their confidentiality and to protect the identity of my informants I have used pseudonyms, so as to ensure that the information given cannot led to their identification or implicate them.

Spradley (1980) warns that researchers should not exploit their respondents or informants. In this regard, a fair return should be given to the respondents. As a token of appreciation for the time participants spent answering my questions, I gave each respondent a small gift after I had interviewed them. The gifts included a packet of biscuits, tea and sugar. For the family who invited me to attend their initiation ceremony, I gave a gift, which contributed towards their Christmas celebrations.

2.6. Reflections

The processes of my fieldwork has enriched my personal Xhosa knowledge and cultural identity, as it has reaffirmed to me the importance of cultural knowledge. As a Xhosa person, who originates from a rural area in the Transkei, one would assume that I would be familiar with many of the activities, experiences and sentiments that many migrants held about their rural landscape; however, this was not the case. In many ways, carrying out this research has given me an opportunity to experience aspects of my culture that I had never experienced before.

Since the research was conducted amongst Xhosa speaking people, who share similar cultural practices to those at home, I consider to have conducted an auto- ethnographic research. I use the concept of 'auto-ethnography' as it was first coined by David Hayano (1979) who defined it as ethnography done on one's "own people" through an insider's perspective" (Ellis

& Bochner, 2000: 739). This has both positive and negative implications. The positive, is that I did not need to overcome linguistic and cultural barriers.

The challenge of conducting research amongst rural Xhosa people, as a Xhosa rural born young woman, it sometimes became difficult to maintain a distance and occupy our respective roles of participants and researcher. Such difficulties were often experienced while I was participating in cultural activities as I felt I was being judged by my participants. Many of them assumed because I was born in the rural areas of former Transkei that I would have deep knowledge of rural cultural practices, which I did not have as most of my childhood was spent at boarding school in Pietermaritzburg. I only visited my rural family home, where my grandparents lived, during school holidays and this was often spent indoors with little to no interaction with the community or the landscape. While I was growing up my grandmother was no longer going to the forest to collect firewood and my mother rarely went to the forest. Through the research, I was given an opportunity to participate in cultural activities that I have never done before, such as *ukutheza* (collecting firewood). Although my uncles went to initiation school, I cannot recall their ceremony, as I was still very young. I was therefore not familiar with the proceedings of an initiation ceremony and I did not know the customs that accompanied this ritual. My research participant's assumptions therefore often made me feel embarrassed and reluctant to continue probing questions, as I did not want my participants to think I was ignorant of my culture. The draw back of this is that some deeper embedded meanings could be lost through the process.

Conducting research amongst Xhosa people also made it difficult for me to transgress constraints relating to age or gender. My gender and age as a young female affected a lot of the responses I got from male respondents, especially around issues relating to circumcision process and the types of connections that men could possibly have with the place and space of their initiation and its surrounding landscape. Many men did not want to go into detail of the kinds of activities they did while in initiation school and therefore I was unable to capture (possible) sentiments and memories that men could have with the location of their initiation. Conducting research amongst people of similar culture, where there is not enough social

distance, means I may not have been able to recognise the 'taken-for-granted' cultural patterns.

My displaced identity was fortunately compensated by my ability to make people feel relaxed in my company. I noticed this particularly when I returned to Cape Town on my own. Participants did not seem to feel a sense of discomfort when interviewed by me, and I also did not feel uncomfortable in the township spaces of Khayelitsha and Philippi. This may be due to the fact that I have personal experience of living in similarly conditions as the ones I found at site C and Philippi, when I used to visit and spent time with relatives in Johannesburg's shanty towns. My reaction reflected positively on my participants, as they were comfortable to talk to me about very intimate and personal experiences in the city and back home. More broadly, my ease in the space may also be due to my race as a Black person, which allowed me to assimilate into the space without being noticed, unlike when I went in with Vanessa Masterson, who is a White female. At the time when I was with Vanessa, people often asked if we were from the municipality/government doing a census on service delivery and unemployment.

Since multi sited research involves moving from one site to another, and considering the time limit to complete my research I did could not fully immerse myself into both the locations I was carrying out the research. This was a particularly the case in Cape Town, where most participants worked, as such I was unable to spend extended periods with the people I interviewed. I relied heavily on what people told me as I could not fully participate in their everyday lives or observe their behaviour. It therefore was impossible to correlated the information they told me with how they actually live out their lives. I also could not live in the communities where I conducted my research in Cape Town considering the congested living and safety conditions. Conducting the research in Nobuswana, Gqunqe and Gcina was however relaxed and more comfortable than Cape Town. I conducted my fieldwork while living in the community. I was able to spend long hours with migrants since the pressures of work had been relaxed. In the rural area, I was able to observe the social behaviours of migrants. I had the freedom to socialize and interact with their extended social networks and

participate in ceremonial practices and everyday activities. Carrying out this multi-sited research involved various methodologies, which assisted in uncovering the various attachments migrants hold for their rural home. My research could therefore be partially compromised considering the limited time I was in the field, my position as an embodied researcher, the limited presentation of female migrants' experiences, and my gender and age.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

3.1. Preface

This chapter provides the theoretical framework that will unpack migrants' relationships with rural areas as a place of home, which tie people to a particular location. The theoretical framework provided will be used to understand why people have continued to maintain their rural links and continue to demonstrate rural identity in an urbanizing post-apartheid South Africa. In trying to achieve this, concepts such as sense of place and place attachment will be used to demonstrate how the rural landscape, with its social and physical components provides a locality where migrants can situate significant constituents of their identity.

3.2. Home, Place Attachment and Identity

Home has been described as representing a place, a time, and a culture (Seiden, 2009) and is embodied in family, a homestead and a neighbourhood. Within such a place, one feels a sense of belonging, safety, comfort and unquestioned acceptance (Seiden, 2009). Related to this view of home, as a refuge is the idea that it is a private, often a familial realm clearly differentiated from public space and removed from public scrutiny and surveillance (Mallet, 2004). Home therefore becomes an intimate space that provides a context for close, caring relationships (Mallett, 2004) whereas; public sphere is associated with work and political engagements and non-kin relationships. The private realm of the home is typically understood as a space that offers freedom and control (Darke, 1994), security (Dovey, 1985) and scope for creativity and regeneration (Allan & Crow, 1989; Bachelard, 1969).

Long-term residence in a place helps in the development of a home, as through extensive interaction, a place imbues the landscape with the meanings of life experiences, and such residence nourishes local ties to friends, kin, and community organizations (Cuba & Hummon, 1993; Hay, 1998). The landscape of home is therefore seen as an interaction between the

physical environments and processes that form part of the everyday social practices, which are largely informed and dependent on the cultural and historical context of the place (Hirsch, 1995).

Although the cognitive and social constructions of home are important, they do not arise within a vacuum. Early research on place making and sense of place tended to ignore the role the physical/natural environment played in linking nature, culture, and social relations in creating place (Stedman, 2003), which in turn promoted the formations of peoples' identity and sense of attachment (Russell *et al.*, 2013). Place identity is now considered as a component of one's personal identity, as people describe themselves as belonging to a particular place and adopting identifications which reflect that place (Cross, 2015:494). Attachments to geographical location is now recognised as allowing one to acquire a sense of belonging and purpose and feelings of rootedness (Inalhan & Finch, 2004).

3.3. Landscape and Locality of Home

The noun landscape often evokes images of natural scenery unaltered by humankind, serving as symbols of sacredness and tranquillity (Rivara & mehrotra, 2014). The original use of the word landscape can be traced back to the 16th century derived from the Dutch to donate the visual scenery of nature, where the root of the word "land" referred to the location/territory aspect of the landscape (Lörzing, 2001). The word was therefore used to refer to the aesthetic "appearance of a land as we perceive it" (Owling, 1996). This aesthetic view was however criticized for being one-sided, as it did not clearly express the relation between the aesthetic form of landscape and its substantive content (Olwig, 1996).

Scholars such as Daniels and Cosgrove have presented compelling arguments related to the concept of landscape (1988 in Ingold, 1993). They have argued that landscape, although related to land, is not land, nor is it nature (Ingold, 1993). They argued that; you can ask for land, as of weight and how much there is, whereas for landscape you can ask what it is like

but not how much of it there is (Ingold, 1993). A landscape cannot simply be defined as nature, as nature is seen as a physical reality of what is “out there”, whereas a landscape is a cultural or symbolic construction of material and the ideal, and is seen as an intersubjective space marked out by our mental representation (Ingold, 1993). Therefore, according to Daniels and Cosgrove ‘a landscape is a cultural image, a pictorial way of representing or symbolising surroundings’ (1988:1). Ingold however rejects this simple binary relationship between man and nature. He argues that a landscape “is not a picture in the imagination, surveyed by the mind's eye; nor, is it an alien and formless substrate awaiting the imposition of human order” (Ingold, 1993:154). In contrast Ingold argues the point that a landscape is not identical to nature, nor is it on the side of humanity against nature (1993) rather a landscape becomes embodied within ourselves, by living within it the landscape becomes a part of us, just as we are part of it (Ingold, 1993).

Therefore, landscapes are areas as perceived by people while the properties of the areas are the result of the interaction between natural factors and human actions (Stobbelaar & Hendriks, 2004). Through the interaction of humans with nature, landscapes become cultural records that exhibit and inscribe our day-to-day qualities and activities (Rivara & Mehrotra, 2014). Landscapes therefore, reflects the taste, values, and inspirations (both tangible and intangible) of those who inhabit it (Rivara & Mehrotra, 2014). As such, landscapes in places in which people refer to as home can hold considerable cultural significance as they are seen to provide a sense of identity (Cocks *et al*, working paper). Within such a framework, the landscape of home is not just a physical structure or geographical location but also an emotional space, which is closely linked to some of our earliest psychological experiences and continues to exert a ripple effect throughout our lives (Marchetti-Mercer, 2006:193). This emotional space of home carries memories of childhood, connections to family of origin and cultural and ethnic roots (Marchetti-Mercer, 2006).

3.4. Migration and the Home Place

Geographers have long studied the meanings that migrants attach to their mobility and settlement experiences, and how they manage to maintain links to their places of origin while simultaneously adapting to their new environments (Ralph & Staeheli, 2011). Extensive work has been written on migrants' settlement experiences in their host cities/ countries, however there has been little interrogation on how migrants make sense of the concept of home, as well as the importance of home as a focus of geographical inquiry (Ralph & Staeheli, 2011). The journeys taken out of home, whether chosen or imposed, are often associated with the risk of social exclusion or marginalization (Mallett, 2004). These ideas resonate particularly with labour migrants, refugees and people living in exile (Mallett, 2004). Many who write about these experiences represent the relationship between home and away as oppositional (Mallett, 2004).

As Ahmed (1999) notes home is a space of belonging and being with clearly defined, fixed boundaries in which the subject is free of desire, at rest, secure and comfortable. In contrast, migration is conceived as an unfamiliar encounter with strange lands and strangers that trigger a homeless state of being (Mallett, 2004). This is because migration involves the crossing of borders of thought and experience; where the migrant encounters difference of language and culture (Ahmed, 1999). As such, journeys away from home become inescapably stressful as they bring about a sudden change in everyday rootedness (Narchal, 2007). The migrant feels a sense of loneliness associated with the absence of an engaging social network, embodied in family and friends that provides a sense of belonging (Narchal, 2007). As minorities in relation to the dominant culture, migrants are often aware of their position as the 'other' in the host city or country, and often speak of being invisible, voiceless and disconnected due to the lack of being familiar with the cultural structures and routines (Narchal, 2007). Such experiences often leads to feelings of alienation and disorientations and in turn evoke emotions of wanting to be located in specific places and specific homes (Staeheli & Nagel, 2006). Whether coupled with family or not, decisions to settle elsewhere are often coupled with feelings of displacement and alienation (Elder, 1996).

Rapport and Dawson (1998) point to the universal affective power related to 'home' and state that the meaning of home and home place gets its power through absence or denial caused by mobility. For migrants this is expressed through homesickness and the need to be grounded to a particular place, "a place like no other" (Ralph & Staehli, 2011). The strong attachments and meanings attributed to home can be further understood and appreciated within the framework of sense of place and placing making. Such an understanding will contribute to the profound connection that people have to their home/land (whether currently occupied, or left behind through migration or enforced dispossession).

3.5. Sense of Place

Concepts such as "identity, place image, place attachment, spirit of the place" have been defined as being essential in understanding the various building blocks and dimensions of place (Cighi, 2008:4). Further to this, various authors from several disciplines have attempted to unpack how place becomes socially constructed, how place meanings develop, and how people become attached to place (e.g., Low, 1992; Basso, 1996; Behrens & Watson, 1996; Hay, 1998; Cross, 2015).

The concept of sense of place is a difficult one to grasp, as it has been used in different ways; from explaining a warm fuzzy feeling one gets from appreciation of a natural landscape to describing characteristics of a geographical place that make the place special (Cross, 2001). One of the earliest writers to use a sense of place as concept was Yi-Fu Tuan, a human geographer, he alluded to the bond between people and place. In his book *Topophilia: a study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values*, he describes the word *Topophilia* which is Greek in origin; *topo-* (place) and *-philia* (love of/for) which literally translated "means love of place" (Tuan, 1974:2). His use of the word *topophilia* however, only addressed a few layers that make up the concept of sense of place and did not explain exactly how meaning is ascribed to place (Cighi, 2008). A range of authors in various other disciplines have since

complemented Tuan's work by studying how places are socially constructed, how place meanings develop, and how people become attached to places.

In the early '80s Fritz Steele, an environmental psychologist, made use of the concept of sense of place to describe the feeling one gets when being in a particular setting such as excitement or joy (1981). The concept was later developed by David Hummon, within the field of sociology, to describe a personal orientation towards place, in which one understands one's feelings about a place which in turn become fused in the context of environmental meaning (1992). Within such a context, the concept became recognised as including an interpretive perspective on the environment, as well as an emotional reaction to the environment (Hummon, 1992:6). In 1994, John Brinckerhoff Jackson, within the discipline of architectural history, used the concept to capture what is created in the course of time and represents certain habits and customs which becomes reinforced by reoccurring events (Brinckerhoff, 1994:5). In response, sentiments began emerging that "one cannot know who they are without knowing where they come from" (Hay, 1998:248).

Within anthropology literature, particularly amongst indigenous communities, the concept of sense of place has been used to refer to the meaning ascribed by local people to their cultural and physical surroundings (Hirsch, 1995) and the emotional connections and meanings between physical environment and human beings (Hay, 1988; Cighi, 2008). Landscapes are now recognized as an interaction between the physical environment and processes of every day social practices which are dependent on cultural and historical context (Low, 1992; Hirsch, 1995; Cross, 2001; Kudryavtsev *et al.*, 2012). Within such a context, places have become recognized as multifocal localities that are politicized, culturally relative, historically and locally specific (Rodman, 1992).

Implied within the notion of place is the subjective experience of an individual's life; in other words, it is not a concrete reality that exists outside of experience, but is rather a process of social, perceptual and cognitive engagement with the physical world (Ingold, 2000). In this way, we find that people at an elderly age, even though they have moved to other places, make statements that they want to be buried at their place of birth and childhood where those

memories were created. This is not simply a romantic choice of a beautiful spot for death, but rather a depiction of the strong connections people have with place (Gow, 1995).

Sense of place, therefore, does not have a precise definition, as it does not refer explicitly to a geographical space or the distribution of social activities (Cighi, 2008). It rather remains a complex notion that cannot be fully explained without addressing issues relating to place itself; in other words, its physical aspects, how it is perceived, how it is understood, and what type of actions it inspires (Cighi, 2008). As such, no clear consensus exists of what the concept should contain, or how it should be constructed and measured scientifically (Shamai, 1991, Kaltenborn, 1998; Cighi, 2008). However, various processes have been identified as contributing towards attachment to place; for example, the work of Behrens and Watson (1996), Low (1992), Hay (1998) and Cross (2015).

