

**“Urbanisation in Botswana: Social Interactions among the Residents of  
Broadhurst, Gaborone.”**

By

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## **ABSTRACT**

This study examines the extent of social interaction among the residents of the Broadhurst area in Gaborone. It assesses the strength of urban social ties and urban-rural linkages in the wake of rapid urbanisation in Botswana. Utilising two sub-samples, one made up of 360 households and another comprising of 30 respondents who were profiled for their life histories, the study sought to establish whether the residents of Broadhurst exhibited a strong sense of community, and the extent to which they maintained strong linkages with kin in their home villages. Face-to-face interview method was used to collect the data required for the study. The bulk of the data were analysed using SPSS-PC software. This provided descriptive statistics and cross-tabulations.

The study demonstrated the simultaneous existence of considerable intra-urban social ties manifested through a strong a strong sense of community and strong urban-rural linkages among the residents of Broadhurst. The overwhelming majority of those studied considered others to be neighbours and were also frequently involved with them in various ways including chatting, visiting, their children playing together, sharing of responsibilities, and sharing meals. In addition, they consulted and were consulted extensively by others on family, social, work, and financial matters. Despite being characterised by strong intra-urban social ties, those studied demonstrated a strong commitment to their home village. They acquired property in the rural areas, participated in economic and social activities, exchanged money and goods, and frequently visited the rural areas. Most important, they desired to retire to the home village. Kinship, and thus the family, emerged to be an important factor in both urban social ties and in the maintenance of urban-rural linkages. The patterns obtained by this study are consistent with those documented for other developing countries.

Three major conclusions are drawn from the study. First, despite rapid urbanisation, the community had not disappeared from the Broadhurst area of Gaborone. The results depicted the existence of a strong sense of community and neighbourhood cohesiveness.

Those studied were frequently involved with others in the neighbourhood, displayed elaborate consultation networks and, also participated in social organisations particularly churches. Second, that rapid urbanisation in Botswana has not culminated in the emergence of a permanent urban population; one that has severed all ties with rural areas. The majority of those studied maintained strong ties with their rural kin and saw the urban area as a place of work while the village was home. Finally it may be concluded that increasing urbanisation in Botswana has not undermined the family considerably. As evident through the composition of households in urban areas, which tended to group together mainly kin and the tendency for urban dwellers to confide in family members, the family remains a major basis for social interaction.

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## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

The growth of the African urban population has been so rapid that governments find it difficult to contain or to provide for them (United Nations, 1994). During the past three decades there has been rapid urbanisation primarily due to development strategies that emphasised urban growth at the expense of agricultural and rural development. Such development strategies have been responsible for increased rural-urban migration which has become the major factor in urban population growth in developing countries (Mabogunje, 1990; Stren, 1992; Findley 1997; Hope, 1996, 1997). Even in countries where natural increase is making a major contribution to urban growth, rural-urban migration is a major source as well. Whatever the reason behind the rapid urban growth, however, towns and cities have grown beyond the capacity of governments to deliver even basic essential services. According to a United Nations, the urban population in developed countries doubled between 1950 and 1990. It increased from 446 million to 847 million. In the developing countries the urban population more than quintupled over the same period increasing from 304 million to 1.4 billion (United Nations, 2000).

Botswana is no exception. The country has witnessed a lot of changes in the distribution of its population during the past three decades that have been reflected in rapid urbanisation. Like elsewhere in the developing countries, most of the changes have occurred mainly through the process of rural to urban migration (Hope, 1997; Campbell, 1998) and have been occasioned by a sustained very high population growth rate over the period. This allowed rapid growth of the urban population under conditions of continued substantial population growth in rural areas. The first major trend to be noted is the concentration of the population in larger settlements. The proportion of the country's population living in urban settlements has increased from 9.1 percent in 1971 to 54.1 percent in 2001 (Central Statistic Office, 2002). The

second major trend is the spreading of the population and settlements over an increasingly larger area of the country. This dispersion process is mainly related to the opening up of parts of the country which were formerly regarded as remote (Central Statistics Office, 1995). Among the factors responsible for the rapid urbanisation that has been witnessed in Botswana during the last three decades are the rapid economic growth and the reclassification of what were once villages into urban centres. A more detailed discussion of these and other explanatory factors of rapid urbanisation in Botswana can be found in the literature review presented in Chapter Two.

### **1.1 Statement of the Problem**

The urbanisation process in Botswana has been accompanied by the accumulation of extensive demographic and economic data. Through various surveys and censuses, what are mainly quantitative data reflecting phenomena such as population size, composition and change; employment patterns; income levels and education; to mention but some, have been realised. But like elsewhere in the world, the study of the urbanisation process in Botswana has tended to place a lot of emphasis on economic, statistical and demographic aspects of urban populations. Consistent with this trend, an urban centre is formally defined as any settlement with a population of 5 000 or more persons in which at least 75 percent of the labour force engaged in non-traditional agricultural activities (Central Statistics Office, 1995). This tends to equate urbanisation primarily with a certain level of population concentration and a shift in the type of economic activities or means of earning a livelihood. Thus, data collected about it mainly encompass quantifiable aspects such as those mentioned above.

The demographic and economic approaches to the urbanisation process appear to have ignored the social interaction patterns that accompany the process of population transfer from rural to urban environments. Although there exist some studies (see e.g., Macliver, 1977; Izzard, 1979; Cooper, 1980; Larson, 1998; Krüger, 1998) focusing on social interactions within the context of urbanisation in Botswana, most of these, with

the exception of Krüger (1998), do not focus on urban social ties and urban-rural linkages simultaneously. As will be documented by the literature review, most of these studies focus on either urban social ties or on urban-rural linkages. In addition, with the exception of the Krüger and Larson studies, the rest of the studies are well over two decades old. Considerable demographic and socio-economic transformation has taken place in Botswana since most of these studies were carried out. From the time its independence Botswana's population grew very rapidly. It rose from 596 444 persons in 1971 to 1 326 796 persons in 1991 (Central Statistics Office, 1995). The 1991 figures represented a 4 percent change from the 1981 population. By 2001 Botswana's population stood at 1 680 863 persons (Central Statistics Office, 2002). The per annum growth rate rose from 2 percent in 1971 to 4.7 percent in 1981. While the population was still growing at a rate of 3.7 percent per annum by 1991 (Central Statistics Office, 2002), the annual growth rate had fallen to 1.2 percent a decade later and to 1.0 percent by 2002 (World Bank 2003).

Four major factors have accounted for Botswana's population growth trends. These are high birth rates (fertility), economic development and related improvements in health and social services, the influx of migrants attracted by the country's favourable economic climate, and the HIV/AIDS epidemic. The first three factors underpinned the rapid growth of the population between Independence and the late 1990s, and the fourth factor has been responsible for the subsequent marked downturn in population growth.

The HIV/AIDS epidemic has impacted very deeply upon the structure and growth of Botswana's population. Although the impact is yet to be fully assessed, overall AIDS-related mortality is reversing the significant progress that had been made in raising life expectancy and reducing mortality rates. It is estimated that since 1995, AIDS-related conditions have been responsible for over 10 percent of Botswana's annual deaths (Ministry of State President and National AIDS Coordinating Agency, 2002).

Life expectancy declined from 65.3 years in 1991 to 55.6 years in 2001 (Ministry of State President and National AIDS Coordinating Agency, 2002), to 38.1 years by 2002 (World Bank, 2003). Whereas Botswana's population had been growing so rapidly before the late 1990s, the early 2000s saw a sharp drop of the population growth rate. The fertility rate decreased (but remained relatively high at 3.8 births per woman in 2002), and child mortality rates climbed (in 2002 the infant mortality rate was 80.0 per 1000 live births and the under 5 mortality rate was 110.0 per 1000 children) (World Bank, 2003). The ravages of the HIV/AIDS epidemic are now surely impacting upon the patterns of social interaction that developed in the context of rapid population growth.

Another transformation that has occurred in Botswana is that the numbers of residents in urban areas have increased tremendously since the early 1980s and so have the number of urban centres. While Gaborone was the only city up to the mid-1990s, Francistown has since (in 1997) acquired the status of a city. Also, mineral-led economic growth has opened up more employment opportunities in urban areas and facilitated the development of superior educational, health and other infrastructures that have been thought to act as pull factors for rural populations. Another contributing factor was the drought of the 1980s, which decimated rural economies and especially agriculture (Morna, 1989; Mazonde, 1997) thus widely rendering them untenable.

Several shortcomings can be identified with the existing studies focusing on social interactions in Botswana (see e.g., Macliver, 1977; Izzard, 1979; Cooper, 1980; Larson, 1998; Krüger, 1998). First, all of them, save Krüger (1998) dwell on urban-rural linkages while overlooking or simply assuming the existence of urban-based social bonds among urbanites. Such urban-based social ties are likely to emerge, as migrants settle in the cities and towns, to replace what is lost in the process of being uprooted from rural areas. Secondly, none of the existing studies presents a systematic analysis of the ways through which urban-rural linkages find expression. While

mention is made of the exchange of visits, money and goods, few comprehensive studies exist focusing on these as its key indicators of commitment to the rural areas by urban migrants. In addition, there are other expressions of urban-rural ties such as ownership of property; participation in social and economic activities; the exchange of verbal, written, and telephonic messages; and consultation between urban and rural residents on social, family, financial, and work related matters that have never been researched or remain under researched within the context of Botswana. Finally, Gaborone, the prime target destination for most migrants in Botswana, remains understudied. There exist no studies that we are aware of providing a detailed analysis of urban-based social bonds and urban-rural linkages among the residents of Gaborone.

It is against the above backdrop that this study was mooted to raise the analysis of urbanisation to a new level in two ways. First, by revamping its more sociological (social interaction) dimension. Through this study, we hope to address the shortcomings of existing studies enumerated above by providing more focused data. Secondly, the study will constitute an additional step toward redressing existing knowledge imbalances stemming from the tendency by previous studies of the urbanisation process to emphasise the demographic and economic characteristics of urban populations. While acknowledging the importance of collecting statistical data reflecting the demographic and economic characteristics of urban populations, the study advances the view that the sociological aspects of urbanisation should also be accorded equal treatment. That is, knowledge about the urbanisation process should transcend such quantitative features to incorporate the social characteristics of the process.

Specifically, this study adopts the position that the urban population constitutes a community characterised by networks of social interaction that are equally as important as the demographic and economic attributes of this population. As Peil

(1984: 48) observes, urban settlements manifest a sense of community. Communities still function in these settlements, though they are somewhat different in form and function from rural communities. This is consistent with Gans' (1962) view that for many urban individuals, family, and kinship bonds were far from dead, and relatives continued to be a significant source of socialising and support. According to Gans, rather than exhibit depersonalisation, isolation and disorganisation, working class neighbourhoods are often characterised by a high degree of social interaction among residents. This view, however, contrasts sharply with 'the community lost' argument presented by others such as Töennies (1963), Durkheim (1964), Simmel (1964, 1971), and Wirth (1938) which presents the city as producing a depersonalised and atomised urbanite. Central to the sociological approach is an emphasis on the nature and patterns of social interaction that emerge as populations shift from rural to urban settings. The study examines the patterns of social interaction amongst the residents of Gaborone at two levels; that is, interactions with other urban dwellers and interactions with rural dwellers.

## **1.2 Objectives of Study**

The primary purpose of this study was to examine the nature and extent of social interactions among urban residents within the context of rapid urbanisation. There are two levels at which social interaction can be perceived within the context of urbanisation in the developing countries. First, are the social interaction patterns that emerge within the urban environment itself. These are usually reflected through visiting patterns (e.g. who visits who and with what frequency) and other forms of contacts between individuals and of membership of social groups, clubs or organisations. Second, there is interaction occurring between urban and rural populations as a result of the persisting social linkages between the two spheres. It has been argued that (see e.g., Peil, 1984; Potts and Mutambirwa, 1990; Jorgen Andreasen 1990; Oucho, 1996; Findley, 1997; Potts, 1997; Larson, 1998; Krüger, 1998) despite increased urbanisation, a large majority of the population in developing countries in

general, and in Africa in particular, continues to reside in rural areas. In such contexts urban populations retain strong ties with rural populations; what goes on in rural areas is influenced by what goes on in the city and vice versa. According to Peil (1984), for example, as urbanisation advances rural areas are increasingly tied to the towns.

In the search for such patterns, this study focuses on two types of interactions among the residents of Broadhurst in Gaborone. First, it examines patterns of social interaction taking place within the urban community itself. Involvement with neighbours through activities such as visiting and other forms of contact, advice-seeking patterns and membership of social clubs, are studied. Second, the study focuses on social interaction within the context of a rural-urban continuum; that is, the nature of urban-rural linkages maintained by individuals residing in urban areas. In particular, it emphasises the patterns and frequency of interactions occurring between urban and rural residents. These are reflected through practices such as participation in social and economic activities, ownership of property, the remittance of incomes and goods, and visiting patterns.

Through the analysis of what goes on in urban neighbourhoods and between urban and rural settlements the study will provide insights into the relationships that emerge among urban dwellers themselves and between urban and rural dwellers. Such relationships have implications for the family as a social unit. Although this study does not aim specifically to assess the effects of urbanisation on the family as a social unit, some brief discussion of whether increasing urbanisation in Botswana has weakened family ties will be desirable. This is imperative in light of the fact that the family is a major basis for social interactions. Urban-based households more often than not interact with other family members or people outside of the immediate household. In this regard the strength of the family will be assessed in terms of the composition of urban households and the extent of contacts with rural kin.

By focusing on social interactions in urban neighbourhoods and between urban and rural dwellers the study hopes to adduce information that would complement the already established demographic and economic data and strengthen the limited available knowledge about social interactions within the context of urbanisation in Botswana. In addition, a focus on social interactions will enable us to establish the extent of 'urbanism' in Botswana. That is, whether there is 'truly' an urban population; one which has completely severed their ties with rural kin and regards the urban area to be their one and only home.

### **1.3 Justification for the Study**

This study is important primarily for its contribution to the existing knowledge in the area of urbanisation. As indicated earlier, despite the abundance of data in the area of urban studies most studies, especially those conducted during the post-colonial period in developing countries, have tended to emphasise the demographic and economic components of the urbanisation process. Aspects such as social interaction, social networks and integration, among others, have not been thoroughly examined despite the fact that urbanisation is not one-dimensional and as a process it does have an impact on these aspects. A city's growth involves cultural, social as well as demographic processes. In the case of Botswana, as pointed out earlier, the emphasis has been on demographic and economic aspects of urbanisation. This has been realised through the regular collection of data through population and housing censuses and surveys mainly by government departments (see e.g., Central Statistics Office, 1989, 1991c, 1995, 1997b). Although some studies have been conducted on the social aspects of urbanisation, these have not been as extensive as those focusing on the economic and demographic expressions of urbanisation. In addition, the existing studies focusing on the social aspects of urbanisation have tended to stress urban-rural linkages (see e.g., Macliver, 1977; Izzard, 1979; Cooper, 1980; Larson, 1998) without interrogating urban social ties. Yet, the strength of urban social ties may have a bearing on the nature and extent of urban-rural linkages. It is on the basis of this

observation that our study seeks to analyse intra-urban social ties and urban-rural linkages simultaneously. The study will contribute information to the already established data as well as complement the body of research on the social aspects of urbanisation. It will contribute to a fuller understanding of the social interaction process in the urban setting and beyond.

Studying the nature and extent of social interactions is also important in itself. This is particularly so given that all human societies are based on social relationships which happen when more than one person is in contact with another (Odetola and Ademola, 1985). The actual pattern of an individual's social relationships may be described in terms of a social network and clusters of social networks may under certain circumstances coincide with territorially limited areas. Social interaction stimulates the formation and maintenance of such relationships, and cultural affinity often influences how the networks take form.

Indeed, Max Weber (1970) stressed the importance of studying interactions and their meaning. He argued that the main goal of sociology is to explain what he called social action and this could be done by sociologists putting themselves in the position of the other person and then trying to interpret their thoughts and motives. He called this approach *verstehen* or sympathetic understanding. Another approach in the study of social interaction is symbolic interactionism as advocated by George Herbert Mead (1961). It stresses the importance of symbols and meanings in human interaction at the micro-sociological level. Human interaction is a process of acting on the basis of meaningful symbols and in some cases has been explained as an exchange of rewards for desired behaviour.

#### **1.4 Organisation of the Study**

This study is organised into nine chapters. Chapter One, the introduction, gives an overview of the study problem, its objectives and its justification. Chapter Two

presents a review of the existing theoretical and empirical literature focusing on the subject of urbanisation. It profiles the process of urbanisation world wide, in Africa as a whole and in Botswana in particular; examines the consequences of urbanisation and provides the theoretical explanations of urbanisation. Chapter Three, on the other hand, reviews the existing theoretical and empirical literature focusing on the subject of social interaction patterns within the context of urbanisation with an emphasis on sub-Saharan Africa in general and on Botswana in particular. It presents an overview of the effects of urbanisation on patterns of social life as depicted by various sociologists including Ferdinand Töennies, Emile Durkheim and Louis Wirth, among others, before turning to the subject of urban-rural linkages. The Chapter culminates with a profiling of the theoretical framework guiding the study and a presentation of the study hypotheses deciphered from the literature review. A descriptive account of the research site from a historical perspective is presented in Chapter Four of the study. The Chapter documents the historical development of Gaborone and the Broadhurst area and profiles housing/residential patterns and other land uses in the area in particular.

The fifth chapter documents the research methodology including the conceptual framework, units of analysis, sample selection techniques, the data collection methods, operationalisation (measurement) of constructs, the techniques of data analysis, ethical issues and the limitations of the study. The study's results are presented in Chapters Six and Seven. The former focuses on the socio-economic characteristics of those studied and the nature of intra-urban social ties while the latter presents the results on urban-rural linkages. Chapter Eight discusses the major findings integrating the views expressed in the theoretical and empirical literature reviewed in Chapter Three. The conclusions drawn from the study are presented in Chapter Nine.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **2.0 THE PROCESS OF URBANISATION**

This chapter reviews the existing theoretical and empirical literature focusing on the subject of urbanisation. A review of the urbanisation process provides an important background to the study. The chapter documents the urbanisation process in Botswana utilising the situation in the developing countries in general and in Africa in particular as a preamble. This sets the tone for the study which is anchored on the occurrence of rapid urbanisation in Botswana. Such rapid urbanisation has culminated not only in economic and demographic changes but has also impacted on social life. Logically, an overview of the urbanisation process would provide the necessary base for the discussion of transformations in social life. The chapter is organised into five main sections. While section one presents an overview of the urbanisation process, section two focuses on the urbanisation process in Africa. The third section looks at the situation within the context of Botswana. The fourth section reviews consequences of urbanisation. The last section summarises and concludes the review.

#### **2.1 Urbanisation: An Overview**

The term urbanisation refers to the process of concentration of populations in large communities - cities and towns - through immigration and natural population growth (Carter, 1981; Palen, 1997). It results in an increase in the proportion of the population living in urban centres who are essentially engaged in non-agricultural activities (Central Statistics Office, 1995; Palen, 1997). Based on this definition, an urban area is one in which economic activities are predominantly non-agricultural. This is as opposed to a rural area which is marked primarily by agricultural activities such as the cultivation of crops or the keeping of livestock. In most sub-Saharan African countries and in Europe and the USA, the urban centre is defined with respect to a threshold population (Carter, 1981). Although countries differ in their definition of urban, it is fairly common for the urban to consist of those living in towns and cities of 2000 or more, especially if the population is largely non-agricultural. For

instance, in Nigeria the population threshold for an urban area is 20 000, while in England and the USA it is 5 000 and 2 000, respectively (Carter, 1981). In Botswana “all settlements on state land and settlements on tribal land with population of 5 000 or more people with at least 75 percent of the labour force in non-agricultural occupations” constitute urban areas (Central Statistics Office, 1995). In addition, a settlement can be declared a township by public notice published in the Government Gazette by the Minister of Local Government and Lands (Government of Botswana, 1987).

The history of the development of urban settlements can be understood in terms of the three urban revolutions. The first *urban revolution* began about 8000 BC with the emergence of the first permanent urban settlements (Macdonis, 1995). It is associated with the development of ancient or pre-industrial cities. Examples of such cities are those that emerged along the Fertile Crescent between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers in the ancient civilisation of Mesopotamia or present-day Iraq and along the River Nile in the ancient civilisation of Egypt (Hamblin, 1973; Stavrianos, 1983; Lenski, Lenski and Nolan, 1991). They also include cities founded around the Indus River in present-day Pakistan. In Europe, pre-industrial urbanisation dates back to about 1800 BC during the Greek and Roman civilisations (Stavrianos, 1983; Mumford, 1961). It was during the Roman Era, for example, that cities such as Rome attained a population of close to one million inhabitants and became the centre of a vast Roman Empire. The Greeks and Romans founded cities across Europe including London, Paris and Vienna (Stavrianos, 1983; Palen, 1997).

The Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth century ushered in a second *urban revolution* around 1850 by touching off rapid growth in cities in Europe and North America. As the cottage industrial setting gave way to urban-based factories, human populations became more concentrated in urban settings thus causing cities and towns to grow at an unprecedented rate (Chandler and Fox, 1974; Weber, 1963, orig. 1899).

Most of the growth was occasioned by migration of individuals from rural areas. The third *urban revolution*, on the other hand, was taking place by 1950 as extraordinary urban growth started occurring in the less developed societies of the world. Around this time, 17.4 percent of the population in the less developed nations was resident in urban areas (United Nations, 2000; Macionis, 1995). This proportion had risen to 35.1 percent by 1990 and is expected to have exceeded the 50 percent mark by 2020 (United Nations, 2000).

Since 1950, the urban proportion of the world's population has risen dramatically and the trend is forecast to continue well into the foreseeable future (Hope, 1997; United Nations, 2000). In developed countries the urban population almost doubled between 1950 and 1990 as it grew from 446 million to 847 million. During the same period, the number of those resident in urban areas within the developing countries quintupled, rising from 304 million to 1.4 billion in 1990 (United Nations, 2000). In 1985, 13 of the world's largest 20 cities were in the less developed regions (Oberai, 1993). The number was projected to have grown to 17 cities (out of 20) by the year 2000. According to the projections, seven of the super-cities with populations of 15 million or more would have been in developing countries by the year 2000. By this time it was estimated that 39.9 percent of the population of the developing countries resided in urban areas. This constituted about 75 percent of the world's urban population (United Nations, 2000).

The number of Third World cities with 4 million or more inhabitants is projected to multiply several times from 22 in 1980 to 114 in 2025. By this date it is projected that more than 1.1 billion persons in the Third World will live in cities with 4 million or more inhabitants (United Nations, 2000). This figure is more than six times the number in 1980. Hardoy and Satterthwaite (1995), however, have challenged these projections. They argue that, contrary to the predictions by most of the literature in urban development, there are indications that most of the Third World would be less

urbanised and far less dominated by large cities in the years beyond 2000. Hardoy and Satterthwaite (1995) posit that the pace of urban change and the form it takes differ significantly from nation to nation and therefore cannot be generalised in the manner most of the literature does.

Urban population growth can be attributed to three major causes. That is, net migration, natural increase and re-classification (Oberai, 1993). It is the first two causes that contribute the most to urban growth. But their contribution varies in different parts of the developing world. According to Oberai, net migration generally contributes more to urban growth than does natural increase during the early stage of development when urbanisation levels are low and urban and rural natural increases in population is moderately high. The high rate of urbanisation in the developing world evident between the 1960s and the 1980s can be explained in terms of the high population growth rate occasioned by the demographic transition entered during that period (Hope, 1996). Falling death rates fuelled a population explosion in Africa, Latin America and Asia (United Nations, 1994).

At an intermediate stage of urbanisation, natural increase predominates (Hope, 1996; Oberai, 1993). As a country urbanises, natural increase (or growth as a result of difference between deaths and births) within the city becomes an increasingly dominant contributor to urban growth. This is explained by the sheer size of the urban population relative to the rural population (Roberts, 1978). According to Oberai (1993) a large number of developing countries particularly those in Latin America were in this stage. However, at a late stage, with high urbanisation and low natural increase in population growth the relationship is likely to reverse in favour of migration (Oberai, 1993). During this stage, migrants from rural to urban areas in search of jobs, health care, education and other conveniences such as water and electricity continue to contribute significantly to the growth of urban populations. A

more detailed discussion of the factors that spurred high rates of urbanisation in Africa is presented hereafter.

## **2.2 Urbanisation in Africa**

In Africa urbanisation is not recent. It dates back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century. At this time long distance trade played a relatively prominent role in the development of urban centres as cities and towns developed along the routes used by the traders. In West Africa, where most early urbanisation in Africa occurred, for example, the Trans-Saharan trade led to the growth of cities such as Jenné, Gao, Timbukutu, Kano, Zaria and Sokoto (Gugler, 1996a; Peil and Oyeneeye, 1998) along its routes. Nevertheless, urban developments in Africa remained limited until after the imposition of colonial rule (Gugler, 1996b). During the colonial era, European imperialist powers established commercial and administrative centres and port towns along major transport networks and waterways to facilitate the outward shipment of raw materials to their home countries and the inward shipment of manufactured goods to the colonies. Such urban centres were to become major destinations for once rural populations (Findlay and Findlay, 1987).

The redistribution of African populations toward cities and towns did not cease with the end of colonisation. Since independence the continent has been transformed by urban growth faster than any other region in the world (Mabogunje, 1990; Stren, 1992). Nevertheless the continent still remains the least urbanised of the world's continents (Wekwete, 1994; Hardoy and Satterthwaite, 1995). Over the years, "millions of Africans have headed for cities and towns in search of their dream of a stable salaried job" (Findley, 1997:109). By the early 1960s less than a fifth (only about 15 percent) of Africa's population resided in urban areas (Rakodi, 1997). With the exception of Southern Africa where the urban population was 42 percent and North Africa where it was 30 percent, the remainder of African countries, with few exceptions had very low levels of urbanisation. Since then, tremendous increases in

urban population have been recorded. The population of cities such as Khartoum (Sudan), Nairobi (Kenya), Abidjan (Côte d'Ivoire), and Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) increased more than six fold between 1950 and the mid-1980s; during the same period that of Lagos (Nigeria) increased more than sixteen fold (Hardoy and Satterthwaite, 1995). In all cases net in-migration contributed more than natural increase to the urban population growth.

The level of urbanisation in Africa varies significantly by region. Table 1 summarises the percentage of the African population residing in cities and towns by region. As the Table shows, the Northern African region is the most urbanised followed by Southern and Western African regions while the Eastern African region remains the least urbanised. By the year 2005 the percentage of the total population that is urbanised is estimated to vary from 29.4 percent in Eastern Africa to 53.5 percent in Northern Africa (United Nations, 2000). The percentages for the two regions are estimated to rise to 44.1 percent and 66.2 percent respectively in 2030.

**Table 1: Percentage of Population Residing in Urban Areas in Africa by Region, 1990 to 2030.**

<b>Region</b>	<b>1990</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2010</b>	<b>2015</b>	<b>2020</b>	<b>2025</b>	<b>2030</b>
Eastern Africa	19.4	22.9	26.1	29.4	32.4	35.3	38.2	41.2	44.1
Middle Africa	31.1	33.0	35.4	38.1	41.2	44.2	47.2	50.2	53.2
Northern Africa	45.3	48.0	50.8	53.5	56.2	58.9	61.4	63.9	66.2
Southern Africa	46.1	46.9	48.1	49.7	51.7	54.1	56.8	59.4	62.0
Western Africa	32.4	36.1	39.8	43.4	46.8	50.0	52.8	55.6	58.2
<b>Africa</b>	<b>31.8</b>	<b>35.0</b>	<b>37.9</b>	<b>40.8</b>	<b>43.7</b>	<b>46.5</b>	<b>49.2</b>	<b>51.8</b>	<b>54.5</b>
<b>World</b>	<b>43.5</b>	<b>45.2</b>	<b>47.0</b>	<b>49.0</b>	<b>51.1</b>	<b>53.4</b>	<b>55.7</b>	<b>58.0</b>	<b>60.3</b>

*Source:* United Nations. 2000. World Urbanisation Prospects: The 1999 Revision. New York: United Nations, pp.156-157

Between 1985 and 1990, the annual rate of change of the urban population in Africa was 4.38 percent (United Nations, 2000). During the period 1990 - 1995 the urban population in the continent grew at an average rate of 4.24 percent per annum. The rate declined to 3.97 percent per during 1995 – 2000 and is expected to decline further to 3.71 percent per annum during 2005 – 2010 (United Nations, 2000). However, the rates still remain higher than those recorded for the less developed regions as a whole; these stood at 3.82 percent per annum during 1995-2000, and are projected to decline to 3.04 percent, and 2.87 percent per annum during 2000 - 2005, and 2005-210, respectively (United Nations, 2000). The average annual growth rates of urban population in the African region for the period 1990 - 2030 are presented in Table 2. The Table shows that the growth rate for the continent, though declining, will remain high throughout this period. During 1990-1995 it stood at 4.24 percent per annum and was projected to decline to 3.34 percent between 2025 and 2030. This rate would be about six times the projected rate for the industrialised countries (United Nations, 2000). The eastern African region has the highest annual growth rate standing at 5.83 percent during 1990 - 1995 and projected to decline to 3.14 percent during 2025 - 2030.

**Table 2: Annual Percentage Growth of Urban Population in Africa by Region, 1990 -2030.**

<b>Region</b>	<b>1990-1995</b>	<b>1995-2000</b>	<b>2000-2005</b>	<b>2005-2010</b>	<b>2010 -2015</b>	<b>2015 -2020</b>	<b>2020 -2025</b>	<b>2025-2030</b>
Eastern Africa	5.83	5.23	4.64	4.22	3.96	3.74	3.45	3.14
Middle Africa	4.65	4.05	4.28	4.28	4.11	3.90	3.59	3.23
Northern Africa	3.15	3.08	2.88	2.60	2.31	2.12	1.95	1.75
Southern Africa	2.39	2.09	1.51	1.30	1.51	1.72	1.71	1.65
Western Africa	4.76	4.46	4.15	3.85	3.52	3.17	2.88	2.58
<b>Africa</b>	<b>4.24</b>	<b>3.97</b>	<b>3.71</b>	<b>3.48</b>	<b>3.26</b>	<b>3.06</b>	<b>2.84</b>	<b>2.58</b>
<b>World</b>	<b>2.21</b>	<b>2.11</b>	<b>2.03</b>	<b>1.96</b>	<b>1.89</b>	<b>1.80</b>	<b>1.66</b>	<b>1.50</b>

*Source:* United Nations. 2000. World Urbanisation Prospects: The 1999 Revision. New York: United Nations, p.188.

In sub-Saharan Africa, where most of the cities are relatively small, but growing very rapidly, two major factors account for urban growth. These are natural population growth and rural to urban migration. High growth rates in the populations of most countries have contributed to rapid urban growth (Gugler, 1996b; Hope, 1996). Demographers have shown that the proximate cause of today's rapid urban population growth in those countries with large increases of the urban population has been the post war decline in mortality rates, which increased the gap between mortality and fertility. Although the Third World in general has entered a phase of demographic transition characterised by a decline in fertility, Africa remains a possible exception (Hope, 1996). Across most of the continent declining mortality rates, occasioned by lower infant and child mortality and also partly by technology and technical know-how imported from abroad (Hope, 1996), coupled with persistent high fertility rates have sustained high population growth rates.

The rapidly spreading HIV/AIDS epidemic in the developing countries is now having an impact on the high population growth rate. Africa is now experiencing increased morbidity and mortality and this is likely to result in lower fertility rates as the disease affects those in their reproductive ages (Fransen, 1998). Nevertheless, it is not expected that the epidemic will halt population growth. By far sub-Saharan Africa is the region worst affected by the HIV/AIDS epidemic. It is estimated that there are about 29.4 million people living with the virus in the region. This accounts for 70 percent of the total 42.9 million people living with HIV/AIDS globally (Brummer, 2002:1). During 2002 alone it was reported that approximately 3.5 million new infections occurred in the region and that the epidemic claimed an estimated 2.4 million lives. AIDS mortality is resulting in falling life expectancies in many countries in sub Saharan Africa (Ahwireng-Obeng, and Akussah, 2003).

During the early years of the HIV/AIDS epidemic infection was largely concentrated in the urban areas (Konde-Lule, 1991; Hargreaves, et al. 2003). Studies of HIV

infection from several African countries indicated that the infection rates were highest in the large urban areas and lowest in the rural villages. However, the urban-rural gap has reduced considerably over the years such that the rate of infection in urban and rural areas is not much different. In Botswana, for example, HIV/AIDS has become an endemic health problem affecting both urban and rural areas equally (Ministry of State President and National AIDS Coordinating Agency, 2002). This may be due to increased mobility and links between rural and urban areas and similar behavioural patterns of urban and rural dwellers.

Southern African countries such as Lesotho, Botswana, South Africa, Swaziland, and Zimbabwe have the highest prevalence rates in the world. Several factors may have contributed to the rapid spread of HIV in the Southern African region. Among them is the extreme mobility of the population combined with a good transportation network (Brummer, 2002; Ministry of State President, 2002), a high incidence of sexually transmitted diseases, sexual behaviour patterns which include multiple partners and frequent change in partners, rapid urbanisation leading to the breakdown of traditional mechanisms for controlling social and sexual behaviour, poverty and gender inequality (Ministry of State President, 2002). According to Brummer (2002), migration is particularly closely linked to the high prevalence of HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa. Southern Africa experiences widespread seasonal or temporary migrations with migrants returning home to their families periodically. When away from home the migrants are exposed to a new social environment that can result in a lack of social support, which has been linked to increased risk-taking.