3.5.1. Processes of place attachment

Behrens and Watson (1996) allude to the process of how a space becomes a place. Meanings to a place are ascribed through personal meanings, which in turn become embedded in peoples' memories and in community stories (having both positive and negative emotions). Setah Low (1992) was one of the earliest scholars to describe the processes associated with place attachment. She conceptualised six types of place attachment which included: *genealogical* - links to family and place of origin; *narrative* - links created through storytelling and place naming; *loss and destruction* - links forged through disaster or migration; *economic* - owning property or workplaces; *celebratory cultural events* - links formed through participating in cultural events, and *cosmological* - links formed through religious pilgrimage or connections to sacred religious sites. Low explained that while these processes are distinct, they overlap with each other and occur simultaneously in time and space (Low, 1992).

Other scholars have since expanded and modified these early conceptualisations of place attachment. For example, Robert Hay expanded on the importance of history and genealogy in developing place attachments and argued for the need for historical linkages to reflect multiple layers, which include personal, family, ancestral and cultural (Hay, 1998). Others,

such as Basso (1996), Dominy (2001) and Sampson & Goodrich (2009) have expanded on the importance of narrative practises in crafting sense of belonging and identity (cited in Cross, 2015). Place attachment is also recognised as an emotional and sentimental bond that develops between people and their environment (Stedman, 2003:672).

More recent scholars have, however, criticized existing place attachment research for not placing sufficient emphasis on (individual) memory, or the possibility for an individual to have multiple place attachments (Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2014), and how mobility may impact on processes of place attachment (Lewicka, 2011). To address these deficiencies, Cross (2015) suggests a deeper exploration on how we form and sustain our attachment to place and proposes an interactionist framework. Within this context, Cross (2015) identified seven processes through which people develop and maintain a relationship with place, namely: (1) sensory, (2) narrative, (3) historical/genealogical, (4) spiritual, (5) ideological, (6) commodifying and (7) material dependence. Her work is similar to that of Low (1992) in that she describes each of these processes as being individually unique, and working collectively at an individual, interpersonal and cultural level (Cross, 2015). These processes are described in more detail below.

Sensory: in the early years of life much of our human brain is developed through our sensory experiences. Relationships with the environment are created through smells, touch, taste, sight and hearing (Cross, 2015). This takes place on a physical, mental, emotional and creative level. Through sensory experiences, a memory is created that bonds us to a particular environment. When we encounter a particularly smell, sound and or taste, memories of that particularly environment are evoked. While we may see colour and taste food, there is a variation in our interpretations based on our cultural context, or individual experiences (Cross, 2015). Thus, our experience of place is both unique to our perception and related meaning which is informed by cultural values (Cross, 2015).

Narrative: storytelling has many conversational functions; it also represents a unique process of forming attachment to place. Through the telling and hearing of stories of a place, one learns about that place and bonds are developed (Cross, 2015). Stories and place names not only orient people to a particular place, they are told and retold in ways that contribute

to a sense of belonging and cultural inside-ness. Lowenthal, as early as 1975, alluded to the importance of storytelling in African cultures as contributing to feeling at home and how the telling of stories contributed to such a feeling even if they have not lived in that place for an extended period of time (1975:9). This was the case in East Africa when the Masaai were moved from their home/land, they then took with them names and narratives of their hills, plains and rivers into the new country they moved to.

Stories of a particular place reinforce or express processes of place attachment; however, the narrative of the story does not do justice to the experience of a place, just as “the sound and smell and feel of a place cannot be reduced to a narrative of that experience” (Cross, 2015:504). The narrative process is not stagnant, it is expanded upon and develops over time, as people spend time in a place, they gather new stories from others and come to understand people and local culture in new ways (Cross, 2015).

Historical: historical attachment to place has three levels, namely: biographical (an individual’s history); genealogical (family history) and ancestral (cultural history) (Cross, 2015). The historical process is the most time-bound process of all the place attachment processes. It develops and expands over time as key events in a place or a person’s life occur and then take on a biographical significance (Cross, 2015). Historical attachment is “the process of accumulating experiences in a place and creating meaning about those experiences that tie both ordinary and significant life events to a particular place as well as to the history of a place” (Cross, 2015:506). The historical process of attachment has two components: the experience of the life in a place and the stories that are used to create meaning about those experiences (Cross, 2015).

Spiritual: at times, a person can have a long historical attachment to a place, but may not feel or experience a deep sense of belonging (Cross, 2015); this means that a person lacks spiritual attachment to that place. “The spiritual process of attachment evokes a sense of deep belonging in a particular place” (Cross, 2015:508). The spiritual attachment to place is said to connect our spirit/soul to a particular place. This sense of attachment does not have any connection to religion but rather relates to how one’s own spirit/soul feels a sense of belonging in a place (Cross, 2015). Spiritual attachment to a place may not necessarily occur

in relation to a place that one has historical attachment to, but can occur in relation to places that one encounters later in life. Thus, such forms of attachment can develop in two different places (Cross, 2015).

Ideological: in contrast with spiritual attachment which just transpires, ideological attachments are founded on an ethical code of conduct which dictates good and bad relationships between people and places (Cross, 2015). “The ideological process of attachment is a well-articulated ideology about how to live in a place” (Cross, 2015:510). These ethics or ideologies can be formally codified through religious, legal or political systems, or informally through communal sanctions and expectations or personal commitment (Cross, 2015).

Commodifying: similarly, with the spiritual attachment to place process, the commodifying process is predominately on a personal level of attachment. “The defining characteristic of the commodifying process is choice, the ability to choose a place with the best possible combination of desirable features” (Cross, 2015:512). In this place there is a commodity “to be consumed”. This is the process where someone chooses a place for work that is likely to include a cognitive assessment of ideal traits, of belonging and well-being and the community features they desire. The choice of a retirement community also involves this kind of comparative assessment (Cross, 2015). While the assessment may be done by individuals, the list of desirable traits of a place is, however, embedded in cultural values/preferences and ideologies. Thus, this process is a result of both individual cognition and cultural narratives or aesthetics.

Material Dependence: “place dependence is a functional connection based on the individual’s physical connection to a setting; it is the potential of a particular setting to satisfy the needs and goals of an individual, compared to the features of other available places to satisfy those set of needs” (Cross, 2015:513). Material dependence includes reliance on the material features of a place (place allows you to perform cultural rituals necessary for well-being, identity, geographic features and aesthetics) as well as material and social reliance on others which are needed for personal well-being (Cross, 2015). Place dependency appears

when making decisions of where to find work, attend college and finding a neighbourhood that is socially integrating.

3.6. Conclusion

Within this framework, it is clear that places have highly personal meanings, and people have used places to articulate their identity (Cighi, 2008; Cross, 2015). Places where people have lived for long periods or to which they return many times, are associated with roots and continuity (Gustafson, 2001). In such places, people often feel a sense of home and security (Seiden, 2009). As shown places also become meaningful because of relationships within that place that allow individuals to be part of a neighbourhood (Cuba & Hummon, 1993; Hay, 1998). Within concepts such as landscape, places also become meaningful through the associations that people make with their surrounding physical environment, including distinctive features of their environment, and the events and feelings that are associated with that place (Rivara & Mehrotra, 2014). The concept is therefore useful as it will assist in unpacking the meanings that migrants attach to geographical locations and how these meanings are formed. As these frameworks show; meanings or conceptualizations of place are interrelated to physical characteristics of the environment and the everyday activities that are carried out within that place. Places are however not static, as they are continually produced and reproduced in people interacts with their surroundings and thus may acquire new meanings over time (Gustafson, 2001).

Globalisation and mobility has brought the need for strong association with places. Increasing mobility leaves people, routinely displaced, and longing to be rooted in intimate place linkages (Malkki, 1992). Within a global village, there is an affective yearning for a community with a collective memory, a longing for continuity. In a series of papers, Christou (2002, 2004, 2006a,b) demonstrates that the continuing instability of identity while living away from an ancestral land – an ancestral home – underlies the quest for an authentic sense of self allied to the act of ‘coming home’. Such yearnings require an explicit appreciation that migrants’ multiple, hybrid and dynamic identifications with home may continue to idealise a stable identity with a fixed home (Pratt 1999; Tolia-Kelly, 2006). In this sense, home incorporates

both a lived and longed-for state. Ralph, & Staehili (2011), argues therefore, for the importance of understanding home as simultaneously mobile and sedentary, as localised and extensible. Geographers' voices have been crucial in enhancing engagement with complex debates on home and migration; they have also been crucial in theorising the spatiality of social relationships, including those that construct home (Ralph & Staeheli, 2011). My anthropological work therefore adds on this body of knowledge by using the theoretical frameworks provided above to conceptualise the experience of home amongst mobile rural dwellers, and the implications of home for identities and feelings of belonging. In so doing, I hope to provide a lens by which home can be understood as located in the complex relationships through which migrants and others build and interpret their lives.

Chapter 4: Sisekuyo Imfuduko – We are still Journeying

4.1. Preface

As described the Umnquma municipality in which Centane falls under, has limited employment opportunities. As such, people from this area are compelled to leave their places of identity, as there are unable to sustain their livelihoods or fulfil their aspirations while at home. In regions characterised by poor economies, rural dwellers migrate from their homes to look for better opportunities in urban centres. In the South African context, migration is associated with the move of people from rural to urban areas and towns in search for work opportunities (Kok, *et al.*, 1985; Crankshaw & Hart, 1999).

This chapter discusses the reasons why people from Centane continue to leave their homes and migrate to urban centres, such as Cape Town. Many of these reasons go beyond the need for economic maximization. Despite their relocation many continue to maintain their rural affiliations and connections.

4.2. Changing Patterns of Migration in Post-apartheid South Africa

In post-apartheid South Africa, the classification of urban, rural, semi-urban/rural or peri-urban in African urbanisation is gradually changing (Kok *et al.*, 2003), as a result other migratory patterns are left undocumented. This includes documenting the changing geographies of rural areas over the past half century. The development of tourism in rural areas along the coastal regions has often motivated different mobility's such as counter migration, as people from urban areas now own second homes in these regions for holiday purposes or/and retirement (Hoogendoorn *et al.*, 2009).

As a result, a number of small towns and business enterprises along the coastline have been established (Hoogendoorn *et al.*, 2009). In the former Transkei Wild coast these include Cob Inn, Mazeppa Bay hotel, the Dwesa Game Reserve, Bawa Falls; Kei Mouth; Qorha Mouth, Hole in the Wall, Coffee Bay, Hluleka Nature Reserve (Ntonzima, 2014). Such tourism development in the Transkei Wild Coast have shifted migratory patterns as local inhabitants in the villages

and those of neighbouring villages come to these establishments to seek employment (Ntonzima, 2014).

The revival of small towns surrounding rural areas in post-apartheid South Africa has meant that rural inhabitants are increasingly looking for work opportunities in nearby areas (Dewar, 1994; Gibb & Nel, 2007; Hoogendoorn *et al.*, 2009; Halseth & Meiklejohn, 2009). As such, despite the outmigration to city metropolitan, some small towns have experienced phases of rapid population growth (Gibb & Nel, 2007). Economic statuses in small towns vary from those of wealthier, holiday destination-type coastal towns, to railway, mining, agriculture and commercial activities (Gibb & Nel, 2007), which include towns such as Alicedale, Cala, Butterworth, Centane, Idutywa, Peddie of the former Transkei and Ciskei. The benefit of restoring small towns in the former homelands of the Transkei and Ciskei, is that they are able to provide services to their respective rural 'hinterlands, that rural dwellers would normally travel to big city centres to access (Thornton, 2008). The change in post-apartheid urbanisation means that migratory patterns of rural inhabitants have become complex as they are no longer linear. For the purpose of this dissertation however, the focus is on the move of people from rural areas to a city metropolitan in search of a better life, and the regular journeys they take from cities to rural places of origin

4.3. Who is Still Migrating

The imprints of the apartheid system, and the legacy of the former Bantustans continue to be part of lived experiences of rural dwellers of the Eastern Cape, in post-apartheid South Africa. Baucom (2005:5) argues that "post-apartheid did not mark the end of the Bantustan system and rural poverty but rather a morphism of a new era of black people dependent on the welfare state", as rural people still have no means to self-sustain, but continue to rely upon the state and the migratory system for their livelihoods. Such conditions have continued to persist as post-democracy has seen very little investment being made into the Eastern Cape, particularly its rural areas. The little investment that has been made has been channelled to industrial development zones in cities and surrounding small towns. Localities with low development potential (such as rural areas) have continued to remain underdeveloped (Westaway, 2012). Such areas comprise by far the largest number of families being dependent

on the government’s welfare programme as very few prospects of employment exist in these areas. As such, migration continues to be a dominant means by which people can earn an income in these areas (Cameron, 2003; Posel & Casale, 2006; Westaway, 2012).

With limited employment, opportunities within the Umnquma municipality, and its surrounding small town, people from Centane where I conducted research continued journeying to Cape Town to seek better socioeconomic prospects and income. The length of migration amongst migrants varied significantly with some only just having left home (Table 4.1). For example, Zethu a young female, has only been living in Cape Town for six months compared to older migrants who had been migrating for more than 20 years.

Table 4.1 Length of time spent migrating to Cape Town amongst male and female migrants

Length of stay in years	1-4 years	5-9 years	10-14 years	15-19 years	20+ years	Total number of years
Male	3	8	2	3	7	23
Female	2	1	4		4	11

4.3. Reasons for Migrating

Migration to the city is still largely portrayed as being motivated by household conditions of poverty or financial insecurity (Posel & Casele, 2006) and to maximise profit (Kok *et al.*, 2003). Such a depiction, however, fails to convey the often-deeper motivating reasons as to why individuals migrate. An investigation into personal factors, which contribute to certain people migrating to the city, provides insight into how broader social economic processes contribute to the formation of such decisions. The following five dominating themes emerged as contributing factors for migration: Social networks, mending broken family ties, spouse related migration, pursuit for better education, social status and acceptance.

4.3.1. Social networks: interdependency amongst home people

Human capital has proved to be an influential factor when migrating (Haug, 2008; Dolfin & Genicot, 2010). Contrary to neo-classical economic approaches to migration, migration decisions are not necessarily taken at the micro-economic level of weighing up the costs and benefits of a particular move and assessing the wage differentials, but is made based on achieving minimum risk and achieving some degree of social protection (Deumert *et al*, 2005: 316). Like social networks, migrant networks are relationships of reciprocal exchange; established networks in the city can assist an inspiring migrant in providing a form of social capital which he/she can draw from upon arrival (Gelderblom & Adams, 2006; Haug, 2008). This includes accessing food, shelter, transport, money, community support and increases the probability of finding a job (Haug, 2008:585).

Such benefits are often achieved through linking into social networks; in the instance of migrant workers, this is achieved through sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants to the urban destination areas. Such networks are established on affiliation and convenience of living near family members or home people (*abakhaya*), and a feeling of being part of a group or community. Informal networks are means by which migrants obtain social protection, as they have been dislocated from emotional support structures and safety nets provided by family and community networks in their area of origin. They have moved to an urban environment where the social and economic systems operate quite differently from those they are more familiar with (Deumert *et al.*, 2005). This provides a distinct form of capital, which significantly influences decisions of migration (Haug, 2008:587).

Migrants from Centane attested to having chosen Cape Town as a migration destination because of social networks that exist in that city. In conducting research in Cape Town I took note that most Centane people lived in close proximity to each other and monopolized specific areas in the township; for example, Block 6 in Philipi and Site- C in Khayelitsha. These living arrangements therefore solidify solidarity amongst home people. As an example,

Monelisi's experience illustrates how having family networks in a city renders social capital for the new arrival as it can assist one in finding employment efficiently.

I first arrived in Cape Town in 1995. I lived in a male hostel from 1995 until I got married in 2006. I now live with my wife in Philippi, Block 6. When I first came to Cape Town, it was because of my brother, who was already working in Cape Town, and he was leaving the job he had for a better one. My brother asked the manager if it would be possible for me to fill the vacancy. The manager agreed. Having a brother who was already working in Cape Town influenced my decision to come to Cape Town, because that is where employment had availed itself (Monelisi, a 37-year-old man).

Migrant networks do not only depend on kin, one's spouse or close association to someone, but also on hospitality rendered by village people. These networks also depend on bonds and shared memories, practices, space, kinship structures amongst neighbours of a particular village or town, and how these "destroyed" close-knit structures of the village fuel solidarity amongst home people in the city (Gelderblom & Adams, 2006:237). This is illustrated by three male migrants: Sibusiso, a 43-year-old man, Xolani, a 44-year-old man, and Andile a 42-year-old man, who approached a village elder (Tat'Bhele, a 58-year-old man) that has been migrating to Cape Town for years to assist them with accommodation while they searched for work in Cape Town.

I came to know about Cape Town through the stories that the village migrant elders used to tell when they came back home from Cape Town. Before I came, I approached one of the village elders, Tat'Bhele who provided me with accommodation and refereed me to various companies when I was looking for employment (Sibusiso, a 43-year-old man).

In the process of migration, objects and people from home can play an important role in the active recreation of home. These can invoke positive feelings of familiarity and a sense of stability to counter feelings of estrangement, disruption and dislocation in the new place of residence (Delius *et al.*, 2014) Social networks play an important role in the migration process especially for new arrivals in providing information and assistance in finding a place to live and a job. However, beyond their material benefits, social networks of (*abakhaya*) assist in coping with social isolation and integration into a new environment.

4.3.2. Mending broken family ties

The very nature of migration means that migrants are separated from their families for long periods of time, with some returning home frequently and others less so (Posel & Casel, 2003:464). Migration is seen as a positive and necessary journey by many as it can provide the opportunity to access employment and place one in a position to remit much needed financial resources to the rural household (Smit, 2001). However, it is also seen as contributing to the breakdown of the family structure, as young to middle aged family members are often absent during the critical years of marriage and child rearing (Smit, 2001:537). For most rural children, their family life is associated with being a member of a woman-headed household, and/or extended family member household. The absence of their fathers is part of their conception of reality (Smit, 2001:541). Post democracy has not seen a decrease in migration but rather an increase, particularly in female migrants. This has contributed even further to the breakdown of family structures as many young children are now being placed under the care of extended family members (Posel & Casel, 2003:463).

Bulelani is a new arrival; he arrived in Cape Town just over a year ago³. He is 23 years old. Like many other children in the village of Gqunqe, Bulelani grew up living with his extended family. His parents never married and at the time his mother could not support him so she went to Cape Town to try and find work. Bulelani only has a vague memory of his father, who also worked in Cape Town but seldom visited them; even when he did return to the village as he was not married to Bulelani's mom. Bulelani only sees his mother for a week or two when she returns "home" in December. Bulelani narrated how difficult his childhood was for him particularly growing up in the village with his aunt.

I remember how on many a school day I would have to bath with cold water and go to school without wearing shoes. At times I would have to leave home without a meal as there was no money to buy food. I remember how this made me feel I become determined to try and find a job as soon as I was old enough so that I could become independent and have a fresh start in life.

³ The research was carried out in 2014

I often felt uncomfortable living in my aunt's house, as we had many disagreements. I remember a time when the disagreements got so bad that I decided to leave and go and live with my father's side of the family, in Idutywa. I however, found that I did not find solace there either as my father seldom returned home and as a result of his absence I was not accepted as member of the family. These sentiments were enhanced after the death of my grandfather (my father's father), who at the time was the only one who welcomed me into the family. My grandfather's death coincided with my home coming ceremony (*umgidi*)⁴ of my initiation. This meant I was never given *umgidi* ceremony as no one in the family wanted to take the financial responsibility of hosting it for him. This left me feeling like an outcast as the young men in the village refused to associate with me because I had not completed my initiation (Bulelani, 23 year old man).

When Bulelani passed his matric he saw this as his opportunity to gain his independence. He felt he could achieve this by migrating to Cape Town to try and find work. He also saw this as an opportunity to reconnect with his biological mother and develop a relationship with her as she is still living in Cape Town.

Andile is from Nobuswana.

I never really knew my father as he had left them to find work in Cape Town soon after I was born. My mother and father were never married. I was raised by my mother. When I came of age I become head of the household, and I tried to take care of my mother; she had no stable income at the time as she earned a meagre income through selling traditional clothes that she made.

At the age of 20 I left Nobuswana to seek employment in Butterworth. I soon became dissatisfied with working in a small town earning a low wage. In 1995, I decided to

⁴ *Umgidi* known also as *Umphumo*- The coming-out phase, is the last phase of the initiation process where the initiate goes back to the community to start a new life, of being a man. *Umgidi* is the ceremony where the initiate is welcomed back home with a feast, alcohol and speeches by young men and elders to show to the community that one has graduated into manhood (Mhlahlo, 2009:114).

journey to Cape Town in search of better opportunities and my father, in the hope of creating a relationship with him. However, my relationship with my father was not sustainable. After the death of my mother in 1997, and being the only child with an absent father, I was faced with the financial burden of taking care of my homestead back in the village. My inability to do so led me to stay in Cape Town for over five years without returning to my rural home (Andile, a 42 year old man).

Such narratives illustrate the detrimental effect that a parent's absenteeism has on children, as these parents are unable to play an active role in the lives of their children. The breakdown of families in the rural areas has left many rural children within unstable family relations (Smit, 2001; Clark & Van Heerden, 1992; Yam & Lam, 2007).

4.3.3. Spouse related migration

The apartheid labour system was designed in a way that prohibited women and children from migrating to the city; as such, migrants were often single or married men. These single men migrated to save up sufficient money to start their own family and married men went to support their families by sending home much needed cash resources (Adepoju, 1995:92). As such, families were systematically divided, as many young married women were left behind to maintain the household, and provide basic food and care for the young and old, while the men were in the city earning a wage (Adepoju, 1995; O'Laughlin, 1998:3).

As formal restrictions on African urbanisation were lifted in the late 1980s, migrant workers had the option of migrating with, or being joined by their spouses and family, thus allowing the possibility for families rather than individuals to migrate (Posel, 2004:3). Lifting of the formal restrictions has seen an increase in the number of female migrants in the 1990s which resulted in a shift in the gender composition of labour migrants (Posel & Casele, 2003:463). Female migration is often considered a secondary movement (Pedraza, 1991:308) as many migrate to join their spouses. In doing so many have used the opportunity to generate an income while they are living in the city; such activities often include street vending, sewing, running a sheeben and/or small businesses (Collinson *et al.*, 2006:10).

Just over half of the women interviewed (n=7) followed their husband/partners to Cape Town. This is an indication that people do not migrate solely because of employment, as there are other embedded sentimental issues that drive people to go to certain urban areas. Kholiwe first came to Cape Town in the early 2000s to visit her husband.

Initially I was only going to stay for three months, but while I was there I found an opportunity to earn an income as a street vendor, selling freshly slaughtered chickens, and decided to stay. Unlike my husband, I return home as regularly as possible to visit my in-laws. Once I have made enough money I periodically returns to Centane with my children to fix and maintain the homestead and carry out 'wifely duties' such as caring for relatives-in-law and maintaining her *igoqo*⁵ (woodpile) (Kholiwe, a 35-year-old woman).

As the controls on urban migration lessened, Kholiwe and her husband decided that she would bring their children with her when she came to Cape Town. She now stays in Cape Town as long as she is earning an income. Once she has made enough money she returns home with her children to fix and maintain their homestead. When her business is not doing well she returns "home" less frequently and only goes back when her husband does, which is once a year, in December. Similarly, Bulelwa moved to Cape Town when the controls on urban migration lessened. She decided to join her husband and to live as a family. She joined him three years ago.

At first, I was reluctant to leave my rural home as I lived alone at home with children and moving to Cape Town would mean that there would be no one taking care of their homestead and livestock. When I first arrived, I tried to find a job. When this proved difficult I decided to continue with studies, and enroll for a nursing diploma (Bulelwa, 35-year-old woman).

⁵ See section 6.4.5

Although women have been regarded as “followers” of men, being dependent on the decision of their husbands to migrate (Adepoju, 1995:95), it is important to recognise that these acts have promoted greater autonomy for women. This is substantiated by Kholiwe, who used the opportunity to assist her husband with the household income and improve her homestead back home, and in the case of Bulelwa, who used the opportunity to improve her education, in order to gain more independence.

4.3.4. Pursuit for better education

A central feature of the apartheid system was to separate and provide unequal access to education facilities that were based on racial characteristics (Yao, 2007; Maile, 2004). Educational policies, curricula, and teaching methods were designed specifically to ensure the political, economic and social domination of the white population over non-white racial groups (Lu & Treiman, 2007; Townsend *et al.*, 2002). The nationalist government introduced the Bantu Education Act in 1950, to reduce the Black African population to a position of subordination (Lu & Treiman, 2007:7).

By the end of apartheid, the Black and Coloured community had attained a poor level of education, with some having received no education at all, while others had only completed primary school. In 1997 It was estimated that only seven percent had completed secondary school (Lu & Treiman, 2007). Further to this, the quality of schooling offered in the rural areas was significant lower than that offered in the urban areas (Lu & Treiman, 2007). Zhang reports that, in the 1990s primary school children in rural areas consistently underperformed compared to their urban counterparts (2006:582). According to his study on urban-rural literacy, the gaps identified include: the poor condition of school buildings; the scarcity of school facilities, equipment, instructional resources and guiding material for teachers, and the low level of reading proficiency among the teachers themselves (Zhang, 2006). These factors have been further aggravated by the physical isolation of many of the rural schools, making it difficult to supply them with necessary resources (Herselman, 2003). Due to these conditions, many of the more qualified teachers opted to work in urban areas; consequently, teachers without appropriate qualifications were often placed in rural schools to teach (Herselman, 2003).

The end of apartheid meant that learning opportunities were opened up for learners from rural areas and townships to attend schools of their choice (Maile, 2004). Given the above conditions of schools in the rural areas, it is no surprise that after the removal of the influx control, parents wanted to send their children to urban schools to obtain a better education (Maile, 2004:95). Such factors motivated Senzo, Sibusiso's nephew and Phumzile's parents.

Sibusiso lives with his wife, twelve-year-old daughter and four-year-old son. A few years ago his 17-year-old nephew Senzo joined them, whom Sibusiso regards as his own son. Senzo spent most of his life in Nobuswana living with his grandmother, whom he refers to as "mother" as his biological mother worked in Cape Town. At the age of 15 Senzo completed grade 10 in Nobuswana, after which he went and joined his uncle's family in Cape Town to improve his education. He was completing his matric at the time of the interview.

Initially I found the transition difficult as I was behind with many of my peers and I found it difficult to articulate myself in English. The education I received in Cape Town I feel has improved my English and has equipped me with the necessary resources to prosper at university and exposed me to various career choices, which I would not have had if I had stayed in the village. Despite these potential opportunities, I still attach great meaning to my rural home as I feels that is where his roots lie (Senzo, a 17-year-old male).

Bantu was raised in Cape Town and lived with his father and mother, both of whom were working at the time. At the age of 11 his parents decided to send him "home" to the village where they originally came from, Nobuswana.

My parent's decision to move us back to the rural area was motivated by my involvement in the gangster culture that existed in the area we were living in at the time. When I reflect on my schooling experience in the rural area, I felt as though the school systems was "behind" as me and my brother were often the youngest and brightest in our classes. After the death of my mother, my brother and I moved back to Cape Town to live with our father. I however dropped out of University and joined the army. Nevertheless, I am grateful for the quality of education I got in Cape Town

as I believe it gave me a better awareness of the world, particularly in technology (Bantu, a 38-year-old man).

Babalwa lives with her mother and brother in Philippi and is a student at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology. Babalwa is a third year accounting student at Cape Peninsula

I am glad I completed my tertiary education in Cape Town, as I feel that a big city has exposed me to many opportunities, and I have acquired good networking skills that I feel will increase my chances of finding employment. This I feel would not have been possible if I had completed my degree in an institution that was located in a small town (Babalwa, a 23-year old woman).

Many of the other migrants interviewed shared sentiments around the poor quality of education within the rural areas. Bulelwa believes that the opportunity to enrol in a nursing college would help her to obtain a better paying job and this she believes has contributed towards improving her quality of her life and that of her family. Similarly, Kholiwe and Sikhokhele, a married couple who live with their four-year-old and new born baby in Philippi, held similar views of wanting to school their children in the city rather than the rural area. Reflecting on their own experiences as scholars in rural areas, they claimed that education in the city was of a higher quality and that a child schooled in the city was far brighter than one schooled in the rural areas.

4.3.5. Social status and acceptance

Social status and acceptance is another key factor that compel villagers, particularly men, to migrate. Rural migrants stated that in their villages, migration is associated with a high status ranking in the community as migration allows an individual to be able to maintain their household structures, buy cattle, perform rituals and marry. An individual who is able to carry out these activities is awarded with respect amongst community and family members as he/she is regarded as responsible.

Individuals who migrate to the city are expected by village members to have a positive impact on the development of their rural homes. Their social status and prestige is usually elevated when they return home as they are seen to represent human, financial and social capital (Sabates-Wheeler *et al.*, 2007). Upon returning, migrants are often treated with admiration, which is partly due to their affluence and partly due to the experience they are assumed to have acquired in cities, which are often associated with modernity and wealth. This is illustrated by Bongikhaya, who has been a migrant for over 20 years.

A person, particularly a male who does not work or cannot afford to own livestock or build his homestead is never taken seriously in the village, especially amongst other men. When he comments amongst other men, and sometimes raises a valid point, he is told “what could a hungry man say that is important” while someone who is working (mostly a migrant) would say the exact thing only this time people agree with him only because he has esteem as a working man (Bongikhaya, a 67-year-old man).

Bongikhaya emphasised in his narrative the importance of male migrants to invest in cattle, while they still have the strength to work in the city. The owning of cattle in the African context is embedded in the web of social and economic relations that form the basis of rural inhabitants (Ainslie, 2005). Cattle provide particular prestige for rural people (especially amongst senior men) as it gives them the right to engage and maintain networks and positions of power that extend beyond the homestead to the village (Ainslie, 2005). As illustrated by Bongikhaya, owning cattle in Nobuswana gives a man the legitimacy to comment in social gatherings and his comments are taken seriously as he is believed to be a responsible man. Therefore, being a migrant and being able to afford to buy cattle also becomes a public assertion of membership of the community (Ainslie, 2005).

Investing in cattle for the migrant also means that he is able to perform a range of rituals without having to spend large amounts of money buying a cow or a goat to perform a ritual. Ritual performance forms an integral part of migrant identity, as the ability to perform rituals is a clear depiction that one is working and financially stable. Being able to perform rituals also means that the migrant is able to secure ancestral blessings for him/herself and his/her

family, as ritual performances are deemed necessary for the well-being of an individual and his family (Ainslie, 2005).

This is substituted by the testimony of Tat'Cirha, a self-employed man, who has been living in Phillipi for 12 years.

There is a lot of status attached to migrant work. When I recount on my own experience I returned home from Cape Town for the first time, I was treated differently when I became a migrant although I had been running the same shebeen business I run in Cape Town for years at home. I was now treated with more respect and formality when in village gatherings, and people expected gifts from me as though they assumed that I was wealthier now that I was living in the city (Tat'Cirha, a 54-year-old man).