Despite the contributions made by natural population increases, continued high rates of rural to urban migration in Africa have mainly fuelled the veritable urban explosion witnessed in the region before 1980 (Mabogunje, 1990; Stren, 1992; Findley 1997; Hope, 1996, 1997). Even in those nations where natural increase is the major source of urban growth, rural-urban migration makes a heavy contribution as well. Rural-

urban migration accelerated with the advent of independence. By the end of 1966 most of Africa was independent with the exception of the Portuguese colonies (Angola and Mozambique), Zimbabwe, and Namibia. In Kenya, for example, migrants comprised 64.2 percent of the urban population between 1972 and 1990. The proportions for Tanzania, Tunisia and Senegal were 85.0, 76.9 and 75.2 percent, respectively, during the same period (Findley, 1993). Although the usual focus is on the net migration from rural to urban areas, urban to urban migration flows are also important. The latter phenomenon is particularly important from the perspective of the smaller towns and intermediate size cities. Existing evidence shows that smaller centres are now growing faster in many countries as urban economies decline (Meagher, 2001). According to Meagher's study the compression of the urban economy did not force urban residents back to their home areas in southern Nigeria. Rather, it forced them to look for economic opportunities in smaller towns where competitive pressures and capital requirements are lower.

Migration to urban areas in Africa is said to be selective (Makinwa-Adebusoye, 1990; Gilbert and Gugler, 1992; Findley, 1997; Hope, 1997). Traditionally, young adult males predominated among migrants. But by the 1980s the numbers of women migrants had risen. In cities in countries such as Botswana, Egypt, Guinea, Gambia, Malawi, Tunisia, Zaire and Zimbabwe the number of men approximately equalled that of women signifying that a more even gender balance existed among urban in-migrants (Makinwa-Adebusoye, 1990; Gilbert and Gugler, 1992). Significant proportions of the female migrants, particularly single (unmarried, divorced, separated, and widowed) women "are autonomous migrants, moving independently to fulfil their own economic needs" (Findley, 1997: 117) and not joining spouses as earlier thought. Education is also likely to be a major factor in rural-urban migration. While the expectation of better education opportunities for children may cause some to migrate (Hope, 1997), those who are better equipped in respect of education and

training have greater chances of landing employment in the urban areas (Chant and Radcliffe, 1992; Gilbert and Gugler, 1992).

Due to the rapid urbanisation that has occurred in the African continent since independence, cities and towns established during the colonial period have retained and extended their dominance as the primary centres of commerce and industry. Some of these have grown very rapidly and have also attained the status of “primate” cities (Gilbert and Gugler, 1992; Peil and Oyeneye, 1998) despite some attempts by the post-colonial governments to influence the population to settle elsewhere. These remain the focal point of both governmental and private sector activities and, as such, the rational settling place for the population (Hope, 1996). Indeed, about 20 percent of the total urban population in sub-Saharan Africa is said to live in large metropolitan areas of one million or more people (Findley, 1997).

### **2.2.1 Causes of Rapid Rural-Urban Migration**

During the early 1960s as independence approached in most African countries two developments emerged that encouraged rural to urban migration (Gugler, 1996b). First, industrialisation now came to be actively promoted as governments provided incentives for the establishment of import-substituting and export-processing industries coupled with the development of mineral resources. Governments also made major investments in public utilities. However the industrialisation drive soon faltered due to the limits of both internal and external markets and shortages of foreign exchange necessary for the purchase of raw materials and spare parts (Wekwete, 1994; Hope, 1996). A second factor that fostered rural-urban migration was the rapidly expanding bureaucracy of the newly independent states.

Based on these two developments, the rapid migration driven urbanisation witnessed in the African region since the 1970s can be explained mainly in terms of economic factors compelling the migrant into moving (Hope, 1996, 1997). People migrate from rural to urban areas in response to perceived differences in economic opportunities

between their original location and their final destination. That is, rural-urban migration is “a purposeful and rational search for a better place to live and work” (Hope, 1997:38). This view is clearly supported by the empirical literature which overwhelmingly suggests that the search for economic betterment, particularly better employment and income opportunities (Hope, 1997), and the expectation of better education facilities for children are mainly responsible for migration. As Potts (1997) pointed out, until fairly recently the rural-urban income gap was viewed as the main cause of rapid urbanisation. The urban areas enjoyed an income advantage over rural areas. Urban areas were also deemed to have superior services such as piped water, schools and clinics which enabled the urban populace to enjoy higher standards of living.

On the other hand, rural to urban migration is a response to conditions, and especially poor living conditions in rural areas, that cause the migrant to move. The poor conditions arise from development strategies that cause a shift in balance between the rural and urban sectors by emphasising urban growth at the expense of agricultural and rural development (Gugler, 1996b; Hope, 1996, 1997). Until the 1980s at least, governments throughout Africa privileged the urban sector through policies that favoured investment and large development projects in cities. They made more capital investments on roads, schools, hospitals and airfields in urban areas. This created an urban bias (Bates, 1981; Lofchie, 1996) in the opportunities and structures characteristic of most countries. According to Lipton (1988), the urban bias involves the funnelling of resources towards cities to the neglect and impoverishment of rural areas and this is an integral part of underdevelopment in many less developed countries. Through it, policy focused on urban-based development and resources were overwhelmingly allocated to urban areas. Consequently, the rural population, where one found most of the poor, benefited little.

The urban bias has resulted in the development of commerce and industry and the concentration of transportation, communication, education and other types of social and infrastructural services in urban areas. This, in turn, has provided strong incentives for rural-urban migration. Because a disproportionate share of the resources invested in urban areas has been directed towards capital cities, these have become the preferred destinations for migrants and have thus grown at an even faster pace than the urban population in general. While most African capitals were primate cities already in the colonial days, today the pattern is even more pronounced (Lofchie, 1996).

Armed conflict, civil strife, and recurring droughts have also played a role in the decline of development in the rural areas in some African countries. In Africa alone over 30 armed conflicts have been witnessed since 1970 (UNICEF, 2000). The conflicts range from urban-based violence to civil wars that have swept through countries such as Sudan, Uganda, Somalia, Angola, Mozambique and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), to name but a few. The prevalence of such civil strife and armed conflicts in the continent is the most significant political challenge to the development of the rural areas. War and armed conflicts lead to the closure and/or destruction of educational and health facilities and the displacement of millions of people in the continent (Brandon and Rwomire, 2001). In addition, wars cause the scattering of families, the disruption of food production, and the loss of basic services.

Land shortage is assumed to be another factor inducing rural-urban migration (Potts and Mutambirwa, 1990). Due to mounting population pressure land has become a scarce resource in some rural areas. The increased subdivision of land among family members has resulted in units that are not economically viable. In Botswana, however, this may not be a major factor. The population has easy access to rural land. "All adult men and women are entitled to tribal land free, and there is no, or only limited, shortage of village land" (Larson, 1998: 131).

### **2.3 The Consequences of Urbanisation**

Until recently, much of the literature on urbanisation in developing countries, especially during the post-colonial period, stressed the strong link to economic development (Wekwete, 1994; Hope, 1996, 1997). Urbanisation, at least initially, was associated with a lot of positive economic features such as high productivity and industrialisation by most analysts. Proponents of the thesis that large cities have a positive role in development pointed to the advantages for firms or businesses of access to larger markets for their products, as well as to labour and other inputs. They also pointed to the general improvement in the living standards of urbanites due to the advantages that they enjoy in terms of access to better social services, and the value of more organised participation in the political process that comes with increased urbanisation (Hope, 1996).

In contrast, however, it is clear that there are negative effects and some costs that come with the concentration of economic activity and population in the urban areas as a result of pressure on resources. The “over-urbanisation” that results is associated with widespread unemployment and underemployment. According to Hope (1997), one of the major consequences of the uncontrolled urban growth experienced by African nations has been the rising numbers of job seekers. This has created a situation in which the supply of labour in urban areas far exceeds the demand (or the available job openings) and hence rising unemployment. In Kenya, for example, urban unemployment rose from 11.2 percent to 16.2 percent between 1977/78 and 1986. In Zimbabwe the urban unemployment rate stood at 19 percent in 1987 while in Botswana it was 17 percent during 1993/94 (Hope, 1997). The escalating urban unemployment has sparked off increases in crime in most African cities and towns. Car hijacking, drug trafficking, burglaries, bank robberies, and purse snatching have now become commonplace. Another consequence of the high rates of urban unemployment has been urban poverty (Hope, 1997). Across most of Africa, this phenomenon manifests itself through various forms such as increasing numbers of

street children, beggars, adult and child prostitutes; mushrooming slums and shantytowns and rising crime rates.

Rapid urbanisation has made it difficult for cities and towns to provide residents with the services they desire (Rondinelli and Cheema, 1988; Rondinelli and Kasarda, 1993). As a result, most of Africa has experienced deterioration in the overall quality and coverage of urban public services and facilities during the past two decades. This in turn has led to the overburdening (congestion) and, in some cases, to the decay of existing services and facilities. For instance, as cities have been unable to cope with rising demands for housing occasioned by burgeoning numbers, considerable numbers of urban dwellers have turned to shantytowns and slums lacking most, if not all, of the basic amenities (United Nations, 1994). Uncontrolled urbanisation in Africa has also been associated with air pollution, congestion and health problems

Urbanisation also adversely affects the family as a fundamental and basic unit of society. The family is the most important of all social institutions in that it is responsible for carrying out more basic societal functions than any other institution (Goode, 1993). The family performs reproductive and socialising functions. Despite its importance, however, there is no one universal definition of family (WLSA, Botswana, 1997; WLSA, Zimbabwe, 1997). As such, the term has different meanings for different persons depending on the context and purpose for which it is being used. The definition of the family can also be culture and time specific and in some cases may be tied to modes of social organisation (WLSA, Botswana, 2002). Three elements generally distinguish the familial from the non-familial: marriage, parenthood and residence (WLSA, Zimbabwe, 1997). Parenthood refers to social parenthood, rather than only legal and biological parenthood and kinship. It embraces a whole range of kinship relations performing or in a position to perform parental obligations, duties and functions in respect of the person whose family is sought to be defined. In Botswana, among the most commonly cited reason why people are

considered to be family are blood relationships, marriage, friendship, co-residence and emotion and material support (WLSA, Botswana, 1997). In light of the discussion ensuing here, the definition which views the family as a group of persons related to one another by blood ties, marriage, and/or adoption (Giddens, 2001) will be utilised by the study.

The process of urbanisation has been associated with the decline of the traditional family and other primary group associations (Freedman, 1961/62; Goode, 1963). Broadly speaking, sociologists identify two major types of families. The nuclear family in which parents and their unmarried children live together and the extended family in which parents, their children and an assortment of extended kin are living in the same household (Newman, 1995; Schaefer and Lamm, 1995). The traditional African extended family comprised of parents, children, grand parents, uncles, aunts, and other kin living together in one compound or close to one another. The structure of the extended family offers certain advantages over the nuclear family. Crises like death, divorce, and illness, for example, are less stressful to individuals in an extended family setting because there are more people to provide assistance and emotional support (Schaefer and Lamm, 1995). The extended family also constitutes a larger economic unit compared to the nuclear family.

According to Freedman (1961/62), as urbanisation progresses, the family would continue to decline among the major institutions of society, becoming eventually an unstable and weaker institution, giving up important functions. Goode (1963), for example, posits that urbanisation tends to promote the conjugal family at the expense of the traditional extended family. Such a conjugal family is characterised by smallness in size and weaker ties to extended kin. Despite the advantages offered by the extended family, it has been on the decline in most African countries. Where it is still surviving, it is no longer residential. Its structure is mainly maintained through split residence strategies (Findley, 1997).

Within the African context where the city is only a place of work while rural areas remain home for many migrants (see e.g., Potts and Mutambirwa, 1991; Potts, 1997; Larson, 1998) urbanisation destabilises the family by segmenting it into different locations. Most migrants and particularly low-income ones, are males who work in the city while the rest of the family resides in the rural areas. In Botswana, within the present system of migration, the family has become segmented into different locations each of which operates semi-autonomously at some levels but coalesces at certain other levels (Kerven, 1980; Driel, 1994; Mazonde, 1997; Larson, 1998). The segments are spread across different settlement types including towns, lands, cattle posts and, to some extent, South African mines with each settlement type representing an economic zone harbouring a major economic resource. Within towns and urban villages are found wage jobs and employment opportunities while cattle posts offer employment and pastures and water for cattle. The lands areas, on the other hand, offer access to farmland for tillage (Mazonde, 1997; Larson, 1998).

In light of the segmentation of the family in Botswana, most households contain elements of families and rarely contain the full complement of all family members at any one moment. But the typical household usually has a basic core, situated at the place of primary residence, around which the other members involved in their own segments at different location revolve. The process of family members dispersing into different economic zones, and thus different types of settlement, has been referred to as “marginal-mini-maximisation” (Kerven, 1980: 236). The term portrays the decision-making system in which family members seek to maximise their gains and minimise their risks by calculating the marginal utility of their labour in different sectors of the economy. By family members spreading across different economic sectors, it guarantees that at least some members of the family will be gainfully employed, hence assuring the family of some income. Should one sector fail, the family still has an alternative to turn to.

Rapid urbanisation also affects the stability of the urban-based family. The economic demands (financial strains) of modern living coupled with declining family incomes have pushed both spouses in the urban-based family to seek wage employment leaving children and young people without parental supervision. This has mainly been caused by the stress imposed by the dual career family on especially women who have to combine and balance work and familial responsibilities as traditional value systems erode (Adepoju and Mbugua, 1997; Hope, 1997). Dual career families may also experience strained marriage relationships particularly where the spouses “see themselves in competition for success” (Hall, 1994:333) or where much energy and emotion is concentrated on work at the expense of the relationship itself. In such circumstances the potential for the marriage to break up increases.

On account of the changes that the family has experienced as a consequence of rapid urbanisation, some have argued that it has weakened considerably (Ocholla-Ayayo, 1997; Nukunya, 1992). Such changes have challenged the family’s effectiveness in the performance of basic functions including economic and social support which are central to this study. For instance, although dual residence strategies enable families to maintain their extended structure in the wake of migration (Findley, 1997), the extended family continues to find it extremely hard to fulfill its socialization and day-to-day mutual support functions for its members. As such the control once exerted by the family is lessening. In Botswana, like elsewhere in the rest of Africa, urbanization has weakened “familial ties as economic and social systems change from communalism to individualism” (Campbell and Ntsabane, 1995:2)

On the contrary it may be argued that increasing urbanisation has not rendered the family completely incapable of discharging its functions thereby signalling its decline. Rather, it has necessitated the family to transform itself and to reorganise the way it discharges functions without necessarily abandoning them completely.

Irrespective of the forms the family may take, it still performs functions equivalent to those performed by the traditional (conventional) family. Thus, we should be discussing a family transforming itself in response to social change rather than dying. Strong and De Vault (1989), for instance, argue that despite the changes the family has endured, it remains a source of intimate relationships, acts as a unit of economic co-operation and produces and socialises children.

In Africa where the forces of change such as urbanisation and migration have pushed the family more and more toward nucleation, the extended family remains strong as a social unit in terms of catastrophes (such as death and illness), rituals and ceremonies such as births, weddings and funerals (Aryee, 1997). During such occasions members of the extended kin band together to provide assistance and emotional support as the occasion may demand. This is a pointer that the extended family has not collapsed or disintegrated. Rather, its members have only been physically and geographically displaced or separated and the manner in which it manifests itself and functions has fundamentally changed. The composite extended family “embracing several generations residing together or in close proximity and often operating as a single entity” is no longer the norm. Its place has been taken by “various permutations of kin relations located at different places but still interacting at various levels and providing fundamentally the same service to each other” (WLSA, Zimbabwe, 1997: 17).

#### **2.4 The Gender Factor in Migration**

As evident from the preceding discussions, migration is an extremely prominent feature of the urbanisation process. The process of migration is gender selective (Vaa, 1990; Chant and Radcliffe, 1992). However, based on Vaa (1990), the extent to which this is the case as well as why this may vary in certain places has not been widely investigated. In Vaa’s (1990) opinion not much is known about female migrants relative to their male counterparts. She explains that much of the bias is due to the fact that women have often been looked upon as non-migrants or associational

migrants who were therefore not interesting enough to be researched. Women usually move as part of a family. Family migration is said to occur when families either move as a complete unit or as is often the case, in successive stages with one member moving to an area ahead of others in order to find work and shelter (Chant and Radcliffe, 1992: 15). Men are often the first to move within a family unit because their search for work might be deemed relevant in fulfilling their roles as breadwinners. In addition, they may have more privileged access to work in destination areas.

Several studies have shown that women also move on their own, to find work or for other reasons (Vaa, 1990; Chant and Radcliffe, 1992). While men have traditionally dominated urban migration in Africa in recent years the number of women moving into towns has been on the increase. To shed more light on females and migration in Bamako, Mali Vaa (1990) compiled life histories on five married women who had settled in a poor Bamako neighbourhood. Although she acknowledges that these women were not representative of female migrants in Bamako, the study revealed women's importance as income generators to maintain the survival of the household once in town. The women studied were engaged in small scale trading. According to Vaa (1990:180), "the city offers opportunities for women to earn money, even if they do not enter the labour force as it is conventionally defined."

Existing evidence shows that women tend to be more numerous among urban migrants in the most heavily urbanised areas of the developing world, notably Latin America (Chant and Radcliffe, 1992). This is in contrast to other regions such as Africa and Asia; in Asia the only countries where independent female migrants have constituted a significant proportion of urban migration streams is the Philippines, Taiwan and Korea. Several factors account for this trend. First, is the high involvement of women in the agricultural sectors in Africa and Asia. Because of this, they have better opportunities in making a livelihood in rural areas than their Latin

American counterparts. With specific reference to South East Asia - Philippines, Taiwan and Korea - the relatively greater demand for women workers in multinational industries and in unskilled and semi-skilled service occupations accounts for their increased numbers among migrants (Chant and Radcliffe, 1992).

Female migration is also constrained by social and cultural restrictions on their independent movement. There is a strong cultural pressure for women to remain under the surveillance and protection of males. In addition, unlike men, women generally have to look after children and are therefore less mobile. Moreover, in certain cases, women, who do undertake to move alone may face social stigmatisation and/or alienation (Chant and Radcliffe, 1992). Hence, even in areas, like in Latin America, where there is generally much greater tendency for women to migrate alone both on a short and long term basis, men may still have more freedom to move than women. Men also are better equipped in respect of education, training and access to work (Chant and Radcliffe, 1992).

## **2.5. The Case of Botswana**

The study of the urbanisation process in Botswana has tended to emphasise the demographic and economic characteristics of urban populations. Part of this over-emphasis could be explained in terms of the way the country defines an urban centre. As stated earlier, in Botswana the definition of an urban centre blends population size and economic functions. Evident from this definition is a stress on demographic and economic aspects of the settlement. Urbanisation is primarily considered to be a function of a certain level of population concentration and a shift in the type of economic activities or means of earning a livelihood, and data collected about this process mainly encompass quantifiable aspects such as those enumerated above.

To a lesser extent, the classification of an urban place or town in Botswana is also based on the Township Act of Botswana of 1955. The Act empowers the Minister of

Local Government and Lands to declare an area a township by public notice published in the Government Gazette (Government of Botswana, 1987). This “statutory” definition of urban is used in addition to the one based on function and population size. There are limitations with the definitions used. Firstly, there is a lack of congruence between the two definitions. Under the current statutory definition of urban, a settlement can be a town because it has been declared so under the Township Act, and as such, does not necessarily meet the requirements for the functional definition. On the other hand, a settlement can be declared a township because it meets the functional requirement, although it had not been declared a town under the Township Act.

Relative to most other African countries, Botswana is recently urbanised. At independence (1965) Botswana’s population was largely rural with the proportion of the country’s population residing in urban areas being only about one percent (Serathi, 1994). The few urban settlements that existed then were located on the railway line linking South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. Lobatse and Francistown were the main urban centres (Serathi, 1994). Lobatse served largely as an administrative and service centre. Francistown initially served as a gold mining town, but later developed into a trading, administrative and communication centre. The major population movement then occurred between rural villages, cattle posts and lands areas.

The coming of independence sparked off the development of urban centres in Botswana. It was spurred by political decisions (or government planning) and rapid expansion in economic activity, particularly mining, in the mid-1970s and 1980s. Gaborone, for example, is a response to a political decision to transfer the administrative and political headquarters of Bechuanaland from Mafikeng in South Africa. It was chosen to be the capital owing to its close proximity to the railway line and the availability of water (Molebatsi, 1996; Campbell, 1998). Before then it was a

railway station. Planning of the capital was done in 1962. Now, four decades later it is one of the fastest growing cities in Sub-Saharan Africa. Gaborone acquired “primate” city status in 1991. By then, the city was 104.6 percent larger than Francistown (Campbell, 1998), the second largest city in Botswana. Other urban centres and particularly the so termed urban villages such as Molepolole, Serowe and Kanye have developed in response to the village system of rural settlements which concentrates rather than disperses populations. The system also allows for a more efficient provision and upgrading of social and infrastructural services such as clean pipe-borne water, electricity, public transport and good drainage and sewerage systems. This is not to forget towns such as Jwaneng and Orapa which have evolved out of profitable mineral discoveries (Serathi, 1994; Molebatsi, 1996).

From about one percent at independence, the proportion of Botswana’s population that was urban had grown to 9.1 percent by 1971, increasing to 17.7 percent in 1981 and 45.7 percent in 1991 (Campbell, 1998). By 2001 it had risen to 54.1 percent (Gwebu, 2003). The average annual growth rate in urban population for Botswana rose from 10.1 percent in 1964 - 1971 to reach 11.3 percent in 1971 - 1981 and 12.8 percent in 1981 - 1991 (Campbell, 1998; Gwebu, 2003). However, by 2001 the annual growth rate had decline drastically to 4.2 percent (Gwebu, 2003). Table 3 presents the population growth and annual growth rates in urban settlements (both towns and urban villages) for 1971 to 2001. As evident from the Table, the growth in urban population peaked during 1981-1991 at 12.8 percent. The highest average annual growth rates of 16.4 percent and 10.3 percent were recorded in the urban villages of Mogoditshane and Tutume, respectively. The third, fourth and fifth highest average

**Table 3: Population Growth ('000) and Annual Growth Rates for 1971- 2001 in Urban Settlements in Botswana.**

Urban Settlement	Population Size				Annual Growth Rate (%)		
	1971 Census	1981 Census	1991 Census	2001 Census	1971-81	1981-91	1991-01
Gaborone	17.7	59.7	133.5	186.0	12.2	8.4	3.3
Francistown	18.6	31.1	65.2	83.0	4.0	7.7	2.4
Lobatse	11.9	19.0	26.0	29.7	4.4	3.2	1.3
Selebi-Phikwe	4.9	29.5	39.8	49.8	18.8	3.0	2.2
Orapa	1.2	5.2	8.8	9.2	15.6	5.4	0.4
Jwaneng		5.6	11.2	15.2		7.2	3.1
Palaphye		9.6	17.3	26.3		6.1	4.2
Tlokweng		6.7	12.5	21.1		6.5	5.2
Letlhakane			8.6	15.0		5.2	5.5
Kasane			4.3	6.7		6.5	4.4
Ghanzi			5.5	9.7		5.4	5.7
Sowa			2.2	2.9		-	2.6
Maun			26.8	43.5		6.0	4.8
Mogoditshane			14.2	36.3		16.4	9.4
Serowe			30.3	41.8		2.5	3.2
Mahalapye			28.1	38.4		3.1	3.1
Kanye			31.4	40.2		4.5	2.5
Moshupa			11.4	17.4		5.6	4.3
Ramotswa			18.7	20.3		3.7	1.0
Molepolole			36.9	53.9		6.0	3.8
Thamaga			13.0	18.2		7.2	3.4
Gabane			6.0	10.6		8.3	5.7
Mochudi			25.5	36.7		3.3	3.6
Bobonong			7.7	14.4		5.1	6.3
Tonota			11.1	15.9		5.4	3.6
Tutume			10.1	14.0		10.3	3.3
Kopong				5.6			5.9
Letlhakeng				6.0			3.1
Lerala				5.7			4.1

**Table 3 Continued**

Shoshong				7.5			2.9
Mmadinare				11.0			4.6
Maitengwe				5.5			1.1
Gumare				6.0			5.4
Tsabong				6.3			6.2
<b>Total Urban</b>	<b>54.3</b>	<b>166.4</b>	<b>606.3</b>	<b>909.8</b>			
<b>Total population</b>	<b>596.9</b>	<b>941.0</b>	<b>1 326.8</b>	<b>1 680.9</b>			
<b>Urban as % of total</b>	<b>9.1</b>	<b>17.7</b>	<b>45.7</b>	<b>54.1</b>			
<b>Total urban village as % of total urban population</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>9.8</b>	<b>50.6</b>	<b>56.9</b>			

*Sources:* Gwebu, T. D. 2003. "Urbanisation in Botswana." Paper Presented at the 2001 Population and Housing Census Dissemination Seminar Held in Boipuso Hall, Gaborone September 8 -11, 2003.

annual growth rates occurred in the towns of Gaborone (8.4 percent), Francistown (7.7 percent) and Jwaneng (7.2 percent).

By 1981 Gaborone had the highest proportion (35.9 percent) of urban residents in Botswana. The city is also thought to have benefited most from migration to urban areas by receiving about 41 percent of the net internal migration to urban areas occurring between 1981 and 1991 (Campbell, 1998). In 1991 the city already had the highest proportion (22 percent) of urban residents, taking into consideration the effect of population concentration in localities which were reclassified as urban centres that year. Although the proportion had declined to 20 percent by 2001, Gaborone still accommodated the highest proportion of urban dwellers in the country. During the period 1981- 1991 Francistown, the second most attractive urban centre in Botswana, received 15.2 percent of the net internal migrants thereby maintaining its second position in the urban hierarchy (Campbell, 1998). The attractiveness of the two cities appears to have increased recently partly due to the "practice of centralised

investment in Gaborone as well as the invigoration of the commercial sector in Francistown” (Campbell, 1998: 265-266).

Considerable improvements in social and infrastructural services, especially education, health and housing, had also occurred in these centres. However, the rapid urbanisation has not been without problems. Widespread unemployment, crime and violence, inadequate housing, inadequate services and environmental degradation have accompanied it (Hope, 1996; Isaken, 1996; Mosha, 1998). According to Hope, unemployment in urban areas is a more serious problem amongst the youth. Studies conducted by the Botswana Institute of Development Policy Analysis (BIDPA) showed that in urban areas unemployment rates for persons aged between 15 and 19 years was around 58 percent (Isaken, 1996). In addition, the emergence of urban areas has resulted in the loss of agricultural land (Mosha, 1998). This is particularly true of the mining towns such Orapa, Selebi-Phikwe, Jwaneng, and Sowa which were established on lands and cattle post areas.

Botswana’s rapid urbanisation can be accounted for mainly through three factors. First the urban growth occurring especially between 1971 and 1981 was partly due to natural increase in urban population. In Botswana, like elsewhere, fertility is lower in urban compared to rural areas (Campbell, 1998) but the limited natural growth occurring in the urban areas contributes to their population growth. However, it is the reclassification of big villages as urban centres that played a major role in dramatic growth in urban population, particularly that occurring during 1981 to 1991 (Rakgoasi and Gaisie, 1999). In 1991 a large number of settlements formerly recognised as villages were reclassified as urban (Campbell, 1998; Rakgoasi and Gaisie, 1999). These included Sowa, Tlokweng, Ramotswa, Gabane, Thamaga, Molepolole, Moshupa, Mochudi, Mahalapye, Palapye, Serowe, Bobonong, Tutume, Tonota, Letlhakane, Maun, Kasane and Ghanzi. Through this process all administrative districts in Botswana, except for Northeast and Kgalagadi, had an urban centre. The

reclassified villages had qualified to become urban mainly because of the expansion of government activities in them and an increase in economic activities. This reclassification of villages as urban was continued during the 2001 Population and Housing Census as eight additional villages (see Table 3) joined the rank of 'urban' (Central Statistics Office, 2002; Gwebu, 2003).

The third factor responsible for urban growth in Botswana is rural to urban migration. The urban growth occurring between 1971 and 1981 was mainly due to internal migration. The traditional settlement pattern in Botswana comprises three locations; the village, the lands (where crops are grown) and the cattle post. The village, however, forms the base for migration. From here people migrate seasonally to and from the lands and cattle posts. Movement also occurs between rural areas (villages, cattle posts and lands) and towns. Concerning labour migration, it should be noted that the earliest wave in Botswana occurred during the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when Batswana men migrated to work in the South African mining industry. At independence, the proportion of Batswana men aged 20-40 who were working in South Africa had exceeded 30 percent (Botswana Government, 1997).

Since independence (1965) labour migration has mainly been to towns within Botswana. For instance, net internal migration contributed about 70.3 percent and 56.4 percent of the growth of population of Gaborone and Francistown, respectively, between 1981 and 1997 (Hope, 1997). The migration component was enhanced largely by the creation of Selebi-Phikwe, Orapa and Jwaneng as mining towns. This trend has been boosted by the declining absorption of Batswana men by South African mines which has occurred over the years. To illustrate, during 1986 20 994 Batswana were employed in South African mines. By 1989, the number had declined to 17 874 persons and stood at 12 342 by 1994 (Central Statistics Office, 1995). In Botswana, migration has also taken on a much different character since independence and especially since the economic boom years of the 1980s (Jones-Dube, 1995).

Unlike earlier periods, migration has now become commonplace amongst women as well as men with a significant number of females also migrating to urban environments (Campbell, 1998). For instance, between 1981 and 1991 out of the total 51 876 migrants to Gaborone, 24 388 were females. The figures for Francistown were 9 431 out of 19 267 while for Lobatse the migrants included 860 females out of a total of 1 063 (Campbell, 1998).

Two factors account for high rates of rural-urban migration in Botswana. First is the recurrent drought, which makes arable agriculture risky. The persistent drought conditions that engulfed the country throughout most of the 1980s (Morna, 1989; Mazonde, 1997) were responsible for increased migration and consequent urbanisation during the period 1981 to 1991. Unlike other sub-Saharan countries where agriculture contributes substantially to household income and Gross Domestic Product (GDP), in Botswana frequent drought, low soil productivity and the lack of draught power among many households makes this impossible (Jones-Dube, 1995). On average, Botswana experiences drought seven out of every ten years. This has been responsible for the erosion of the rural economy, declining rural incomes and a widening gap between the rich and the poor of whom women constitute the majority. Drought makes cultivation impracticable and leads to poor grazing conditions and loss of livestock. People have responded to it by moving away from the agricultural lands and from cattle posts into urban areas. Drought also compels people to move to the villages where drought relief from Government agencies could be more readily accessible (Mazonde, 1997).

Another catalyst for rural-urban migration in Botswana is the differences in economic opportunities between rural and urban areas. Like elsewhere in Africa, there exist significant differences between rural and urban incomes in Botswana (Jones-Dube, 1995; Mazonde, 1997). Urban households earn substantially more than rural households do. People therefore migrate to towns in search for economic betterment

and particularly better employment and income opportunities (Hope, 1997). The situation has been enhanced by the considerable growth in the national economy which has occasioned changes in the occupational characteristics of the working population from subsistence farming to paid employment. However, in recent years the country has experienced a decline in mineral wealth and in the construction industry, which, coupled with recurring drought, have resulted in a rise in unemployment (Mosha, 1998). For instance, during 2001 19.6 percent was unemployed (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2003). While unemployment in rural areas is estimated at 18.9 percent in cities and towns it stands at 15.6 percent (Siphambe, 2003). The rising unemployment in urban areas has pushed more and more people to become dependent on income from the informal sector (Mosha, 1998). According to Mosha (1998), the government has recognised the sector as an important source of employment and of goods and services for the low income population and is encouraging its development.

### **2.5.1 The Uniqueness of the Botswana Case**

The process of Urbanisation in Botswana is unique in two ways. That is, in terms of the dominant factor responsible for the dramatic growth in urban population and the role of economic impetus in the growth of urban population. The rapid urbanisation in Botswana can be accounted for by three factors, namely, natural increase in urban population, rural to urban migration, and the reclassification of big villages as urban centres, (Campbell, 1998; Rakgoasi and Gaisie, 1999; Gwebu, 2003). However, unlike in most other countries where rural-urban migration has been the dominant factor, in Botswana it is the reclassification factor that has played a major role in the dramatic growth in urban population. To illustrate, during the 1991 Population and Housing Census 18 villages were reclassified as urban while in 2001 eight additional villages became urban centres. As evident from Table 3, these reclassified settlements contributed significantly to the total urban population in the country.

Economic growth is a major impetus for urban growth. But the sub-Saharan African region has experienced urban growth much faster than other developing regions without impressive overall economic performance (Hope, 1997). Botswana appears to have been an exception in this regard. The rapid urbanisation experienced by the country especially since 1971 has been unique in two ways. First, unlike in the so termed Newly Industrialising Countries (NICs) such as Singapore, Malaysia, Taiwan and South Korea (see e.g., Balassa, 1981; Yoffie, 1983; Corbo, Krueger, and Ossa, 1985; Milner, 1998), rapid urbanisation in Botswana has not been driven by industrialisation. The country has recorded impressive economic growth but still lags behind in terms of industrial development. Second, unlike in most other African countries, urbanisation in Botswana has occurred within the context of rapid economic growth. After 80 years as a British Protectorate, Botswana attained self-government in 1965 and became a republic in 1966 as one of the poorest countries in Africa. The overwhelmingly rural population depended mainly on agriculture for their livelihood. Agriculture, more so cattle ranching, was the dominant economic activity and beef production formed the mainstay of the economy in terms of output and export earnings (Botswana Government, 1991, 1997). Botswana also lacked meaningful social overhead capital on which she could build a strong economy. The land locked nature of the country coupled with hostile climatic/ecological conditions compounded the situation further.