4.4. Conclusion

This chapter has shown that migration is not solely motivated by the rational choice of capital maximization and economic motives (Arango, 2000). Decisions to migrate are also embedded within other social and cultural factors (Gmelch, 1980; Kok *et al.*, 2003; Maile, 2004; Posel, 2004 ; Dolfin & Genicot, 2010). From the narratives given, it is obvious that one's dreams and/or aspirations are also a central factor in motivating people to leave the rural areas and migrate to the city. The desire to achieve something is a trait that most individuals have (Maslow, 1943; Czaika & Vothknecht, 2012). One's aspirations are motivated by specific experiences and are stimulated by different social environments ranging from individual personality, socialisation, education, economic context and personal experiences (Bandura, 2001; Czaika & Vothknecht, 2012). In rural South Africa, migration is often seen as a necessary condition for one to achieve one's aspirations.

For Bulelani, moving to Cape Town provided him with an opportunity to gain financial independence, which he perceived as providing him with the opportunity to have a "fresh start in life". He saw financial independence as providing him with sufficient money to buy material to build his own house and start a family. He felt the ability to do that would provide him with new meaning and a sense of belonging.

For Senzo, coming to Cape Town has awarded him with the opportunity to expand his personal knowledge, experience and interests. Similarly, living in a global city such as Cape Town has allowed Bantu to acquire professional, interpersonal and technological skill which he feels he may not have accessed and learnt if he had completed his schooling in the rural area. Bantu has been fortunate to acquire a job that has allowed him travel to other countries and this has exposed him to “worlds” beyond South Africa.

In the case of Kholiwe and Bulelwa, Kholiwe has gained autonomy in the household as she explained that she is now able to buy more things she desires for her household, her children or herself without consulting her husband. Being a street vendor has also allowed Kholiwe to constantly maintain her rural household by ensuring that it is always painted and that there are sufficient groceries throughout the year and not only in December. Bulelwa expressed gratitude that her husband allowed her go back to school as she believed that her nursing qualification will bring her and her family greater economic prospects and a better quality of life. She is hopeful that once she completes her course she will be able to assist her husband in extending their rural homestead.

For Bongikhaya, Tat’Cirha and many other male migrants, migration does not only afford poverty alleviation or a means to support a livelihood, but rewards one with status in the community as it is through the migration process that one is able to become “responsible” and respectable. One is able to have the means to buy and own livestock and perform cultural rituals, and to maintain/extend or build a homestead. Once a person is seen as responsible, that responsibility is often reciprocated with respect to the family, neighbours and the broader community.

Although the city provides prospects of economic prosperity and better access to public services and better quality of life compared to the rural areas, it is unable to fulfil every migrant’s dreams of a better life. This is because migrants, particularly those from rural area are often faced with the harsh realities of unemployment and poor living conditions in urban centres. Moreover, migrants expressed that cities lacked the sentiments that they attached to the rural area, they felt a sense of placelessness, where they felt a lack of

relationship with the townships they were located in. As such many expressed a deep longing for their rural home, where these sentiments and attachments were based.

Chapter 5: Realities of Cape Town for Rural Migrants

5.1. Preface

While employment has expanded in urban centres, it has not been able to keep pace with labour force growth, of people leaving their rural homes in search of better socio- economic opportunities (Bhorat & Oosthuizen, 2007). As such many rural migrants fleeing rural poverty are often confronted by the harsh realities of unemployment and have had to scrummed to low wage jobs and poor living conditions. This chapter describes the living experiences of Centane migrants in Cape Town. The chapter outlines some of the difficulties and disappointments migrants faced in Cape Town, and how this often triggers feelings of homesickness.

5.2. Living Conditions in Cape Town

After the abolishment of the Group Areas Act and Influx Control laws in 1986, Cape Town experienced a rapid growth of migrants originating from the rural areas of the former Ciskei and Transkei, in the Eastern Cape Province (Ndegwa *et al.*, 2007). The movement of migrants remained controlled as outsiders (those not born in Cape Town) found it difficult to acquire residential rights (see section 2.1), forcing migrants to erect poor housing structures in shanty areas of the city (Ndegwa *et al.*, 2007). This led to a flourish of squatter settlements on the margins of the city. In 2009, Cape Town had more than 220 informal settlements spread throughout the city, with an estimated population of about 900,000 (Mels *et al.*, 2009:331). Such areas are characterised by overcrowding and limited space, around 42% of the sites have densities between 150 and 300 households per hectare while more than 10% even rise above the 300 households/ha. (Mels *et al.*, 2009). The accommodation in squatter camps is often limited to small and standardized 'matchbox' housing in highly planned township areas, thus creating crowded, unsanitary living conditions that are claustrophobic; these conditions are also associated with increased infectious disease transmission, spread through respiration such as tuberculosis and rheumatic fever (Govender *et al.*, 2010). The use of communal taps

and sanitation facilities has also increased the prospects of contracting water borne diseases such as cholera and diarrhoea for many dwellers in these areas (Ndingaye, 2005).

Many migrants from rural areas are uneducated and/or unskilled, and as such end up in the informal sector. Consequently, incomes from the informal sector are by their very nature low and intermittent; therefore, most migrants naturally seek for shelters in townships or become tenants of slum landlords where they are able to afford and save for those left in the rural areas (African Development Bank Group, 2012). Similarly, many migrants interviewed from Centane do not have tertiary education, and as such are subjected to middle or low paying jobs; consequently, they live on the outskirts of township communities that are characterised by overcrowding, slums, crime and confinements.

Gcobani who lives in Khayelitsha site-C with his wife and five-year-old son and newborn baby, in a backyard shack of an RDP house.

The overpopulated and dense housing in Site C made me feel confined. The congested township structures often made me feel enclosed. I dreaded being in the narrow spaces I lived in and I would often yearned for the open spaces I had access to in the rural areas. Cape Town is like a prison cell, I cannot see beyond the shack next to me, whereas at my rural home there is more green and open spaces. When I am seated on the veranda at home I am able to see homesteads at a distance and other villages over the valley (Gcobani, a 44-year-old man).

Kholekile, described how the confinements of living in congested areas affected him psychologically.

The landscape in the rural area gives me hope, as it gives a broader perspective of things that allow me to visualize my future. "When I stand outside my home in the rural area I can see from a distance; seeing grassland in the fields, and livestock grazing, and beautiful structures in other homesteads and that gives me encouragement that one day, I too will own livestock and build appealing structures at home, but in the city the living space doesn't allow me to think beyond today (Kholekile, a 26-year-old man).

Bulelwa, a 35-year-old married woman, commented how her neighbourhood in Philippi posed a threat to her health, as sewage sediment from unfixed pipes and contaminated water would run in front of her doorsteps. She commented also that shacks being closely built together were hazardous as they run the risk of catching fire from another shacks.

This is a common notion held by many rural migrants who participated in this research. Although varying in emphasis, many held the idea of Cape Town being a temporary place for work so that they can have enough money to live in the rural areas. Such sentiments were expressed not to disregard some of the advantages and benefits that come with living in the city. Similar sentiments have been found elsewhere for example in China migrants have by moving to the city social controls are more relaxed making it possible to distance oneself from intimate relations (Yanling, 2014). Relaxed social controls allows greater opportunities for individual differentiation, as living in cities provides a gateway to more sophisticated knowledge of the outside world (Abu-Lughod, 1961; Albrow, 2003). Unlike in the rural areas where patriarchal structures control a woman's behaviour and dress code, women in the city are allowed to wear trousers and short-sleeved tops. City women are also allowed to become involved in traditional male affairs and to participate more actively in decision-making; they are also more likely to speak out in the presence of males and to back talk to their husbands (Cox *et al.*, 2004).

Bulelwa exemplifies this; she explained that living in the city has granted her more autonomy as a married woman.

I can dress however, I like here as long as I look dignified. I do not have to wear a *doek*, and I sometimes wear sleeveless shirts. However, when I am in the village I always wear *isishweshwe* and a scarf around my waist and I have to cover my arms and head. In the village, there are people from my husband's family and so I have to show respect, in Cape Town those people are not here so I can do as I please (Bulelwa, a 35-year-old woman).

5.3. Feelings of Despair and Broken Dreams

Between 1995 to 2002 the South African labour force grew to 4.6 million (Kingdon & Knight, 2007). The wage employment figure in contrast only rose by 1.3 million, and self-employment by 0.7 million (Kingdon & Knight, 2007). This has made it difficult for the South African economy to absorb the productivity of the labour force (Kingdon & Knight, 2007) and as a result, the unemployment rate rose from 17 percent to 28 percent in 2007. South Africa has now become a country with one of the highest unemployment rates in the world (Kingdon & Knight, 2004), with the economic policies of the past contributing significantly to the stagnation of the economy (Burger & Woolard, 2005). Economic policies implemented post '94, attempted to rectify injustices of the past. These included protecting workers at the middle and lower end of the skill spectrum and promoting individuals from historically disadvantaged groups (black people, women and the disabled) in the workplace (Burger & Woolard, 2005).

Employment has, however, remained largely concentrated in specifically defined demographic and geographic groups, with low-educated Black people coming from remote areas largely remaining employed in either unskilled and/or casual jobs (Burger & Woolard, 2005), with the majority finding no employment. If they do find employment, they tend to be paid considerably less than their co-workers who are skilled or semi-skilled (Burger & Woolard, 2005). The majority of unskilled work often leads to economic insecurity and instability for both the worker and his/her family (Bodibe, 2006). The worker's ability to make investments, or expand personal assets and resources and/or save for future endeavours is crippled, as unskilled and informal job opportunities merely prevent the worker and his/her family from starving and not missing monthly bills (Bodibe, 2006). Further to this, poverty presents barriers to access traditional sources of well-being, status, and respect which in turn results in feelings of shame, humiliation, and loss of self-respect (Seedat *et al.*, 2009) and contributes to processes of social exclusion, social instability and crime (Kingdon & Knight, 2004). Such conditions are often more acute in urban areas, which are typified by poor, densely populated and inadequate housing infrastructure (Seedat *et al.*, 2009). Many migrants who journey to cities in search of better economic opportunities land up living in such areas trying to find work under these conditions.

5.3.1. Feelings of despair: *itshipa*

Andile's journey to Cape Town was one filled with optimism and hopes of bettering his life. He had dreams of being able to take care of his mother and improve the structures of their rural homestead. He had hoped that the work opportunities in Cape Town would be financially more beneficial than in Butterworth. The ability to fulfil these aspirations would not only benefit his mother, but he would also feel better about himself as his personal status within the rural village where he came from would improve (Andile, a 42 year old man).

As a migrant, one has certain social expectations and obligations that one needs to fulfil. Remitting back money and resources to the rural area forms a great part of these obligations; failing to do so is seen as a sign of cutting one's ties to the rural area (Mayer, 1980; Bank, 1999). Migrants who were unable to remit were ostracized, and perceived as showing a lack of responsibility and disrespect for tradition and family obligations. Amongst Red migrants, as noted by Mayer, it was impressed upon them by home boys and elders from the rural village that working in town was just a necessity to support the rural base. To maintain links with home was perceived as the "only way in which a man could retain his dignity and independence" (Mayer, 1980:43). This was through the commitment to maintain one's *umzi* (homestead), as it is deeply entrenched within local conceptions of manhood (*ubudoda*) (McAllister, 1980; Bank, 1999). The structures of a homestead hold material, social and symbolic importance to its members and to the broader community (Kuper, 1980; Mayer, 1980; McAllister, 1980). When a migrant can only visit the village for a short period, more value is placed on the appearance of his homestead as this compensates for his absence, as that is where a man can retain his status and dignity in the village (Mayer, 1980:58). These same values still apply, as the ability to take care of one's *umzi* is a symbol of a responsible man "who takes care of his affairs" (Bank, 1999:393) and is considered a sign of social maturity and economic prosperity by migrant workers and the broader community (Bank, 1999; Perry, 2011).

The opportunities that Andile had hoped to find in Cape Town did not materialise. He did find work as a spray painter in a steel company and over the years, he was promoted to operating machines. However, on the salary he earned he found it virtually impossible to save enough money to renovate and maintain his mother's homestead despite working relatively constantly since 1998. After the death of his mother, he did not go back "home" for many years. When he did return for a relative's funeral he noticed how the structures of his old homestead had fallen into a complete state of disrepair. This made him feel ashamed, as he felt that he had not fulfilled his duty as a migrant worker.

What I hate about going home, is that I feel I have failed my mother, she wanted me to do better at school. I failed matric twice because I was a bit naughty; I started to smoke dagga while I was at school. When I see her grave with no headstone and our homestead structures in a state of disrepair, I felt guilty. When I was last there, I told myself I needed to save money, so I rebuilt our homestead. Only then will I return home to visit her grave and be comfortable to be in the village. I have now been working for many years but I still cannot afford to pay for these costs. I still live in hope that one day I will be able to rebuild my home, because I do not belong in Cape Town, I am nobody here. Cape Town is not a good place for me; it is crowded, and corrupt (Andile, a 42 year old man).

Andile has also felt the stigma of not fulfilling the socially expected duties and obligations that are placed on him as a migrant by his peers in the city (*abakhaya*). Amongst them, he is labelled as *itshipa*⁶. Andile's had the following to say about being labelled *itshipa*.

⁶ *Itshipa* is a derogatory term often used in the context of male migrants who have become lured into the urban lifestyle and disregarded the responsibilities of taking care of their homestead, wife and children in the rural area (Fay, 2015:6). They are described as returning home infrequently and irregularly, and seldom if ever sending money to their families (O'Connell, 1980; Bank, 1999; White, 2001) *Ukutshipa* or absconding is not only seen as neglecting the homestead of the living but also the deceased (ancestors). Angering the latter can result in death, misfortune and poverty within the family (Mayer, 1980:44).

Itshipa is someone who no longer returns to the rural area, and has stopped performing rituals. *Itshipa* also refers to someone who has a wife and children in the rural area but does not take financial responsibility for them. He/she neglects to take care of his or her homestead.

However, as pointed out by many of the respondents I interviewed, particularly male respondents, including Andile, being *itshipa* does not only mean you have found the city life better and have abandoned your home and responsibilities. Many felt that they could not live up to the expectations placed on them by family, kin and community members to provide financial resources. To avoid their disappointment and shame some choose to stay in the city until they can return home with something in hand this is reflected by the following narratives.

As a man going to work in the city, you always have to come back with something in hand to show that you are from the city. As a man, you have to think twice before going home, as you have to offer something when you return home (Sizwe, a 27-year-old man).

Buhle explained that he does not go home until he feels he has enough money to entertain his family and kin at home and meet the expectations of his community.

When I go home, I need to buy my family groceries and help towards financing rituals that my family are hosting. As a migrant worker, I cannot just have enough money for a bus fare. I need to come home bearing gifts. I cannot go home empty handed (Buhle, a 26-year-old male).

Migrant workers are burdened therefore, with kin and community expectations, which at times can have a detrimental effect on their esteem, particularly when they are not able to meet these obligations. The ability to meet these expectations, or to fulfil their dreams, is becoming increasingly difficult for migrant workers. As a result, people like Andile stay away from home even though they have strong desires to return.

5.3.2. Broken dreams

Bulelani moved to Cape Town for personal reasons - he desperately wanted to gain financial independence, and be given an opportunity to have a “fresh start in life”. He also wanted to reconnect with his biological mother whom he does not have a close relationship with, as she only visits during Christmas holidays. For Bulelani, financial independence means being able to save sufficient money to buy materials to build his own *umzi* and start a family.

Bulelani explained he had no wish to build his house in Idutywa, Nobuswana, or Cape Town but in a village that is in close proximity to Nobuswana. He wants to live in a rural area but in a village where he can start again and build new relationships within a community (Bulelani, a 24 year old man).

Unfortunately, the move to Cape Town did not offer him the opportunities that he had hoped it would. Instead, he was shocked at the reality he found and the appalling living conditions his mother and aunt and so many other rural migrants from his village live in.

At the time, his mother was living in Kwalanga, a congested hostel that was in a bad state of neglect. His mother, together with his aunt and niece, lived in one room, which consisted of two bunk beds, which they shared between themselves. Within a few months, Bulelani found the situation intolerable and moved out. His peers from Gqune helped him find alternative accommodation - a backroom shack behind an RDP house in Emfuleni. The only thing that drove him was that he felt he had to endure these dreadful conditions to fulfil his dream of being able to save up enough money to leave Cape Town and set up a new ‘home’ in the Eastern Cape.

Through subsequent interviews with Bulelani it became apparent that the contract work that he had been doing was not providing him with the opportunity to save, as he would often have to use his savings during those times that he was trying to find new work. At the time of the interview he was working as a labourer at a construction company, his contract was about to end in a few months’ time. Bulelani’s peers shared similar sentiments; they all disliked the conditions under which they lived in Cape Town. Many expressed how expensive they found

living in Cape Town to be, and how unsafe they felt in certain parts of the city. They constantly felt that they had to watch out for criminals and this was something that they never had to do when they were at home.

Kholekile grew up with Bulelani in Gqunqe. He has been living in Cape Town, since 2005. He recounts the relentless job insecurity he has had to endure and the poor living conditions he has had to live in Cape Town.

I have been working for almost 8 years but I have never been permanent. Contract work does not allow me to fulfil my dreams. Life is always uncertain. There is a lot of crime, and it is not safe to walk in the streets of Cape Town. Robbers take the little money we earn; I was once robbed after withdrawing money at an ATM (Kholekile, 26-year-old man).

The inability of the South African economy to absorb the increasing job seekers coming into the urban space has resulted in many migrants subsumed into the informal sector in dead end jobs that bring no prospect for future growth (Adepoju, 1995). The presence of jobless, idle youth has increased levels of violence, substance abuse and gang activities (Gupte *et al.*, 2014). The rapid urbanisation has also led to overcrowded living conditions and has overwhelmed the state's ability to provide basic services, such as housing, water and sanitation (Gupte *et al.*, 2014). As such, migrants faced with these poor living conditions and unfulfilled expectation in Cape Town, are left feeling alienated in city centres, longing to return to their home places where they feel a sense of community and acceptance and dignity. However, because of the interdependence of their rural livelihood on migration they are required to endure.

5.4. *Lendawo Ayilokhaya Lethu*-This Place is Not Our Home

Migration that is coupled with unsatisfactory conditions has been associated with displaced individuals (Ahmed, 1999) as embodied individuals they carry attachments of the places in which they come from. Migration therefore involves not only a spatial dislocation, but also a

temporal psychological dislocation (Gustafson, 2001). “The experience of leaving home is then felt in the discomfort of inhabiting a migrant body, a body which feels out of place, which feels uncomfortable in the new place of residence” (Ahmed, 1999:343). The uncomfortability experienced in the migration destination leads to the conception of their rural home as “idyll”, a place that they long to return to, and it becomes portrayed as a resolution to face the hardships found in the city.

In South Africa, many rural dwellers have had to involuntarily participate in the migration process, by leaving their home places in search of employment in urban areas, because of racial discriminatory pressures of socio-economic inequality (Davenport, 1969; Mathabane, 1986; Maylam, 1990; Smith, 1992; Posel & Casele, 2003; Williams-Bruinders, 2013). The experience of leaving home has been described as a dreadful event as an individual leaves familiar surroundings and social support system, requiring them to adjust to new settings and ways of life, which can be very uncomfortable and isolating for many rural migrants (Mabogunje, 1970; Kahn, 2003). Eighty percent of the migrants interviewed described feelings of estrangement while living in Cape Town. Some felt socially excluded as they speak a different dialect to other Xhosa speaking residents of Khayelitsha and Philippi. Consequently, they found it difficult to integrate when they first arrived in the city. The dialect spoken in Cape Town, which is specific to its environment and culture, is often informal and has a mixture of slang/street talk referred to as *Tsotsi Taal*⁷, which is a mixture of English, Xhosa and Afrikaans (Dowling, 2011). The Cape Town dialect is said to stress urban and modern identity, whereas the Gcaleka dialect spoken by many people from southeastern Transkei reflects an agrarian and more traditional Xhosa identity (Dowling, 2011:350).

When I first arrived in Cape Town, I was often teased and labelled a *unolali* (farmboy) by my co-workers, who were born in Cape Town. We both speak isiXhosa. Often I felt misunderstood because the language they speak here is like a *tsotsi taal* whereas the

⁷ Tsotsi referring to a young urban criminal; Taal meaning language, coined in Sophia town during the development and formation of Gangs, so that they could have secret codes of communication amongst themselves (Hurst, 2009).

Xhosa I speak is deep and not mixed up with other languages (Gcobani, a 44-year-old man).

Several other migrants I spoke to shared similar experiences when they first moved to the city. Most have since assimilated and learnt the Xhosa dialect of Cape Town. Despite this assimilation most felt they could never consider Cape Town as home as they felt it was not possible to attach the same socio-cultural meaning and carry out the same practices that they did at home. They felt that the inability to carry out certain cultural ritual slaughters affected their spiritual and social well-being. For example, the ability to perform ritual slaughter for the ancestors⁸ is an act that brings one good fortune and helps to ensure the physical and social health of their family. The absence of one's ancestors and extended family and the congested nature of the living conditions in which they lived prevented them from performing their ancestry rituals. In order to cope with these realities many rationalised their temporality in Cape Town.

I maintain my links with home. If I break these links, my ancestors will abandon me. When I return home, I will perform a thanksgiving ritual slaughter. If I did such a ritual here in the city it would be a waste of money as I would need to do the same ritual when I got back home as my ancestors will only acknowledge it there (Monelisi, a 37-year-old man).

Such sentiments were also shared around the initiation rituals. Many felt it would be inappropriate to carry out such a ritual in Cape Town, while they still had rural links. More importantly, it was felt that the initiate's family, kin and ancestors would not accept the

⁸ According to the beliefs of southern African people, ritual slaughter is a key practice in ancestral belief systems (Ballard, 2010). The ancestors are thought to have influence over the lives of the living. They can be called in at times of thanksgiving or crisis. The ceremonial slaughter of cattle and goats is practised to mark significant occasions of someone's life such as birth, coming of age, weddings, sickness, healing and death and it is through ritual slaughter of cattle that the link with the ancestors is made with the living (Ballard, 2010).

ceremony. Khwezi, is living in Cape Town with his nuclear family felt strongly about not performing his initiation ritual in the city.

I do not want to do my initiation ritual in Cape Town as there is no *ihlathi* (forest) here. We would have no privacy. The boys/men who carry out their initiation rituals in the city do not spend enough time at initiation school and are not exposed to all manhood teachings that we need to know. If I did my initiation ritual in Cape Town I would not be recognised as a “man” by my peers in the rural area or receive blessings from my ancestors (Khwezi, a 22-year-old, man).

For these reasons, many felt that they could not consider Cape Town as home and as a result many longed to return to their rural homes.

5.5. *Ukukhumbula Nokulangazelela Ikhaya*-Missing & Longing for Home

Longing for home is a pervasive human experience, usually involving memories of places in one’s past (Seiden, 2009; Baldassar, 2008) which is evoked by particular stimuli under special circumstances (Seiden, 2009). Homesickness is affected by memories of a particular scenery (the rural landscape), people you yearn to see and embrace. You crave foods, smells and tastes associated with those people and those places (Baldassar, 2008). Many of the migrants I spoke to expressed a sense of longing to return home, to be amongst family, kin and to be a part of a particular community and in a particular landscape.

I long to return home even though I haven’t gone back home for many years because I don’t have the financial means to do so. I miss seeing my relatives and my childhood friends (Andile, a 42-year-old man).

After a long day at work, I come home exhausted and I go to sleep. In my dreams, I am sleeping in my bed at home. I can also see myself waking up and walking to the forest. I can feel the breeze of the forest on my skin and smell the strong scent of plants and trees. I feel refreshed and less tired. In my dream I also think about the time I was a

young boy. When I wake up I feel heavy hearted as I realise I am not at home and I long to return so that I can walk in the forest again (Bongikhaya, a 67-year-old man).

I miss the food that we eat when we are at home. When we at home we eat *inkobe* (corn kernel) and *umqusho* (samp and beans). I do sometimes prepare these same dishes here in Cape Town but they never taste the same as when you are eating them at home. These dishes require time to prepare, and you need time to sit down and enjoy them. I don't have enough time to prepare and relish them while I'm in Cape Town. I always have to rush for work and come back home late in the evenings. On the weekend, I'm exhausted, but when I am back home in Centane I am relaxed and comfortable to enjoy these delicacies (Gcobani, a 44-year-old man).

I miss the scenery and quietness of home. It is so crowded and noisy here. I sometimes wish I could just get away from it all and take a walk by the river because in such a place I feel tranquil (Bongeka, a 31-year-old woman).

Longing for home has been described by some as a coping strategy to deal with the living conditions of Cape Town. It is an idealised and abstract concept containing a number of fantasies relating to resolution, the end of conflict and a yearning for a place of safety where one can truly belong (Marchetti-Mercer, 2006:193). In the case of rural migrants, "longing for home" fantasies (as in the Marxist perspective of religion for the poor⁹) becomes an opiate for the rural migrant to sooth the mind and emotions and as an escape from the reality they are faced with in the city. This was expressed by many migrants when they experienced difficulties in the city. Tat'Bhele's response demonstrates how his fantasies of home allow him to cope while he is the city.

Knowing that I will soon go home gives me strength to face the everyday life of Khayelitsha. The only time I feel happy is when someone from home visits and we catch up about things happening back home" (Tat'Bhele, a 58-year-old man).

⁹ Karl Marx, A Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right, 1844

Sibusiso shared how he longs to go home, particularly when he is experiencing financial difficulties.

When I am struggling to make ends meet, I wish I could go home. At home, I do not have to buy everything; we have gardens to plant vegetables. When you want to visit a friend, you do not have to pay taxi fare. Here in Cape Town you have to use money for everything.

5.6. Conclusion

Home, and being away from home, are divided, not only as different spaces, but as different modes of being in the world (Ahmed, 1999:339). Many of the migrants interviewed related to such a notion because when they were at home, they felt they were a part of a family not just an immediate family but also an extended one. At home they had neighbours and friends whereas in Cape Town they felt like they were constantly living amongst strangers even though more than half had been living in Cape Town for more than 20 years. The inability for migrants to perform cultural rituals, and attach meaning into the surrounding landscape of Cape Town has contributed to the heightened significance of their rural homes.

The social exclusions, unfavourable living conditions, and inability of the labour market to fulfil migrant aspirations also strengthen the bond that migrants have with their rural areas. As such all migrants interviewed except one (who under financial circumstances, could not go home, but longed to return), expressed that they have continued to maintain their rural links, and return home regularly as their rural home continued to embody traits of who they are, despite their journeys to urban centres.

Chapter 6: *Ekhayeni*- Home Place

6.1. Preface

A special characteristic of urbanisation in Africa is the continuing commitment of many urbanites to the 'village' (Geschiere & Gugler, 1998). Many rural-urban migrants continue to maintain significant ties with their communities of origin, contrary to "modernist" assumptions that these ties would fade away (Gugler, 2002). Many rural migrants continue to define the rural area, as a home place that not only connects them to their immediate family but also to their descent group and ancestors (Gugler, 2002). For many the rural home (*ekhayeni*) remains a self-evident point of identification and providing a sense of belonging (Page *et al.*, 2010), as rural connections become of vital importance in a city context where the migrant feels like a stranger, and alienated (Geschiere & Gugler, 1998; Page *et al.*, 2010). This chapter aims to show that despite migratory urban-rural patterns, many people from rural areas, particularly from Centane remain firmly rooted in their rural context. The chapter looks at the regularity of home visits, of migrants who participated in the research, and the kind's meanings that they attach to their rural home.

6.2. Going home

Baxolele is someone who is locally referred to as an *igoduka* "I am someone who is always going home".

We go home, we say we are going to rest, but we never rest. December is the busiest time in the village, because that is the time that most people get leave and are able to come back home, and attend to family affairs before returning to work. December is also a ploughing season; if we do not plough our families will starve throughout the year, there is no money to buy everything. You tell yourself you will relax but it never happens. After fixing things around the homestead, you have to attend funerals, and ceremonies in the village, because if you do not people will not attend ceremonies at your house. But all this is done out of love, no one pushes me, it benefits me, unlike

the paid work in Cape Town that benefits my employers (Baxolele, a 43-year-old male).

Of the 36 migrants interviewed, all had returned home expect for Bulelani who had just over a year and half ago migrated to Cape Town and Zethu who had arrived in Cape Town just six months previously. Bulelani was adamant that as soon as he had sufficient money to make the journey back home he would, whereas Zethu was not sure because at the time of the interview he was still unemployed. The regularity of their visits varied significantly, which was primarily based on financial reasons. The majority, 58 percent (no. of people=21) maintained that they returned home at least once a year, during Christmas holidays, whereas 11 percent (no. of people=4) visited more regularly, particularly if they were required in cases of emergencies, such as to attend funerals and family ceremonies. Nineteen percent (no. of people=7) found it financially more difficult to return home on a yearly basis and would only return every two or three years. A small minority, six percent (no. of people=2), had not gone home for over three years.

Table 6.1 Regularity of home visits amongst male and female migrants

Regularity of home visits	Frequently (more than once a year)	Once a year	Every 2nd or 3rd year	>3 years	New Arrivals
Male	1	14	6	2	1
Female	3	7	1		1

The regularity of visits did differ between men and women (Table 6.1). Twenty-five percent (n=3) of women returned home more frequently (more than once a year) whereas only four percent (n=1) of men returned home more than once a year. Fifty-eight percent of both male (n=14), and female (n=7) returned once a year. Significantly more men, 25 percent (n=6) postponed their return trip to every second or third year whereas only eight percent (n=1) of the women did so. Many of the male migrants explained that they delayed their visits home

because of the pressure they felt from family and the broader community to be “successful”, which included “coming home with something in hand to show that you are from the city”.

When a man arrives from [the city] there needs to be a change in the homestead. He must be able to produce money to take care of his family. If he can't do this, he brings shame (*hlazo*) upon himself and his family” (Tat’Cirha, a 54-year-old man).

It was further explained to me in a group interview amongst young men aged between 24 - 27 years, that this is why it is more common for men to be absconders (*tshipa*) than women. They further explained it is not because they no longer long to return home but because of the financial obligations and contributions they are expected to make which makes them think twice before their return home.

As such, men found the obligations and expectations placed on them as migrants overwhelming when they returned home. Such feelings were particularly strong over the festive season. As a result, migrants such as Sizwe, only return home every second year.

I need to save up enough money before I go home and I can only achieve this by going home every second year if money allows. As a man you have to think twice before you go home, as a migrant worker you need to come home with something to offer those who you've left behind when you go and search for work. Sometimes you want to go home, just to see your parents' faces, but you can't because you don't have money. (Sizwe, a 27-year-old male).

Failure to meet these obligations has hindered migrants from visiting home. For migrants such as Andile (a 42-year-old man), the expectation to bring gifts and money was so great that he had cut his ties with his family back home.

Similarly findings have been recorded by Ngwane (2003) whereby migrants, especially men, face many economic obligations as they are expected return home with “big wallets” to meet and perform the obligations they have in home and in the public sphere such as fixing the homestead and or strategically sponsoring an occasional consumptive event. Men who do not

have the means were therefore reluctant to return home, as they feared the failure of not meeting these obligations (Ngwane, 2003).

Most women, on the other hand, explained that they did not have as much pressure to be the main breadwinners of their families. This they felt made it possible for them to return home more regularly. For example, Bongeka (a 31-year-old woman) described how, before she got married, she would simply pack her bags and return home when she was not finding work in the city. She narrated that sometimes she would find casual work just to have enough money for bus fare. "I always knew I would be accepted at home, my parents loved me anyways even if I did not have anything to offer".