The discovery and exploitation of mineral deposits transformed the economic situation drastically although other factors such as the rapid expansion of the national herd and beef exports have also contributed to Botswana's post-independence economic boom. The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) rose from Botswana Pula 36.8 million in 1966 to Botswana Pula 997.1 million in 1982/83 (Silitshena, 1990). The increasing revenue in Botswana has enabled the government to provide better services to rural villages both big and small. Today some of the big villages such as Serowe and Molepolole are classified as urban villages. In spite of the drought that prevailed

in Botswana during the 1980s, the economy continued to grow rapidly. More jobs, particularly the unskilled or semiskilled types became available especially in the construction and service industries. This attracted significant numbers of people from the villages, lands and cattle posts to the urban areas. During the period 1991/92 to 1995/96 Botswana's average annual growth rate in GDP was 12 percent or more except for 1992/93 when it stood at 9 percent due to international economic recession and drought (Botswana Government, 1997). By 1998 the GDP growth rate was 6.0 percent, declining to 5.3 percent and 3.1 percent in 2001 and 2002, respectively (World Bank, 2003). Despite the continuing declining growth rate, the rate nevertheless remained significantly higher than the falling population growth rate.

The rapid economic growth in Botswana has been fuelled largely by the development of the mineral sector, diamond exports and the re-investment in the diversification of the economy (Botswana Government, 1991). During the 1960s and 1970s Botswana discovered diamonds in Orapa and developed a copper-nickel mine at Selibe-Phikwe. Thereafter Letlhakane and Jwaneng diamond mining projects were opened. These have led to expanded mineral production and also stimulated infrastructure development. The mining sector has, since the early 1970s, dominated the economy. Table 4 presents the percentage contribution to the GDP by various sectors of the economy for the period 1966 to 1995. As evident from the Table, the mining sector, particularly diamond sales, is the leading contributor to GDP in Botswana. While in 1977/78 it contributed only 16 percent, by 1982/83 its share had risen to 31 percent, significantly exceeding the respective contributions of the former leading sectors, namely agriculture and trade (Botswana Government, 1991). By 1988/89, the mining sector contributed 51 percent of Botswana's GDP. Although the contribution of the mining sector to the GDP then began to decline, to an estimated 33 percent in 1994/95, it remained by far the most dominant sector (Botswana Government, 1997).

**Table 4: Percentage Gross Domestic Product By Major Sector, 1966 - 1994/95**

<b>Sector</b>	<b>1967/68</b>	<b>1977/78</b>	<b>1982/83</b>	<b>1988/89</b>	<b>1991/92</b>	<b>1995/96</b>
Agriculture	41	20	6	3	5	4
Mining	2	16	31	51	37	33
Manufacturing	8	7	6	4	6	6
Construction	5	5	5	3	5	5
Trade	11	20	21	16	15	16
Finance	7	8	7	5	5	10
Government	20	16	17	13	20	17
Other	6	8	7	5	7	9
<b>Total GDP</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

*Sources:*

- 1) Botswana Government. 1991. *National Development Plan 7, 1991/92 to 1996/97*. Gaborone: Government Printers.
- 2) Botswana Government. 1997. *National Development Plan 8, 1997/98 to 2002/03*. Gaborone: Government Printers.

*Note:* "Other" includes transportation and communication, water and electricity, social and personal services.

Being the leading economic sector in Botswana, mining also contributes the bulk of the country's total exports. By 1983 it contributed about 66 percent of all exports. This proportion rose to 84 percent in 1987. Over subsequent years, the sector's contribution to exports declined as efforts to diversify the economy intensified. For instance, its average annual contribution to the total exports dropped to 76 percent between 1990 and 1995 (Botswana Government, 1997). Currently Botswana is the third largest exporter of raw (unprocessed) diamonds in the world with exports averaging about US\$1.3 billion per annum. Although the country now boasts two diamond cutting and polishing factories at Serowe and Molepolole, these factories must import the diamonds they use because of the nature of diamond sales agreements that Botswana has entered into (Botswana Government, 1997).

A major observation from Table 4 is the declining agricultural sector over the years. Its contribution has consistently declined as the mining sector expanded. During the period 1967/68 the agricultural sector contributed 41 percent to Botswana's GDP while mining only contributed 2 percent. By 1995/96 its contribution had declined to a mere 4 percent compared to 33 percent by the mining sector. The decline in the importance of agriculture to the economy has implications for rural-urban migration. Agriculture is the backbone of most rural economies. Its decline, therefore, leaves rural populations without a means for earning a livelihood. Most of these respond to the situation by migrating to urban areas in search of paid work (Jones-Dube, 1995; Mazonde, 1997).

## **2.6 Conclusion**

Dramatic urbanisation has been experienced in the African continent in general, and in Botswana in particular especially since the 1970s. While in most African countries this has occurred without impressive economic performance, in Botswana rapid urbanisation has taken place within the context of rapid economic growth which did not encompass industrial growth. Although natural population growth had had a role to play in the urbanisation process, rural to urban migration has played the dominant role. However, in Botswana urbanisation has been intensified by the reclassification of once rural settlements into urban villages. Across Africa, the process of urbanisation has been accompanied by certain negative consequences. These include unemployment and the overburdening of services such as housing, education and transportation. The overburdening of services has resulted in declining quality of life in cities and towns across the continent.

Despite the existence of numerous studies the urbanisation process in various parts of Africa (see e.g. Wekwete, 1994; Oucho, 1996; Potts, 1997; Ferguson, 1999; Englund 2002), there is still a need for more empirical work guided by clearly worked theoretical analysis. Such works should take into account the many actors in the urban

process including the state, market forces, society and the individual rather than emphasising the economic perspective, as is the tendency presently. This would provide a more balanced view grounded on the role played by the different actors. It is on this basis that this study applies a social interaction approach to the study of urbanisation in Botswana.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **3.0 SOCIAL INTERACTION PATTERNS**

This chapter presents a review of the existing theoretical and empirical literature focusing on the subject of social interaction patterns within the context of urbanisation. The chapter is organised into six major sections. Section one presents an overview of the effects of urbanisation on patterns of social life as depicted by various sociologists including Ferdinand Töennies, Emile Durkheim, George Simmel and Louis Wirth, among others. Section two, on the other hand, focuses more specifically on changes in social interaction patterns due to urbanisation. Two forms of interactions are emphasised. That is, the nature of intra-urban social ties including sentiments of belonging to the urban community (or sense of community solidarity) and the nature of urban-rural linkages that may persist between urban dwellers and their rural kin. The third section profiles the nature of urban social networks and urban-rural linkages within the context of Botswana. While the fourth section presents the gender dimension in social ties and linkages, the study's theoretical framework is outlined in section five. The study hypotheses and their rationalisation are presented in section six.

#### **3.1 Effects of Urbanisation on Social Life**

There are various perspectives that have been utilised in the study of urbanisation. While some studies tend to emphasise the link between urbanisation and development, others have dealt with urbanisation as a process by which rural emigrants settle and adjust to urban life. But the process is more than the transformation of society from rural to urban. It is a dynamic one whose outcomes transcend the mere expansion in size and population of villages as they become towns, to involve change in the whole society (Peil, 1984). As the change occurs, the economic, social and political structure of society and its culture are also gradually affected and these, in turn, shape the changes that are taking place. The purpose of the review in this section is to identify how sociologists have viewed the transformations

in social life caused by the two consequences of modernisation, namely urbanisation and industrialisation. These two phenomena have generally been conceived as being related and to be simultaneous forces with industrialisation being a forerunner to the process of urbanisation (Hodiak Addai-Sundiata, 1996). The term industrialisation refers to a stage during economic development when economic production shifts from the household into a factory system. The term also points to a mode of technology and implies a particular kind of relationship between work and the worker. Urbanisation, on the other hand, is seen as the process of growth in the urban proportion of a country's entire population.

As society advances from traditional to modern, patterns of social life are affected. Modernity, which can be traced as far back as the Industrial Revolution, has an impact on the individual as well as society. It brings about positive as well as negative changes to the society. Modern society is characterised by high levels of urbanisation and industrialisation. It is also associated with overcrowding in cities and the loss of sense of community, among others (Wirth, 1938; Töennies, 1963; orig. 1887). The earliest attempts to chronicle the social traits emerging from the rapid urbanisation accompanying the Industrial Revolution can be traced to classical sociologists such as Ferdinand Töennies, Emile Durkheim, George Simmel, and Karl Marx and from later sociologists such as Louis Wirth and Peter Berger. These viewed urban dwellers as characterised by superficial contacts and a capacity to remain anonymous in many situations. According to them, unlike rural settlements which are characterised by stronger social bonds, urban settlements displayed weaker community social bonds.

The German sociologist, Ferdinand Töennies (1963; orig. 1887) viewed modernisation as the progressive loss of *Gemeinschaft*, or human community. He presented an elaborate description of the shift from *gemeinschaft* to *gesellschaft*. The former depicted social relationships found in European villages and towns prior to widespread industrialisation. These were smaller communities characterised by small-

scale personal and enduring intimate social relationships that were unlimited and unspecified in their demands and were “based on a clear understanding of where each person stands in society” (Bell and Newby, 1972:24). In these communities people knew one another and reacted to one another as members of a group. “Direct personal human feelings guided people’s relations with each other” (Vidich and Bensman, 1960:34), community members displayed “community sentiments involving close and enduring loyalties to the place and people” (Bell and Newby, 1972:24) and everyone was known and could be placed in the social structure. Members were totally, rather than partially, involved in social life. In a *Gemeinschaft* type of social organisation, kinship, neighbourhood, friendship and traditional ties bound individuals closely together to constitute what amounted to a single primary group or a community (Töennies, 1963; orig., 1887).

Töennies argued that the process of modernity consequent upon the Industrial Revolution turned societies inside out and undermined the strong social fabric of family and tradition. It created rootless and impersonal societies in which people were essentially separated and associated mainly on the basis of self-interest. Töennies used the term *Gesellschaft* to describe these large scale, impersonal and ephemeral relationships (Cockerham, 1995). The communities represented a society based on common economic, political and other interests (Palen, 1997) and were far more goal-oriented and impersonal, with money and contractual obligations dominating.

According to Töennies, *Gemeinschaft* was not found in the modern city because urbanisation fosters *Gesellschaft* or the type of social organisation by which people have weak social ties and display considerable self-interest. In the world of *Gesellschaft* most people live among strangers and do not take interest in others. Trust is limited as people are motivated by their own needs and desires rather than by the drive to enhance the common wellbeing and tend to put their personal needs ahead of group loyalty (Russell, 1993). The individual is no longer immersed in a kinship

group where relationships are limited in number. Rather, the individual becomes an isolated unit whose relationships are no longer organised in terms of primary groupings but are characterised by mutual contractual interests or even by random contacts with strangers. In other words, temporary, impersonal ties that are typical of business replace the primary social relations that characterise rural communities. In light of these observations, Tönnies concluded that city dwellers have little sense of community (or common identity) and look to others as a means of enhancing their individual goals.

Emile Durkheim, the 19<sup>th</sup> century French sociologist, also discussed the profound social change brought by the Industrial Revolution. Utilising a structural approach to society and social change (Grint, 1991), he concerned himself with the notions of social solidarity, cohesion, integration and control in the wake of rapid social change and economic transition. For him, the distinguishing feature of modernity was the increasing division of labour or specialised economic activity (Durkheim, 1964; orig. 1893). To distinguish between pre-industrial and industrial society, he utilised the terms mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity. The former applied to small, pre-industrial societies and referred to social bonds vested in shared moral sentiments. In the case of mechanical solidarity, people were bound together by the “collective conscience.” That is, people perceived one another to be generally alike and belonging together.

Organic solidarity arose in industrial society and referred to social bonds based on specialisation and interdependence. Durkheim saw modernity (urbanisation) as not only eroding mechanical solidarity but also as generating organic solidarity. Organic solidarity societies were characterised by individualism that was engendered under the increasing division of labour. According to Durkheim, as the division of labour increased, modern societies were held together by bonds of mutual dependency among people who engage in specialised work. That is, the specialisation associated

with the division of labour promoted social solidarity as people co-operated with one another for the good of all. In these societies, functional difference, rather than likeness, was the binding force.

Although Durkheim shared Töennies' views about modernity, he was more optimistic about the outcomes of urbanisation than was Töennies. Unlike Töennies who saw modern society as disintegrating under the transition to industrial life, he argued that the increasing division of labour and urbanisation did not dismantle social life. Rather, solidarity was being reconstructed in a different form (Grint, 1991). According to him, by inducing mutual dependence through the division of labour, modern society actively freed people from isolation. Durkheim, however, acknowledged that change was accompanied by a temporary decline in moral order. This created a condition he referred to as "anomie" or a "situation where prevailing morality has disintegrated to leave anarchy of selfishness, rather than pluralism of difference" (Grint, 1991: 101). While both associated urbanisation with the erosion of traditional social patterns, Durkheim saw it as producing a new social order based on difference. For him, urban society offered more individual choice, moral tolerance, and personal privacy than rural communities. Hence, something may have been lost in the process of urbanisation but much had been gained.

Like Durkheim, Marx adopted a structural approach to society and change (Grint, 1991; Marx, 1970). But unlike Töennies and Durkheim who analysed modernity within the context of social order, Marx focused on social conflict. He concerned himself with the social fragmentation, disintegration and conflict in society. Equating modern society with capitalism, he viewed modernity as weakening small-scale communities. According to Marx, capitalism drove populations from farms and small towns into an ever-expanding market system centred in the cities. For him, modernity, or more specifically the coming of industrial capitalism, was associated with social conflict between emergent classes of wage workers and capitalists. This, he attributed

to the alienating and exploitative nature of the labour process under capitalism. Marx argued that exploitation created conflicting and often antagonistic interests among employers and employees. This would eventually bring about the demise of the capitalist economic system and give way to the final birth of a non-exploitative society namely, communism.

George Simmel (1964; orig. 1905) also focused on how urban life shaped people's behaviour and attitudes. He saw the city as a crush of people, objects and events. According to Simmel, the urbanite is easily overwhelmed with stimulation and thus develops a blasé attitude as a coping mechanism. That is, city dwellers learn to respond selectively by shutting out much of what goes on around them. Simmel argued that urban dwellers are not without sensitivity and compassion for others. The detachment that often characterises them is thus a technique for survival. People stand aloof from most others so that they can devote their time and energy to those who really matter. This is consistent with the results from research generated by the early debates focusing on the transformative effects of urbanisation (see e.g., Keller, 1968; Cox 1971; Macionis, 1978; Wellman, 1979; Lee, Oropesa, Metch and Guest, 1984). These have shown that, although urbanites treat most people impersonally, they do maintain close personal relationships with a select few.

Other scholars whose work has echoed the sentiments expressed above include Peter Berger and Louis Wirth. According to Berger (1977:72), modernity involves "the weakening, if not destruction, of the concrete and relatively cohesive communities in which human beings have found solidarity and meaning throughout history". He viewed modernisation as creating individualisation in the sense that the way of life that an individual finds suitable may hold little appeal to another. Louis Wirth (1938), a leading scholar in the field of urbanisation, provided the most comprehensive analysis of urban life. In an essay that blended the ideas of Töennies, Durkheim and Simmel, among others, he defined the city as a setting with a large, dense, and diverse

population. Wirth, however, cautioned on the danger of confusing urbanisation with industrialisation and modern capitalism. He argued that while the rise of cities is not independent of modern technology, mass production, and capitalist enterprise, there have been cities even before industrialisation and modernisation.

According to Wirth (1938), the central problem of the sociologist of the city is to discover the forms of social action and organisation that typically emerge in relatively permanent, compact settlements of large numbers of heterogeneous individuals. The study of social phenomena like stratification, the family, political and religious institutions can also provide an understanding of society rather than just focusing on economic issues only. Wirth saw urban populations as characterised by an “impersonal”, “superficial”, and “transitory” way of life in which people come to know one another only in terms of what they do. He argued that urban relations are both specialised and founded on self-interest. As such, interactions are business oriented and friendship is rarely a reason for interactions.

The claims by classical scholars about the decline of community and the increasingly privatised character of social life have also been supported by Goldthorpe, Lockwood, Bechhofer and Platt (1969) and Beck (1992, 1997). Goldthorpe et al. have made reference to a trend towards “a pattern of social life which is centred on, and indeed restricted to, the home and the conjugal family” (1969:97). Beck, on the other hand, has argued that neighbourhood relations in urban areas have assumed declining significance or become redundant in contemporary urban environments. That is, in urban areas individualism prevails and social ties play a relatively small part in shaping individuals' lives. Residents are no longer obligated into togetherness and community relationships are weakening because they are being 'dissolved in the acid bath of competition' (Beck, 1992: 94).

From the preceding discussions a mixed view of urban life emerges. While Töennies and Wirth saw urbanisation as eroding the personal ties and traditional morality of rural life and hence leading to the loss of social solidarity, Durkheim saw it as having a positive face including the offer of greater personal autonomy and a wider range of choices. Durkheim saw modernity as a change in the basis of community; from bonds of likeness (kinship and neighbourhood) to economic interdependence. The theorists profiled, however, are in agreement that modernity disrupts traditional family ties, community life and general patterns of living. People away from their relatives become self-reliant. There is emerging, a new type of social structure based on the association of individuals. One of its principal characteristics is the creation of contractual obligation in place of relationship of persons united by kinship. This contrasts sharply with the traditional systems where kinship is the determinant of social groupings. What the theorists differ on is the impact the disruption of traditional family ties, community life and general patterns of living have on society. For instance, Töennies saw modernity as resulting in a loss of morality while for Durkheim it brought in a new form of solidarity.

Classical European scholars presented what has been termed the “community lost” argument. They pictured urbanisation as the progressive disappearance of warm, sustaining community social relations and depicted the city as having killed community and thus as being characterised by impersonal anonymous relations. According to them, communities are not expected to exist in cities and where they exist it is likely to be in a weakened form. However, there is a good deal of evidence challenging this view and supporting the idea of socially cohesive communities in cities. Jacobs (1961), for example, portrays the city as characterised by sociability and friendliness consequent upon social organisation at the neighbourhood level. Karp, Stone and Yoels (1991), on the other hand, acknowledge that the city, no doubt, is different from the small town, and, one may add, the rural village, in important respects. However, they argue that the rigorous comparisons of urban and small town

presented by traditional scholars like Töennies, Durkheim, and Wirth have resulted in an incomplete picture of urban social relations. According to them, forms of social organisation are not static, but are in a continual state of change. Thus, by looking at the urban and small town types of social organisation as binary opposites, the traditional scholars obscured elements of both. In Karp et al's (1991: 49) view, "strong social bonds and a distinctively integrated group life do exist among urbanites". This view echoes Wilensky's (1966: 136) conviction that "a lively primary group life survives in the urban area, and primary controls are effective over wider segments of the population. The alleged anonymity, depersonalisation, rootlessness of city life may be the exception rather than the rule".

In addition, empirical sociological and anthropological research has demonstrated the existence of distinctive social worlds in the city that are territorially bounded. It is Herbert Gans (1962) who perhaps presented the most elaborate support for the existence of social organisation and order in urban communities. Based on his study of the West End of Boston, USA, he suggested that there was no need to mourn the passing of cohesive social networks and the sense of self-identity associated with the small peasant community or village life. These properties, he argued, existed in the inner city in a series of "urban villages". In his view, the social bonds of the city dwellers were as meaningfully cemented as those found in villages. Through his study, Gans laid bare the strong internal organisation of the West End despite its outward physical appearance. He documented the strong family life that existed in the area as evidenced through the congregation of families and friends in each other's homes, the care exhibited toward each others' children, and the sentiments and emotions felt by the inhabitants for their community.

One may question Gans' (1962) findings on grounds that his research focused on an ethnic village (the Italian quarter in the West End). However, earlier and subsequent studies by other researchers such as Young and Wilmott (1957), Fried and Gleicher

(1961), Liebow (1967), and Suttles (1968) have echoed similar views. These have also described what are tantamount to urban villages based on class rather than ethnicity. Young and Wilmott (1957:89), for example, depicted the residents of Bethnal Green, London, as exhibiting “a sense of community ... a feeling of solidarity between people who occupy the common territory”. This, they argued was based on a strong local network of kinship and was reinforced by localised patterns of employment, shopping and leisure activities. Based on their investigation of the sources of residential satisfaction in West End of Boston, Fried and Gleicher (1961), on the other hand, portrayed the importance of urban dwellers’ sentiments for the community as follows:

The residential area is the region in which a vast and interlocking set of social networks is localised. And ... the physical area has considerable meaning as an extension of home, in which various parts are delineated and structured on the basis of a sense of belonging. These two components provide the context in which the residential area may so easily be invested with considerable, multiple determined meaning (1961: 315).

Similarly, in his study of Tally’s Corner, the anthropologist Eliot Liebow (1967) documented the existence of wide-ranging patterns of communication between persons and revealed the existence of a tightly and elaborately established network of primary, face-to-face relationships in an urban Black ghetto. Liebow expresses the existence of a sense of community in the neighbourhood studied as follows:

More than most social worlds, perhaps, the streetcorner world takes its shape and colour from the structure and character of the face-to-face relationships of the people in it. .... On the streetcorner, each man has his own network of these personal relationships and each man’s network defines for him the members of his personal community. His personal community, then, is not a bounded area but rather a web-like arrangement of man-man and man-woman relationships in which he is selectively attached in a particular way to a definite number of discrete persons. In like fashion, each of these persons has his own personal network (1967: 162).

Gerald Suttles (1968) presents further evidence of social organisation and cohesion in the urban environment in his book, *The Social Order of the Slum*. He presents a strong

case for the existence of a clear moral order in the Addams area of the Near West Side of Chicago. This moral order is rooted in the personalised relationships that members of the community have with one another.

The preceding findings have been supported through more recent research (see e.g., Anderson, 1990; Procter, 1990; Richards, 1990; Devine, 1992; Jablonsky, 1993; Crow and Allan, 1994; Crow, Allan, and Summers, 2002). These have tended to dispute the idea of the social redundancy of neighbours. In his research on inner city neighbourhoods Anderson (1990) revealed the existence of moral codes and rules of behaviour in such neighbourhoods, particularly for the young. Thomas Jablonsky (1993) recorded a strong sense of community in Chicago's "Back of the Yards" neighbourhood where, he argued, community spirit was dependent upon and generated by spatial forces. In their study of Steeptown on the Isle of Wright, Crow et al (2002) found no evidence of the demise of neighbouring. They found that neighbourliness remained an essential part of local community life. Not only did most households contain members who had connections with those around them, but also most respondents had three or more of their five best friends living in their street. Although those studied expressed the need for respect for the privacy of neighbours' domestic lives, this did not prevent meaningful ties between neighbours. Such findings supported Richards' (1990) position that, although people's closest friendships (outside of the household) are usually developed with others living away from their immediate locality, neighbourhoods can still provide the basis for friendship.

### **3.2 Intra-Urban Social Ties and Urban-Rural Linkages**

In reviewing literature depicting the changing patterns of social interactions consequent upon urbanisation reference is made to the developing countries in general but particular emphasis is placed on the African region. Two types of social

interactions are focused on. That is, those occurring among urban dwellers themselves and those existing between urban and rural residents.

### **3.2.1 Intra-Urban Social Ties**

An urban neighbourhood can be characterised by individualism or community solidarity. Where individualism prevails, social ties play a relatively small part in shaping individuals' lives. Community solidarity, on the other hand, exists where social ties play a major role in the individual's life. In this respect neighbourhoods are characterised by strong social ties amongst residents. A middle ground, in which neighbours balance between individualism and community solidarity is also possible. This would reject the stark opposition between the presence or absence of community and allow for the recognition that several styles of neighbouring are possible (Crow et al, 2002). In such circumstances "people will lay emphasis on the need for privacy and reserve, alongside the disposition towards friendliness" (Willmott, 1986: 55). A good neighbour in this regard would be someone who respects others' rights to privacy but is at the same time available to be called upon when the need arises. The middle ground is more likely to obtain in the more industrialised, individualised as well as more nucleated societies of the West and not in the African context where communalism and extended kin, though declining, are still relatively strong.

Initially the emergence of social solidarity in urban neighbourhoods particularly among working class communities was considered to be a product of economic necessity. These inhabitants formed a community because they had to; they were experiencing constraints of various kinds, including poverty, so that reciprocal aid became a necessity (Crow et al, 2002). Crow et al argue that contemporary neighbourliness is distinct from the compulsory solidarity which arose out of the shared disadvantage of past communities. According to them, several styles of neighbouring are possible in contemporary urban neighbourhoods. Neighbours do not have to be either intrusive "busybodies" or distance-keeping "nobodies". Respect for

the privacy of neighbours' domestic lives does not prohibit meaningful ties between neighbours. That is, nowadays neighbourly relationships are often characterised by "friendly distance" (Crow et al, 2002).

One measure of urbanisation might then be the degree to which rural migrants are able to adjust to city life, integrate themselves into all levels of urban society and evolve a sense of community. The tendency with current analyses of the effects of urbanisation on social life to dismiss the existence of community in urban areas has been criticised. Those who hold this view have been said to be suffering from a "pastoral syndrome" that nostalgically compares contemporary communities with the "good old days" (Wellman, 1979). Through systematic data gathering techniques a major sociological industry has emerged, discovering community in places where it had been pronounced "lost". These communities can be seen if analysts focus on social ties and systems of informal resource exchange rather than on people living in neighbourhoods. The critics have argued that the community never disappeared from urban industrialised societies. Society has just been transformed and new forms of community characterised by a new type of social structure in which kinship is no longer the only uniting factor and the determinant of social groupings has emerged to replace older ones. The new type of organisation takes the form of voluntary associations and societies and cuts across kinship groupings.

Strong social relationships exist among long-term city residents who may even have grown up together in the same neighbourhood (Dempsey, 1990; Peil and Oyeneeye, 1998). Increasing commitment to long-term urban residence means that most migrants participate actively in the social life of the town. There exist several bases for the development of urban-based social interactions. First, urban residents often develop a sense of community based on family or informal kinship ties (Morgan, 1993; Gugler, 1996b; Geschiere and Gugler, 1998; Peil and Oyeneeye, 1998). Although kinship ties may be less important in cities than in villages, they are by no means uniquely rural

phenomena. Urban migrants do establish links with people from their home village who are resident in the city. This makes kinship an important base for social relations and kinship ties one of the most critical linkages among persons in urban settings (Hoyt and Babchuk, 1983; Wellman, 1985; Karp et al, 1991). Through kinship ties urban households are said to be able to sustain contacts with other households in both the immediate neighbourhood and the larger metropolitan area.

Kinship ties can be important resources that make migration easier (Morgan, 1993). New migrants to the city are often received, fed, accommodated, introduced to the urban environment and assisted to find an opportunity to earn a living by close kin and fellow villagers who reside in town (Gugler, 1996b; Geschiere and Gugler, 1998). According to Gugler (1996b), this pattern of initial urban association encourages people from the same area to form residential clusters although allocation of housing by public authorities or employers may inhibit such clustering. But even when residentially dispersed, people of common origin frequently maintain close ties and think of each other as “home people”. The maintenance of such linkages, however, may vary greatly depending on the urbanites’ ability to provide concrete support for their rural kin when they come to the city (Gugler, 1996b).

Another basis for social interactions in the city is friendship networks that generate casual contacts with co-tenants, neighbours and work mates (Gugler, 1996b; Geschiere and Gugler, 1998; Peil and Oyeneeye, 1998). The dwellers in urban neighbourhoods not only share a place of residence. They often establish lasting close-knit social bonds of friendship, according to interests and opportunities, that give them a sense of community and belonging. Co-tenants and neighbours may gradually become friends and meet when they find time, exchange information, play games, dance and celebrate weddings, funerals and other festivals (Peil and Oyeneeye, 1998). This is particularly true of long-term urban residents. Short-term urban residents often know little about most people they meet. One acquaintance is known

only as a work mate, another as a neighbour seen only occasionally, another as a fellow church member (Peil and Oyeneeye, 1998).

A major basis for the development of social bonds in cities is the need to establish survival networks especially among urbanites residing in low-income neighbourhoods. Such networks may range from child-minding and house watching during times when one has to be away on employment or other commitments to borrowing of household and food items from one another whenever one runs out (Dempsey, 1990; Schlyter, 1990). In addition, urban dwellers participate in friendship circles that may involve the sharing of meals and the exchange of visits.

As residents exchange responsibilities, call in on each other for items such as cooking oil, sugar, tea, flour and salt and exchange visits, they develop intensive and mutually supportive ties. Urban-residents may also evolve close and lasting social bonds as they interact informally in the streets, shopping centres and beer halls. Those who can afford, especially the elites and the young, take advantage of commercial recreation such as cinemas, bars, and nightclubs (Peil and Oyeneeye, 1998) to interact with each other. The elites, for example, often belong to several clubs not accessible to low-income urbanites because of high membership fees and the cost of drinks. This allows the club to discriminate against the less successful without officially doing so, establishing a social boundary around its members (Peil and Oyeneeye, 1998).

Existing evidence suggests that urban migrants tend to join social and voluntary organisations to assist them with the transition from rural to urban life (Cohen, 1974; Yacoob, 1984; Rakodi, 1995; Peil and Oyeneeye, 1998). These constitute a third basis for social interactions in the city. These may include religious and community organisations such as churches; sports clubs (or recreational associations); funeral societies; savings associations; parents' and teachers' associations (PTAs) and other formally constituted social groups. Associations grounded on religion and ethnic

commonality, for example, are said to offer migrants a point of entry into urban networks and a sense of community, affiliation and identity away from home; the rural village of origin. According to Yacoob (1984), this is particularly true of poor migrants who tend to be more welcomed into non-formal associations and religious movements. In his view, the process of adapting involves both males and females but women tend to be affected most. On the basis of this, it may be concluded that, relative to their male counterparts, female migrants are more likely to join city-based informal associations and religious groups.

In a study focusing on Harare, for example, Rakodi (1995) found that church denominations had, as in many African countries, proliferated and church membership was widespread. Many urban residents, especially women, also belonged to income-sharing groups in which a small circle of friends and neighbours pool money and take it in turns to receive the pool. As in many other Third World cities, such groups help families to meet occasional expenditure needs such as costs of family funerals. While some formal organisations, clubs and associations may comprise urban communities of people from the same village only, most of them may bring together people of diverse ethnic and social background. But they are often homogeneous because the membership is based on common background or involves costs which only certain types of people can afford (Peil and Oyeneye, 1998).

The finding by Rakodi (1995) were supported by a study conducted by Miles (2001) focusing on the efforts of low-income women in Swaziland to overcome the dimension of urban poverty that threaten their livelihoods and increase their vulnerability. She found that women tended to rely on three main coping strategies. That is, burial and church societies, rotating credit systems, and land and housing acquisition strategies. Membership of burial and church societies, however, appeared to have been the most important among the women studied. Both societies functioned as a financial, emotional and spiritual support structure for members. For some

women these also offered a broader support structure by being a source of moral support; providing a platform for airing grievances; and by giving advice on marital disputes, harsh work conditions, bringing up children and coping with “wayward” children in the city (Miles, 2001). In addition, the societies constituted a forum for networking through which women found jobs or placement in schools for their children.

Membership of voluntary associations tends to reflect class and lifestyle with participation depending largely on social distance (Knox and Pinch, 2000). Middle class individuals, for example, are more likely to use voluntary associations as a means of establishing and sustaining social relationships. The primary objective of bringing individuals together regularly through formal organisations, clubs and voluntary associations is not to forge lasting bonds of friendship but to further the objective or mutual goals of the organisation. Members may come together to evolve common responses to the urban milieu, provide assistance in personal crises, settle their disputes within the association and be deeply involved in the affairs of their home community (Peil and Oyeneeye, 1998; Knox and Pinch, 2000). But as individuals encounter each other as official members of the group in question they are drawn into a web of impersonal social ties including relaxing in one another’s company. The role of formal associations, however, should not be over rated. As Peil and Oyeneeye (1998) indicate, people spend far more time in informal recreation and informal contacts with family and particularistic social networks are more important to the social life of most urban dwellers than participation in formal such organisations.

### **3.2.2 Urban-Rural Linkages**

Whatever approach one takes to study urbanisation one is reminded that one cannot do so without referring to the rural areas and especially the linkages that exist between these areas and the urban areas. At times the emphasis on the link between urban and rural areas has been criticised. It is as if one cannot define urban without a

rural contrast. This is not to say that the urban-rural link is not important. The link between migrants and their close relatives and friends enables activities in both urban and rural areas to be complementary. Interest in the nature of linkages between urban and rural areas in Africa is not new. Over the years, academics (see, e.g., Mitchell, 1966, 1987; Gugler, 1991; Gluckman, 1961; O'Connor, 1983; Potts and Mutambirwa, 1990; Mabin, 1990; Andreasen, 1990; Potts, 1997) have been fascinated with the degree of commitment to urban life and lifestyles and to the general urban milieu. The interactions and linkages between city and countryside have become central factors in our understanding of the processes of social and economic change (Beall, Kanji and Tacoli, 1999).