Married woman however, such as Bulelwa (a 35-year-old) expressed that going home involved more than bus fare, as she also needed money to paint her homestead and extra money to cover other expenses that may arise while at home. As such, she described how her heart ached because she would not be returning home at the end of the year because of financial constraints.

6.3. The Journey

"The history of humankind is a story of settlement and flight. We are bound to place and kin, and yet we are drawn or driven to new lands and circumstances, adventure and improved fortunes impel us forward, "but the roots of home hold us" (Jones, 1987:71). In the same light, although people of Centane have migrated to the city for better opportunities and with some having positive financial outcomes and personal growth, their strong attachment to the home place still draws them back and their hearts are filled with excitement when an opportunity to return home arises.

6.3.1. Excitement

When migrants spoke about their plans to visit home, many expressed their eagerness to see their family members, children and friends whom they had not seen throughout the whole year.

On the day I leave, it is as though the transport is taking forever to arrive. I cannot even wait for the sun to rise. My life is in the rural area, my mother, my children live there. I have remained close to my childhood friends from Nobuswana. I am not as close to the friends I have made here in Cape Town. I always get excited when I am planning to go home. While I am at home, I also coach a soccer team (Fezile, a 36-year-old man).

Bulelwa (a 35-year-old woman) shared similar sentiments.

My house (home) is locked up for the whole year; I have not seen my children, my family. All my belongings are in the village, I feel joy whenever I leave Cape Town, because I am truly content when I am at home.

The journey home takes on average 13 hours and costs approximately R1 000 (13 860 Us\$)¹⁰ if one goes by taxi or bus. From Cape Town one travels to Butterworth which is situated approximately 31.34 km from Centane. From Butterworth one can either hire a taxi which delivers passengers to individual homes; a cheaper alternative option is to pay for a ride in a bakkie. The cost of going home however does not only entail the trip but also includes meeting the expectations and obligations of family members, relatives and friends who live at home. This often includes purchasing gifts such as clothes, ornaments for décor and toys for young children and contributing either in cash and/or purchasing groceries and alcohol for the social gatherings that take place during the festive season. To cover all these costs migrants wishing to return home need to plan financially for such journeys. For some, particularly those who return home annually this means saving throughout the year. Many join rotating stock associations (stokvels) and/or open savings accounts to save for their return trip home.

¹⁰ 1 US \$= 13.86 on the 12 December 2016

Closer to the time many also purchase food delicacies (*umphako*)¹¹, such as slaughtered chickens and live chickens, and bottles of alcohol, usually brandy, to take home.

A few days before I go home, I will bake scones, we (my husband and I) will also buy seven to eight chickens, and a bottle of brandy. When we get home we will invite people for tea, and serve them our *umphako*" (Bulelwa a 35-year-old woman).

Similarly, Bongeka explained that it is essential to bring *umphako* when you journey home.

When I visit home I buy chickens, so that when people come to see me, I have something to offer. I buy alcohol for those who drink. According to our belief when you offer these things no matter how little they are we believe that if you bring these offerings home you may be blessed with even more money than the one that you already have. When elders from the family come in to drink and eat the chicken and saying thank you, they give you words of encouragement and blessings, saying may your riches extend to more than what you already have (Bongeka, a 31-year-old woman).

6.3.2. Arriving home

The first thing that you must do when you get home, as a Xhosa man, is to go to the *ubuhlanti* and address the ancestors and tell them how your journey was and give thanks to them for they have protected you in your travels and got you home safely (Baxolele, a 43-year-old man).

It is our way (*isithethe*). I must go the *ubuhlanti* first before I enter the house with my bags. I feel as though there is something I have not done if I greet my family first, sometimes they are the ones to remind me to go back and start at the *ubuhlanti* before coming to them (Xolani, a 44-year-old man).

¹¹ *Umpakho*, or *padkos* in Afrikaans means food/ provisions for the road. These are however not consumed by migrants themselves but are brought as a gift for those who are expecting their arrival back home.

6.4 Meanings and Attachments

Returning home is also perceived as providing opportunities to restore notions of personal and cultural identity. Such processes are perceived as being facilitated by being: 1) in the presence of family and friends; 2) rekindling childhood memories by visiting favourite recreational places such as the river and the forest; 3) attending and engaging in various religious and kinship activities and cultural practices; 4) maintaining one's homestead including cultural artefacts which are seen as central to masculine and feminine identity such as *igoqo*¹² and the *ubuhlanti*;¹³ and 5) visiting and enjoying natural elements of the surrounding landscapes. These themes are discussed in relation to how frequently they were mentioned in the interviews carried out amongst the 36 migrants.

6.4.1. Family and friends

I have been living in Khayelithsa for 22 years but I still do not feel a part of the community. This sometimes makes me feel lonely, but when I am back home and I am with my family and old friends I feel happy and my spirit feels free (Bongikhaya, a 67-year-old man).

Similar sentiments were also shared by Carol.

Going home allows me to reconnect with my childhood friends, I grew up in Gqunqe, everything of mine is there, my mother is also back home. I am nobody in the city, but

¹² *Igoqo* or a woodpile is a sanctuary for a woman, particularly a married woman, as it is perceived as representing the seat for the female ancestors of the homestead (both paternal and maternal) (Cocks *et al.*, 2006). The presence of a *igoqo* (woodpile) ties the female ancestors to a specific place. A *igoqo* (woodpile) is a formal venue where married women from different clans congregate when a ritual sacrifice is performed and it provides an informal social gathering place for female visitors. The dimension and neatness of the *igoqo* is an important social status symbol signifying a housewife's status within her community as a hard working housewife and her commitment to her family and ancestral veneration (Cocks *et al.*, 2006).

¹³ The livestock enclosure, called *ubuhlanti* in isiXhosa. The kraal is a sacred place, which houses ancestral presence and blessings. Historically, the male head of the household was sometimes buried beneath one of the walls of the kraal. Ritual sacrifices (*idini*) are performed in the kraal as a way of communion with the ancestors (Cocks *et al.*, 2006; Dold and Cocks 2012).

when I am home I feel happy and my peers notice that I have not been around (Carol, a 23-year-old woman).

For Asenathi, being at home and in the place she was born and being in the presence of family members transcended into an inner strength.

Sometimes just being at home where my umbilical cord is buried and where my family is without even doing anything to appease my ancestors, I get a feeling that things will be better, I gain *impilo* (wellbeing). The encouraging words from elders gives me good luck. People even say if things are not going well for you in the city, it may be because you have not gone home in a while (Asenathi, a 43-year-old woman).

Returning home allows migrants to maintain and reinforce socially meaningful ties with kin and close friends which many feel are imperative to maintain. For many, being in the presence of family and close friends they felt a true sense of belonging and helped them to regain a sense of identity as depicted by Bongikhaya and Carol who both felt in the city no one knew them.

6.4.2. Revisiting childhood places and natural places

Baxolele grew up in Centani. He has been living and working in Cape Town for 19 years. He had the following to say about returning home.

It feels good to walk on paths that I have not walked on for long time. These paths are important to me because I grew up walking on them. While I'm walking there I think about the time when I lived in the village, and wish for the time that I would leave Cape Town and return home permanently, so I can walk on these paths regularly. When I walk on those paths, it triggers childhood memories for me and I am reminded. I grew up there and I wish I could stay here, but I can't because of work. The memories I created in the forest are part of who I am. When I am in those places, I feel as though my blood rushes freely in my body to an extent that I wish to stay (Baxolele, a 43-year-old man).

Baxolele's narrative depicts how walking the paths of his childhood gives him a great sense of peace. He feels truly at "home" and a strong sense of belonging when he is there. Baxolele believes that his childhood experiences form a part of his identity. Faniswa also described a similar emotional connection with the natural landscape of her childhood.

I like to go to the river. I can be granted privacy there. This gives me a peace of mind. And while I am there I can immerse my feet in the water and reminisce about my childhood memories of growing up in the village. After I've spent some time there I feel as though my spirit has been lifted and I feel refreshed by the breeze that one finds at the river (Faniswa, a 43-year-old woman).

Faniswa further described how she has always felt closely connected to the river and its surrounding landscape.

I have had these emotions since I was a young girl. I remember waking up early as a young girl and going to have fetch water before I went school. Since then I have enjoyed going to the river and the energy I get from going there (Faniswa, a 43-year-old woman).

Revisiting places of childhood did not only evoke fond memories but also provided opportunities to centralise one's life, particularly for those who feel a disjunction between their perception of self and their current realities. For example, Bantu who was born in Cape Town but would go "home" regularly with his parents during the holidays, has fond memories of these times and a strong attachment to the places he visited while he was there. At the age of eleven his parents decided to send him home to live permanently with his grandmother because he became deeply involved in gangsterism. After finishing his junior years of schooling, he returned to Cape Town to complete high school. Upon arriving in Cape Town, he resumed his illegal activities with his gang.

Gugulethu is notorious and for someone to be respected in the community they need to join a gang. As a result, I re-joined my gang and through that, I have done unforgivable things to people. However, when I go back home, and immerse myself in the river I used to play in as a child, I think of the olden days and hear voices in my

head as though I was a child again. I think of the dreams I had as a child. When I come out of the water, I feel like a changed man, as though the river has washed my sins away, and I return to Cape Town feeling forgiven and more powerful. Whenever I feel lost or lack motivation in the city, I always return to the landscapes of my childhood, this help to navigate my life (Bantu, a 38-year-old man).

6.4.3. Visiting and enjoying natural elements of the surrounding landscape

I am anxious to go home, closer to my leave dates, I suddenly get exhausted, and my heart is no longer here in Cape Town. I cannot explain what it is but I guess it is the thought of knowing you are not home. But the minute I get home, I suddenly feel fresh. I even walk barefoot just to feel the grass under my feet (Faniswa, a 43-year-old woman).

The air at home is fresher than the one in Cape Town. At home, I feel more energetic than when I am in Cape Town. If I did not go home in December because of financial constraints, even if I have rested for the month of December I feel tired when we open in January. It is like I have not rested at all. Perhaps it's the feeling I get with being stuck here and not having gone home (Buhle, a 25-year-old man).

For many the opportunity to go home is also perceived as being able to leave the polluted, noisy city life of Cape Town for a while, and enjoy the tranquil rural environment that home has to offer and to be revitalised, as illustrated by Faniswa and Buhle. Faniswa described how when she is in the city she misses the rural landscape of her home and the air of the river.

When I go home, I like to go and fetch water in the river. Sometimes I go alone or with my neighbours. I still like to do this even though we now have taps in our homestead yard (Faniswa, a 43-year-old woman).

Faniswa also shared with me that she particularly likes to go to the river and collect water when she is feeling heavy-hearted. Emotions and feelings of energy were not only felt in relation to places that migrants had played in as children but also to the positive energy that

the natural landscape is believed to hold. Ancestral spirits are also located within such places, for example the forest is associated with “cool air” which is in contrast to “hot air” which is associated with the village or in town. “Cool air” is considered to be positively charged and provides spiritual health and well-being (Cocks *et al.*, 2012). This was exemplified by Gcobani and Sibusiso.

The river has scent, which I breathe in when I get home, and this has a healthy effect on my body. The breeze coming from the river is fresh and does not contain chemicals, and I believe that the air has some kind of healing effect on a person, it’s like the air in the forest its always fresh and cool (Gcobani, a 44-year-old man).

I like to wash in the river because I feel refreshed. My blood flows faster when I bath in cold water; it not like that when I wash with warm water that comes out of a tap in a house. Before I go back to work in Cape Town I also bath in the river to wash *isinyama* (bad luck, misfortunes or bad omens) and bring *amathamsanqa* (luck, good fortune or sucess) (Sibusiso, a 43-year-old man).

While I was in Nobuswana during the December holidays I was invited by Sibusiso to go to the river (Gcina) and the sea (Mazzepe bay), with the boys from his family (Plate 6.1). Sibusiso collected medicinal plants for his patients back in Cape Town. While we were there we saw a man bathing in the river, who said he had come to de-stress (Plate 6.2).



Plate 6.1: Boys from Sibusiso’s family swimming



Plate 6.2: Village man bathing in the river

Sibusiso, is also a traditional healer and he attaches great meaning to rivers as he believes that ancestral beings reside in the river and sea.¹⁴ The belief that ancestral beings reside in rivers, the sea and in forests is widespread amongst Cetane migrants.

Tat'Cirha, a migrant worker whom I also visited while he was at home in Nobuswana during December holidays, narrated how he also enjoys going to wash in the river, particularly after a long day's work around the homestead fixing his *ubuhlanti*. He likes to go to the same place along the riverbank that he used to go as a child. Tat'Cirha also explained that in preparation to go back to the city he makes sure that he bathes in the river.

To wash in the river reinvigorates me. The water in the river is cold and refreshes my body. I feel reenergized and ready for the long days of work when I return to the city (Tat'Cirha, a 54-year -old man).

¹⁴ It is a common belief held by many Xhosa people, that the river, particularly those which have huge river pools known as *iziziba*, are dwelling places for what are known as *Abantu Bomlambo*, (the River People) (Bongela, 2001). The river people are half-human half-fish, and live underwater in the sea or deep rivers (Bernard, 2010). The river people are considered to hold a high-ranking position in the spiritual hierarchy (Bernard, 2010). It is believed that a person who is taken by the river people is in the process of being trained to become a diviner or a traditional healer of the most powerful kind and will be sent back to his or her family when the time is right to practice (Bongela, 2001; Bernard, 2010; Alexander, 2010).



Plate 6.3: Sibusiso addressing his ancestors and enjoying the breeze from the sea

6.4.4. Engaging in ritual and cultural ceremonies

I am a Xhosa person, we Xhosa are people of rituals (*singabantu bamasiko*). I need to be able to go home to learn how my clan performs rituals, so that when I have children I can perform birth and coming of age rituals for them, and be able to impart that knowledge to them (Bulelani, a 24-year-old man).

Migrants such as Bulelani consider ritual performance as being part of their identity as a Xhosa. Bulelani also felt it was important for him to learn how to carry out the rituals properly and this required that he went home to do so in the presence of family, kin and ancestors. Kin would not only teach him how to properly carry out rituals but also inscribe his cultural history and context which is considered an essential part of coming to know oneself (Sutton, 2004).

Andisiwe, explained that one of the main reasons why she goes home regularly is to communicate with her ancestors.

There was a time when I dreamt about my late grandfather. I was told by my elders that I needed to go home and brew African beer (*umqombothi*) to appease my ancestors, they said it may be that I have not thanked them for their blessings. These are some of the things that compel us to go home. Rituals must be carried out at home, not in place where we are visitors like here in Cape (Andisiwe, a 40-year-old woman).

Monelisi shared similar sentiments.

I go home to also communicate with my ancestors. I never come back to Cape Town, without doing something to appease them. Sometimes I just brew beer (*umqombothi*) without slaughtering an animal for them. This heals me spiritually. After brewing beer for them I always notice a change in my life. This one time I even got a promotion when I returned to work (Monelisi, a 37-year-old man).

The seasonal presence of migrants in the village in December, makes it a convenient time for organising rituals and cultural ceremonies. Rituals and ceremonies considered important by migrants to perform include the unveiling of tombstones, wedding ceremonies, negotiations of bride wealth, and initiation rites for young men and other ancestral rituals; these rituals include beer drinking performed by migrants to thank ancestors for success in the city. Many felt that it was important that these took place at home. The location of home also made it possible to access natural resources that were deemed important to carry out these rituals and ceremonies. Senzo shares his thoughts on why he felt it was important for him to carry out his initiation ceremony at his home in December 2014.