Generally speaking, urban dwellers in sub-Saharan Africa maintain close ties (or high level linkage) with their village of origin (O'Connor, 1983; Simon, 1989; Schlyter, 1990; Gugler, 1996a; Oucho, 1996; Geschiere and Gugler, 1998; Trager, 1998; Ferguson, 1999). Although migrants participate in the urban economy, they remain loyal and are committed to the rural community. According to O'Connor (1983) the maintenance of intense urban-rural relationships is a common feature in nearly all cities in Africa where it cuts across all classes or income groups of urban dwellers. He argues that this is not unique only to Africa but the links are more complex and intense here than in any other region. Although urban-rural contacts could be few or weakly articulated for some people, such as women who head households and those born in the city (Schlyter, 1990), the general trend is one in which most urban residents in Africa never break the rural connection altogether even after the death of their parents and significant relatives (Geschiere and Gugler, 1998). However, the "strength and nature of African urban-rural linkages vary over time as macro-political and economic conditions change" (Potts, 1997: 461).

Most urban migrants in sub-Saharan Africa thus live in a dual system characterised by one family but two households (O'Connor, 1983; Oucho, 1996; Gugler, 1996a; Potts,

1997; Findley, 1997). It is argued that urbanisation has divided families into two geographically separated but mutually supportive households; one in the urban area and the other in the rural area. As such, many urban dwellers maintain dual households, with some members of the families living in town and others in the village (O'Connor, 1983; Ocho, 1996). Across most of sub-Saharan Africa, this separation of men from their wives and children remains widespread especially among low-income earners (Gugler, 1996a; Potts, 1997; Findley, 1997). This practice can be traced to the colonial period. As Potts (1997) pointed out, most towns in sub-Saharan Africa were considered as European areas and a range of policies were utilised to ensure that African workers migrated to the town as temporary "single" male migrants rather than as permanently settled families.

The existence of strong urban-rural linkages and a general commitment to rural areas in Africa has been demonstrated through studies conducted in many countries such as Kenya (see Andreasen, 1990), Malawi (see, Englund, 2002), Zimbabwe (see Potts and Mutambirwa, 1990), and Zambia (see Ferguson, 1999). In his Kenyan study, for example, Andreasen (1990) found that urban dwellers in Kenya, and particularly low-income earners, lacked a commitment to town. People were in town for the money they earned and planned to leave town upon retiring. Even as urban jobs became increasingly a lifetime commitment, urban dwellers never wished to give up the rural household. Having a wife and children at home (in the rural village) was considered to have many advantages (such as looking after land and other family interests) particularly among low-income earners. The Andreasen (1990) study also found the desire to own land in rural areas to be very high especially among male Kenyan urban dwellers. Most men studied had access to land in rural areas and about two thirds of all urban families, regardless of their social standing, had access to rural land. Those studied also gave the highest priority to building a house in the rural areas.

Similarly, in a study carried out among migrants in Chinsapo township in Malawi Englund (2002) found that permanent urbanisation was not widely desired. Migrants displayed deep emotional attachment to the home village (*mudzi*). An overwhelming majority of migrants in Chinsapo township asserted that they will eventually return their village of origin. According to Englund (2002:137):

The city is rarely thought to provide an adequate place for belonging, and even those who had lived most of their lives as labour migrants, or who were born abroad as children of labour migrants, usually have no difficulty in stating their village of origin in Malawi. As such, “return to the village” (*kubwerera ku mudzi*) is an obvious end to a migrant’s career, at least in rhetoric if not in practice.

Englund concluded that for most migrants of Chinsapo township the village was an ever-present aspect of their lives rather than a distant site of “retirement”. The migrants did not value permanent urbanisation and often saw “their stay in town through the prism of their rural aspirations” (Englund, 2002: 153).

Similar strong urban-rural linkages have been observed in the Newly Industrialising Countries (NICs) where urbanisation was driven by impressive economic growth due to industrialisation (Strauch, 1984; Costello, Leinbach and Ulack, 1987; Hugo, 1978, 1996). Studies reveal that movement to the city does not mean a sharp break with one’s community of origin. Although in the process of moving between villages and cities individuals develop new social relationships, old ones are seldom dissolved; rather they are merely altered (Strauch, 1984). Migrants continue to regard themselves as part of their original household in the rural areas. They make frequent visits to their home place, feel some obligation to extend financial assistance to those left behind and plan to eventually return permanently. The maintenance of close ties with home communities has been strengthened by modern communication particularly transport, postal and telephone links.

To illustrate, studies carried out in Indonesia by Hugo (1978, 1996) revealed that migrants did not sever their ties with their rural villages of origin. According to him the intensification of migration to cities in Indonesia was generally accompanied by more complex rural-urban interaction characterised by “greater incidences of commuting and other forms of circulation between urban and rural areas” (Hugo, 1996: 162). Migrants also maintained ties through frequent visiting of and remittance of material assistance (money and goods) to those they left behind. In his study of West Java Hugo (1978) found that 95 percent of the migrants studied had remitted money to their parents. Chant and Radcliffe (1992) have also documented the maintenance of links with areas of origin by migrants in Indonesia. According to them, such links reflect the frequently immense social and economic importance of family and kinship networks in underpinning and shaping the migration process. On this basis Chant and Radcliffe (1992) identify two types of links maintained by migrants. First, those which contribute to sustaining households characterised by inadequate incomes through remittances and/or contributing to an improved quality of life in source areas through the provision of funds for education or agricultural investments. Secondly, those which facilitate or foster the eventual displacement of all household or family members to the destination of the original migrants or provide information on job vacancies and general details about urban life (Chant and Radcliffe, 1992). However, links are not unidirectional. While money is sent by urban workers to the villages, foodstuffs, meat, fish, vegetables and other farm produce, which are expensive to purchase in towns, are sent in the other direction (Chant and Radcliffe, 1992: 17).

#### **3.2.2.1 Causes of Persistent Urban-Rural Linkages**

According to Oucho (1996), in a rapidly changing African society it is unsafe to assume that the contemporary significance of rural-urban migration and urban links will persist into the future. With increased urbanisation, sub-Saharan Africa will reach a higher stage of demographic and socio-economic advancement in which permanent

urban residence will be predominant, obliterating urban-rural links. This study offers an alternative view. It is argued that urban-rural links consequent upon migration will persist into the distant future and perhaps even grow stronger. There are several explanations for such a trend. First, is the nature of the penetration of capitalism into most African countries through colonialism. The process failed to transform agriculture in the same way it did in the West. African countries did not experience the mass uprooting of rural populations from their lands that accompanied the commercialisation of agriculture in Europe and America. Consequently, rural based subsistence agriculture still persists in most African countries with significant, if sometimes considerably diminished, proportions of the population practising it (Mabogunje, 2000).

The system of land tenure in most African countries also encourages strong links to rural areas even for urban residents. While the freehold system allows for the private ownership of land and makes land accessible to virtually every adult member of the population, land owned by families is usually shared among all members and passed from one generation to the next. Land accessibility (or ownership) in the rural areas by urban dwellers keeps them linked to these areas. Such land is often seen as security when there is no employment in urban areas. Furthermore, in most African countries, land as an asset is characterised by being small, scattered and poorly defined in terms of property rights (Mabogunje, 2000). This results in the marginalisation of land from the mainstream of economic transactions both in the urban and rural areas. A migrant moving from the rural to the urban area cannot sell his land rights in order to have some initial income with which to start a new life in the city. Nor can land be used as collateral to raise the credit needed for raising the productivity of that land.

The ability for land tenure and hence land ownership to entrench urban-rural linkages has also been demonstrated in several African countries like Kenya and Nigeria. In a study conducted in Kenya, Andreasen, (1990) found that strong attachment to land

often resulted in the family in the rural areas splitting into two households. While the man went to town to work, the wife and children remained in the village to look after the land and the home. This represented security in the event of unemployment and the place to return to after retirement (Andreasen, 1990). At the same time, having the family living at home, rather than staying in town, means low economic costs. However, access to land was not a given. Some urban dwellers had waived their inheritance to ancestral land because of too many family claimants especially brothers. They had instead opted to buy another piece at home or elsewhere in the rural areas utilising savings accumulated from working in town (Andreasen, 1990). The study found that, although the majority of the urban dwellers had access to rural land, very few had access to land in towns. Andrae (1992) who studied textile workers in the Nigerian towns of Kano and Kaduna also found that, although most of the workers were living with their wives and children in town, seventy percent had access to adequate land in rural areas.

It should be noted that women across most of Africa have less access to land than men. They are normally dependent on a man - a husband in case of married women, father or another male relative - for access to land. Even where land has become a commodity and law provides for the acquisition of land by women, they often lack the time and the financial means to cope with the complicated bureaucratic procedures (Wurster and Ludwar-Ene, 1994) of acquiring land in their own names.

A fourth factor responsible for continued urban-rural links in Africa is the precedence set under colonialism. In what appears to have been a deliberate calculation to cut down on the cost of labour and to avoid the responsibility for the socialisation of the future labour force, infant capitalism encouraged a temporary migration strategy predicated on maintaining a rural base. It created "dual-household" migrants who were mainly males who left their wives and children in the rural areas to grow their own food or even to raise cash crops to supplement the meagre wages earned through

formal employment. The segregationist and apartheid policies of South Africa presented an extreme case of temporary urban residence imposed by law on a large part of the urban labour-force for over a century. Similar policies were practised in settler colonies such as Zimbabwe and Kenya and in non-settler colonies as well. Here major efforts were made to make the urban residence of Africans temporary utilising a variety of policies such as low wages, recruitment of men only, provision of bachelor accommodation, recruitment on limited-time contracts and the outright control of migration (Gugler, 1996b). However, there were a few exceptions such as on the Copperbelt in what is now Zambia where there was a policy that established a permanent labour force as early as 1940. Here employers and colonial government provided permanent accommodation for married employees, adequate schooling in the urban areas and a pension scheme (Gugler, 1996b).

Temporary migration trends have persisted across most of Africa up to the present and the trend is likely to be drastically magnified by the rising costs of supporting family members in cities (Findley and Williams, 1991; Nelson, 1992). Large numbers of urban migrants are not permanent urban dwellers but temporary sojourners in the city who remain deeply involved in a rural community and visit their village-based families as employment conditions and transport costs permit (Gugler, 1996a). Since the city is only a place of work, they need a place to call home and to which one can return when necessary and, perhaps most important, a place to be buried when one dies. The village of birth provides such a place. This applies even among those urbanites who themselves were born in the city (Geschiere and Nyamnjoh, 1998).

In addition, strong social bonds with their rural village of birth are likely to prevail among urban populations in Africa because most countries are recently urbanised. The majority of urban residents in these countries have been born and raised in rural areas and have most of their relatives residing there. For these migrants rural-urban migration is not a “once for all” move. They maintain strong links with their rural

areas of birth (Gugler, 1996a; Larson, 1998) and engage in substantial return migration to rural areas from cities and towns with most of them eventually retiring in their village of origin. Even where whole families migrate to the city theirs is not necessarily a permanent move either. They may settle down in the city for the long term, perhaps for a working life, but all the while planning to return to the rural community eventually (Gugler, 1996b).

Urban dwellers, particularly the urban poor, maintain strong linkages with the rural areas as a survival mechanism (Potts and Mutambirwa, 1990; Jamal and Weeks, 1993; Potts, 1997). The strengthening and adaptation of urban-rural linkages represents vital safety valves and welfare options for urban people who are vulnerable to economic fluctuations in the absence of state welfare systems. As Potts stated (1997:449):

African urban residents have long maintained strong social and economic links with their rural "home" areas, although the nature of the links has varied over time, as the nature of the migration streams has adapted to changing economic and political circumstances, and from country to country with variations in such factors as colonial policy, urban history, and land tenure and land availability. The recent era of severe economic decline and structural adjustment has seen such linkages assume a new and vital significance.

As an economic survival strategy, urban-rural linkages have assumed new import with rising urban poverty across most of Africa (Schlyter, 1990; Jamal and Weeks, 1993; Gugler, 1996b; Findley, 1997; Potts, 1997). According to Potts, urban poverty is now thought to surpass rural poverty in many African countries. The precarious economic situation in most African cities is likely to enhance the significance of urban-rural social ties. In the city most migrants, even when they manage to support a family, enjoy little economic security and at times face uncertain political conditions (Gugler, 1996b). Unemployment and underemployment are widespread but there is no unemployment compensation. For many migrants, therefore, links with the village of birth provide the only source of economic security. Not knowing when they may experience an economic setback in the city, they maintain ties with villagers as a

resource pool that can be taken advantage of during bad times. Such ties assure them a measure of security which is more reliable than what the city offers most of its citizenry.

As unemployment and general economic uncertainty rise in most African cities, urban-rural ties are likely to grow in strength. Villagers, on the other hand, value strong ties with urban dwellers because they may need to rely on them for help (Pottier, 1988). In their study of Harare Potts and Mutambirwa (1990) found that migrants stressed the need for the maintenance of rural links as a form of economic security for the eventualities of old age and unemployment. They continued to attach importance to rural holdings. The migrants tried to achieve two distinct aims: that is, to live together as a family unit and to maintain two incomes, one earned in Harare and one produced from the land (Potts and Mutambirwa, 1990).

#### **3.2.2.2 Indicators of Urban-Rural Linkages**

The frequency and character of rural contacts is a good measure of urban-rural social linkages and also of commitment to urban life. Ties with rural areas throughout sub-Saharan Africa are continually reinforced through varied forms of exchange between migrants and rural dwellers (O'Connor, 1983; Osirike, 1991; Rakodi, 1995; Tacoli, 1998; Ferguson, 1999). Such exchanges are characterised by reciprocal arrangements and long term strategies from both sides (Schlyter, 1990; Ferguson, 1999) and intended to sustain socio-cultural as well as economic links. They may include movements of people, transfers of goods and money and the transfer of information through correspondence and telephone calls. Links may also be maintained through trading with the village, or by directing economic activities in the village such as farming (Andreasen, 1990; Schlyter, 1990; Osirike, 1991; Rakodi, 1995; Geschiere and Gugler, 1998; Peil and Oyeneeye, 1998; Tacoli, 1998; Ferguson, 1999). The maintenance of rural links by urban dwellers can also occur through forms such as

ownership of rural property and a stated desire to revert to a rural lifestyle at some point in future (Potts, 1997).

In Africa as a whole, labour migrants retain strong links with their villages of origin by oscillating between the city and the village throughout their life cycle. They visit their villages of birth and are also visited by rural kin regularly (O'Connor, 1983; Osirike, 1990; Afolayan, 1991; Nelson, 1992; Gugler, 1996a; Findley, 1997). Given that the bulk of labour migrants, particularly those in low-income jobs, are individuals whose families must remain in the rural villages of origin practising subsistence cultivation to supplement the meagre incomes earned through urban-based jobs, visiting remains a major avenue through which contacts can be maintained. But the frequency of visits to rural kin may vary a great deal with employment conditions and distance (Osirike, 1990; Afolayan, 1991; Nelson, 1992; Gugler, 1996a; Findley, 1997). Visits are more frequent where the labour migrant is close to home and may at times involve the attendance of weddings and funeral ceremonies in the natal village. Where transport is faster and cheaper, monthly and even weekly commuting may be the norm

A vital part of the African migration process has been the transfers of money (cash) and goods between urban and rural households (O'Connor, 1983; Oucho, 1990; Schlyter, 1990; Rakodi, 1995). However it is cash remittances to rural households that tend to dominate urban-rural transfers. Reciprocal economic flows, based on social obligations and cemented by social contacts characterise urban-rural ties. The primary economic obligation for the urban cash-earning household is to its rural kin and particularly to its nuclear family. This entails the remittance of money and goods. The practice is not confined to low-income urban residents; it cuts across all income categories. Urban residents regularly remit to, or take with them whenever they visit their families in rural areas, gifts of money or manufactured foods and other goods. Studies conducted in Kenya (Oucho, 1990; Andreasen, 1990), for example, showed that the transfer of income was common among those studied. The study by Oucho

(1990) reported about 73 percent of migrants sending money back to family in the village of origin. The money was sent to parents, spouses and children to help with food and other domestic needs, for special ceremonies or for investment in rural projects and especially housing.

The exchange of money and goods is not unidirectional with the migrant sending these back to the village. Rather, it is much more reciprocal or bi-directional (Trager, 1988; Oucho, 1990; Rakodi, 1995; Peil and Oyeneye, 1998). For instance, money flows in both directions although the bulk of it consists of urban migrants' support to their families in the village (United Nations, 1996). Transfers from rural areas are rarer but they are by no means totally absent. It is not uncommon for urban dwellers to obtain especially food commodities such as maize from family members in the rural village. Reciprocal exchanges of money and goods have been observed in Kenya (Oucho, 1990), Mali (Vaa, Findley and Diallo, 1989), Zambia (Pottier, 1988), Liberia (Klu, 1990) and in Zimbabwe (Rakodi, 1995), among others.

Changing economic fortunes in the urban areas are nevertheless thought to affect the volume of money remitted to rural areas. As households find it harder to spare any money, remittances to rural areas are said to be declining (Potts, 1997). Such has been found to be true of households in Harare (Kanji, 1993) and in Lilongwe and Blantyre in Malawi (Chilowa and Roe, 1990). On the other hand, rural-urban transfers are mainly dominated by food items (Potts, 1997). According, to Potts, the increase in food brought in from rural areas greatly enhances urban residents' vested interest in maintaining social and economic rural links.

Another expression of urban-rural ties is rural investment of urban earnings (Ferguson, 1999). Migrants who are able to accumulate some surplus could maintain rural ties through investing it (the surplus) in the rural villages of origin. Urban residents may also establish trading contacts with kin in the village (Peil and

Oyeneye, 1998). Urban-rural ties also involve agricultural rights (Rakodi, 1995). That is, migrants to urban areas rely on urban-rural ties to maintain their access to farmland in rural areas. It is not uncommon for most urban households with access to rural land to cultivate it with women taking on much of the responsibility and work. Production for subsistence is most commonplace with cash cropping sometimes being undertaken to improve household incomes.

Another indicator of the migrant's attachment to the rural areas is the intention to return to rural life in the future. Across most of Africa, the city is viewed not as home but as a place of employment and the job one holds is likely to be the primary focus for the city dweller (Larson, 1998; Ferguson, 1999). Large numbers of migrants "continue to view their natal village as their real home" (Findley, 1997:128) and pursue temporary migration strategies. In a study conducted on a small town in Kenya to establish why the rate of owner occupancy of houses was quite low, it was revealed that the urban residents had strong attachments to land in their home areas (Andreasen, 1990). The rural home was considered the ancestral burial place where one returned to after retirement. In Zimbabwe where land is scarce, Potts and Mutambirwa (1990) found that three-quarters of migrants by the 1980s were choosing to bring their spouses and children along but also that about a third of the migrants definitely planned not to stay in town permanently. The vast majority of these desired to return to farming in the future.

The theme of return to the village is therefore common. This is true of even those migrants who have resided in the city for a decade or more. Urban dwellers envision their eventual return to the village and throughout their working life, they strive to invest in preparation for it in terms of building a home, acquiring land, "agricultural improvements and continued participation in village customs and rituals" (Findley, 1997: 128). In the village "migrants are viewed as "prodigal sons", as "real" household members who will one day return" (Findley, 1997: 128). Even when the

whole family lives in the city, people might plan to return to the rural areas on retirement.

In a study carried out in Harare Zimbabwe, Potts and Mutambirwa (1990) found that most migrants expected to return to the rural areas at some time in the future after a long-time working-life in town. Prior to Zimbabwe's independence in 1980, many African workers were restricted through legal means from migrating permanently to urban areas. This forced many urban families to maintain links with rural areas to which they would eventually have to return. But even with the lifting of the legal restriction on permanent migration of African workers after independence, this did not result in all migrants opting to settle permanently in the urban areas. Instead, circular migration has remained very significant with only a minority of migrants planning to remain permanently in town (Potts and Mutambirwa, 1990). The most common reason cited for these plans was that the city was relatively expensive to live in especially after the migrant had become unemployed or could no longer work due to old age. According to such respondents, "they would simply not command the resources necessary to maintain themselves in the city" (Potts and Mutambirwa: 1990: 696). For those wishing to leave upon retirement, the cultural motivation of kinship ties and the custom of wishing to be buried "at home" were other driving forces. But expense still remained the primary factor for nearly two-thirds of these and for about half of those planning to leave before retirement (Potts and Mutambirwa: 1990).

The findings by Potts and Mutambirwa (1990) were confirmed through a later study by Potts (1997). According to her study, despite the shift to longer periods of migration or permanent migration that occurred by the 1970s, not all migrants brought their families with them and intended to remain in town permanently. Male and circular migration continued and so did the implicit rural-urban linkages. According to Potts, return migration and rural-urban linkages appear to have strengthened in many countries. This is contrary to certain theoretical expectations which posited a

greater degree of stabilisation as economic development occurred and policies “encouraging” return migration came to an end.

Comparable findings were realised by Ferguson (1999) who studied urban dwellers in the Copperbelt in Zambia. His study found compelling evidence of “circular migration” or simply “going home” among those studied with most urban residents, including life-long ones, being involved in planning for rural futures in North-eastern Zambia. It dispelled what he refers to as “The Myth of Permanent Urbanisation” or the view stated that over time the rurally based migrants transformed into a “permanently urbanised” working class. The study revealed that out of 50 mineworkers who were just retiring or being dismissed from the mines, 47 were planning to return to a home village. Ferguson summed up the situation with the following words, “Rural connections and rural kin were not a matter of sentimental attachment; increasingly they were resources upon which bare survival might depend” (Ferguson, 1999: 41).

A critical factor in circular migration is the nature of land tenure. Where land is communally owned, the vast majority of the population have rights to it (Potts, 1997). This creates conditions for the establishment of firmly rooted circular migration, whereby in-migrants eventually return to their rural home. Some scholars (e.g. Andrae, 1992) argue that commercialisation of land would affect return migration by closing this escape route for large sections of the urban working class. However, according to Potts (1997:464-65), even where land has become increasingly commercialised, “the perception that rural-urban migrants have a strong birthright to land is still very strong, as is the feeling that it will be honoured”. Gugler (1991) and Andrae (1992) also demonstrated the existence of strong rural-urban land ties in Nigeria.

### **3.3 The Case of Botswana**

Two opposing viewpoints can be deciphered from the existing literature focusing on social interaction patterns in Botswana in the wake of rapid urbanisation. First there is the view which presents the existence of strong commitment to urban areas among urban dwellers coupled with weakening urban-rural linkages over time. This position is championed by Hesselberg (1993) who advanced the idea that rural-urban migration in Botswana is no longer typified by mainly men leaving the village for limited periods of time and women and children remaining behind. He argued that, as migration to urban areas progresses, urban-rural linkages will tend to decrease while commitment among migrants to make town their home will increase. To illustrate his position that the more a household was committed to the urban area the fewer its linkages with rural areas, Hesselberg presented data from Francistown. According to him, commitment to town among urban dwellers was evident from the ownership of a dwelling in town, duration of time living in town and duration of working in town.

The position advanced by Hesselberg has been criticised by Larson (1998) on grounds of the indicators utilised to gauge urban commitment. This study concurs with Larson's position that the ownership of a dwelling in town, duration of time living in town and duration of working in town are not valid measures of commitment to town. Rather, they are indicators of success in town. Also, Hesselberg's study depicted urban dwellers as having a sense of rural belonging despite their strong commitment to town. While about 50 percent of the households studied by Hesselberg indicated that they visited their home villages regularly, 60 percent expressed a desire to return, sometime after retirement.

An alternative view about social interactions in Botswana (see Macliver, 1977; Izzard, 1979; Cooper, 1980; Krüger, 1998; Larson, 1998) acknowledges the development of urban social networks. It depicts urban neighbourhood dwellers in Botswana, especially those with low incomes, as being involved in survival networks

of mutual aid with wider kin and neighbours such as child minding, watching over each other's home and borrowing of household items. In addition, these writers posit the existence of strong urban-rural linkages among urban dwellers. They argue that despite the rapid rate of urbanisation, many urban workers do not cut off their links with the rural areas. Those who subscribe to this view argue that Botswana is a recently urbanised country and her urban population is likely to retain strong social bonds with their rural village of birth.

The discussion of the existence of strong urban-rural linkages in Botswana must also take cognisance of three major macro-level factors that distinguish the country from others in the region. These are access to rural land, the traditional (village) system of settlement patterns and rapid economic development (Krüger, 1998; Larson, 1998). In Botswana, as stipulated in the Land Act of 1968, all adult men and women, regardless of marital status, qualify for land which is still abundant in the rural villages. Ownership of land takes three forms; freehold, tribal and state land. The amount of freehold land is small and is in the hands of a few wealthy individuals (WLSA, Botswana, 1997). Most of the population live on tribal and state land. It is the tribal ownership of land that is perhaps responsible for the strong bonds urban dwellers retain with their village of origin. By tribal land reference is made to land which used to be held and administered by the chiefs of the various tribes prior the passing of the Tribal Land Act of 1968 which transferred control and allocation of such lands to Land Boards (WLSA, Botswana, 1997). These (Land Boards) are corporate bodies whose membership comprises of the chief (*ex officio*) and representatives from the district council and central government. Citizens (nationals) can apply to the Land Board to be allocated land for residence, ploughing (often referred to as the lands), for livestock rearing (termed cattle post) and even for commercial purposes. The general practice by most migrants is to apply for, develop and maintain ownership of the land in the rural areas.

Having access to land binds most of the population to rural areas including those working in the city (Krüger, 1998; Larson, 1998). The adoption of the traditional village system of settlement patterns, on the other hand, has encouraged the nucleation or spatial concentration (as opposed to dispersion) of rural populations. This, in turn, has made it possible to provide major services such as water, electricity, education, roads and public transportation at reduced costs. Although in most other African countries such services have mainly been confined to urban areas, in Botswana these are of a fairly good quality in most rural villages and may act as pull factors for especially retirees as well as attract investments by urban dwellers. Also, the relatively well developed rural settlements in Botswana, unlike those in many other African countries, “can serve as a basis for urban development in rural context” (Silitshena, 1990: 49). Finally, rapid economic development is important because it has a bearing on both the development of infrastructure and services in rural areas and on the increase in income generating opportunities, particularly for low-income individuals.

The existence of strong urban-rural ties in Botswana has been documented in several studies (see e.g., Macliver, 1977; Izzard, 1979; Cooper, 1980; Krüger, 1998; Larson, 1998). In a follow-up to a migration survey conducted in 1975 in Gaborone, Macliver (1977), focusing on links maintained with the rural areas by urban dwellers over a calendar year, identified the existence of continued links with the home village. The links were assessed in terms of visits made, cash taken or sent, goods taken or sent, and goods sent or brought back from home. A third of the respondents reported visiting the home village with visits varying by income levels. Residents who earned high incomes and resided in high cost areas were more likely to visit the home village compared to those with low or no incomes and the unemployed. The proportion sending cash and the amount sent were positively related to income. More recent arrivals and the longest residents of Gaborone were least likely to have sent goods home.

Similar findings were obtained through a study conducted by Izzard (1979). She found that in Botswana there was a strong link between a woman residing in the urban areas and her village of origin. The link was often of necessity rather than through choice. Because the urban areas did not provide any means for the long-term economic security of the women studied, some left their children in the rural areas to be reared by relatives and especially their elderly mothers. They supported both the children and the caregivers through periodic cash and other remittances. Later on the women may return to their village.

In his study of Selebi-Phikwe, Cooper (1980) found that migrants tended to be involved with and committed to their village of origin. Individuals of the same Botswana household often straddled both the urban and rural areas. All those studied maintained strong agricultural links even after coming to town; nearly everyone interviewed for the study hoped to acquire (buy) cattle. Some urban wage earners invested in cattle and farming back in the rural areas. Those earning higher wages “used their surplus wage for significant cattle accumulation and, sometimes, commercialisation of their arable holdings” (Cooper, 1980: 246). Involved in this arable production was often a supra-household unit of Phikwe wage earner and wife, linked to parents, some married brothers and their wives, and unmarried sisters. While some wage earners used their wages to hire a tractor or team of oxen for ploughing, the majority relied on the supra-household unit cattle pool. However, most of the educated who earned high salaries had limited investment in arable agriculture because they tended to channel their wages into the much more profitable cattle production. According to Cooper, only 25 percent of these owned no cattle. In addition, their wives often had secondary schooling, and tended to obtain jobs in Phikwe rather than stay in the rural areas practising arable agriculture. Nevertheless, most of them still retained their ploughing fields for use after retirement from wage labour.

Low wage earners invested in subsistence cattle and lands farming too. Although the vast majority of the unskilled-semiskilled migrants studied by Cooper (1980) had been in Phikwe for at least three agricultural seasons by 1976, about 75 percent of them were still involved with arable farming, either using their own lands or helping their parents. Their wives oscillated during the agricultural cycle between the village and Phikwe. According to Cooper, the small harvest realised by these migrants served a number of functions. These included mobilising relatively idle kin labour, providing a store of food for their households if they lost their jobs, and acting as strong symbolic indications that the migrants were “committed to being true rural Batswana who had not forsaken their kin” (Cooper, 1980: 252).

Larson (1998) conducted an extensive and detailed study of urban-rural linkages in Botswana. In the study titled “Housing as a Strategy for Urban-Rural Linkages in Botswana”, low-income urban households not only expressed a desire to retire to their rural villages of birth but had also constructed a modern house there in readiness for such an eventuality. This, according to Larson, manifested a new form of urban-rural links that was emerging in place of the traditional links related to agriculture. Larson identified a continuum of three categories of urban dwellers for Botswana. The first category incorporated what she referred to as the “traditionally oriented urbanites”. These had very strong ties to tradition. For them home was found in the village. They wished to retire and be buried in the home-village. This category of urbanites also believed that the wife should follow the husband to his home-village without question (both men and women were unanimous on this). Urban life was considered temporary and perceived with mixed feelings - more often village life was preferred and considered the “right” way of life (Larson, 1998: 138-139).

The second category of urbanites identified by Larson was the “negotiating people”. Relative to the traditionally oriented people, these had weaker ties to traditions and

also expressed more varied views about urban life in relation to village life. For them, to retire and be buried in the village was desirable but not necessary (it was possible to be buried in town). Some preparations for village retirement were made. The group considered it desirable that the wife followed the husband to his home-village. But men realised that today you cannot take this for granted. Also, unmarried women may be open for other alternatives than to settle down in the home village and urban life was perceived with mixed feelings (Larson, 1998: 139).

Larson's final category of urbanites is what she referred to as the "urban oriented people". These were characterised by very weak traditional ties and a preference for urban life. The group included those who urbanised either out of choice or out of necessity. For the urban oriented people town could be identified as a home. They expressed preference, or indifference, to be buried in town. Where urban-rural links existed, they were not regarded as a means for retirement. Overall, the group preferred urban life (Larson, 1998: 139-140).

According to most of those who were interviewed by Larson (1998: 142) home meant "the place where you were born, where you, your relatives, came from". As such, the city or town did not constitute a home for them. While male respondents recognised the village of birth as the home-village, married women identified the husband's birthplace as their home-village after marriage. But unmarried women identified the village of birth as their home although another village could also be selected. Larson found that commitment to rural villages of birth was reflected among urban dwellers through a desire to be buried in the village, actual housing development in the home-village and a sense of belonging to a village (creation of a village home). Traditionally oriented and most negotiating urban dwellers had a strong desire to be buried in the home-village and cited "our culture" as an explanation. They desired to end life where they were born and to be buried next to family members (Larson, 1998). In addition to burial in the village, many of those studied by Larson (1998)

also wanted to retire in their own village-house. According to most of these, a house in the village is both a means to further anchor oneself in the village (one's reference place) and "a prerequisite to be buried in the village; their coffin should be placed there, although a parent's house can be used if necessary" (Larson, 1998:141).

Those surveyed by Larson (1998) perceived urban life as temporary and for work only regardless of the length of time spent in the urban area, having a family in town or owning a house in town. With specific reference to ownership of town housing, those who did used it as a means for constructing a village house; that is such a house meant reduced expenditure for urban accommodation and also offered the possibility for extra income through subletting some rooms. The overwhelming reason for migrating to town for most individuals in all three categories of urbanites studied was strictly economic; "to find a job and earn money". As such both young and old were reluctant to remain in town especially at old age and embraced the norm to eventually settle in the village of birth especially after retirement. This situation is best summed up by the following quote (Larson, 1998: 145): "What will I do in town when I am not working any more?"

According to Larson (1998), high- and middle-income urbanites in Botswana may also display patterns of urban-rural links similar to those characterising low-income urbanites. But unlike low-income urbanites, these are more likely to own houses in both town and village to move between, before and after retirement. The likely existence of strong urban-rural ties among high- and middle-income urban dwellers in Botswana may be explained in terms of vested economic interests that these groups have. It is these categories of urban dwellers who are likely to have the capital to invest in commercial enterprises in rural villages such as livestock rearing (cattle posts) or crop farming or both, among others.

Overall, Larson's (1998) findings bolster the position advanced by Kerven (1980), that most urban dwellers in Botswana do not plan to settle there permanently. Many of them maintain an active or passive connection to the rural areas - the lands, the village, or cattle post - by means of their families. From such links they derive direct benefits that take forms such as receipt of crops from the kin resident in the rural areas and "babysitting" services for the children of urban migrants who are left in the rural areas with the parents of the migrants. According to Kerven (1980), urban-rural connections in Botswana also guarantee migrants a place to "rest" and be fed in between jobs or during the process of a job search. In addition, they facilitate migrants to invest accumulated capital in the rural areas particularly in the form of cattle rearing. Upon retirement, many migrants return to the rural areas because they consider rural living to be cheaper and more pleasant.

In a study carried out in 1992-93, on the importance of urban-rural links amongst the residents of Old Naledi, a low-cost self help settlement in Gaborone, Krüger (1998) found that most households maintained links with the rural areas. Based on the study, a third of all households owned cattle and half retained land in their village of origin. Such ownership of rural assets did not decline with the length of stay in the city. According to Krüger, rural assets serve as valuable safety nets for households characterised by low incomes and insecure prospects within the city. Krüger (1998) cited three reasons for the maintenance of rural-urban linkages. First, such linkages occur because not all family members migrate at once. Households are divided with some of the family members remaining in the village and others living in town and migrants must keep in touch with those left behind. Second, the gap between rural and urban incomes in many African countries has narrowed considerably in the recent years, making it necessary for some urban dwellers to fall back on rural assets for their survival in town. Third, the emergence of cities and towns is a relatively new phenomenon in Botswana and therefore the society "will always value rural lifestyles

as natural and obvious even in urban surroundings which are heavily influenced by westernised or globalised conditions” (Krüger, 1998: 122).

Krüger (1998) also found that in addition to maintaining linkages with rural kin, migrants developed numerous survival strategies including different forms of income earning opportunities as well as the formation of new social self help networks. With specific reference to income earning opportunities, household members engaged in informal cash earning through vending activities like street hawking and the brewing and selling of beer. On the other hand, women frequently formed small neighbourhood groups and engaged in a “rotating credit association” in which each participant regularly contributed a small amount of money to a fund from which the members could borrow at low interest rates.

#### **3.4 Factors Impacting on Social Ties and Linkages**

In this section we review the factors that have been demonstrated to cause variations in, promote, or undermine urban social ties and urban-rural linkages. Based on the existing literature (see e.g. Wilmott, 1987; Vaa, Findley and Diallo, 1989; Dempsey, 1990), there exist a variety of factors that can cause variations in the nature and extent of urban social ties and of urban-rural linkages. These include demographic characteristics (like age and sex), educational attainment, income, and occupational status (Wilmott, 1987; Dempsey, 1990). For instance, social ties furthered through membership of voluntary formal organisations and clubs may be age, gender, education or occupation specific given the tendency for some of such organisations to bring together people of similar or approximately similar age, sex, educational or occupational standing. Other sources of variation include the duration of residence in the city, the presence of major social institutions within urban neighbourhoods, and participation in social organisations and friendship groups, social events, and the distance to alternative sources of companionship (Wilmott, 1987; Vaa, Findley and

Diallo, 1989; Dempsey, 1990). It is to a more detailed review of some of these factors that we now turn.

### **3.4.1 Demographic and Social Characteristics**

Some of the principal factors that may shape the nature and extent of urban-based social ties and the strength of urban-rural linkages are the demographic and social characteristics of urban dwellers such as sex, age, education, and occupational status. These may affect every area of the individual's private and public life.

#### **The Gender Factor**

Social networks are dynamic and they may assume different forms and functions for men and women (Wilmott, 1987; Vaa, Findley, and Diallo, 1989). Women migrants are said to be more likely to be involved in a social world extending beyond the family in the city. Women have larger neighbour networks than men do (Wilmott, 1987) and tend to maintain more intense (Fischer, 1982) and multiple relations with neighbours. Also, they join savings clubs, develop fictive kinship links with friends, in which friends are considered as relatives or family, and establish close, supportive relations with neighbours (Wilmott, 1987; Vaa, Findley and Diallo, 1989; Schlyter, 1990). Such links give women a network of people upon whom they can depend in time of need without necessarily replacing family interactions in the village (Vaa et al., 1989). Schlyter (1990) who studied female-headed households in Harare, Zimbabwe, for example, found that women developed urban networks from among church members, neighbours or work mates. These took the place of the rural-urban networks such that women either de-linked themselves from rural areas or maintained very weak links if at all. Vaa (1990) in her study of women in Bamako, Mali, on the other hand, found that the women in Bamako maintained strong relationships with their kin resident in the city as well as back in the village. This testified to Vaa et al's (1989), conclusion that urban networks cannot replace rural ties.

Women's relations to the rural areas are also often different from those of men. Data from studies carried out in Enugu and Calabar (Nigeria) and in Nairobi (Kenya) showed that women have a close relation to the urban area, possibly a closer one than men and would prefer to spend their old age in town (Wurster and Ludwar-Ene, 1994). Unlike men who join institutions which aim at strengthening the tie to the rural home and at developing the home place, women were found to engage themselves more in urban, ethnic associations among which the church associations are of particular importance, and thereby bind themselves to the urban areas. Also women's investment behaviour seems to point to a strong urban orientation. While the men prefer to invest in their place of origin, the women rather invest their money in the urban area, for example, in restaurants, salons and landed property. This may be particularly so given that it is easier for women to acquire immovable property in towns where tradition and social control are less restrictive than in the rural areas.

Men foster extremely close relations with the rural home even after a long working life in town. They make frequent visits, have a function in the village, remit money and send much sought after goods, and invest in their own houses and - if possible- in business enterprises (Ludwar-Ene, 1993; Wurster and Ludwar-Ene, 1994). They also commit themselves to "home" or "improvement unions" in town. Women, on the contrary, tend to visit the village of origin less frequently than men do. Reunion with parents, other relatives and acquaintances ranks first among the women's reasons for visiting rural areas (Ludwar-Ene, 1993). For women, financial contributions to people whom they love and for whom they feel responsible are of greater importance than investing in rural property. Men's close ties to the village have been explained in terms of the inadequate provision of social security by the state and the employer and the special status which they occupy in their village of origin. As such, even prosperous men who are financially secure rarely give up their tie to the village (Wurster and Ludwar-Ene, 1994).

Other studies have noted that women migrants tend to be more committed to sustaining ties with home areas than men on account of child fostering. But it may also be due to the widespread observation that women attach more importance to the family than do men and are expected to do so within the general framework of kinship obligations (Chant and Radcliffe, 1992:17). Existing evidence shows that single women migrants who do not have independent access to land in rural areas may be more committed to urban areas than their male counterparts (Schlyter, 1990). However, it is not uncommon for such women to practice child-fostering back in their village of birth (Nelson, 1987; Findley and Diallo, 1988; Bledsoe and Isugo-Abanike, 1989; Potts and Mutambirwa, 1990; Brydon, 1992; Larson, 1998). For a variety of reasons (e.g., being unable to look after children while working, to get a traditional upbringing which is considered proper or for economic reasons) the women will send their children to live with relatives in the village or elsewhere (Brydon, 1992).

The practice of child fostering is particularly common in West Africa where various studies show that 10 to 46 percent of all migrants send children to live with relatives in the village (Findley and Diallo, 1988; Bledsoe and Isugo-Abanike, 1989). But it has also been reported in East Africa (Obbo, 1980; Nelson, 1987), Botswana (Larson, 1998), and Zimbabwe (Potts and Mutambirwa, 1990; Schlyter, 1990). Nelson who studied residents in Nairobi, for example, found that urban dwellers fostered their children in rural areas to reduce urban expenditure. Potts and Mutambirwa (1990) in a study carried out in Harare also obtained consistent findings. They found that a high proportion of migrants' children remained in rural areas, presumably under the care of relatives, even when the mothers temporarily joined the fathers in town. Similar results were obtained by Schlyter (1990) in her study of female-headed households in Harare, Zimbabwe. She found that, although female migrants had weak links with rural areas, there were instances when the urban women had to send their children back to the village to their mothers when they could not make ends meet.

Gender differences have also been observed in the Newly Industrialised Countries. In Taiwan, for example, women are much more likely than men to return to the village with gifts for elderly people (Chiang Huang, 1984). Similarly, in the Philippines rural parents both expect and receive much more from their migrant daughters than migrant sons. In addition, Wolf (1991:37) argued that parents feel entitled to most if not all of their daughter's wages, and a daughter feels obligated to remit a high proportion of her income to them.

Similarly a study conducted in Kallarayan, Peru, found that despite the creation of new domestic units in the city, migrant women retained links with their rural community through which labour, foodstuffs and gifts were articulated (Radcliffe, 1992). Despite their low incomes, they consistently send remittances and gifts to their rural kin. In particular, single migrant women were more likely than their male counterparts to send goods or cash to their natal household, regardless of destination. Radcliffe (1992) found that ties between female migrants and their rural kin may decline over time, but links remain crucial for both rural and urban households. While rural households received goods, information on jobs, or assistance during illness, migrant women retained such links in order to diversify sources of assistance especially during times of economic crisis. The migrants thus sustained relationships such as the cultivation of plots in the village under sharecropping agreements, returned to the village during illness or after break-up of a couple to leave children with kin while working in town (Radcliffe, 1992).

#### **Other Demographic and Social Characteristics**

Commitment to rural areas and the nature and extent of urban ties may vary by other individual demographic and social characteristics of the individual such as age, class, ethnicity, level of education, and employment status. For instance, young people, particularly those born and raised in urban areas, may be less committed to rural areas and thus maintain fewer urban-rural links than older people. In addition, persons of

specific age categories may participate in specific social forums; possibly ones that bring together people of approximately similar backgrounds. A person's place in the social structure (class) has also been demonstrated to have a bearing on the nature of informal relationship he/she would engage in (Wilmott, 1987; Dempsey, 1990). Ethnic identity, on the other hand, is important in urban situations because it is a direct response to the necessities of survival in a competitive urban economy. That is, ethnic identity provides socio-economic support.

Across most of Africa, the city is viewed not as home but as a place of employment and the job one holds is likely to be the primary focus for the city dweller (Larson, 1998; Ferguson, 1999). This may impact negatively on what neighbours can expect from one another. Commitment to employment may affect negatively both urban interactions and urban-rural linkages. It may reduce the amount of time available to visit both urban neighbours and rural kin among especially those who are in full-time employment. On the contrary, being employed can enhance urban-rural linkages through exchange of goods and money or even provide the capital to invest in rural villages which, in turn, will guarantee extended linkages with one's village of origin.

### **3.4.2 Length of Residence in the City**

The length of time one has resided in the city may also have a bearing on both one's urban social interaction patterns and urban-rural linkages. Although people can share a geographical location and not be socially involved (Newby, 1980), the length of time one has been residing in an area does have a direct bearing on the extent to which one will build patterns of social interaction and identification with others in the local area. More often than not, residence in an area for an extended period of time increases the likelihood of becoming acquainted with others in the area and the chances of developing sentiments of continuity and belonging (Dempsey, 1990). This, in turn, has implications for one's feelings of community and for one's involvement with others in the urban environment itself and with those in rural areas. Newcomers

to the city may take time to win acceptance (Dempsey, 1990) from those who have resided in a neighbourhood much longer. Therefore, they are likely to be more involved with kin who are resident in the city, to display less dense social ties with others in the neighbourhood and to report little sense of belonging (community) in the urban area. But they are more likely to maintain a vigorous social life characterised by intense social interactions with people located in the community in which they had lived previously (Dempsey, 1990); in this case, a rural village. The opposite is likely to be true of well-established urban residents. These are more likely to exude a strong sense of urban community and less intense linkages with others located in rural areas.

### **3.4.3 Residential Stability**

Residential permanence and immobility, measured in terms of the duration of residence in a neighbourhood, tend to foster the development of local social systems (Fischer, 1984; Sampson, 1988; Knox and Pinch, 2000). Neighbourly people are likely to be long-term residents of the neighbourhood. Put differently, urban villages are most likely to evolve in neighbourhoods with relatively stable populations. According to Fischer (1984), newly arrived people in a neighbourhood may exhibit a flowering sociability but the bloom tends to fade. However, time permits the meetings and re-meetings that root people to a place. Fischer also points out that neighbourly people are likely to be those raising a family. According to him, children keep their parents tied to the neighbourhood because they establish their ties with the next-door children, leading their parents to meet; raising children often means that someone is home during the day. Fischer also identified the older generation as another neighbourly type.

The importance of permanence and immobility in fostering local systems has also been stressed by others such as Sampson (1988); Sampson and Groves (1989); Patterson (1991); Sampson (1991); Elliot, Wilson, Huizinga, Sampson, Elliot, and Rankin (1996); Sampson, Raudenbush and Earls (1997); Knox and Pinch (2000); and

Ross, Reynolds and Geis (2000). These argue that low residential turnover increases social integration or the likelihood that neighbours will know each other, watch out for each other, share values and norms and be able to exert informal social control. According to Knox and Pinch (2000: 250-251), residential permanence and immobility results in a strengthening of vertical ties of kinship and horizontal bonds of friendship. The high degree of residential propinquity between residents in working-class areas not only makes for a greater intensity of interaction between kinfolk but also reinforces primary social interactions between friends. Vulnerability to poverty is another factor that is thought to foster the development of close-knit and overlapping social networks in working-class neighbourhoods (Knox and Pinch, 2000). To quote Knox and Pinch:

... the shared and repeated experience of hard times, together with cohesion and functional interdependence resulting from the tight criss-crossing of kinship and friendship networks, generates a mutuality of feelings and purpose in working class areas: a mutuality that is the mainspring of social institutions, ways of life and "community spirit" associated with the urban village (Knox and Pinch, 2000: 251).

On the contrary, mobility increases the likelihood that neighbours are strangers, reduces the probability of neighbours forming and maintaining informal social relationships and friendship networks (Crutchfield et. al., 1982; Smith and Jarjoura 1988; Sampson and Groves, 1989; Patterson, 1991; Sampson, 1991; Elliot et. al. 1996; Sampson, Raudenbush and Earls, 1997). It undermines social integration and consequently, the development of the sense of community and strong social ties among urban dwellers. The motivation to form local friendships may also be decreased in areas of high population turnover since residents know such friendships will not last (Freudenberg, 1986). Kasarda and Janowitz (1974: 330) best captured this situation when they argued that:

Since assimilation of newcomers into the social fabric of local communities is necessarily a temporal process, residential mobility operates as a barrier to the development of extensive friendship and kinship bonds and widespread local

associational ties. Once established, though, such bonds strengthen community sentiments.

Empirically, residential stability has been demonstrated to have both individual-level and contextual effects on locality based friendships and on participation in social and leisure activities (Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974; Sampson, 1988; Ross, Reynolds and Geis, 2000). Sampson found that local friendship ties vary widely across communities but variations are positively related to community stability. Residential stability was also positively related to collective attachment to the community and participation in local social and leisure activities. Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) also offered empirical support for the positive relationship between length of residence and individual local friendships, community sentiment and participation in local affairs. Similar findings were posted by Ross, Reynolds and Geis (2000) who found neighbourhood stability to be positively associated with the presence of social ties among neighbours in both poor and non-poor neighbourhoods.

The cohesiveness and communality arising from immobility in the urban village, however, may be rather fragile (Knox and Pinch, 2000) and thus less stable than in the rural village. As such, urban neighbourhoods tend to be characterised by stresses and tensions. These are consequent from economic insecurity, noise problems, inadequate play space, conflicting values, conflict between the youth and the aged, and the presence of undesirable elements like “problem families” and prostitutes, among others (see e.g., Jackson, 1968; Coates and Silburn, 1970). Furthermore, urban residents are freer to choose the kinds of relationships that they wish to maintain (Karp, et. al. 1991). They enjoy a wider range of alternatives spanning social clubs, sports clubs and other voluntary associations. On the contrary, small town (and rural) dwellers, have fewer alternatives to choose from and may lack the institutional alternatives offered by urban life.

#### **3.4.4 Participation in Social Organisations**

Another factor that could enhance social interactions especially among urban dwellers is participation in urban-based voluntary formal organisations/associations and friendship groups. These, more often than not, will emerge in urban environments to cater for “a wide range of instrumental, expressive and sporting activities” and to meet the needs of community members for friendship and belonging (Dempsey, 1990: 189). Voluntary formal organisations are many and varied and may include categories such as sporting groups (e.g. soccer and golf clubs), religious organisations (e.g. women’s guilds and parish councils), educational groups (e.g. Parents and Teachers Associations), cultural organisations, charity organisations, social service organisations (e.g. funeral societies) and political organisations.

Being contexts of relatively free association, formal voluntary organisations offer some insight into the values and structural forces shaping social relations in a community (Stacey, 1969:77). They provide avenues through which local people can exercise the limited power they have over their own lives. The importance of formal voluntary organisations in the study of social interactions, however, lies in their capacity to serve as “vehicles for the practice of both social exclusiveness and egalitarianism” and their “potential to solidify class boundaries or to erode them” (Dempsey, 1990: 188). For our purpose we emphasise the capacity of such organisations and groups to bring together people who share common interests and to facilitate attachment to a particular locality for those inhabiting it. The primary aim of such organisations may not be merely to bring local residents together or to facilitate the formation of social relationships among them. But they provide the participants with social space and time for continuing conversation through which lasting social bonds and close-knit networks are formed and friendship activities forged. In other words, they serve as mechanisms for binding “... inhabitants into patterns of relations based around their place of residence” (Hall, Thorns and Willmott, 1984:205).

### **3.4.5 Frequency of Social Events**

Social events such as births, deaths, marriages/weddings, and (serious) illness foster the establishment of social bonds among urban dwellers and the maintenance of strong ties with rural folks (Potts, 1997; Trager, 1998). In most of Africa in general and in Botswana in particular such events are not a private domain. Some of such events and especially death and sickness have a very strong unifying effect among neighbours and between rural and urban residents. They bring together members of the community both kin and non-kin. So strong is their unifying power that during such events the obligation of neighbourliness overrides personal dislikes (Dempsey, 1990) to bring together individuals who ordinarily have no affection for one another. To illustrate, it is not uncommon for those residing in the same neighbourhood to get involved in planning for weddings and funerals regardless of their initial place of origin. Involvement may occur by invitation like in the case of weddings or by the individual's choice like in the case of deaths (funerals) and sickness where one finds it in order to show sympathy to the affected family.

Within the urban environment, participation in social events can generate lasting social bonds by generating powerful feelings of affinity among those involved that linger long after the activities are over. On the other hand, such social events present rural and urban residents with the opportunity not only to stay in touch but also to interact physically. The more frequent such events, the denser the social interactions between rural and urban dwellers and, one may conclude, the stronger the social bonds that exist between them (Dempsey, 1990).

### **3.4.6 Distance**

Propinquity, or nearness in social and physical space and time, may also impact on the density and strength of social relationships among urban dwellers and the frequency of physical contacts with rural kin (Gans, 1961; Dempsey, 1990; Knox and Pinch, 2000). The less the social distance between individuals, the greater the probability of interaction of some kind. Also the greater the physical proximity

between people (their residential propinquity), the more the likelihood of interaction of some kind. In light of this observation, one may argue that the density of interactions between residents in urban neighbourhoods is likely to be higher within neighbourhoods characterised by high-density housing and populations compared to those with low density housing and population.

As Gans (1961: 135) pointed out, “people who live close to each other tend to come into contact through the very fact of their proximity”. The (positive) effect of propinquity on urban-based social relationships, however, increases in situations where those residing close to one another are “separated by a great distance from alternative sources of companionship” (Dempsey, 1990: 97). In such instances individuals are likely to initiate and maintain intense social ties. It is also the case that the presence of kin and friends or both in a neighbourhood will foster the development of strong bonds among urban dwellers (Dempsey, 1990) and create a “home” feeling among those involved thus elevating their sense of community. Concerning rural-urban linkages, the frequency of especially physical contacts between urban dwellers and rural kin is likely to be impacted on negatively by propinquity. Urban dwellers separated by great distance are likely to visit and be visited less frequently than those who originate from rural villages situated closer to the city (Knox and Pinch, 2000).

#### **3.4.7 Presence of Major Institutions**

The nature and extent of urban social interaction patterns and urban-rural linkages may also be influenced by the existence of major institutions in an urban residential neighbourhood. More specifically, the occurrence of a wide range of institutions in which neighbourhood members are likely to participate on a daily or frequent basis provides an opportunity for the formation of patterns of social relations among neighbourhood residents (Hall, Thorns and Willmott, 1984). This impacts on the level of acquaintance (or close-knit ties) among residents and their feeling of belonging

(Dempsey, 1990) or sense of community. This view is shared by Stacey (1969) who claimed that the presence of institutions in the locality led to the development of a local social system [locally based community] because the chances of multiplex roles being played are increased. With respect to urban-rural linkages, it may be argued that where institutions are able to foster strong feelings of community among urban dwellers, this may reduce the density of interactions with rural kin. The sense of belonging created through such institutions may create “home” feelings among urban residents that lower their desire to constantly keep in touch with their rural kin.

With specific reference to Botswana, the government has adopted and implemented an urban planning strategy that favours decentralisation as opposed to the concentration of social services and facilities (Government of Botswana, 1997). Each neighbourhood (cluster of closely located residential neighbourhoods) is provided with a shopping centre, educational, health care and other social facilities (such as social halls). These facilities, and especially the business centres, enhance social interactions by promoting social encounters among neighbours as they take advantage of these services. The density of social interactions is highest in drinking facilities; bars and “shebeens”. The former are licensed beer halls while the latter are essentially illegal (unlicensed) drinking joints that flourish in especially low-income neighbourhoods. The existence of gaming activities such as pool in some of the drinking premises is likely to heighten social interactions among patrons.

Admission to government-sponsored primary and secondary schools in Botswana also furthers social interactions within the urban environment. With distance to the institution playing a leading role in placement, applicants attend the institution nearest to their place of residence. Thus, the vast majority of children in a specific residential neighbourhood will obtain their education from the same school and, consequently, spend most of the day interacting and playing with one another. The lasting social ties that may emerge among children attending the same school could also be extended to

their parents who often attend Parents and Teachers Association (PTA) meetings in the same school.

### **3.5 Theoretical Framework**

For the purpose of this study, the theoretical formulations of classical sociologists particularly Ferdinand Toennies, Emile Durkheim, George Simmel and Louis Wirth will be applied. These will be utilised in combination with subsequent theories formulated in response to them particularly the compositional theory as presented by Herbert Gans (1962) and the subcultural theory championed by Claude S. Fischer (1975). The classical sociologists tended to view rural areas as representing the past (often the “good old days”) and the city as representing the future. They focused on the decline of traditional (rural) societies which were characterised by greater social order and cohesiveness with the rise of the mass and more individualistic urban societies. These, more so Toennies, Durkheim and Wirth present the urban and rural as being distinctively different.

#### **3.5.1 The Chicago School: Disorganisation Theory**

The Chicago school, which dates to the 1920s, was influenced significantly by classical European theorists particularly Tonnies, Durkheim and Simmel. It presents what is often referred to as the social disorganisation theory. The perspective arose after World War I in response to the unprecedented pace of migration, urbanisation and industrialisation in the United States of America (Rubington and Weinberg, 1989). More specifically, the perspective was a response to the rising prevalence of social problems such as poverty, delinquency and crime, mental illness and alcoholism. The perspective, for example, associated increasing urbanisation with increases in deviant subcultures that were not found in more rural areas. Among the major proponents of social disorganisation was Charles Horton Cooley who formulated the distinction between primary and secondary relationships. He saw primary relationships as personal and enduring face-to-face relationships while

secondary relationships are less frequent, impersonal contacts (Cooley, 1902). On the basis of this differentiation, sociologists saw the movement from rural to urban areas accompanied by a breakdown in primary group controls. Cooley also conceptualised social disorganisation in terms of the disintegration of tradition. According to him “the absence of social standards is likely to lower ... [a person’s] plane of achievement and throw him back upon sensibility and other primitive impulses” (Cooley, 1909: 348).

The social disorganisation perspective is mainly concerned with social order in a society of immigrants; that is, the processes of integration and assimilation of newcomers into (American) cities (Sjoberg, 1965: 87; Rubington and Weinberg, 1989). It addresses itself to the question: “What are the patterns and social processes involved in the transition from a pre-industrial, agrarian, or feudal way of life to an industrial or urban or capitalistic order?” (Sjoberg, 1965: 87). The school views society as a social system - a complex, dynamic whole whose parts are co-ordinated. Thus, when events transform one part of the system, there is a corresponding need for adjustment in other parts (Rubington and Weinberg, 1989). It is the lack of adjustment, or poor adjustment, between parts that constitutes “social disorganisation”. With specific reference to urbanisation, the theory argues that cities weaken the cohesion and efficacy of personal networks in favour of impersonal institutions. Based on disorganisation theory, urbanites must compensate for the lack of strong personal relations by turning to formal associations, such as sports clubs and mutual loan societies, to maintain ties to their community and to achieve their ends. Feeling extremely isolated, urban dwellers are pushed to rush into formal associations. In lieu of this, rural migrants to cities are said to commonly establish formal associations soon after arrival to act as a substitute for rural kinship groups (Rubington and Weinberg, 1989).

Louis Wirth (1938) was one of the major contributors to the Chicago school. Wirth was particularly influenced by George Simmel's earlier vision of the social-psychological consequences of city life. Simmel posited that city dwellers have difficulty in maintaining an integrated personality because in the city the social situation was characterised by constantly changing reference points. Thus, people sought to protect themselves by anonymity and sophistication (Palen, 1997). Through his essay, "Urbanism as a Way of Life", Louis Wirth presents what may be considered as a classic formulation of how urbanisation fosters innovation, specialisation, diversity and anonymity. Utilising Simmel's ideas as a take off point, he argued that the city created a distinctive way of life, called "urbanism". This is reflected in how people dress, speak, what they believe about the social world, what they consider worth achieving, what they do for a living, where they live, whom they associate with, and why they interact with other people (Palen, 1997).

Wirth viewed urbanisation and its components, that is, size, density, and heterogeneity, as the determinants of urbanism, defined as urban behaviour and life styles. According to him, the larger, denser and more heterogeneous the city, the more prevalent is urbanism as a way of life. Wirth (and others) considered urbanism to be economically successful but socially destructive. Secularisation, secondary group relationships, voluntary associations, increased segmentation of roles and poorly defined social norms typify urbanism as a way of life. The city is then, a focal point of fluidity and of tenuous social relationships. To quote him:

The distinctive features of the urban mode of life have often been described sociologically as consisting of the substitution of secondary for primary contacts, the weakening of bonds of kinship, the declining social significance of the family, the disappearance of the neighbourhood, and the undermining of the traditional basis of social solidarity. All of these phenomena can be substantially verified through objective indices (Wirth, 1938: 21).

According to Wirth (1938) the specific characteristics of urban life included a decline of the family due to increased divorce and weakening bonds of kinship. Previous family functions were transferred to specialised outside agencies such as schools, health and welfare agencies and commercial recreation. This view is consistent with Thomas and Znaniecki (1927) who associated urbanisation with the disorganisation of the family. They argued that in traditional societies the rules defining situations emphasised what is best for the group and hence the “we” attitude. Immigration, however, breeds the “I” attitude by exposing individuals to a new set of rules defining situations in which people are expected to focus on what is best for them personally.

Other specific characteristics of urban life identified by Wirth (1938) included the breakdown of primary groups and ties (neighbourhood), the substitution of large formal secondary-group control mechanisms (like the police and courts), and the undermining of traditional bases of solidarity and organisation leading to social disorganisation. Robert E. Park (1967), who saw tradition and custom as the basis for social disorganisation, supports the last characteristic listed here. According to him, during periods of stability, the family, neighbourhood, and community combine to exercise control over people. However, urbanisation, industrialisation and immigration tend to disrupt these stabilising forces, thereby undermining the authority of traditional social systems.

Wirth also saw urban life as characterised by utilitarian rather than affective relationships with others. There is a decline of cultural homogeneity, and an increasing diversity of values, views, and opinions. The city is also characterised by greater freedom and tolerance and a decline in the sense of common community. Wirth presents urban dwellers as lacking a sense of community. He argued that networks of friendship and kinship in modern cities are fragmented and contain few strong links, leaving residents to experience lives short on camaraderie and long on isolation. According to him (1938:158):

The bonds of kinship, of neighbourliness, and the sentiments arising out of living together for generations under a common folk tradition are likely to be absent, or, at best, relatively weak in an aggregate the members of which have such diverse origins and backgrounds. Under such circumstances, competition and formal control mechanisms furnish the substitutes for the bonds of solidarity that are relied upon to hold folk society together.

Implicitly or explicitly the urban centre is contrasted with the rural community. For instance, it is assumed that people in rural communities interact with one another very closely while in urban areas individuals tend to keep to themselves and only interact with others when it meets their self-interests.

The Chicago school has been criticised (Gans, 1962; Sjoberg, 1965; Fischer 1975) for being too preoccupied with the disorganisation of norms and values. Opponents of the tradition argue that the school underplayed the role of the city as a social integrator and underestimated the strength of traditional ways of life. According to them, urbanisation is not necessarily accompanied by destruction of the social and moral order. Consistent with this view, studies of African cities today (Barnet, 1988; Peil, 1991) demonstrate that, although the urban community is experiencing greatly accelerated change, certain traditional patterns persist alongside the new organisational forms. Another criticism levelled against the disorganisation theory is that it takes the city as an independent variable which determines or has an impact on other factors (Sjoberg, 1965). The theory chose to ignore the fact that, in some instances, the city can affect rural communities and at the same time be affected by them. Among the most notable opponents of the disorganisation tradition are Herbert Gans (1962) through his compositional theory and Claude S. Fischer (1975) who presented the subculture theory. It is to the views presented by the two theorists that we now turn starting with compositional theory.

### **3.5.2 Compositional Theory**

The compositional theory questions Wirth's diagnosis of the city as producing anomie, goal-oriented segmented role relationships (Gans, 1962). It argues that Wirth tended to confuse urbanisation with general modernisation of society. According to Gans (1962), for many urban individuals, family, and kinship bonds were far from dead, and relatives continued to be a significant source of socialising and support. He argued that urbanisation in itself does not cause a particular way of life to emerge. More important to the individual than the size, density and heterogeneity of the larger population is the nature of his or her local community and primary groups. Some social worlds, argued Gans, far from producing alienation, act to protect their members from negative outside influences.

Hence, far from being characterised by depersonalisation, isolation and disorganisation, working class neighbourhoods often exhibit a high degree of social interaction among residents. Gans (1962) refers to those living in such neighbourhoods as "urban villagers", suggesting that they are in, but not of the city. That is, they are urban in their residential patterns but not in their thought process. According to Gans (1962), whose research focused on an Italian community, ethnicity particularly played a major role in binding urban dwellers together.

### **3.5.3 Subcultural Theory**

Another perspective, termed subcultural theory, shares the views expressed by compositional theorists by suggesting that the urban area does not shape social life. According to Claude S. Fischer (1975, 1984), the major proponent of this perspective, urbanism does not destroy social groups as posited by Wirth. Rather, it strengthens and intensifies subcultural groups. This, he argued, occurs because large cities contain enough people to allow subcultures to emerge. Thus, urban life tends to create new social worlds or subcultures. However, conflicts may arise between what are considered by the mainstream to be deviant cultures and the mainstream culture itself. This occurs not because social worlds are being broken down, but because

subcultures remain strong. As such, the city does not produce alienation and normlessness; instead it promotes new subcultures.

Subcultural theory suggests that urbanism shapes social networks by nurturing and changing the social worlds within which the social networks are embedded, thereby complexly affecting individuals (Fischer, 1984). Fischer, nevertheless, acknowledges that as population size increases, the chances of a community being bound together by personal ties among members drop rapidly. However, he argues that three conditions, namely, functional interdependence, prior relationships, and lack of alternatives, increase the likelihood that people will have personal relationships with those who live nearby. Even then, the larger the community, the less likely will each of these conditions be found. Concerning functional necessity (or interdependence), it is argued that although initially people are wary of getting emotionally close to their neighbours, neighbours will do certain things for each other whether they like it or not (Heberle, 1960; Crowe, 1979; Fischer, 1984). Such functional necessity tends to bring people in a locality together; it leads to instrumental relationships among neighbours which, in turn, will make it more likely for personal relationships to emerge.

According to Fischer (1984), it is working class people who tend to rely on their neighbours more than middle class people. While the affluent may actually know more of their neighbours, those less well off depend more on neighbours. Similarly the existence among neighbours of other relationships - such as co-workers, members of similar religious or ethnic group - besides living near one another increases the opportunities for personal relationships. Being neighbours may help to strengthen those initial ties (Lomnitz, 1977; Fischer, 1984). The lack of alternatives, on the other hand, makes it difficult for residents to sustain extra-local interactions. When people face impediments in making contact with others not near them, they are forced to either make friends with neighbours or be isolated (Keller, 1968; Fischer, 1984).

For the purpose of this study, it is the compositional and sub-cultural theories that appear more tenable. This is evident from the literature review focusing on urban social ties and urban-rural linkages in African countries. According to the existing evidence, urban dwellers develop close social bonds of friendship that give them a sense of community and belonging and get involved with each other in various social activities (Gugler, 1996b; Geschiere and Gugler, 1998; Peil and Oyeneeye, 1998). This is consistent with the position presented by Gans (1962) and Fischer (1984). Unlike the disorganisation theory which views urbanisation as undermining the traditional bases of solidarity and organisation leading to social disorganisation, Gans and Fischer posit that urbanisation does not lead to the weakening of social bonds. These still remain a significant source of socialising and social support. Consistent with the trends in urban social ties depicted by the literature on Africa, existing evidence points to the persistence of strong urban-rural linkages across most of Africa despite urbanisation. Despite forging strong social ties with fellow migrants in the urban environment, urban dwellers in sub-Saharan Africa maintain close ties with their village of origin (Simon, 1989; Schlyter, 1990; Gugler, 1996a; Oucho, 1996; Geschiere and Gugler, 1998; Larson, 1998; Trager, 1998; Ferguson, 1999).