My roots are here; my grandparents are all buried here. I was also born here. There are medicinal plants that we can collect that grow in the rural areas. The plants help to ensure that the wound heals. The plants need to be collected fresh you can't access these plants in and around Cape Town. As an initiate, you are very vulnerable, you need to ensure that you are kept safe from bad spirits and ritual impurities (*umoya*

omdaka). Being secluded in the forest helps to ensure this (Plates 6.4 & 6.5).¹⁵ The air in the forest is also pure and this helps to ensure that your body recovers quickly (Senzo, a 17-year-old man).



Plate 6.4 & 6.5: Senzo's ibhoma

Sibusiso, and two other young men who were attending Senzo's *ukuncamisa* ritual (a ritual performed to bid farewell to an initiate before he commences his initiation journey (Sibiya, 1981). Sibusiso attested to the importance of using certain plant species when rituals are performed. For example, when an animal is sacrificed for ancestors, the slaughtered meat has to be served on a platter of tree branches. Trees species commonly used include *umthathi* (*Ptaeroxylon obliquum*) and *idwabe* (*Monanthataxis caffra*); its branches are used as a platter for ceremonial cooked meat, it is also valued for timber and firewood. On the last day of the ceremony it is burnt with bones from the ceremonial meat (Archer & Reynolds, 2001; Feron, 2010). The use of these species is considered a part of family custom (*isithehe*) (Cocks & Dold, 2008; Dold & Cocks, 2012). During my first visit in Centane I was also made aware of plant species found in the Manubi and Qora forest that were used in ritual performance (Plates 6.4 – 6.5). These included *intongwane* (*Englerophytum natalensis*) (Feron, 2010). The *umnquma*

¹⁵ During the rite of circumcision, (ulwaluko) young men are secluded in a temporary "lodge" called *ibhoma*. *Ibhoma* is constructed out of branches and covered with layers of grass. It is located out of view from the public and preferably in close proximity to a Xhosa forest and a river or stream (Cocks & Dold, 2012).

tree and *umnga* branches are also used as a platter (*isithebe*) in rituals (Archer & Reynolds, 2001).



Plate 6.5: *Monanthotaxis caffra* (idwabe) Plate 6.6: *Ptaeroxylon obliquum* (umthathi)

(Images captured in Manubi forest)

Sibusiso explained that the *umthathi* branch is placed on top of the *idwabe* when making the meat platter. The *idwabe* is flexible and can be moulded into a platter. The *umthathi* tree is bitter; its bitterness is believed to kill germs in the meat and act as a seasoning. Failure to use the appropriate tree species is considered to bring misfortune on the family as the ancestors will not accept the ritual and the family (Cocks & Dold, 2008; Dold & Cocks, 2012). The example used was that the initiate could face death while they were attending initiation school.



Plate 6.7: *Acacia karroo* (*Umnga*).

Umnga branches were collected from Qorha Forest to be used by the family during the ritual of *ukuncamisa*, here *umkhono*¹⁶ is placed upon the *umnga* branch in the *ubuhlanti* before the meat is braaied



Plate 6.8: A piece of the *Umnga (Acacia karroo)* branch¹⁷

6.4.5. Maintaining the homestead

When I return home, it's important that I paint my homestead. We are not here the whole year and the paint gets washed off. We must paint our homesteads to make them tidy to show that we are back home. You feel embarrassed to come back and stay in a dirty home. People will gossip about you, saying you are a failure. As migrants we often internalised our embarrassment (*ihlazo*). We want to be recognised as working. There's status attached to a working person. One of ways to show this as a woman is to paint your homestead and buy things for around your home (Bulelwa, a 35-year-old woman).

¹⁶ Foreleg which is reserved for local men to braai in the kraal

¹⁷ The *Umnga* branch is placed on the meat and presented to the initiate before he goes to the bush.

The physical and financial ability to maintain one's homestead was considered to restore one's social and cultural status which many felt that they did not have in Cape Town. For Bulelwa, returning home meant the possibility to enjoy the rewards of her hard work as the money that she and her husband had saved would be used to maintain their homestead.

Ubuhlanti and igogo

In our communities, an unmaintained *ubuhlanti* is a clear indication that the man of the household is absent (Bulelani, a 24-year-old man).

The maintenance of one's homestead does not only include financial investments but also the maintenance of cultural artefacts within the homestead such as one's *ubuhlanti* and *igogo*.

Often when the men go to cities to work their *ubuhlanti* fall apart (Plate 6.9). A *ubuhlanti* is normally considered as an enclosure for livestock, however the *ubuhlanti* holds deeper cultural meanings, as for Xhosa people it is not simply meant to enclose livestock (Cocks & Wiersum, 2003). For Xhosa people, construction of a *ubuhlanti* can be considered as an activity demonstrating one's cultural identity (Fabricius *et al.*, 2013), as it is foremost a sacred venue to host traditional rituals and is where family members can communicate directly with their ancestors (Cocks & Wiersum, 2003). The *ubuhlanti* is sited in front of the homestead, and it is said to dignify the homestead. It is also a sanctioned space where only men and elderly women are allowed (Cocks & Wiersum, 2003). Since the *ubuhlanti* is an integral part of ritual performance, including the ritual slaughtering and addressing ancestors, it is considered important that it is well maintained when guests arrive.



Plate 6.9: A migrant fixing his *ubuhlanti* during his December leave

The maintenance of a *ubuhlanti* is predominantly a male activity as it includes going to the forest to fell trees for poles and or branches. All male migrants interviewed attested that a well maintained *ubuhlanti* forms part of their identity as men. For example, some male migrants shared with me that a homestead without a *ubuhlanti* is *ayinasidima* (it is not dignified, it is indecent). A man of such a homestead is often demeaned and labelled as being irresponsible, because he does not care about tradition. Sikhokhele reflected such sentiments.

As men in our household, our responsibility is to go to the forest with our sons to fell poles and branches, after a long year away from home (Sikhokhele, a 40-year-old man).

A home without *ubuhlanti* does not look appealing. It looks like it is a house that has been recently built (*enxiweni*), and people have not moved in yet, it is not dignified (Bulelani, a 24-year-old male).

It was not only the men who felt this way about a well maintained *ubuhlanti*; so did some of the women, as reflected by Bongeka below.

A man without a *ubuhlanti* is seen as a ‘weak’ man. Even if that man stays in the city and his *ubuhlanti* is falling apart, in December he needs to come back and go to the forest for branches to fix the *ubuhlanti*. So people often say ‘we can see that the man of the house is back, the *ubuhlanti* is getting fixed (Bongeka, a 31-year-old female).

Similarly, status is attached to a well-maintained woodpile (*igoqo*) (Plate 6.10). A woodpile is not solely used for fuel purposes; it is also culturally important, particularly for the woman of the household as it is considered a sacred place for the women and where the female ancestor resides (Cocks & Wiersum, 2003). The *igoqo* also provides a medium for a woman in the homestead to demonstrate her dignity and status, as it signifies her hard working status within the community as a good *makoti* (daughter-in-law) (Matinga, 2008:287). A big *igoqo* is desirable as it signifies a woman’s ability to provide for her family as well as eliciting pride in the woman and her biological mother and mother-in-law. A small *igoqo* is often linked to laziness and such a woman is less desirable (Matinga, 2008). The *igoqo* is also considered the place where women urinate after dark in the same way that the *ubuhlanti* is for men (Cocks & Wiersum, 2003).



Plate 6.10: A married woman in Nobuswana standing next to her *igoqo* (woodpile)

I did not grow up going to the forest to fell wood but now it is one of my duties as a married woman. One of the first things I do when I return home is to go to the forest to collect firewood for my *igoqo*. By having an *igoqo* I get praise from other women in the village, and from my in-laws. A woman with an *igoqo* is respected, amongst other women. When we gather for ceremonies in other family households, a well-stocked and tidy *igoqo* is just as important as having a well-maintained *ubuhlanti*. I pride myself in building an *igoqo*. I also need to cook outside at least sometime while I am back from Cape Town, so I can make my presence known in the community, and for that I need to wood. There are also times when I feel lazy; in such instances I will hire someone to cut and delivery the wood for me. I do this so as to avoid the talk/gossip and being labelled a lazy wife in the village (Bulelwa, a 35-year-old woman).

Kholiwe shares similar sentiments to Bulelwa. She is married and lives in Cape Town. When she and her husband return home they stay with her in-laws, as they are still saving money to build their own house.

Collecting firewood has become instilled in me as a young girl I used to collect fuelwood. While I am in Cape Town I sometimes miss such activities. I feel many of those activities are a part of who I am. In Cape Town, I become bored because I am always in doors during weekends and I've started to become lazy. When I return home and find that my mother in-law has already made *igoqo*, I will still take my axe and go to the forest to collect wood to build my own *igoqo*. I do this to also showcase my own abilities of a hard working woman (Kholiwe, a 35-year-old woman).

6.5. Layers of Meanings and Attachments of *Ekhayeni*

In order to contextualise these many layers of meanings and attachments to *ekhayeni*, it is necessary to recognise that home does not simply represent a physical structure or geographical location. Home is a place within which the social and physical are closely linked and tie people to a particular place and social relationships (Seiden, 2009). It is an emotional space which is closely linked to some of our earliest psychological experiences. The emotional space of home carries memories of our childhood, our connection to our family of origin and

our cultural and ethnic roots and continues to exert a ripple effect throughout our lives (Marchetti-Mercer, 2006:193). Within such a framework, processes associated with place attachment and sense of place become important as the multiple layers and embodiments of these processes become articulated in the meanings and attachment to *ekhayeni*. These are made possible by processes of sensory, narrative, historical/genealogical, spiritual, ideological, commodification and material dependence (Cross, 2015) which in turn contribute to notions of self, identity, and belonging.

Many of the Centane migrants attributed great importance to the sensory experience of *ekhayeni*. Sensory experiences of *ekhayeni* became particularly heightened for many of the migrants on the eve of returning home. These were expressed as a desire to walk barefoot and feel the grass under her feet and to enjoy the scent of the river and forest when he got back home by Faniswa and by Buhle respectively. The elevated mood of being in such places can be understood in relation to how visual and olfactory elements of nature in rural areas contain various sensory stimuli, such as scents of trees and flowers, green leaves and sunlight, which offer soothing and relaxing sensations that clear the mind and positively affect emotion (Shin *et al.*, 2013).

The natural elements of the surrounding landscape of *ekhayeni* were also described as offering places to relieve forms of mental, emotional and physical fatigue and to relax and clear one's mind of negative thoughts. In such a way, you can escape from the stressful demands of daily life and the intensity of the city life (Kaplan, 1995). This expressed by Faniswa who described how she would feel exhausted while she was in Cape Town but as soon as she arrived home, she would feel refreshed. Buhle shared similar sentiments of feeling energized when she got home. Faniswa, described also that she would go to the river where she used to fetch water as a child, even though there are taps in the yard, as by doing this she felt her spirit was uplifted when she felt heavy-hearted.

Within home, many of our earliest cognitive experiences with the world (Dovey, 1985; Alexander, 2010) are carried out, which results in home becoming imbued with memories of childhood that shape beliefs and value systems (Kamp, 2001). For many of the migrants, positive associations were attached to natural places that they visited through play in

childhood years. It has further been suggested that adults often use their favourable childhood places to anchor emotions of self-regulation, hence revisiting these places offers remedial properties and a sense of balance (Korpela & Hartig, 1996). For Bantu, the ability to return to the place of his origin and natural places of his childhood allowed him to reawaken notions of self, identity and to centralise his life, which he felt were important, as he was not living the type of life he had pictured while he was growing up.

Within African epistemologies¹⁸ (Mathez-Stiefel *et al.*, 2007), interactions with nature are deeply intertwined with ideological notions about spirituality, morality and ethics (Peires pers. comm. 21 January 2010 in Alexander, 2010). Culturally recognised natural features such as rivers and mountains often provide places for acts of purification to be performed. Vigilantes who had transgressed social norms ask for forgiveness from the community, as well as emphasise the need to go “to the mountain to perform ceremonies”, to purify and rediscover themselves (Peires pers. comm. 21 January 2010 in Alexander, 2010). Bantu held similar sentiments as he described the need to immerse himself in the river where he used to play as a child in order to cleanse himself of the acts he had committed in the city as a gang member. Alexander (2010) found similar sentiments shared by residents in Pirie Mission who would visit certain places along the river and/or forest to purify themselves from the corruption of modern day living. To do so they felt allowed them to be renewed as “proper Xhosa” people.

Many of the Centane migrants also expressed a material dependence on *ekhayeni*, as they felt that home was the only place where they could perform significant cultural life events. Such events, they felt, required them to follow traditional procedures (*izithethe*) that required access to an indigenous forest and indigenous plant species accessible in rural areas. This was expressed by Senzo who felt it was essential that he performed his initiation ritual at home, not only because that is where his roots lie, but also because there are medical plant species collected in indigenous forests that need to be used while they are fresh on the circumcised wound. Senzo explained also that the forests kept initiates safe from ritual impurities. The

¹⁸ Which refer to ways of knowing, what and how we know about nature, society and the spirits (Mathez-Stiefel *et al.*, 2007)

cultural events they felt, also had to be performed in the presence of family and extended family, as well as their ancestors who they felt were located within the family homestead. Such sentiments were shared by many migrants including Bulelani who felt that to properly carryout rituals and significant life events required the presence of kin and ancestors. Performing cultural rituals they felt was essential for their cultural identity and well-being.

The biographical significance of *ekhayeni* also held self-restoring properties (Cross, 2015) for migrants such as Asenathi, who felt that being at home granted her with inner strength and blessings. Similarly going home to reconnect with childhood friends and family validated Carol's existence, as she often felt invisible and alienated in the city. Since the rural area is infused with significant relationships, migrants felt it was the place where their achievements and efforts can be acknowledged and awarded with honour. This was expressed by Bulelwa who described that maintaining their homestead was a way to showcase in the village the hard work that her and her husband had carried out in the city, and for Bongikhaya, who felt that owning livestock in the village was a symbol of success in the city. Maintaining the homestead and cultural artefacts within the homestead was also awarded with social status as households who upheld these traditions were described to be dignified.

The accumulative of ordinary and significant events within *ekhayeni* contributed to notions of self and processes of identity formation (Cross, 2015). Baxolele and Bulelanis' narratives illustrated this as they described that they felt rooted in their rural homes as they grew up, married and were initiated in the rural areas. As such rural identification become part of describing who they are. These migrants and others therefore, described a true sense of belonging only when they were in their rural homes and walking through the surrounding landscape where they grew up.

Ekhayeni did not simply represent a place where these migrants were born and bred but is also a place where their family is and where their roots lie. As their ancestors' spirits and family graves are also located within that place. The layering of the biographical/genealogical, ancestral history, material dependence, and sensory experience for many also translated into a spiritual attachment which they felt towards *ekhayeni*, and this they articulated as a feeling that they felt their spirits/souls were at peace upon arriving home. Therefore, in places where

one feels a sense of attachment to, one feels a sense of belonging, safety, comfort and unquestioned acceptance (Seiden, 2009).

Chapter 7: Concluding Remarks

7.1. Preface

The aim of this research was to show that attachments to the rural locality with its social, cultural and geographical/natural components, constitutes a repertoire of symbols that rural dwellers use in different ways in creating their identity. For migrants investigated here, the rural home place constitutes a point of departure for identity formation, and offers a reference point of their lives while in other destinations. Within the South African context, acknowledgement of rural areas as places of home has been ignored/ downplayed because of the historical political and economic processes of forced migration and settlement. At the time, rural areas were associated with the recreation of the basic principles of apartheid, i.e. cultural and ethnic differences which the state then used to justify segregation of races (Magubane, 1973; Sharp, 1981). As such, post 94 with the lifting of apartheid legislation, it was expected that all people of rural origin would no longer be attracted to the isolating and economically inactive geographies of their rural homes and would choose to permanently settle in city centres. My research has shown however, that circular migration is still a prevalent feature in post-apartheid South Africa, as rural dwellers of Centane although they migrate for various reasons (see chapter four), continue to return home and attach numerous meanings to their rural home.