Although the compositional and sub-cultural theories are considered tenable for the purpose of this study, they fail to take into consideration the gender factor which is pertinent to this study. As documented earlier, social networks may assume different forms and functions for men and women (Wilmott, 1987; Vaa, Findley, and Diallo, 1989). For instance, female migrants may be more likely to be involved in social networks extending beyond the family, have broader neighbour networks than men do (Wilmott, 1987) and maintain more intense relations with neighbours (Fischer, 1982). Women's relations to the rural areas may also be different from those of men (Wurster and Ludwar-Ene, 1994). Men and women may also differ in terms of their investment behaviours. While the men prefer to invest in their place of origin, the

women rather invest their money in the urban area, for example, in restaurants, salons and landed property.

### **3.6 Study Hypotheses**

In light of the literature presented in this Chapter the following hypotheses are tested by this study:

- H<sub>1</sub>: Generally, residents of Broadhurst establish social ties with other urban residents but also maintain social linkages with their rural kin.
- H<sub>2</sub> Relative to urban social ties, urban-rural links are stronger among the residents of Gaborone.
- H<sub>3</sub>: Despite rapid urbanisation there exists no “permanently urbanised” population amongst the residents of Broadhurst; one that is totally de-linked from rural areas and regards the urban area to be their one and only home.
- H<sub>4</sub>: The longer the duration of residence in the city the stronger the urban social ties and the weaker the urban-rural ties.

The rationale for the above hypotheses is the differences that characterise the urbanisation process in most of Africa relative to the developed countries. In the developed countries, the majority of urban migrants were individuals who had been dispossessed of the basic resource - land - that keeps populations in rural areas. With the commercialisation of agriculture, large-scale land ownership became the norm in these countries and only those few involved in commercial farming remained attached to the rural lands. For the rest, the urban area became the only home. A change in home for them means migrating to another town or city. The exception may be the United States of America where some migrants to urban areas came directly from Europe. With respect to Africa, attempts to commercialise agriculture and uproot most of the population from rural areas during the colonial period were not very successful. Although the introduction of compulsory in-cash-only taxation (Tlou and Campbell, 1984; Mulinge and Lesetedi, 1998, 1999) in some countries by colonial governments forced Africans, and especially males, to migrate to urban centres,

nearly everywhere the migrant left the rest of the family in the rural areas tilling the land.

### **3.7 Conclusion**

Overall, the transformation of society from rural to urban has been accompanied by profound changes in all sectors of the society be it economic or social. One area of possible change that is important for the purpose of this study is social relationships as they pertain to migrants who take up residence in cities. Based on early theorists (such as Töennies, Durkheim, Marx and Wirth), modernity has brought about significant transformation in society that has had a profound effect on all sectors of society and more especially on the individual. Urban dwellers across most of the developing world respond to such changes in two ways. First, by establishing new forms of social networks in town that cut across kinship lines to incorporate non-kin members of the urban society. Social bonds based on reciprocity are established with fellow urban dwellers including kin (where available), residential neighbours and work mates. However, these may not be as strong and personal as rural kin-based ties grounded on mutual trust. Secondly, the migrants maintain close links with their rural folk. This takes forms such as the exchange of visits, money and goods.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **4.0 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF GABORONE**

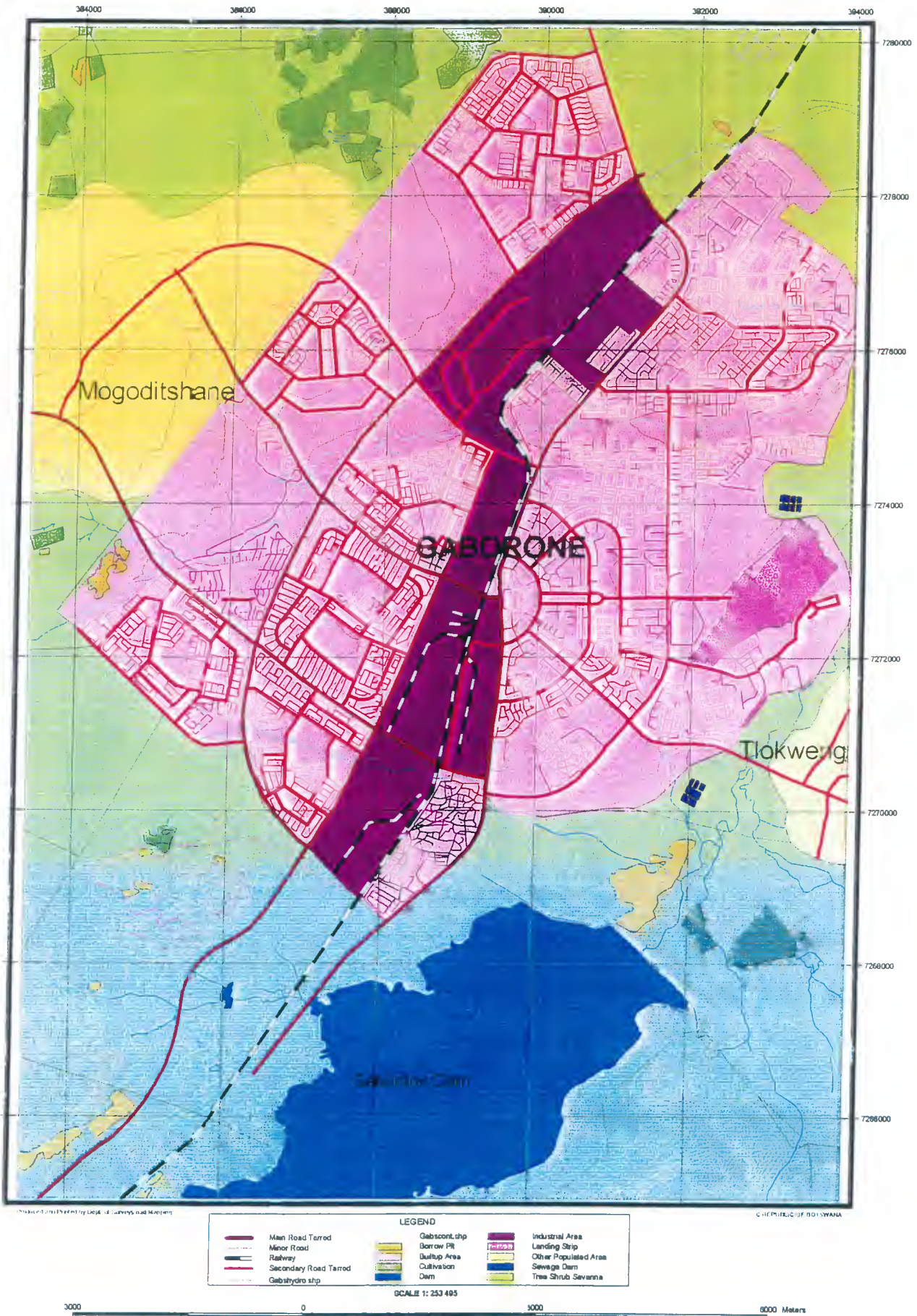
The study was carried out in the Broadhurst area of Gaborone in Botswana. Botswana is a landlocked Southern African country bordered by the Republic of Zimbabwe on the northeast, Namibia on the west and northwest, Zambia to the north, and South Africa to the east and south. This chapter provides detailed descriptions of the growth of Gaborone in general and the Broadhurst area in particular. The chapter is organised into two major parts. While part one documents the historical development of Gaborone as a whole including residential (housing) patterns, the second part focuses on the Broadhurst area - the specific site of this study - providing an account of its development and major land uses.

#### **4.1 The Development of Gaborone**

The growth and development of Gaborone was a result of the decision, in 1962, to build a capital city for the then forthcoming independent nation of Botswana to cater for its administrative requirements. The administrative headquarters of the then Bechuanaland Protectorate had been in Mafikeng, South Africa. The site had been selected because it reflected a compromise of political and physical considerations. At the time of Gaborone's selection as the site for the new capital, it was the administrative centre for Gaborone District as well as the location of the Central Prison and Police headquarters for Bechuanaland Protectorate (United Consulting Limited, 1997). It had a total population of 3 855 and included the two tribal villages of Tlokweng and Ramotswa. In terms of buildings, the centre comprised a government camp, a railway station, a hotel and a few houses close to the railway station and a small airstrip near the government camp. As it stands today the city has expanded tremendously towards Tlokweng and Mogoditshane villages (see Figure 1).

A committee was set up by the colonial administration to prepare a plan for the development of Gaborone as the capital city of Botswana. The first master plan was

Figure 1: Map of Gaborone



produced in 1963 by a team of surveyors, engineers and architects and was approved by the administration following technical comments from the British Government's Building Research Station (Department of Town and Regional Planning, 1990). Several physical features proved to be constraints to the planned development and influenced the proposals made in the 1963 master plan. These included the Notwane River and the old airstrip, which formed a barrier to the east of the city. There was also the railway line which formed a barrier to the westerly growth of the city and the Batlokwa and Bakwena tribal boundaries, which presented barriers to the growth of the city to the west and to the east, (United Consulting Limited, 1997). Consequently, the 1963 plan was characterised by a comparatively low-density form of development based on the "Garden Concept". Over the years the city has expanded considerably to encompass new areas such as New Naledi, Bontleng, Broadhurst and Gaborone West. This was designed to cater for a projected population of 18 000 - 20 000 people to be achieved approximately within twenty years. However, within the projection period the population of Gaborone had surpassed the estimated 20 000 to reach 59 657 by 1981 (Central Statistics Office, 1995). Construction of the new town began in 1964 and the first government buildings and houses were ready for occupation by February 1966.

Generally, the 1963 urban structure allowed little scope for expansion within the original layout. The master plan was hardly halfway into its time horizon when it became obsolete. Furthermore, by 1971, the population had reached 17 700 people, hence creating a need for another plan that would accommodate the increasing influx of people into Gaborone. In addition, due to the rapid population growth, an unplanned spontaneous settlement had developed on the southern periphery of the town, called Old Naledi. The settlement housed a population of about 6 000 people in structures that were unfit for human habitation (Department of Town and Regional Planning, 1990).

#### **4.1.1 Residential Patterns in Gaborone**

Housing development and delivery in Gaborone in general is undertaken by both the public and private sectors. Botswana Housing Corporation (BHC) is the parastatal organisation responsible for public sector housing. It builds and manages serviced housing in low, medium-income and high-income categories. From the private sector there is the site and service housing scheme, which is administered by the Self Help Housing Agency (SHHA), under the Gaborone City Council (Gaborone Urban Development Committee, 1997). The scheme provides accommodation to low-income groups in the form of basic plots and access to building materials loans provided by the government. In addition, the Department of Surveys and Lands, within the Ministry of Local Government and Lands, provides housing plots especially for medium and high cost housing. Estate developers and individual private citizens constitute another private sector outlet for the development and delivery of housing in Gaborone.

Before independence housing in Gaborone was polarised, with a distinct spatial separation of income and racial groups. High and medium income groups were housed on one side of the town, while low-income groups were housed on the other side (Department of Town and Regional Planning, 1994). After independence a national policy for non-racial development was formulated to reverse this trend. The policy advocated three separate areas of housing; low, medium and high cost. However, in 1973, the official policy towards the allocation of residential land changed (Gwebu, 1987). This was aimed at preventing social polarisation within towns by avoiding the physical separation of socio-economic groups and encouraging the use of common facilities. This was achieved by mixing medium-cost and high-cost and low-cost and site and service residential land uses within designated blocks.

#### **4.2 The Development of Broadhurst**

As indicated earlier, the specific site for the study was the Broadhurst area of Gaborone. The existence of this area is a direct result of the growth and development of Gaborone City. In 1971, the government commissioned consultants - Wilson and Womersly - to prepare a plan for further expansion of the town. This led to the production of "The Gaborone Planning Proposals," which predicted a population size of 40 000 by 1980 and 72 000 by 1990 (Department of Town and Regional Planning, 1978). The proposals recommended that development be undertaken north of Gaborone town. The expansion constituted the initial beginnings in the development of the Broadhurst area, as we know it today.

Before its incorporation into Gaborone, Broadhurst area, which today occupies state land, was divided into Broadhurst A and Broadhurst B. Both areas were originally freehold farmlands but were purchased by the government around 1971 and 1978, respectively, for the expansion of Gaborone (Department of Town and Regional Planning, 1978). Once incorporated into Gaborone, Broadhurst was sub-divided into Broadhurst I through III during the various stages of its development. Broadhurst I represented the area east of the railway line and covered part of what was originally Broadhurst A. It was the first area of Broadhurst to be developed in 1971.

Following the 1981 Census enumeration, which revealed that Gaborone had a population of 59 657 people as compared to the predicted 40 000, it soon became apparent that the 1971 Gaborone Planning Proposals had grossly underestimated the population of Gaborone. The rapid population growth translated into a need for the government to purchase more land and to provide additional water supplies. Consequently, in 1974, the government began plans to provide serviced land beyond Broadhurst I. The expansion occupied the remaining land on Broadhurst A and became what is now referred to as Broadhurst II. The development of Broadhurst II was formalised in 1975 with the completion of its plan by John Burrow and Partners

in association with Dalgliesh Lindsay Group and had largely been completed by 1980 (Department of Town and Regional Planning, 1994). Together, Broadhurst I and II contained a total of 4 200 residential plots, an industrial area, a central shopping area and community facilities. Their layout differed from the 1963 urban design with respect to the spatial segregation of income groups. That is, it was non-polarised and it integrated low-income, medium-income and high-income housing. In addition, there was a larger number of low-income housing compared to medium-income and high-income housing.

Despite the 1971 development of Broadhurst I and the 1975 development of Broadhurst II, there was still a need for a long-term expansion plan for Gaborone. This resulted in the Gaborone Growth Study of 1977 by the Department of Town and Regional Planning in co-operation with consulting engineers John Burrow and Partners (Department of Town and Regional Planning, 1978). The study showed that there was a limit to the extent to which the town could keep expanding in a northerly direction. It also estimated that the population size would rise to between 128 000 and 148 000 people by 1980. Four alternative proposals for accommodating the expected population growth were submitted.

The first alternative proposed expansion west of the railway and farther southeast toward Gabane. This would affect Bonnington and Broadhurst B freehold farms and a small area of Bakwena tribal land. Alternative two suggested expansion partly north of the developed area in Broadhurst, but mainly east of Gaborone and north of Tlokweng on tribal territory. Affected areas would be Broadhurst A state land, a large area of Batlokwa tribal land and a part of Glen Valley freehold farm. A third alternative was to expand the city to the west of the railway line and north on both sides of the railway. The affected land in this case would be Bonnington and Broadhurst B freehold farms. The final alternative proposed expansion in the villages surrounding Gaborone including Tlokweng, Mogoditshane, Gabane, Oodi, Ramotswa

and Ramotswa Station. This would affect tribal land belonging to the Bakwena, Batlokwa and Bakgatla. The final report concluded that major expansion eastward or into tribal land would be very difficult due to human/social, legal/traditional and economic problems which could arise (Department of Town and Regional Planning, 1978). Moreover, extended expansion northwards would create an unbalanced pattern of development and spread development toward the Sir Seretse Khama International Airport Site (Gaborone Urban Development Committee, 1997).

In response to the above situation several recommendations were made. First, that an area immediately north of Broadhurst II on state lands should constitute the first phase of Gaborone expansion. This area would have several advantages such as its location adjacent to Broadhurst II which would mean easy access and sharing of services and facilities. In addition, the area covered state land which is the most readily available land for urban development (Department of Town and Regional Planning, 1978). Second, that the second phase should consist of areas on Bonnington farm and Broadhurst B farm, located immediately west of the railway line. This would cater for Gaborone housing demand until 1985. Third, that the third phase of development, (which would occur between 1985-1990), should include the remainder of Bonnington and Broadhurst B farms (United Consulting Limited, 1997).

The report was submitted to the Cabinet and approved in June 1978 thus initiating the development of Broadhurst III. The government acquired the Broadhurst B freehold farm, including Bonnington and Glen Valley freehold farms to constitute the new addition to the Broadhurst area, later called Tsholofelo. By 1981, Broadhurst III (Tsholofelo) had been designed and the infrastructure put in place. The layout provided for 1 300 residential plots of different income levels. In addition, unserviced plots of residential land were sold to the private sector and the Botswana Housing Corporation to serve and provide medium-cost and high-cost housing. This ultimately led to a shortage of site and service plots. In response, the government approved an

additional 500 plots north of Tsholofelo. This area became Tsholofelo Extension (United Consulting Limited, 1997). The development of Broadhurst III consisted of three developmental phases. While phase I comprised of developments north of Broadhurst II, phase II encompassed developments on Broadhurst B land located west of the railway line. The third phase represented developments on remaining land in formerly Broadhurst B, west of the railway line. The completion of Phase III of Broadhurst III in the 1990s generally signalled the end of the bulk of development in the Broadhurst area of Gaborone.

Currently, the reference names Broadhurst I, II and III are rarely used. Instead, Broadhurst is referred to in terms of various extensions as depicted in Table 5. These are grouped into various neighbourhoods. This study randomly selected and covered extension 34 in Phiring, extensions 29 and 30 in Ginja, extension 48 in Ledumang and Broadhurst Extension 25 areas (see Figure 2).

**Table 5: Extensions Comprising the Broadhurst Area**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Extensions</b>
Broadhurst	16 to 19 and 25 to 27
Broadhurst Industrial	20
Ginja	21, 22, 29 and 30
Maruapula	23, 24 and 39
Tsholofelo	31, 32, 41, 42 and 50
Partial	28
Phiring	34, 36 and 43
Ledumang	48
Tshwenyana	38, 44, 47, 51 and 54
Tshweneng	35 and 37
Segoditshane	90
Tapologo estate	40
Taung	46
Phokoje	45
Tawana	33, 52 and 53.

Source: Central Statistics Office. 2002. *2001 Population and Housing Census: Population of Towns, Villages and Associated Localities*. Gaborone: Government Printers.

Figure 2: Map of Broadhurst Area Showing Research Sites



#### 4.2.1 Housing in Broadhurst

Like elsewhere in Gaborone, three categories of residential plots are discernible in the Broadhurst area. These are low-income, medium-income and high-income residential plots. Existing residential plot sizes vary from 200m<sup>2</sup> to 3 500m<sup>2</sup> (Department of Town and Regional Planning, 1994). Although all three types of housing occur intermittently, the low-income housing category outnumbers the rest. This kind of housing pattern is in accordance with government housing policy, which aims to discourage polarisation or spatial segregation of housing according to income levels and to allow the easy sharing of social facilities such as schools and hospitals (Department of Town and Regional Planning, 1985).

Self Help Housing Agency (SHHA) housing accounts for the highest percentage of accommodation in the Broadhurst area. The agency assists low-income urban householders with the provision of low-cost housing on a subsidised self-help basis. They provide basic plots, building materials loans and assist plot holders in their building activities. Afterwards, the agency collects a service levy (Larson, 1986). Eligibility for SHHA housing is based on income earned per household. Ideally it should cater only for low-income groups or households that have an income of Pula 4 400 to Pula 24 300 per annum for low income and Pula 24 301 to Pula 36 400<sup>1</sup> per annum for middle-low income (Maendeleo Consultancy, 1992). However, some middle income and even high-income groups have acquired such housing.

SHHA housing blends mainly low-cost and medium-cost housing punctuated with some high-cost housing. It is the lack of conformity in architectural design of the various categories of housing that produces a more interesting mix of structures compared to the near-all-white uniform style of the BHC. This mixture also reflects the differences in living standards of the SHHA area residents, a reflection that is

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<sup>1</sup> The approximate U.S. dollar equivalents for the sums mentioned here are \$880 to \$4 860 per annum for low income and \$4 860 to \$7 280 per annum for middle-low income.

occasionally objectified by high cost houses towering over neighbouring low-cost houses. In Broadhurst area the SHHA areas are characterised by dirt roads, lack of electricity connections, on plot communal standpipes and pit latrines. However, the government plans to upgrade all SHHA plots in Gaborone. This will ensure the provision of waterborne sanitation, individual water connections, electricity connection and tarred roads (Maendeleo Consultancy, 1992).

The next most common type of housing in Broadhurst is the BHC low-income housing. Some of these houses constitute the first housing provided in 1971 during the development of Broadhurst I and are similar to the site and service plot houses. Most of them are partially serviced, either having no electricity or no water connected to the house. Others consist of upgraded low-cost houses. As from 1975, the BHC began to build only fully serviced, upgraded, low-cost houses, with sewerage, water and electricity connections. Site and service plot provision was left entirely to the city council (Larson, 1986). In addition, there are medium-cost and high-cost housing units within the Broadhurst area. These are characterised by electricity and water connections within the house, waterborne sanitation, tarred roads and fencing. Despite the variations in housing types, three out of the four specific areas studied - Phiring, Ginja and Broadhurst Extension 25 - had housing built on a mix of SHHA, Surveys and Lands and BHC plots. The fourth area - Ledumang - is made up of SHHA plots only.

#### **4.2.2 Other Land Uses in Broadhurst**

As alluded to earlier, the Broadhurst area occupies state land administered by the Department of Lands. Usually, state land is granted on a leasehold basis, with periods of grant varying according to the use to which the land is put. Residential land grants are made for a fixed period of 99 years, while commercial and industrial land grants are made for a period of 50 years (Department of Town and Regional Planning, 1994). However, long-term leases for substantial land in Broadhurst have been

granted to some governmental bodies or agencies such as the Botswana Power Corporation (BPC), the Botswana Development Corporation (BDC), the Botswana Housing Corporation (BHC), and the Gaborone City Council. The BPC is a parastatal which generates and supplies electrical power. Within the Broadhurst area, it has substation sites in Broadhurst and Segoditshane (Department of Town and Regional Planning, 1994). The BHC, on the other hand, is a parastatal whose function is to build and manage serviced housing in low, medium and high-income categories. It owns large areas of Broadhurst.

Although the bulk of the land is under residential housing, other land uses punctuate the Broadhurst area. These include industrial, commercial, health, educational, civic and community, and infrastructural land uses. With respect to industrial land use, the Broadhurst area houses the second major industrial area in Gaborone. Generally, commercial development in the Broadhurst area is concentrated in zoned commercial areas, such as, Broadhurst extension 25, and industrial areas like extension 16. However, there has been some intrusion of commercial activity in residential areas such as Extensions 26, 42 and 46 (Department of Town and Regional Planning, 1994). There are several City Council operated clinics in Broadhurst and the Gaborone Private Hospital (Department of Town and Regional Planning, 1994). With respect to educational land use, the area houses several primary schools, community junior secondary schools and one senior secondary school. In addition, the Broadhurst area is punctuated by a host of civic land uses. These include a community centre, cemeteries, churches, postal services, police stations, children's playgrounds, public toilets and sewage ponds (Department of Town and Regional Planning, 1994).

### **4.3 Conclusion**

As evident from the discussion presented in this Chapter, Gaborone has grown very rapidly since independence both in terms of population and geographical area. Unlike other sub-Saharan African cities which functioned as colonial administrative centres,

its origins dates back to the period just before independence (1962) when a decision was made to build a capital city in readiness for the birth of an independent nation of Botswana. Prior to independence, Mafikeng in South Africa served as the administrative centre for the then Bechuanaland Protectorate. Over the years the population has grown from 3 855 persons in 1962 to 186 007 as per the 2001 Botswana Population and Housing Census (Central Statistics Office, 2002). Geographically, the city has expanded considerably to encompass new areas such as New Naledi, Bontleng, Gaborone West, and Broadhurst which was previously freehold farmland. The city of Gaborone in general and particularly the Broadhurst area which comprises various neighbourhoods grouping various extensions offers a suitable site for the study of social ties and urban-rural linkages because of its fast growth mainly on account of rural-urban migration. Furthermore, the area is characterised by a mixture of housing including Botswana Housing Corporation (BHC) housing, privately constructed homes built on Surveys and Lands plots, and SHHA houses.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **5.0 METHODOLOGY**

This chapter describes the procedures that were utilised to both collect the data used in the study and to assess the nature and strength of urban social ties and urban-rural linkages among the residents of Broadhurst, Gaborone. It includes a description of the conceptual framework, units of analysis, research sites, sample selection procedures, operational definition of constructs, methods of data collection, pilot Study, the data analysis techniques, ethical issues, and the limitations of the study.

#### **5.1 The Research Sites**

This study was conducted in Gaborone, the capital city of Botswana. Gaborone was considered a suitable site for the study for three major reasons. First, despite having a relatively young and small population compared to other cities in the region and in Africa in general, it is one of the fastest growing cities in Africa. During the 30-year period between 1971 to 1991 Gaborone's population grew from 17 713 to 133 468 (Central Statistics Office, 1995). By 2001 it had increased to 186 007 persons (Central Statistics Office, 2002). The 2001 population figures represent a dramatic increase of about ten and half times those for 1971. The rapid population growth of Gaborone is mainly due to rural-urban migration (Vanderpost, 1998).

Second, the city is the administrative headquarters of Botswana and there is likely to be more socio-economic development here than in any other urban centre in the country. Thus, populations of every social category are very likely to be attracted and actually migrate to this city. Finally, Gaborone is made up of a number of residential areas which can be classified according to level of income and type of housing. It is composed of areas with low-cost, medium-cost and high-cost housing. Some residential areas, however, blend all three types of housing.

The specific area of the study was the Broadhurst area of Gaborone which by 2001 accommodated 28.9 percent (53 677) of the city's total population of 186 007 (Central Statistics Office, 2002). The particular sites for the study were the residential neighbourhoods of Phiring (Extension 34), Ledumang (Extension 48), Ginja (Extensions 22 and 29), and Extension 25. Based on the 2001 Population and Housing Census, the population of Phiring was 1 987 persons while that of Ledumang stood at 4 918. At the same time Ginja and Extension 25 had populations of 2 176 and 5 319 persons, respectively (Central Statistics Office, 2002). With the exception of Ledumang which is made up of Self-Help Housing Agency (SHHA) houses only, all research sites are characterised by a mixture of Botswana Housing Corporation (BHC) housing, privately constructed homes built on Surveys and Lands plots, and SHHA houses. BHC housing areas are distinguishable from Surveys and Lands and SHHA areas by having all services provided including tarred roads, and streetlights. While Surveys and Lands may have all these services, not all areas are serviced. In SHHA areas on the other hand, tarred roads and in some cases even streetlights are absent. Until recently, water to SHHA housing was mainly provided through communal standpipes. Although officially Ledumang is supposed to provide housing to low-income groups, over the years a blend of low-cost, medium-cost and even high-income houses have been constructed. Thus like all other research sites, Ledumang also blends three types of housing. The study targeted low-cost and medium-cost housing.

## **5.2 Unit of Analysis**

The unit of analysis refers to the persons or things being studied in a research work (Babbie, 1992; Vogt, 1993; Bailey, 1994). It is the characteristics of these that researchers observe, describe, and explain. The units of analysis are often individual persons, groups, political parties, schools, clubs, organisations or even a city. Studies of social interactions, including urban social ties and urban-rural linkages, have utilised a variety of units of analyses. However, concepts such as community, class,

family, and household have formed the units of analyses for most such studies. The concept community, for instance, has been applied to the study of social interaction at various levels from the national to the most local and in a variety of ways (Bilsborrow, et. al., 1984). But its meaning has remained difficult to ascertain (Karp et al, 1991). Many conditions have to be considered in order to determine whether a community qualifies to be referred to as such. This makes the concept quite ambiguous. It has even been suggested that the concept should be avoided altogether, on the ground that if more than anything else it serves to confuse (Bilsborrow et al, 1984; Karp et al, 1991). However, according to Karp et al (1991), three important features of community tend to underpin all its definitions. These include a geographical (territorial or spatial) area, characteristics or attributes held in common by community members, and some form of sustained social interaction amongst members.

Social class is another commonly used unit of analysis in social interaction studies. The term, though widely used, has many different meanings. It is one of those concepts that sociologists have been unable to specify to the complete satisfaction of one another, in part because definitions vary with ideology and methodology. As such, any conceptualisation encounters both critics and supporters (Rothman, 1993). Nevertheless, the concept of social class is recognised by most sociologists as being among the discipline's most important concepts (Sørensen, 1994). It can be defined as the socio-economic position of the individual in society as reflected through material and power differences. Rothman (1993: 4) views social classes as groups of people occupying similar locations in the economic system construed in terms of the social organisation of production and distribution.

Social class consists of people who command similar amounts of valued goods and services, such as income, property and education (Healey, 1995). One's class position influences one's health, employment and education, among others (Odetola and

Ademola, 1985). These, in turn, are likely to impact on social relations. Those who share similar class positions in society are more likely to interact with one another. Similarly, cross-class interactions are likely to be limited. According to Max Weber, status groups tend to draw lines around themselves, restricting intimate social interaction, marriage and other relations within the group (Gerth and Mills, 1946). With specific reference to this study, the concept of class would not be a suitable unit of analysis. This is mainly because the study's objective is not to make cross class comparisons but to examine social interactions and urban-rural linkages among the residents of a specific residential area within a city.

The household is another concept that has been utilised as a unit analysis in the study of urban social dynamics. There exists no universal definition of the term household (Larson, 1998; Beall, Kanji and Tacoli, 1999). This has resulted in a growing debate among scholars trying to generate definitions that might be universally applicable. Some have even argued that a concise or satisfactory definition of the household is not possible because a household is culturally defined and will only make sense to the society in which it belongs. As such, the term may mean different things to different people in different places and cover a wide range of residential forms, groupings of people and functions. However, more often than not, a household is usually defined as a spatial unit characterised by one or more persons living together under the same roof, eating from the same pot, and/or making common provision for food and other living arrangements (Robertson, 1984; Driel 1994; Central Statistics Office, 1997a). The concepts "eating from the same pot" and "living under the same roof" need not be interpreted literally, because they have a broader meaning. "Eating from the same pot" attempts to summarise a variety of situations where a group of people may combine all or part of their incomes for their maintenance as one unit. "Living under the same roof", on the other hand, may serve to strengthen the first concept by confining it to a specific physical location (Driel 1994).

Examined from the standpoint of size, households can be grouped into two types; the one-person household and the multi-person household (Central Statistics Office, 1997a). While a person who lives on his/her own constitutes the former type, the latter type brings together two or more persons who are related or unrelated. In a one-person household, the individual makes provision for his/her own food or other essentials of life without combining with other persons to form a multi-person household. On the contrary, the persons in the multi-person household may pool their incomes and have a common budget to a greater or lesser extent; that is, make common provisions for food or other essentials of living. Although households often consist of individuals related by blood, marriage or adoption (or members of the same family), they are not always family-based entities. They may be comprised of individuals who are not related such as colleagues and friends but share similar quarters or may even be a combination of both related and unrelated members. African households, for example, may involve close family and wider kin networks and can include unrelated co-residents (Beall, et al, 1999).

The concept of household has been criticised for being permeable and fluid (Murray, 1987; Ross, 1996; Spiegel, Watson, Wilkinson, 1996). That is, it does not have definite and clear boundaries and can take many shapes and forms. Ross (1996) in her study on domestic fluidity in Die Bos concluded that the boundaries of households were not fixed nor were social practices generally assumed to occur within households; they spread to other units. Residents created extensive but short-lived networks of support which stretched across and beyond the settlement, linking individuals into complex and extremely fluid social interactions. In Botswana, like in most countries, households tend to be quite fluid. Individual members of households are distributed between a number of different physical locations at any particular time; cattle posts, farming lands, villages and in some cases urban centres, and at the mines and other industrial areas of South Africa (Central Statistics Office, 1995). This forces them to continually oscillate between the various physical locations. Such movement

has contributed to changes in the household composition. Despite this, it is a widely used concept in the collection of information for statistical and planning purposes. The major limitation associated with this is the tendency to focus on general quantifiable aspects of the household composition such as income, labour force participation and education, ignoring the complex factors which shape these processes.

Closely related to the concept of the household is the family. The family has been defined as a kinship group or people related by blood, marriage or adoption who share the primary responsibility of reproduction, socialisation and enculturation (Izzard, 1982; McC.Netting et al, 1984; Murray, 1987; WLSA, Botswana, 1997). According to McC.Netting et al (1984) such a grouping need not to be localised. Hence, family members do not have to reside in one location. A member of a certain family may reside in a different unit from other family members and belong to a different household from other members of his or her family, but still remain a member of that family because the relation between family members is a permanent one. For example, if a daughter gets married she starts a family with her husband and on the other hand she remains a member of her parents' family because of her blood relation with that family. Thus, in light of the definition of the household highlighted earlier, a family can be a household but a household is not necessarily a family (WLSA, Botswana, 1997). Similarly a household may contain one or more separate families and may also include members who are not related to one another.

Relative to the family, the household has certain advantages as a unit of analysis. First, it is a much broader and diversified concept which may include within it the family (Burkey, 1985; Motts, 1994; Datta et al, 2000). Not only is the household more flexible in terms of collecting standardised data than the family, it is also more easily identifiable and much easier to work with as unit of analysis and for other data collection tasks. Unlike the family, the household is also more "static" or "stable" in

terms of consumption and production purposes. Second, the household has been used most frequently as a unit of analysis in the collection of census and survey data. It has become a standard unit of analysis for ecological and economic purposes because pooling and sharing of resources, processing of food, cooking, eating and sheltering from elements of weather, all tend to happen in the household. In addition, the household is a fundamental social unit and it is the next biggest thing on the social map after the individual and most people in the majority of societies at most times live in households (McC.Netting et al, 1984). According to McC.Netting et al, (1984) it is in the household where most decisions are made, through negotiations, disagreement, conflict and bargaining.

While acknowledging the close analytical relationship between the various units of analysis discussed; that is, community, class, household, and the family, this study employs the household as its core unit of analysis. Relative to the other three concepts, the household is considered to be more applicable and appropriate. As a unit of analysis it has proved quite appropriate for various types of research. Far from it being a discrete entity, its boundaries are often very permeable since the unit is embedded within a wider structure. Selecting the household as a common focus for social scientific research and analysis has both practical and theoretical justifications. One of the justifications is that almost everyone grows up in a household and continues to live in such a unit (MaC.Netting et. al., 1984). This in itself is an indication of the importance of the concept. We argue that the fluidity of the household, although considered a source of conceptual weakness by some (Carter, 1984), makes it a suitable unit of analysis in the study of social interactions. Social interaction is itself fluid and cuts across boundaries. Thus, it requires a fluid concept like the household as a unit of analysis to study it. As a fluid concept, the household goes beyond the defined relations of birth, adoption and marriage (Foster, 1984) to include non-kin members.

Given variations among households and the flexibility characteristic of households, it is imperative to operationalise the concept within the context of this study. For the purpose of our study, it is the co-residence element that will be emphasised in the delineation of the household. The decision to prioritise co-residence over other attributes such as sharing productive or economic activities in defining a household by this study finds justification in the fact that people may live in the same dwelling and not share productive activities. In addition, in most of African cultures, including the Tswana culture, people living in different dwellings who regard themselves as different households may share resources (O'Laughling, 1998; Chant 1997). Furthermore, there is an advantage in employing a co-residential definition. According to Peterson (1994), such definitions lend themselves to speedy data collection because they require no preliminary baseline studies to determine the nature of the household in a given culture or among a given population. In addition, enumerators or interviewers need no extensive training to discern the units from which they are expected to collect data, and they need to make few judgements on their own in the process of data collection (Peterson, 1994:92).

### **5.3 Operationalisation of Concepts and Variables**

This section defines the major concepts and variables used in the study and describes how they were operationalised. These include the study's broader concepts, namely, social interactions, urban social ties, and urban-rural linkages. The specific variables underpinning the concepts of urban social ties, and urban-rural linkages are also defined.

*Social interaction* is the broadest concept utilised in this study. It refers to the process by which people act and react in relationship to others. In this study the interactions occurred between individuals resident in the urban environment or between urban residents and rural dweller. Arising from social interactions are social networks or the structural social relationships maintained between interacting individuals (Knox and

Pinch, 2000). An individual could belong to several different and distinct social networks at the same time; each of which may have different properties. Such networks could be loosely, moderately or closely knit (Knox and Pinch, 2000). To assess levels of social interactions among the residents of Broadhurst in Gaborone, this study focused on the nature and strength of urban social ties and urban-rural linkages.

*Urban social ties* refer to the social relationships existing between individuals resident in the urban environment. The strength of urban social ties was captured via several constructs that included the following: Sense of community, neighbourhood attachment, advice-seeking patterns, and organisational participation. Although the term community has varied meanings both sociological and non-sociological (Johnson, 1995), it has often been utilised to refer to a sense of belonging or togetherness among a people resident within a specific geographical area. According to Karp et al (1991), communities are characterised by shared values, ideas and lifestyles. Within the context of this study, a community is a group of people who reside in the same neighbourhood and have developed some degree of social coherence on the basis of interdependence (Knox and Pinch, 2000).

The existence of a *sense of community* refers to the commitment to a particular shared ecological or spatial structure characterised by the existence of some degree of communal cohesion as reflected through shared values, mutual concern for each other and the development of mutually supportive relations (Karp et al, 1991). It is an indicator of neighbourhood cohesion, or the degree to which neighbours form an intimate and active social group. The construct sense of community was measured in terms of contact between neighbours, and the quality of relationships between neighbours. Residents were asked to indicate who they considered to be their neighbour; how important neighbours were in their lives; and the frequency with which they were involved with their neighbours in activities such as exchange of

visits, chatting lending of household things, sharing of meals and participation in social occasions. Residents were also asked to rate their neighbours using adjectives such as friendly, trustworthy, untrustworthy or hostile.

According to Knox and Pinch (2000), a neighbourhood is territory occupied by people of broadly similar demographic, economic and social characteristics living near one another. This study utilises the variable *neighbourhood attachment* to refer to the level of community sentiment one has about the community. A major indicator of neighbourhood attachment is neighbourhood stability or the length of time the respondent had resided in the neighbourhood. The concept of neighbourhood attachment was operationalised in terms of the desire to continue living in the neighbourhood. Respondents were asked to indicate how they would feel about moving from the neighbourhood and the length of time respondents had lived in their current neighbourhood. It was assumed that the longer one had resided in the same neighbourhood, the stronger would be the social ties forged with neighbours.

Within the context of urban social ties, the construct of *advice-seeking patterns* refers to the degree to which the individual consults and/or is consulted by others such relatives, friends and work mates who are resident within urban areas concerning family, social, work and financial matters. The respondents were asked to indicate frequency of such consultations during the six months preceding the interviews and the location of the parties involved.

The term *participation in social organisations* refers to the degree of the respondent's identification with and participation in the activities of informal and formal organisations, clubs and social groups. The variable was measured by asking respondents to indicate what organisation they belonged to, the frequency of participation, and the contribution made to and benefits derived from participation in the organisation or club.

*Urban-rural linkages* refers to the degree of social ties urban dwellers maintain with their rural kin and friends. The strength of urban-rural ties was captured utilising the following variables: Participation by urban dwellers in rural social and economic activities; ownership of rural property; exchanges of money, goods, and visits with rural people; exchange of messages with rural people; consultation patterns; and intended future return to rural life. *Participation in social and economic activities* refers to the degree of the respondent's involvement in social and economic occasions such as weddings, burial ceremonies, and *Kgotla* (public) meetings and village development committee (VDC) meetings held in the rural areas. The variable was measured by asking respondents to indicate how often they participated in such activities. The variable *ownership of property* refers to the degree of economic involvement by the respondent in the rural areas. It was operationalised in terms of the economic assets (such as land, housing, livestock and other properties) owned and types of economic endeavours (such as farming, business activities and livestock rearing) one was engaged in.

The *transfer of goods and money* is defined as the degree to which the respondent participated in sending to and/or receiving goods and money from others who are resident in the rural areas. It was measured by asking respondents to indicate the number of times they had sent to and/or received money and goods from someone (a relative or a friend) living in the rural areas during the six months preceding the survey. *Exchange of visits* refers to the frequency with which the respondent visited and/or was visited by relatives and friends resident in rural areas. To capture this variable, the respondents were asked to indicate the number of times they had visited and/or been visited by someone in the rural areas during the six months preceding the interviews.

The fifth indicator of urban-rural ties utilised by this study was *exchange of messages*. It refers to the degree to which the respondent was involved in sending a verbal, mail

or telephonic message to and/or receiving the same from relatives and friends residing in the rural areas. The variable was measured in terms of frequency the respondents sent and/or received verbal, mail or telephonic messages during the six months preceding the study. As applied to urban-rural linkages, the term *consultation patterns* refers to the degree to which the individual gave advice to and/or received advice from relatives and friends resident in rural areas concerning family, social, work and financial matters. To capture the variable respondents were asked to indicate frequency of such consultations during the six months preceding the interviews and the location of those provided with and/or providing advice.

The term *future return to rural life* denotes the extent to which the urban resident intends to return to a rural lifestyle at some point in future. It captures the migrant's future residence plans, and consequently, his/her perception of affinity to the rural areas. This variable was measured by asking the respondent to indicate how many of his/her immediate family members resided in the rural areas and how soon he/she wished them to join him/her in town. Another measure of future return to rural life utilised by the study was urban commitment or the degree of the respondent's future identification with the urban area or environment. This was captured in terms of the individual's perceptions of and attitudes toward urban life.

#### **5.4 Sample Selection Procedures**

The most ideal scenario in research would be one in which every element in the target population of subjects is covered. Unfortunately this is not practical since it would demand enormous resources in terms of money, personnel and time. Hence, the need to study samples rather than populations and then make inferences about the total population based on the sample results. By a sample, we mean a subset or portion of the total population (Bailey, 1994). For a sample to be representative, it must present an approximation of the characteristics of the total population.

To select the specific households to be studied, a multistage random sampling procedure was utilised. In stage one cluster sampling was employed to select the four residential neighbourhoods to be studied. A cluster sample is a simple random sample in which each sampling unit is a collection, or cluster of elements (Mendenhall, Ott and Schaeffer, 1971: 121). The choice of cluster sampling was based on the fact that one of the key objectives of the study was to assess a “sense of community” among urban dwellers as reflected through neighbour to neighbour interactions. Households clustered in neighbourhoods facilitated the realisation of this objective. Guided by a map of the Broadhurst suburb demarcating the various residential neighbourhoods in the area, four sites namely, Phiring (Extension 34), Ledumang (Extension 48), Ginja (Extensions 22 and 29), and Extension 25 were randomly selected for the study.

The second stage of the sampling process involved the simple random selection of the 360 households that were interviewed for the study. Utilising street maps of each neighbourhood depicting the different streets and plot numbers, 90 plots were randomly selected for the study from each of the four sites. This involved listing all plot numbers in each area and drawing 90 of them. In cases where a plot accommodated more than one household, the household nearest to the entrance was studied. Where a household was unwilling to participate in the study, because of one reason or another, a replacement was chosen. For each selected household, the household head was expected to act as the primary respondent. Where the household head was unavailable any member of the household who was aged at least 18 years and was knowledgeable about the household dynamics acted as a respondent. In addition, such a respondent had to be a usual member of the household rather than a visitor. The term usual member of household is used to distinguish members from visitors. In so doing we emphasise the fact that blood relationship is not necessarily a qualification for membership of a household. A visitor in this regard is any one who does not live permanently in the household but is only staying with the household for a short time. He/she may be a relative of a household member or not.

In most societies the head of the household is used generally to refer to the oldest male in the household. However, consistent with the general practice during major surveys in Botswana such as the National Census, in this study it was left to the household itself to decide who the head of the household was. As such, the household head was the reported head that was so acknowledged by the respondent. Nevertheless, in the majority of cases the household head emerged to be the person who is generally responsible for the upkeep and maintenance of the household on a day-to-day basis, and who has the power to make major decisions within it.

A second source of data utilised by the study was life histories gathered from the four areas studied. This stage consisted of in-depth interviews carried out with respondents selected through purposive sampling from the households surveyed. This was necessary to guarantee that those profiled had a strong bearing on the study. Purposive sampling involves “the researcher using his or her own judgement about which respondents to choose, and picks only those who best meet the purposes of the study” (Bailey, 1994: 96). It allows the researcher to use his or her research skill and prior knowledge to select respondents. For the purpose of this study, it was left to the researcher and her assistants to identify respondents who would make interesting cases for the life history. Length of residence in Gaborone and interest in the study were utilised as the principal guiding factors. Thus, individuals who had resided in Gaborone for a considerable length of time (at least 10 years) and who showed keen interest in the study were selected.

## **5.5 The Study Sample**

With 90 households selected from each of the four areas studied in Broadhurst, a total of 360 households comprising of 1 560 members were covered by this study. The areas studied comprised of Self-Help Housing Agency (SHHA) and Botswana Housing Corporation (BHC) housing except for Ledumang which was made up of predominantly SHHA units. Consistent with the principle of urban mix adopted by the

Ministry of Lands, Housing, and Environment, housing in all four areas is comprised of low cost, medium cost and high cost units. However, the study excluded high-cost housing because, relative to the other two types of housing, these are very few. In all, the study sample was made up of 87.8 percent low-cost housing and 12.2 percent medium cost housing. Out of the housing units sampled, 46.4 percent of the houses are detached, 30.0 percent are semi-detached, 20.0 percent are just rooms and 3.6 percent are a mixture of prefabs, tents and caravans. Concerning the acquisition of housing, 54.4 percent of the units were rented, 25.0 percent had been owner-built, 16.4 percent had been purchased and only 4.2 percent had been inherited. Of the rented houses, 68.5 percent were rented from private landlords, 25.4 percent from BHC and 6.1 percent from friends and relatives.

In all 390 respondents were interviewed. These included 360 principal respondents and 30 life history cases. The principal respondents included 186 (51.7 percent) females and 174 (48.3 percent) males while the life histories cases incorporated 20 females and 10 males. Although initially a gender balance was aimed at in selecting the life histories respondents, this was not achieved as more women than men happened to be around and were available. The life histories respondents included eight respondents each from Phiring and Ledumang, and seven respondents each from Ginja and Extension 25.

### **5.6 Methods of Data Collection**

This study mainly relied on household surveys to collect the required data. Given the focus of the study, the nature of the data sought, and most important, the category of respondents targeted by the study, the interview method was considered to be the most appropriate technique of data collection. Ackroyd and Hughes (1983: 66) define interviews as “encounters between a researcher and a respondent in which the latter is asked a series of questions relevant to the subject of the research. The respondent answers constitute the raw data analysed at a later point in time by the researcher”.

Face-to-face interviews offer several advantages. They allow for flexibility, guarantee high response rates, and enable the research to observe and interpret non-verbal behaviour (Babbie, 1992; Bailey, 1994). In addition, they allow for interaction between the researcher and the respondent such that the researcher can clarify any misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the questionnaire that may occur. However, interviews can be extremely costly, plagued by interviewer bias, and are often lengthy. The presence of the interviewer can also compromise anonymity and respect of privacy of the respondents (Babbie, 1992; Bailey, 1994). Despite such weaknesses, the method was still judged to be the most appropriate for the study.

To collect the bulk of the data required for the study, a questionnaire was developed and utilised (see Appendix I). The questionnaire mainly utilised pre-coded closed-ended questions. This format allowed for the standardisation of responses, permitted comparability between responses, allowed for easy coding of responses, and simplified data processing (May, 1993; Bailey, 1994). The response category “other” was employed where possible to allow for (accommodate) any opinions that were not taken into account by the pre-determined response items. The questionnaire was structured into two major parts. The first part gathered information on the types of residential area, housing units and method of acquisition. It also profiled the household characteristics such as size, composition, relationship to household head, and the residence status of members. The second part was administered to a single selected household member; in most cases the household head. It focused on the biographical details of the respondents, their occupational history, urban social ties, and urban-rural linkages.

A pre-test of the research questionnaire was conducted in April 2002 utilising a group of 20 respondents (10 females and 10 males) drawn from a population which reflected the major characteristics of those to be studied in the Broadhurst area. Although these were part of the target study population, they were not featured in the study sample.

The pilot study was undertaken as a precautionary measure before the main interviews were conducted. It enabled the researcher to establish whether the research questionnaire items possessed the desired qualities to realise the information/data required for the study. Through it, the researcher assessed the relevance, accuracy, and clarity of question items and the ease of respondents' understanding of the question items. Information from the pilot study also enabled the researcher to minimise response bias, ensure that the questions covered exhaustively all aspects of the data sought for the study, and to estimate the time needed to administer the questionnaire.

The major concern arising from the interviews with most of the 20 respondents involved the clarity of information sought by the study questionnaire. Some of them found certain question items to be rather unclear. Based on the pilot study, adjustments were made to the research instrument. This resulted in the sharpening of question items to make them more focused, the rephrasing of statements to eliminate ambiguity, the reordering of questions to attain a sequential flow, and the breakdown of some question items into two or more questions. Also, new (additional) question items were introduced to capture information that was considered central to the study but could not be acquired utilising the initial questionnaire items.

Life histories constituted a secondary source of data for this study. These supplemented and helped to fill some of the gaps in the household interviews data. Life histories provide a retrospective account of an individual's life in whole or part either in written or oral form (Watson and Watson-Franke, 1985). A major shortcoming of this type of data is that during the interviews the respondent can have problems of recalling certain events or may experience some change of outlook that makes him/her reassess his/her life. However, despite this shortcoming, the method was considered useful to this study because the researcher was able to extract detailed and in-depth information that was directly related to the research problem. To gather

life histories, an interview schedule itemising the lead issues under study was utilised as a guide (see Appendix I). This provided greater flexibility than was possible through the structured closed-ended questionnaire utilised to collect the primary data for the study. It allowed for considerable dialogue between the researcher and the informant which assisted in revealing all the subtleties and personal interpretations of the issues under study. The schedule focused on the types of linkages (interaction patterns) the respondents maintained with both urban and rural residents.

### **5.7 Data Collection**

The bulk of the data required for the study were collected through interviews. Data were collected from low- and medium-cost housing spread across the four residential areas studied using face-to-face interviews. Although the actual interviewing did not commence until June 2002, fieldwork began in January 2002. During this initial stage of fieldwork the researcher sought research clearance from the Botswana government and acquainted herself with the Broadhurst area in general and all the neighbourhoods to be studied in particular. The latter took the form of visits to the neighbourhoods to get acquainted with the physical and social environments obtaining within them. The researcher paid close attention to the physical layout of the various neighbourhoods, the types of physical and social facilities found there and the general observable trends in social life. This stage also involved the pre-testing of the study instrument. In addition, four research assistants - one per research area - were hired and trained in readiness for the actual data collection.

The actual data collection occurred in two stages. In stage one, interviews were conducted with 360 households utilising a structured questionnaire (see Appendix I). This process involved the construction of the household profile and interviews conducted with at least one person per household to elicit information about urban social ties and urban-rural linkages. In many cases the respondent was the household head, a spouse, or an adult child, and in a few cases another relative. This approach

may be criticised on grounds that the responses to questions were not always made by the main decision-maker in the household. But it is advantageous in that it allowed us to cover an adequate number of households within the time available.

Questionnaires were administered to all respondents by either the principal investigator or her four assistants. In order to strengthen response accuracy and clarity, and to reduce the amount of time taken executing the interview, efforts were made by the researcher or her assistants to explain the purpose of the study to the respondents before conducting the interviews. Before enlisting the co-operation of the respondents, the researcher or her assistants informed them that their participation in the study was voluntary and that their confidentiality was guaranteed. Any concerns that the respondents might have had were then addressed. Where, for one reason or another, the target respondent wished not to participate in the study, the household was dropped from the study and a new one selected in its place. Most of the interviews were conducted during the weekends and in the evenings because these are the times when household heads are likely to be at home. Where a respondent could not grant an interview immediately, a suitable date during which the researcher or an assistant could return to administer the questionnaire was sought and agreed on.

The second stage of data collection involved the use of in-depth interviews to develop the life histories of 30 selected respondents identified during the household surveys. While the research team (researcher and her assistants) participated in the identification of those to be interviewed for life histories, the principal researcher conducted the actual interviews. The interviews mainly sought information on types of linkages (interaction patterns) the respondents maintained with both urban residents and rural residents. The data were collected to supplement and, where necessary, to fill gaps existing in the data realised through household surveys. The specific information sought included the respondents' time of arrival at Gaborone, economic activity they have been engaged in, relationship with other urban residents particularly

those in the neighbourhood and rural contacts as maintained through ownership of property, and participation in social activities like funerals and weddings.

Overall the data collection process went on smoothly. The major problem encountered was in respect to the absence of many household heads due to work and other commitments. These would have been the ideal respondents for the study. Although efforts were made to reschedule the interviews with the view to accommodating such household heads so that they could serve as the study informants, after three attempts the decision was reached to interview any household members who were above the age of 18 years. With specific reference to the life histories, the length of time required was the major problem encountered. In certain cases, a very suitable respondent could not be profiled because of the amount of time required for the exercise. In addition, the nature of the interviews often led to respondents digressing frequently thus making the whole exercise unnecessarily long. Longer interview periods increased the probability of the respondent losing interest.

#### **5.8 Data Analysis Techniques**

The process of data analysis allows us to make interpretations or derive meanings from data. It facilitates the making of comparisons of data in order to determine the linkages between the key variables being studied. The bulk of the data analysed by this study were gathered using a questionnaire that comprised mainly of pre-coded closed-ended questions. The actual data analysis occurred in two stages utilising the SPSS-PC quantitative data analysis software. The first stage was mainly descriptive and involved the computation and utilisation of descriptive statistics especially frequency distributions, percentages and means. These were utilised to construct a descriptive profile of the study sample and to depict the nature and levels of urban social ties and urban-rural linkages.

The second stage comprised of relational analyses using cross-tabulation. In all, two broad categories of cross-tabulations were executed; those focusing on urban social interactions and those related to rural-urban links. In the first category, three dependent variables, namely sense of community, advice-seeking patterns and membership of social organisations were analysed. These were cross tabulated with the following eight independent variables: sex, marital status, place of birth, housing ownership, household size, duration of residence, education and employment status. The second category incorporated the dependent variables of exchange of money and goods and visiting patterns; ownership of property; participation in social and economic activities; consultation patterns; and exchange of verbal, mail, and telephonic messages. Again these were cross tabulated with the same eight independent variables utilised in the first category.

The Chi square ( $\chi^2$ ) test was applied. This is a test for independence used most often to analyse data that are reported in categories. It helps us to determine whether independent samples have significantly different distributions across categories (Bohrnstedt and Knoke, 1988; Frankel and Wallen, 1993; Healey, 1993). The  $\chi^2$  depicts association between variables presented in the form of cross-tabulation by examining whether frequencies obtained are different from the frequencies one would attribute to chance variations alone. As such the test involves the comparison of observed frequencies (those of the sample under study) with theoretical frequencies (those expected on the basis of some hypothesis). Where the two frequencies are found to be similar, it is concluded that there is no difference in the two groups under study. On the converse, if differences are found between the two samples, the researcher concludes that, “there is a significant difference in attitudes between the two groups under comparison” (Frankel and Wallen, 1993: 201). The test is conducted by constructing a table that shows how the cases will be distributed among the cells if the two variables are independent of each other. A finding of statistically significant  $\chi^2$ , however, does not indicate a cause-effect relationship. Rather, it is a

pointer that the variables probably do not exhibit the quality of independence. That is, they tend to be systematically related and that the relationship transcends pure chance or sampling error.

### **5.9 Ethical Considerations**

A major ethical consideration is that the respondent does not come to any harm. The nature of this study did not in any way expose the respondent to any danger. The other consideration is that the respondent's participation is voluntary. This was ensured by informing the respondents of their right to voluntary participation at the beginning of the interview. The respondents were also informed about the objectives of the study and what the information was to be used for. If the respondent agreed to being interviewed, he/she was guaranteed anonymity. No names were required of those interviewed and the information collected from each respondent was to be utilised only in combination with that collected from others rather than individually. In accordance with the regulations governing research activities in Botswana, once the research proposal had been approved, permission was sought from the Research Council housed in the Office of the President in Gaborone, Botswana.

### **5.10 Limitations of the Study**

This study relied on 360 respondents from four residential neighbourhoods in the Broadhurst area to study the nature and strength of urban social ties and urban-rural linkages among migrants to the city. Its principal limitation is the type of sample that was studied. Those studied included residents occupying low-cost and medium-cost housing. This means that the sample did not reflect all the characteristics of the population of Gaborone as a whole and was thus not representative. As such, the results of the study cannot be generalised to the whole of Gaborone. What was found about the residents of the Broadhurst area cannot be said with certainty to be true of residents in other residential neighbourhoods.

A second limitation of the study pertains to the composition of the sample studied. The study focused simultaneously on urban social ties and urban-rural linkages while utilising data realised from interviews conducted with urban residents only. The ideal situation would have required the comparison of data drawn from both urban and rural sub-samples. This would have allowed for better comparisons between the perceptions of urban and rural dwellers in particular concerning the nature and strength of urban-rural linkages. However, the fact that the nature and strength of these was captured in terms of specific activities and practices by both urban and rural dweller rather than the individual's perceptions to some extent, waters down the likely negative effect of this limitation.

## CHAPTER SIX

### 6.0 FORMS OF URBAN SOCIAL TIES

The main purpose of this chapter is to present the results for urban social ties among the residents of Broadhurst. The chapter is organised into six major sections. The first section focuses on the characteristics of the households studied while the second section presents the socio-economic characteristics of both the principal and life history respondents. The third section presents the descriptive results for social ties analysed. It focuses on the sense of community, consultation or advice-seeking behaviours, and membership of social organisations and clubs. While section four explores for variations in urban social ties based on respondent socio-economic and other characteristics, section five presents a summary of the major findings. The final section presents the conclusion in which the key forms of urban social ties emerging from the data are highlighted.

### 6.1 Household Characteristics

The concept household as utilised in this study represents a residential unit where people, whether related or not, live together under the same roof (Driel 1994; Central Statistics Office, 1997a). Altogether 360 households accommodating 1560 members were studied. The household members included 764 (49.0 percent) males and 796 (51.0 percent) females. Table 6 depicts the sizes of the households studied. These

**Table 6: Distribution of Households by Size**

<b>Number of Members</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Cumulative Frequencies</b>
1	35	9.7	9.7
2	46	12.8	22.5
3	52	14.4	36.9
4	76	21.1	58.1
5	63	17.5	75.6
6	32	8.9	84.4
7	22	6.1	90.6
8+	34	9.4	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

ranged from a single member to 13 members. The average household size was 4.3 persons. As evident from the Table, 36.9 percent of the households had between one and three members, 38.6 percent had four to five members and the remaining 24.4 percent had six or more members.

The household members ranged in age from less than one year old to those who were 85 years old. The mean age was 24.6 years. Table 7 presents a summary of age cohorts for the household members. The Table shows that 25.5 percent of the household members were aged below 15 years while 65.4 percent were aged between 15 and 45 years. Only 9.1 percent were above 45 years of age. This means that the households studied were populated mainly by individuals who were relatively young.

**Table 7: Distribution of Household Members by Age Group**

<b>Age Group</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Cumulative Percent</b>
Less than 15 years	343	25.5	25.5
15 to 25 years	449	32.0	57.5
26 to 35 years	315	22.5	80.0
36 to 45 years	146	10.9	90.9
46 to 55 years	74	5.6	96.5
56 + years	48	3.5	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1409</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

Most (70.8 percent) of the household members were born in the rural areas within Botswana; 26.9 percent were born in urban areas, and 2.3 percent were born outside Botswana. Table 8 presents the distribution of household members by place of birth. As evident from the Table, most of those born in rural areas were born in Central District. The high percentage of those born in Central District can be explained in terms of the distance from Gaborone. While those born in the nearby districts would prefer to commute daily to Gaborone, those from further away districts must settle within the city. It is also possible that migrants from far away districts such as the

North-East, Ngamiland and Kgalagadi prefer close by towns such as Francistown (North-East), Maun (Ngamiland) and Ghanzi (Kgalagadi).

The households studied were also analysed in terms of the occupation status of the members. The data indicated that 8.3 percent of the members were below the age of six years and did not qualify for a student or employment status, 32.7 percent were students, 47.7 percent were employed, 3.3 percent retired, and 7.9 percent unemployed. This suggests that most households were characterised by high numbers

**Table 8: Distribution of Household Members by Place of Birth**

<b>Place of Birth</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>% of Total</b>
<b><u>Rural Areas:</u></b>			
Central District	392	35.5	
Kweneng	191	17.3	
Kgatleng	187	16.9	
Ngwaketse	143	12.9	
Southern (Barolong/South East	96	8.7	
North-East	41	3.7	
Kgalagadi (Ghanzi)	30	2.7	
Ngamiland (Chobe)	25	2.3	
<b>Rural subtotal</b>	<b>1105</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>70.8</b>
<b><u>Urban Areas:</u></b>			
Gaborone	329	78.5	
Francistown	28	6.7	
Selebi-Phikwe	28	6.7	
Lobatse	24	5.7	
Other Towns	10	2.4	
<b>Urban subtotal</b>	<b>419</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>26.9</b>
<b><u>Outside Botswana:</u></b>	<b>36</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>2.3</b>
<b>Overall Total</b>	<b>1 560</b>		<b>100.0</b>

of dependants most of them still in school. Out of the total 1 560 household members, 23.1 percent were household heads, 71.9 percent were related to the household head, and 4.8 percent were not related to the household head. Table 9 presents a more detailed depiction of these relationships. The Table shows that the dominant relationship categories were those of spouse/partner and son/daughter. The Table also suggests that most of the households studied qualified to be families either in the nuclear or extended sense. That is, they comprised of individuals who were related to one another either by blood or through marriage.

Out of the total members of the households studied 96.6 percent (1 507) were usual household members while 3.4 percent (53) were visitors. The usual household members included 5.5 percent (83) who were temporarily absent from the housing unit. Of this total 59.0 percent (49) were visiting rural areas and 41.0 percent (34) were visiting another urban area. Absence from the household was explained in terms of family, social, monetary and educational reasons. Those visiting included 22.2 percent who were from another housing unit within Gaborone and 77.8 percent who originated from outside Gaborone.

**Table 9: Relationship of Household Members to Household Head**

<b>Relationship</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Household head	360	23.1
Spouse/partner	169	10.8
Son/daughter	602	38.6
Brother/sister	127	8.1
Nephew/niece	62	4.0
Grand child	69	4.4
Cousin	53	3.4
Other relation	43	2.8
Not related	75	4.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>1560</b>	<b>100.0</b>

The duration of stay in usual place of residence for household members ranged from one year and below to 26 years with the average duration of residence being 6.8 years. The majority of the household members were aged between 15 and 25 year. Thus, they could not be expected to have lived in their usual place of residence for more than 20 years. While 54.5 percent had lived in their current usual place of residence for between a year and 5 years, 23.7 percent had lived there for periods ranging from 6 to 10 years and 21.5 percent had lived at their usual place of residence for more than 10 years.

## **6.2 Socio-economic Characteristics of Respondents**

To collect information about social interactions, a total of 390 respondents were interviewed using a questionnaire. These fell into two categories. The first category comprised of respondents drawn from the 360 households studied. These served as the study's principal source of data and are hereafter referred to as the principal respondents. From each household, one member was selected and interviewed. As pointed out earlier, those interviewed were not necessarily the household heads. However, only household members aged 18 years and above qualified to be respondents. The decision as to who was the household head was left to the respondent. The second category incorporated 30 respondents who were the source of detailed qualitative data in the form of life history. These included only individuals who had resided in the area under study for a considerable length of time. The presentation in this section is organised around three thematic areas. These include the respondents' demographic characteristics, their residential history, and occupation history.

### **6.2.1 Demographic Characteristics**

Out of the 360 principal respondents, 50.3 percent were household heads, 15.6 percent were spouses/partners to the household heads, 14.4 percent sons or daughters of the household heads, 6.4 percent siblings, and 13.3 percent other relations such as nephews/nieces and cousins. As evident from this distribution, individuals who were

related to the household head populated all households. Table 10 presents the age categories of those interviewed. The Table reveals that the bulk (83.6 percent) of the respondents were aged 18-45 years. Over half (53.3 percent) of the respondents identified themselves as never married, 21.1 percent were married, and 18.9 percent were cohabiting. The remainder were separated, divorced or widowed.

**Table 10: Distribution of Principal Respondents by Age Group**

<b>Age Group</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
18 to 25 years	121	33.6
26 to 35 years	107	29.7
36 to 45 years	73	20.3
46 to 55 years	28	10.6
56 + years	21	5.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>100.0</b>

With the exception of three females, all those interviewed for detailed qualitative data (life history) were household heads. They included 20 females and 10 males whose ages ranged from 26 to 68 years with a mean age of 43.5 years. Out of the 30 respondents seven were married, 13 were single, four were cohabiting, three were widowed, two were divorced, and one was separated.

The level of educational attainment among the principal respondents ranged from no education to Bachelors degree and higher. While 7.2 percent had no education at all, 22.5 percent were primary school leavers, 36.4 percent had a JC level of education, 17.2 percent had attained an "O"/"A"-Level qualification, and 10.6 percent had diplomas. Only 6.1 percent of these respondents had attained a Bachelors degree and higher. Of the 30 life history cases only two had never attended formal schooling. While seven had primary level schooling, eight had completed Junior Secondary School and four had completed Form 5. Those who had attained higher than Senior

Secondary level of education included five who had diplomas, one who had a Bachelors degree, and one who had a Masters degree.

The two respondents who did not have formal education were a male and a female. The male respondent reported that he never went to school because he was looking after his father's cattle. The female respondent had only attended initiation school. According to her, during her youth, traditional initiation schools served as a passage into adulthood, acceptance into society and signified the readiness for marriage for both boys and girls. Two other respondents who had attained some formal schooling as well as participated in initiation schools supported the importance of initiation schools. They expressed their views as follows:

*As Mma Modise put it, Kgatla life at the time of her childhood centred on traditional initiation schools; bogwera for boys and bojale for girls. The passage into adulthood and ceremonial weddings served two important stages in an individual's life. While bojale served as a passage into adulthood and acceptance into society, it also signified the readiness for marriage especially for girls who tended to be married away at an early age. Marriage was a confirmation of one's womanhood. She went through the initiation school, as her father did not take kindly to formal schooling, which he deemed as useless. It was after the initiation school that she was able to attend primary school up to standard four. At the time it was considered quite good, and she must have been around 20 when she quit school to get married.*

*Kabelo Moremi, a 59 years old male, was born about 40 kilometres from Gaborone in Mochudi village. He grew up in the village and spent most of his time at the cattle post with his grandfather. After starting school he could only go there during weekends and school holidays. He says he enjoyed growing up in Mochudi. He even attended initiation school, which were part of tradition when he was growing up. At these schools the initiates were taught about the custom and history of the tribe and also how to be responsible adults. He laments the death of such traditions arguing that what he went through at the initiation school made him grow into a better and more responsible man. The same cannot be said of his son and daughter. His 36 year old son had never bothered to hold a steady job and spend most of his time drinking. The daughter, aged 23 years had failed her Junior Certificate, was not working, and, to crown it all, she had a two-year old child. Mr Moremi felt that had his children undergone initiation schools they would have been more responsible adults.*

### **6.2.2 Respondents' Place of Origin**

The principal respondents interviewed for this study included 98.2 percent who were citizens of Botswana and 1.9 percent who were non-citizens. In addition, the majority of them were migrants from the rural areas. Only 5.8 percent of the total number (360) reported that they were born in an urban area; the other 94.2 percent originated

from the rural areas. This means that the bulk of those studied were migrants to the city. Of the 329 respondents who were born in rural Botswana, 35.9 percent were from the Central District, 18.2 percent from Kweneng District, 16.8 percent from Kgatleng District, 9.6 percent from Ngwaketse District, 9.1 percent from Southern District, 5.2 percent from the Northeast District, and 5.2 percent originated from other rural districts in Botswana. As pointed out earlier in our profiling of the characteristics of the household members, the high percentage of those born in Central District may be understood in terms of the distance from Gaborone. Those born in the nearby districts, such as Kgatleng and Kweneng, may prefer to commute daily to Gaborone while those from further away districts must settle within the city. In addition, the under representation of districts that are very removed from Gaborone, such as the Northeast and Ngamiland, could be a pointer that migrants from such places prefer other closer towns such as Francistown and Maun (Ngamiland), respectively.