For Centane migrants home represented a place where their family is and where their identity and roots lie, as the rural home is imbued with historical and ideological significance. The rural home for Centane migrants embodies many of their earliest cognitive experiences with the world that are basis for identity formation, as many interviewed have grown up in the rural areas. Experiences of home for Centane migrants include the close association they have with the natural features of the rural landscape, as it has formed an integral part in their experiences of childhood play and has later had a ripple effect in their adult lives as many migrants revisit these places for remedial and self-regulating properties. The surrounding natural landscape holds also a sociocultural significance that forms part of migrants' identity, as many men were initiated in the surrounding landscape and many households rely on the

plant species from the indigenous forest to properly carryout rituals and life events and for gender specific domestic purposes.

Migrants attached spiritual and cultural significance to their rural homes, as they described feeling a true sense of belonging at home with their family, extended family, old friends as well as in the presence of their ancestors which they felt were located within the family homestead and in the surrounding rural landscape where their graves lie. The presence of ancestors and family in the rural areas makes it the only place where migrants could perform life events and rituals. In addition, since the rural home possesses important relationships, it gives platform for social and cultural accumulation of status and self-esteem. As such migrants see the rural area as the place to display economic status accumulated in the city, as they felt this is where their efforts were recognised and awarded with respect and honour.

Mobility therefore has not weakened the bond that rural migrants have with their rural homes, but rather it has strengthened it as the need to return home is heighten with journeys away from home. In the case of Centane migrants' meanings and associations of home is heighted in Cape Town where they feel estranged and alienated, and there becomes a need to re-embody elements of their identity which are located in a specific geographical location; their rural homes.

This chapter provides a summary of the research, and key findings of the study are discussed and interpreted. The chapter seeks also show how the research questions have been answered.

7.2. *Ekhayeni*: Identity, Belonging and Well-being

Ninety-two percent of the migrants interviewed had been born and raised in Centane. The remaining eight percent were born and partly raised in Cape Town. Despite this, all migrants identified Centane as home, as they described that is where their roots lie. Furthermore, such

sentiments were expressed despite the possibility that many of the migrants interviewed had been joined by their wives and some of their children in pursuit of better economic and education opportunities. Some had been living together for the past 10 years in Cape Town. Amongst the migrants interviewed, just over half of both the men and women returned home once a year even though the financial costs of such a trip to the families concerned is considerably high. It seemed that the psychological and emotional benefits accrued in returning to *ekhayeni* for most, far outweighed the financial costs associated with returning home.

The physical location and the surrounding landscapes of *ekhayeni* remained important to many of the migrants interviewed as it continues to embody spiritual, social and cultural meanings for them despite their long absence in urban areas. Many alluded to the reliance they had on the use of local natural resources to fulfil cultural traditions and customs they perform when they return to *ekhayeni*. The ability to carry out these practices and return to places of significance in the natural landscapes remains central in many of migrants' sense of well-being and social identity. For Baxolele, the ability to return to favourite places and places of his childhood in the forest embodies memories that form part of his identity, and allowed him to feel a true sense of belonging. It has been recognised that encounters and experiences of being in nature have been found to induce contact with one's inner self and foster awareness of a higher reality (de Pater, 2012). For Centane migrants this translated into feeling a sense of balance in their lives, a sense of peace and security, and belonging. The tranquillity migrants gained while in *ekhayeni*, offered an experience of being away from the stressful demands of the intensity of living in urban areas. Home, therefore, becomes associated with rest, where the subject is at ease and can "breathe" (Ahmed, 1999), whereas city environments may often dictate a form of compliance or limit a sense of being at ease in the ways in which they are occupied (Mbembé & Nuttall, 2004).

The ability to returning to *ekhayeni* for many, helped to validate their lives as migrants. The hardships and daily challenges they had endured they felt were particularly validated if they had managed to save sufficient financial resources to be able to return with money and gifts. The ability to maintain, improve and/or extend one's homestead was seen as the ultimate

sense of achievement as the possibility to further enhance their social status amongst family, friends and the community. For example, Bulelwa described that maintaining their homestead was a way to showcase in the village the hard work that her and her husband had carried out in the city. The ability to outdo one's peers in terms of beautifying one's homestead heightened the status attached. Similar findings have been found by Bank amongst migrants from Gatyana who are investing in building new modernised houses in the rural landscape to showcasing their families' social standing and status (2015). By redesigning their houses, migrants felt that they could transcend the double stigma of being called 'marginal squatters' by the city and 'ignorant country bumpkins' by their fellow shack residents (Bank, 2015:1080). The process of rebuilding the homestead thus involves renegotiating identity and belonging through the built environment. Such status becomes inscribed onto the local landscape.

For many, beautifying one's homestead included also the maintenance of cultural artefacts such as the *ubuhlanti* (Kraal) and *igoqo* (woodpile). This resulted not only in an increase in social status but also in cultural status, as a well-maintained *ubuhlanti* and *igoqo* was articulated as showing respect to one's ancestors for which one gained respect from family and the community. A well-maintained *ubuhlanti*, as illustrated by Sikhokhele, symbolised that he was responsible man as it showed that he respected his ancestors and took care of and pride in his family. Similarly, a well-maintained *igoqo* symbolised for Bulelwa that she was a responsible and hard working woman. For this, she felt she would receive praise from her family and community. Bulelwa felt that her ability to pay for someone to cut and deliver the wood needed to maintain her *igoqo* helped towards amplifying her status within the community. For male migrants this included the ability to own and purchase livestock. Men such as Bongikhaya, the ability to own livestock gave them status at local social gatherings and allowed them to have a say at such gatherings. It is a commonly held view within the area that a man without cattle has nothing fruitful to say, whereas a man with cattle is given respect. Positive associations gained from being at *ekhayeni* translate into migrants feeling a strong affiliation within the place, as it is where they felt they gained recognition and acceptance, and felt they fitted in. The honour that migrants attain in *ekhayeni* through the

display of social and cultural status gives them a sense of dignity and increases their pride and self-esteem.

It has been well recognised that increase in self-esteem offers positive psychological benefits related to optimism and a sense of mastery (Baumeister *et al.*, 2003). Positive mental health is said to give a person feelings that there is a purpose and meaning to life (Ryff, 1989; Mann *et al.*, 2004). Thus, one who functions positively has goals, intentions, and a sense of direction, all of which contribute to the feeling that life is meaningful (Ryff, 1989); this in turn improves confidence and personal happiness (Mann *et al.*, 2004). The profundity of these benefits can also only be fully appreciated in relation to the alienation and marginalisation that many of migrants feel while living in the formal and informal locations of Philippi and Khayelitsha. Many described feelings of invisibility in the city and having a low sense of self-worth (see chapter five).

Opportunities to return to the place of one's origin and childhood was described as awakening self and identity. Identity categories are determined genetically, and by descendant-based attributes that are associated with cultural and historical inheritance and link individuals to ethnic identities (Chandra, 2006). Ethnicity is constructed out of the material of language, religion, culture, appearance, ancestry, and regionality (Nagel, 1994; Chandra, 2006). Since people are not considered individuals living in a state of independence, but prefer to be part of a community, living in relationships and interdependence (Nabudere, 2005). Returning to *ekhayeni* a place, which is inscribed with constituents of identity; provides the medium through which meanings are mediated and shared, and in doing so, provide the context in which Centane migrants can articulate who they are. Whilst at *ekhayeni*, many felt they were members of a family, a neighbourhood and community and amongst friends. As such while they were at *ekhayeni* many felt that they were at a rightful place and were able to feel a sense of affiliation and belonging. A sense of belonging has been acknowledged as being closely connected to a sense of well-being as it gives one a sense of security, knowing that you are part of a social group (ethnic group) and have a social role that defines who you are to yourself and to others (Cuba & Hummond, 1993).

7.3 Implications of the Research Findings

For Centane migrants, migration has not only facilitated awareness of the important meanings and relationships that exist for *ekhayeni* and the surrounding landscape, but has also strengthened the bond they have, as they have a constant need to return to sustain their very being. This was illustrated by migrants articulating the needs that they identified as being important that could not be provided for within urban areas. These included the need for relatedness and a close connection with others and to satisfy needs associated with identity, formation and belonging. The narratives collected from the migrants of Centane have given voice to deep and meaningful attachments to the landscape of *ekhayeni* (rural home), as the subjective way a landscape is experienced and lived is often not acknowledged enough. Instead, the dominant representations of these landscapes have included “degraded”, “unproductive wasteland” by outside professionals and have been accepted as fact and “common wisdom” (Cocks *et al.*, in prep). The narratives collected from the Centane migrants speak to the need to recognise how attachment processes associated with place become inscribed onto the landscapes and simultaneous become embodied by its inhabitants. For the most part such processes have been ignored, as they are perceived as contributing to ethnic differentiation, the premise upon which Apartheid was based (Sharp, 1981; Horowitz, 1991; James, 1999).

In no way do these findings wish to romanticise the notion of “rural idyll”, as a place of harmony, peace, beauty and warmth. As reflected by Gren (2002), home is not always a place of harmony, but also a contested domain demarcating relations of inclusion and exclusion which reflect structures of power and involve social and economic rights and obligations. There is also acknowledgment that rural areas are still characterised by visible poverty and imploding small towns, and that people continue to rely on welfare and there is a growing number of HIV/AIDS infected youngsters and AIDS orphaned (Bank & Minkley, 2005; Brust *et al.*, 2012). However, these same places are imbued with memories that are historical, biographical and that contain local narratives and continue to remain focal points, which give people a sense of purpose and allow them to position themselves in broader society. As depicted by the many narratives collected, the geographical locations of *ekhayeni* serve to define, maintain and protect self-identities and the heritage of local people.

7.4 Recommendations

When looking at landscapes, the research therefore compels policy makers to incorporate the everyday intangible meanings, values and association that local people attach to their surrounding landscape, and to go beyond the idea that landscapes are valued only because of their provisioning services that sustains livelihoods such as providing food, resources and income (De Groot, 2010). The research suggests that further studies of places and landscapes within those places should use a concept in which UNESCO has come to incorporate in bio-cultural studies termed; cultural landscapes (Chirikure *et al.*, 2010). The concept of cultural landscape is important because it will allow us to fully comprehend the meanings and attachments that people have with the socio-cultural and physical/and natural surroundings of their home places. This is because the concept of cultural landscape acknowledges the non-material benefits people obtain from the landscape, which include; spiritual and religious values, knowledge systems, aesthetic values, social relations, sense of place, and cultural heritage (Daniels *et al.*, 2012). The incorporation of such a lens into the South African policy discourse arena would provide the framework to view landscapes as also contributing to notions of identity, wellbeing and belonging and help towards reaching a more inclusive and comprehensive understanding of the significance and relevance of rural landscapes in post-apartheid South Africa.

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Appendix

Table for Male Migrants Appendix 5 A

Names	gender	age	Highest education level	Why CPT	Residence of first arrival	Duration in CPT	level of employment	frequency of going home
Pseudonyms								
Alfred	male	70	Grade 2		Khayelitsha	22 years	unskilled	has not gone home for over three years
Bongikhaya	male	67	Grade 3	rural networks	Khayelitsha	20 years	semi-skilled	end of year
Tat'Bhele	male	58	Grade 8	Family	Khayelitsha	29 years	unskilled	end of year
Tat'Cirha	male	54	Grade 5	rural networks	Phillipi	12 years	self-employed	end of year
Gcobani (bongeka's husband)	male	44	Grade 4	Family	Khayelitsha	24 years	unskilled	end of year
Xolani	male	44	Grade 4 & Govt. construction company certificate	rural networks	Tat'Bhele in Khayelitsha	25 years	semi-skilled	end of year
Sibusiso	male	43	Matric & certificate in Capentry	rural networks	Khayelitsh with Tat'Bhele	19 years	semi-skilled	every second year
Baxolele	male	43	failed Matric	family	Kwa langa with sister	23 years	semi-skilled	end of year
Andile	male	42	Failed Matric	family	Tat'Bhele in Khayelitsha	19 years	unskilled	has not gone home for the past 5 years
Sikhokhele	male	40	Grade 5	rural networks	Philippi amongst home people	6 years	semi-skilled	end of year
Muzi	male	39	Grade 7	rural networks	Emfuleni with uncle	10 years	unskilled	end of year
Bantu	male	38	Matric	family	Born in Cape Town, lived in rural are and relocated back to cpt	33 years excluding time spent in rural areas	skilled	every second/third year
Monelisi (Bulelwa's husband)	male	37	matric	family	Hostel in Khayelitsha	19 years	semi-skilled	as frequently as possible
Langa	male	36	Grade 11	born in Cpt	was born in Phillippi but relocated to rural and came back again to cpt	20 years	self-employed	mid-year
Fezile (Tat'Bhele's son)	male	36	Matric	family	Father in Khayelitsha	26 years	semi-skilled	end of year
Nkululeko	male	28	Matric	rural networks	Emfuleni with home friends	7 years	unskilled	end of year
Siya	male	27	Grade 11	Family	Kwa langa with Father	7 years	unskilled	every second year
Lulamile	male	27	dropped out in Grad 10	Family	was born in CPT but relocated to to the rural area now	6 years	unskilled	is back home
Sizwe	male	27	Matric	rural networks	Emfuleni with home friends	5 years	unskilled	every second year
Kholekile	male	26	Matric	rural networks	Emfuleni with home friends	9 years	unskilled	end of year
Buhle	male	26	Grade 11	rural networks	Emfuleni with home friends	8 years	unskilled	every second year
Somelelele	male	25	failed Matric	rural networks	Emfuleni with home friends	8 years	unskilled	end of year
Bulelani	male	24	matric	family	kwa langa with mother and aunt	2 years	unskilled/casual	new arrival
Khwezi	male	22	Matric	Family	Khayelitsha with father	3 years	unskilled	every second year
Senzo	male	17	currently completing matric	family	Khayelitsha with uncle	3 years	scholar	end of year

Table for Female Migrants Appendix 5 B

Names	gender	age	Highest education level	Why CPT?	Residence on first arrival	Duration in CPT (yrs)	Level of employment	Frequency of going home
Pseudonyms								
Mbali	Female	46	Grade 10	born	Was born in CPT, but moved back to the rural area in 1978	23	unskilled	as frequently as possible
Faniswa	Female	43	Grade 11	rural networks	Khayelitsha	23	unskilled	as frequently as possible
Babalwa's mother	Female	43	Grade 7	rural networks	Phillipi close to people from Nobuswana	25	self employed	end of year
Andisiwe	Female	40	Matric	spouse	Langa with her sister	24	self employed	end of year
Bulelwa Dlamini (Monelisi's wife)	Female	35	Currently in nursing school	family/spouse	lived with family in crossroads while searching for a job	13	causal/student	end of year/family emergencies
Kholiwe (sikhokele's wife)	female	35	dropped out in grade 20 because she fell pregnant	spouse	Husband in Phillipi	infrequent	self employed	as frequently as possible
Cikizwa	Female	35	failed matric	spouse	1st time came to visit his uncle in 1997, and came back with husband to live in Philippi	14	unskilled	end of year
Asenathi	female	34	Grade 11	Spouse/family	Her sister and sister husband in Khayelitsha	14	unskilled	end of year
Bongeka	female	31	Matric	Spouse/family	Khayelitsha with relatives	10	unemployed	end of year
Carol	female	23	currently registered at an FET college	family	Sister in Khayelitsha	1	student	end of year
Babalwa	Female	23	3 year in Accounting Cape Peninsula	family	lives with her mother in Phillipi	5	student	every second year
Zethu	Female	23	Matric	partner	Delft better known as Blikkiesdorp (arrived to her b.f)	1.5	unskilled	recently arrived a few months ago