Similarly 28 of the 30 life history cases were migrants to the city whose principal reason for migration was the search for employment. These originated from different parts of the rural Districts of Botswana, such as Central, Kgatleng, Kweneng, Ngwaketse, Northeast, and the Northwest. Of the other two respondents one (Mma Bareki) originated from South Africa and the other (Zibo) was born in Gaborone. Their cases are captured through the following extracts from the life history data:

*Ms Bareki was born in 1947 in Hammanskraal, South Africa. Her father was a farm worker who worked for an Afrikaner farmer. She had moved to Botswana in her teens with her parents and they had settled in Goodhope. Jointly with her sister, she moved to Gaborone in 1973 to look for employment.*

*Zibo was born in 1971 in Gaborone. His parents are from the Central District. He is the second born in a family of three children. Due to the lack of employment and a poor economy in Botswana, his parents decided to go and work in Johannesburg, South Africa, as was the tradition those days, just after Botswana gained independence. Zibo and his siblings were all born in Gaborone. Although his mother had a full time job there, she always came back to Botswana when on maternity leave. His mother worked as a clerk and his father as a builder.*

### **6.2.3 Duration of Residence in Gaborone**

The respondents were asked to indicate the length of time they had resided in Gaborone in general and in their current neighbourhoods. The duration of stay in the city among the principal respondents ranged from one to 32 years with a mean stay of 15.9 years while residence in the current neighbourhood ranged from 1 year to 30 years; the mean length of residence was 7.0 years. Table 11 summarises these respondents' length of stay in the city (as well as in the current neighbourhood). From the Table, it is evident that 25.8 percent had lived in Gaborone for up to 10 years, 74.1 percent had lived there for over 10 years. Concerning the length of time the principal respondents had resided in their usual place of residence, this ranged from one year to 25 years. The mean duration of residence was 6.7 years. While 17.2 percent of the principal respondents had lived in their usual place of residence for up to two year, 45.3 percent had lived there for three to five years, and 37.5 percent for over 5 years.

Those interviewed as the principal source of data were also asked to indicate whether they had lived elsewhere in Gaborone before moving to the current neighbourhood. Only 21.1 percent (76) reported that they had always resided in their current neighbourhood. The remaining 78.9 percent (284) had lived elsewhere previously. As evident from Table 11, 62.5 percent of the respondents had lived in their current neighbourhood for periods of up to 5 years while 37.5 percent had resided there for more than five years. Previous places of residence included the other parts of the Broadhurst area, Bontleng, Old Naledi, Sebele, Gaborone West, Partial, and the outskirts of Gaborone. The length of stay elsewhere ranged from one year to 29 years. Those who had changed residence provided varied explanations for their action. While 31.7 percent had moved to rent their own residence, 27.5 percent had bought a house in the neighbourhood, 19.4 percent did not like their previous neighbourhood, and 15.1 percent moved due to unaffordable rents. The remainder had moved because they had built their own homes in the neighbourhood or on account of other reasons.

**Table 11: Distribution of Principal Respondents by Length of Residence in Gaborone and Current Neighbourhood**

<b>Duration of Stay</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
<b><u>Gaborone:</u></b>		
1 - 5 years	39	10.8
6 - 10 years	54	15.0
11 - 15 years	71	19.7
16 - 20 years	104	28.9
21 - 25 years	71	19.7
26 + years	21	5.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b><u>Current Neighbourhood:</u></b>		
1-2 years	62	17.2
3-5 years	163	45.3
6-10 years	78	21.7
11 - 20 years	22	6.1
20 + years	35	9.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>100.00</b>

All the 30 cases studied for their life history had lived in Gaborone for at least ten years. The actual length of residence ranged from 10 to 34 years. Of the total, 26 had lived elsewhere in Gaborone before moving to their current neighbourhood. Those who had changed residence had previously resided in areas such Old Naledi, New Naledi, Bontleng and other parts of Broadhurst. They gave reasons such as purchasing own house, renting own residence after a period of sharing, change in marital status (marriage or divorce), moving nearer to the workplace, and better accommodation. The duration of stay in the current neighbourhood ranged from less than a year to 26 years. The following cases are illustrative:

*Tebogo is 37 years old and came to Gaborone 16 years ago. She has lived in Ledumang for 5 years in a room rented from a landlord who stays in the same yard. When she first came to Gaborone she lived in Bontleng where she was renting a room. It was quite far from her workplace that is why she decided to find accommodation in Ledumang which is within walking distance from her workplace. She lives with her two sons aged 11 and 13. Her sons attend a primary school in the vicinity.*

*Refilwe is 40 years old and has resided in Gaborone for the past 20 years. When she first came to Gaborone she resided in Old Naledi, one of the oldest residential areas, with her big brother for 15 years. The area was very noisy with a lot of shebeens around and the rate of crime was very high. She felt that it was not a safe place for her and her sons to live in. She decided to look for accommodation elsewhere and that is how she ended up in Ledumang*

#### **6.2.4 Respondents' Occupational History**

Asked about their current occupational status, 56.7 percent of the principal respondents indicated that they were employed, 17.8 percent were unemployed but had worked in the past, 13.6 percent were unemployed and had never worked, and 12.5 percent were still at school. Of those who were working, 13.5 percent were professionals, 10.4 percent were administrators/managers, 16.8 percent were technicians, and 11.4 percent were working as clerical officers. The remaining 47.9 percent were in low paying occupations such as labourers and domestic workers or were operating small grocery and tailoring shops. While 44.6 percent of the employed respondents worked in private sector organisations, 20.8 percent worked in government, 12.4 percent worked in the parastatal sector, and 22.2 percent were self-employed. Concerning the acquisition of their current jobs, 56.4 percent of the working principal respondents indicated that they had applied. The remaining 43.6 percent had searched for the job, got it through a friend(s) or family, or were self-employed and therefore had initiated the project. Most (71.4 percent) of the principal respondents had had a job during the last five years. Out of this number only 35.4 percent had changed jobs during that period. The reasons given for the job change included better opportunities, dismissal, retrenchment, and "other" reasons.

The majority of the life history cases reported that they were employed in various organisations where, with the exception of a few, they held subordinate positions. Some of the respondents were self-employed in various activities in the informal sector including motor vehicle mechanics, food vending and the running of small

shops. The others were either retired or were unemployed. The following four narratives are illustrative of the work lives of most of the life history cases:

*Lorato is employed in a Junior Community Secondary School as a cleaner. She has been working for 3 years at the school. When she first came to Gaborone her aunt found her a job as a maid with an expatriate family who lived in Broadhurst. She was with them for three years until they went back to their home country. After that she worked for a courier company as a cleaner for about 2 years. She left the courier company because the working conditions were very poor. Because of her position as cleaner she did not qualify for leave unless it was a public holiday and she was also not entitled to any gratuity. The working conditions at the school are far much better. She qualifies for gratuity after every five years.*

*Within two weeks of coming to Gaborone, Mr. Busang landed a job with a construction company. Ever since, his employment history has spanned several construction companies. After working for five years with a construction company owned by a Mr. Molatlhegi, he moved to Mark Construction Company in 1974 because it offered better opportunities. He stayed with this company for 2 years before leaving because of ill treatment from the foremen. In 1978 he joined Wade Adam construction company where he specialised in bricklaying and plastering. But as time went on, he learnt other jobs like roofing and carpentry. There were times when he would be laid off because the company he was working for had not won any tenders. During those times he would go back to the lands in his home village to farm and take care of livestock. Mr. Busang retired from Wade Adam, currently Murray and Roberts, in 1997 because of eye problems after receiving his gratuity.*

*Florence has held a number of jobs around Gaborone, the last one being as a cleaner at Hyundai Motors. She worked for there for 2 years but was retrenched when the company went into liquidation. She earns a living by going to Johannesburg to buy clothes and blankets which she sells from her house. Once every month she sells her goods at the Flea Market held over weekends at the Botswana Building Society (BBS) Mall not far from her residential neighbourhood of Ledumang. Florence reports that she does not sell at the flea market every weekend because she cannot afford it. One is required to hire tables and umbrellas for a fee from the people running the market.*

*Moemedi, a native of Kasane, came to Gaborone 20 years ago. He lived with his mother and her husband in Gaborone West until he completed his Junior Certificate (JC) and found himself a job about 11 years ago. He has changed jobs a number of times in the past five years. He has worked as a wholesale cashier, clerk, and as a packer in one of the chain stores. He keeps changing jobs with the hope that he will get something better. At the time of the study Moemedi was unemployed.*

### **6.3 Forms of Urban Social Ties**

This section outlines the types of social ties existing among the residents of Broadhurst themselves as well as between them and others living elsewhere in Gaborone. These are conceptualised in terms of the social relationships that have evolved amongst those residing in the city. The study focuses on the respondents' sense of community, advice seeking patterns and membership of urban-based social

organisations and clubs to assess the density and forms of social ties. While sense of community was conceptualised in terms of the respondents' feelings about and involvement with others in the neighbourhood, advice-seeking patterns were construed in terms of whether the respondent consulted and were consulted by others with respect to family, social, work-related, and financial matters. On the other hand, membership of social organisations and clubs was captured in terms of the respondents' belonging to churches, burial societies and other social groups.

### **6.3.1 Sense of Community**

Although the term community has numerous meanings, both sociological and non-sociological (Johnson, 1995), this study utilises it to refer to a sense of belonging or togetherness among a number of people resident within a specific geographical area in the city. Closely related to the concept of community is the concept of neighbourhood. It is used by the study to refer to an area occupied by people living near one another. To capture the respondents' sense of community, they were asked to indicate the importance of neighbours in their lives, who they considered to be their neighbours, how they felt about neighbours, and the extent to which their homes were open to visitors. Respondents were also asked to state the kind of activities they were involved in with their neighbours and with what frequency. The final measure of sense of community utilised by the study was the respondents' general feelings about moving out of the neighbourhood.

Most of the principal respondents considered neighbours to be important in their lives. Only 4.7 percent indicated that neighbours were not important at all. While 20.6 percent indicated that neighbours were somewhat important, 34.7 percent said they were important, and 40.0 percent considered neighbours to be very important. Asked to indicate who they considered to be their neighbours, 38.6 percent considered the person next door to be a neighbour, 36.2 percent identified people resident within the vicinity to be neighbours, and the neighbours to 19.7 percent were those people they

interacted with despite the residential distance separating them. Only 5.6 percent of the respondents did not consider anybody to be their neighbour. The importance of neighbours was underlined by the experiences narrated through the life histories as evident from the following:

*Joshua came to Gaborone about 24 years ago. He has lived in Phiring for the past 20 years. He gets on very well with the people in the vicinity, he claims he knows everyone in the neighbourhood and he enters every yard that he wishes to. He visits and talks to his neighbours. Sometimes when he runs out of household items like salt and sugar he does not hesitate to borrow from them. The neighbours also do the same. When his children are in Gaborone they play freely with other children in the neighbourhood.*

*Mr. Busang is chairman of the Village Development Committee(VDC) in the Broadhurst Extension. 25 area and a member of the Home Based Care project. Members of this project accompany health workers during visits to the sick who are under family care. According to him, it is easy to identify with his neighbours because they are old like him and share common interests. He considers them to be very co-operative. They usually attend meetings and participate in joint activities such as police initiated neighbourhood watches and the clean up campaign organised by the VDC in conjunction with the City Council.*

*Mothusi, who first came to Gaborone at the age of eight, considers the majority of his neighbours to be friendly, trustworthy and can be counted on for help. He seldom visits his neighbours but sometimes chats with them concerning life issues of marriage, HIV/AIDS, death etc. Although he talks to them he rarely borrows anything from them like sugar, salt, tools etc. He seldom invites his neighbours for meals but their children get along very well and sometimes play together. Mothusi says he would be very sorry to leave the house in which he stays due to the fact that it is his property.*

However, there were a few instances in which the individuals did not regard any one in the vicinity to a neighbour. Such sentiments are depicted by the following extracts:

*Koketso does not regard anyone in her neighbourhood to be her friend and thus does not know or have much contact with her neighbours. This could be attributed to the fact that she leaves for work in the morning and comes back in the evening. In addition, her house is surrounded by a brick wall which hinders contact between her and her neighbours. Despite her not being on friendly terms with those in the neighbourhood she would be quite sad if she were to lose her house because it is her personal property.*

*James, a hawker, has lived in the Extension 25 neighbourhood for the past 10 years but he does not have much contact with his neighbours apart from exchanging greetings. He spends a lot of time at his business stand, including Saturdays and Sundays. He is there quite early in the morning and stays until around six in the evening. He has more contacts with his fellow hawkers who have stalls next to his.*

Asked to express their sentiments about the residents of their neighbourhood, 78.6 percent of the principal respondents felt that the majority of their neighbours were friendly, trustworthy and could be counted on for help. While 17.2 percent expressed neutral sentiments by indicating that most of their neighbours were neither friendly nor hostile, only 4.2 percent found the majority of their neighbours to be hostile, untrustworthy and could not be counted on for help. The life history case presented below is illustrative of the few respondents who considered their neighbours to be hostile:

*Kedibonye has lived in Phiring for over 20 years but she does not get on very well with most of her neighbours. She does not trust some of the people in the vicinity because she was accused of selling dagga and illicit beer. She was reported to the police who investigated and found no evidence. She suspects one of her neighbours who operates a shebeen like her to have reported her to the police out of jealousy. As if that was not enough her house was broken into at one time and her suspicion is that someone in the vicinity did it. With all this, happening to her, she has no good reason to trust her neighbours.*

Concerning the extent to which their homes were open for visiting by others, only 3.3 percent of the principal respondents considered their homes to be private places for family only. While 45.8 percent considered their homes a reclusive place where only a few neighbours and relations are welcome to visit periodically, 17.5 percent saw their home as a place where visitors are welcome as long as they informed the respondent in advance. The remaining 33.3 percent viewed their home as always open to neighbours and other people to pop in unconditionally.

With respect to neighbourhood activities, the study focused on a variety of activities including chatting, participation in social occasions, visiting informally, children playing together, sharing of responsibilities such as watching over each others' house and babysitting, sharing meals, and the exchange of gifts. Table 12 summarises the frequency of respondent involvement in these activities. Based on the Table, the majority of the respondents reported being involved with their neighbours in all

**Table 12: Types of Activities By Frequency of Involvement with Neighbours**

Types of Activities	<u>Frequency of Involvement</u>											
	Never		Seldom		Sometimes		Often		Very often		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Chatting with neighbours	10	2.8	42	11.7	76	21.1	116	32.2	116	32.2	360	100.0
Participation in social occasions	18	5.0	19	5.3	94	26.1	124	34.4	105	29.2	360	100.0
Visit informally	19	5.3	35	9.7	90	25.0	118	32.8	98	27.2	360	100.0
Children playing together	25	6.9	26	7.2	80	22.2	135	37.5	94	26.1	360	100.0
Sharing of responsibilities	38	10.6	59	16.4	131	36.4	120	33.3	12	3.3	360	100.0
Sharing of meals	40	11.1	70	19.4	138	38.3	103	28.6	9	2.5	360	100.0
Exchange of gifts	105	29.2	41	11.4	130	36.1	76	21.1	8	2.2	360	100.0

activities studied. The level of involvement in these activities varied from seldom to very often. As evident from Table 12, the density of involvement was quite high for most activities. For instance, in the cases of chatting with neighbours, participation in social activities, visiting informally, and children playing together over 60 percent of the principal respondents indicated that they were involved in such activities either often or very often. Overall only a minority of those surveyed for their life histories indicated that they did not interact intensely with their neighbours and in most cases only exchanged greetings with them. The following case captures the cordial nature of relationships between neighbours:

*Rona and her partner have lived in Ledumang in the same neighbourhood ever since they came to Gaborone. She has contacts with people next door whom she socialises with and really trusts. She believes that they can help her if she is ill or is in trouble. She visits her neighbours, chats with them, and sometimes gets salt, sugar and other foodstuffs when she runs out. She sometimes invites them for meals and they reciprocate. Their children spend most of their time playing together. She is also a member of the Neighbourhood Watch, a group which functions during holidays like Christmas and Easter. The group consists of 10 households all within the same street to make it easier for them to patrol their properties. At times they contribute money and hire a security company to guard their houses during holiday times.*

The study also sought the respondents' attachment to their neighbourhoods by asking them to indicate how they felt about moving away from there. Most respondents were quite attached to the neighbourhood and never wished to move to another area. For instance, among the principal respondents only 17.3 percent reported that they would be very pleased or pleased to move out of their current neighbourhood. While 9.4 percent were neutral (would be neither pleased nor sorry), 73.3 percent would have been sorry or very sorry to leave the neighbourhood. As evident from the life history cases attachment to the neighbourhoods appeared to have been stronger among those who owned the house they occupied. Most of these respondents indicated that they would have preferred to buy a plot and build a house instead of renting. However, plots are not readily available in Gaborone. Another basis for neighbourhood attachment was the difficulty of finding accommodation elsewhere. Some respondents

also felt that they had built quite a good relationship with the landlord and would not want to move out. The following experiences represent the various reasons for attachment to the neighbourhoods:

*Lerato is 40 years old and was born in Mahalapye, in the Central District. She lives in a two bedroomed low cost house in Ginja, which she is renting from the landlord who stays in the bigger house in the same yard. She says she would be very sorry to leave the neighbourhood. Apart from the fact she is on good terms with the landlord, affordable accommodation is very difficult to get in Gaborone.*

*When Florence first came to Gaborone she stayed in Old Naledi, one of the oldest residential areas in the city. The area is very noisy with a lot of shebeens around and the rate of crime is very high. She felt that it was not a safe place for her and her sons to live in and therefore decided to look for accommodation elsewhere in Gaborone. That is how she ended up in Ledumang. Although the neighbourhood is turning out to be like Old Naledi, she would not want to move out. Rather, she would have loved to buy a plot and build a house instead of renting. Plots are difficult to come by in Gaborone and more specifically in Ledumang. The area is quite new compared to other residential areas in Broadhurst but already Self Help Housing Agency has no plots available unless one opts to purchase a plot from an individual. This can prove to be expensive.*

Despite the cordial relationships reported by the respondents, most of them did not consider the strength of these to approximate those found in the rural areas. They believed that social ties are more concrete and much more intense in the rural areas than in the urban areas. People in rural areas are very close to each other, interact a lot, and are there for each other in times of need. This is the case because the majority of people would be related. Also family is important in one's life no matter where you stay or work. People in the rural areas share the same norms and values and feel that doing things together is part and parcel of culture or tradition. Compared to people in rural areas, urban dwellers do not interact with one another very much because they are busy with their lives. The existence of stronger social ties in rural relative to urban areas is illustrated by the cases of Zibo and Mma Modise:

*Zibo believes that social ties are much more intense in the rural areas than in the urban areas. In rural areas people are very close to each other, interact a lot, and are there for each other in times of need. He also felt that this was the case because majority of the people in rural areas would be related and as the saying goes "blood is thicker than water". On the contrary, people in town people do not interact with one another very much because they are busy with their lives. He gave the example that he may not attend a funeral in the neighbourhood because he would be attending a workshop or a seminar.*

*Over time, Mma Modise has developed very close friends in the Phiring and other areas of Gaborone. She indicated that she discussed a lot of things with urban friends and offered each other support and advice. She considered everyone within the Phiring area to be a neighbour with whom she spent time chatting. However, she felt that, despite people being friendly, they lacked in the spirit of 'Botho'; that is, helping each other as a community. This is unlike in the rural area where one's problems could become everyone's problem and people could help. To this end she said, "Here everyone minds their own business, a situation which does not hold the community together."*

### **6.3.2 Advice-Seeking Patterns**

The study first sought the respondents' perceptions about the strength of ties with family and relatives residing in Gaborone and other urban areas before focusing on their advice-seeking patterns. While 51.4 percent indicated that ties had remained the same, 29.4 percent felt that these had been strengthened; only 19.2 percent considered such ties to have been weakened. Advice-seeking patterns were analysed in terms of advice sought by the respondents themselves from others and that sought by others from the respondents. The former focused on the frequency with which the respondents consulted relatives, friends and work mates on matters relating to family, social, work, and financial issues while the latter examined whether relatives, friends and work mates consulted the respondents on the same issues.

#### **6.3.2.1 Advice-Seeking by Respondents**

The respondents indicated that they consulted (or sought advice from) relatives, friends and work mates on matters related to family, social, work, and finance. Of the principal respondents, 86.7 percent had consulted relatives on family matters, 91.4 percent on social matters, 63.4 percent on work issues, and 44.6 percent on financial matters, at least once during the six months preceding the interviews. The frequency of consultation ranged from one time to over six times (see Table 13 for details). Regular consultation on the various matters was also evident among the life history as can be deciphered from the following extracts:

*James has more contacts with his fellow hawkers who have stalls next to his. He has known these people for some time and the group includes both men and women. He gets a lot of social support from them but within the group there are individuals he confides in depending on the problem. For instance, in case of monetary issues he consulted those who were close in age to him but when he was worried about his mother he would talk to the elderly women in the group. The members of the group also turn to him when they needed support, advice or money.*

*"I (Karabo) enjoy living in Phiring and consider the people who live in the vicinity as good neighbours. In particular, Mma Thuto, an old lady in the vicinity is someone I trust a lot. She is like a mother to me. I confide in her when I have problems be they social or financial. I also have other friends who reside in the neighbourhood as well as elsewhere in Gaborone. These are the people I share my problems with. In return I act as their confidant".*

Overall, the results on advice seeking by respondents suggest that relatives are the most consulted particularly when it comes to family and social matters while work mates are the least consulted on most issues. With specific reference to consulting relatives, the data shows that these were most frequently consulted on family matters and least consulted on financial matters. On the other hand, friends were consulted more frequently on social matters and least on financial matters while work mates were consulted most frequently on social matters and least frequently on financial matters.

The urban-based individuals consulted by the respondents were located in diverse places including the respondents' neighbourhood itself, elsewhere in Gaborone, and other urban areas. With some of the principal respondents consulting individuals residing in more than one area, the results show that the respondents mainly relied on individuals resident within Gaborone for advice. Of the relatives, friends, and work mates consulted 80.6 percent, 83.2 percent, and 85.9 percent, respectively, resided in Gaborone either in the neighbourhood itself or elsewhere compared to the 19.4 percent, 16.8 percent, and 14.1 percent, in the same order, who lived in other urban areas.

Various forms of communication were utilised by the respondents when seeking advice from relatives, friends, and work mates. These included face-to-face, communication, third party, telephone, letters, and combination of face-to-face and third party. However, face-to-face communication was most commonly utilised method. It was used by 53.3 percent of those consulting relatives, 55.8 percent of those consulting friends, and by 51.0 percent of those seeking advice from work mates. Overall, communication through letters was the least utilised method. This is understandable given that most respondents consulted others who resided within Gaborone.

### **6.3.2.2 Advice-seeking from Respondents**

The respondents were also asked to indicate whether others resident in urban areas consulted them for advice. Table 14 presents the detailed depiction of the patterns emerging from the data obtained from the principal respondents. These were asked to indicate how often they had been consulted by others during the six-month period before the study. The Table shows that relatives, friends and work mates had consulted over 50 percent of the respondents on all matters. While 76.4 percent of the respondents had been consulted by relatives on family matters, 76.9 percent had provided relatives with advice on social matters, 74.2 percent on work issues, and 68.3 percent on financial matters, at least once. The frequency of consultation on all matters ranged from one time to over six times (see Table 14 for details).

Concerning the provision of advice to friends, 74.7 percent of the respondents had advised friends on family matters, 70.6 percent on social matters, 70.8 percent on work issues, and 76.1 percent on financial matters, at least once during the six-month period predating the study. As evident from Table 14, those advising work mates at least once during the six-month period preceding the study included 56.9 percent of the respondents who were consulted on family matters, 69.1 percent on social matters,

**Table 13: Frequency with Which Respondents Consulted Others Resident in Urban Areas By Selected Matters**

Person Consulted/Matter of Consultation	<u>Frequency of Consultation</u>											
	Never		1-2 Times		3-4 Times		5-6 Times		Over 6 Times		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
<b><u>Relatives:</u></b>												
Family Matters	48	13.3	16	4.4	87	24.2	192	53.3	17	4.7	360	100.0
Social Matters	31	8.6	195	54.2	72	20.0	43	11.9	19	5.3	360	100.0
Work Issues	121	33.6	116	32.2	64	17.8	48	13.3	11	3.1	360	100.0
Financial Matters	167	46.4	98	27.2	85	23.6	10	2.8	0	0.0	360	100.0
<b><u>Friends:</u></b>												
Family Matters	94	26.1	137	38.1	107	29.7	17	4.7	5	1.4	360	100.0
Social Matters	81	22.5	150	41.7	79	21.9	36	10.0	14	3.9	360	100.0
Work Issues	98	27.2	139	38.6	72	20.0	42	11.7	9	2.5	360	100.0
Financial Matters	182	50.6	93	25.8	78	21.7	7	1.9	0	0.0	360	100.0
<b><u>Work mates:</u></b>												
Family Matters	174	48.3	105	29.2	67	18.6	14	3.9	0	0.0	360	100.0
Social Matters	99	27.5	144	40.0	68	18.9	31	8.6	18	5.0	360	100.0
Work Issues	113	31.4	131	36.4	69	19.2	47	13.1	0	0.0	360	100.0
Financial Matters	176	48.9	121	33.6	63	17.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	360	100.0

79.7 percent on work issues, and 57.8 percent on financial matters. With the exception of financial matters, the frequency of consultation ranged from once to more than six times (see Table 14 for details). A closer examination of the results suggests that relatives and friends mainly consulted the respondents on family and social matters. In cases where they were consulted by work mates, work related issues tended to dominate. However, regardless of the matters of consultation, what is evident is the occurrence of frequent consultations between the respondents and urban-based relatives, friends, and co-workers.

Consistent with the results for consultation of others by respondents, those relying on the respondents for advice mainly resided within Gaborone. Among the principal respondents, 81.2 percent of the relatives, 83.3 percent of the friends, and 83.1 percent of the work mates consulting resided in either in the neighbourhood itself or elsewhere in Gaborone compared to 18.8 percent, 16.7 percent and 17.0 percent, respectively, who lived in other urban areas. The modes of communication utilised by those seeking advice from the respondents included face-to-face, third party, telephone, letters, and a combination of face-to-face and third party. Again face-to-face communication emerged as the most popular method utilised mainly because the majority of the respondents were consulted by others who resided within Gaborone. It was used by 52.9 percent of relatives, 55.2 percent of friends, and by 48.9 percent of work mates consulting the respondents. On the other hand, communication through letters was the least utilised method.

Although overall the respondents reported consulting with and being consulted by neighbours and friends, most of them desired to confide in relatives such as parents, spouses, children, brothers, sisters, and uncles, among others, particularly with respect to more private (personal) matters and those pertaining to the family. They preferred to keep serious and sensitive matters within the family and only consulted neighbours

**Table 14: Frequency with Which Others Resident in Urban Areas Consulted Respondents By Selected Matters**

Person Consulting/Matter of Consultation	Frequency of Consultation											
	Never		1-2 Times		3-4 Times		5-6 Times		Over 6 Times		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
<b><u>Relatives:</u></b>												
Family Matters	85	23.6	109	30.3	85	23.6	56	15.6	24	6.7	360	100.0
Social Matters	83	23.1	205	56.9	49	13.6	13	3.6	10	2.8	360	100.0
Work Issues	93	25.8	157	43.6	59	16.4	38	10.6	13	3.6	360	100.0
Financial Matters	114	31.7	154	42.8	64	17.8	22	6.1	6	1.7	360	100.0
<b><u>Friends:</u></b>												
Family Matters	91	25.3	143	39.9	63	17.5	46	12.8	17	4.7	360	100.0
Social Matters	106	29.4	144	40.0	65	18.1	35	9.7	10	2.8	360	100.0
Work Issues	105	29.2	142	39.4	64	17.8	40	11.1	9	2.5	360	100.0
Financial Matters	86	23.9	172	47.8	63	17.5	34	9.4	5	1.4	360	100.0
<b><u>Work mates:</u></b>												
Family Matters	155	43.1	116	32.2	49	13.6	27	7.5	13	3.6	360	100.0
Social Matters	115	31.9	153	42.5	60	16.7	27	7.5	5	1.4	360	100.0
Work Issues	73	20.3	103	28.6	79	21.9	64	17.8	41	11.4	360	100.0
Financial Matters	152	42.2	120	33.3	62	17.2	26	7.2	0	0.0	360	100.0

about matters that they did not consider serious. The respondents found it hard to confide in neighbours when it came to sensitive matters because they could hardly trust them. Some argued that friends and neighbours may be supportive but should not be over trusted. The following cases reflect such sentiments:

*Mma Modise considered herself to be a trustworthy person. But when it came to problems that affect the family, relatives were the most important since they are flesh and blood. She indicated that her children have been very supportive and always helped when necessary.*

*Mma Pilane only talks to her neighbours about problems she considers not too serious. She finds it hard to confide in them because she cannot really trust them. Although her friends too have been supportive, she says that, more often than not, the advice or assistance rendered by an outsider normally has strings attached. Sincerity is hard to find and one has to be careful. As such, she prefers to keep serious matters within the family.*

### **6.3.3 Membership of Social Organisations**

The other measure of urban social ties was membership of social organisations and clubs. These included church, burial society, and other social clubs. As evident from the data, although the majority of the respondents were members of some social organisation or club, church membership was most prevalent. The respondents mainly belonged to churches and church related associations - such as Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), mothers' guild, choir, and cell (prayer) groups. The dominant churches are the Anglican Church, the Zion Christian Church (ZCC), the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa (UCCSA), the Apostolic Faith Mission Church, and the Roman Catholic Church, among others. Of the principal respondents 58.3 percent belonged to a church. The following cases summarise the experiences of those respondents who were church members:

*Mma Dimpho is very active in the Catholic Church and ever since her retirement she now devotes a lot time to the church. She is also a member of the YWCA. According to her, through her church and YWCA membership she has grown spiritually and also gets emotional and social support.*

*Lerato is a staunch member of the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa (UCCSA) and sings in the church choir. She has friends from the church she can rely on. None of them stay in the same neighbourhood.*

*Nkamo has been a member of the Anglican Church ever since she was young. She socialises a lot with her church mates. She enjoys taking part in church activities. She is a member of the women's fellowship group. She has also joined the visiting committee of the church. The committee members go around visiting members of the congregation who are sick in hospital or at home.*

*Ms Bareki receives emotional, social and spiritual support from the Apostolic Faith Mission Church, which she attends. The church is more like her family. Not only do they help her in looking after her orphaned grandchildren they also assist during funerals and weddings. She contributes occasionally to the church by working there and tithing monthly.*

Other respondents reported that they were members of burial societies and other social organisations such as sports clubs, political parties, neighbourhood watches, and women's groups. These included 41.4 percent of the principal respondents who were members of a burial society and 8.3 percent who belonged to other social clubs or organisations. The following narratives testify to membership of other social organisations among the life history cases:

*Mma Dimpho is a member of a burial society which she helped form in the neighbourhood. They get together frequently even when there are no funerals. Recently they held a fundraising lunch at her house. They did not raise a lot of money because most members did not attend. However they are planning on holding another fundraising luncheon soon.*

*Zibo does not socialise with others in the neighbourhood very much but is a member of one of the sports clubs. Although he does not take part in any sporting activities, he frequents the club for a drink or to meet with friends. Most of his friends are work mates or people he went with to university. These are the people he relies on for financial or social assistance.*

*Mma Bareki is also a member of the Ledumang Burial Society to which she contributes P30 monthly. The society had 25 members. Money realised through membership of the society is used to assist with the financing of funerals and weddings*

*Mosadi is a member of a women's group. The group has 15 members who have come together to try and make a difference in their lives. During the past 10 years, they have each contributed 200 Pula monthly and saved it in a fixed deposit account. They have managed to buy a mini-bus, which they have leased to a transport operator in town. Plans are underway for the group to buy a low cost house which they will rent out. The group is also a source of moral and financial support in times of need like during weddings and funerals. Individual members can also borrow money from the group's account and pay it back with a certain interest. Most of the members have known each other since their days at secondary school.*

The frequency of participation in the activities of social clubs/organisation varied among the participants. Of the 269 principal respondents who belonged to social clubs

and organisations, 78.1 percent reported that they participated in the activities of the organisation often or very often. The others seldom participated or participated sometimes. This suggests that the bulk of those who belonged to social clubs and organisations were quite active members. Concerning relationships with other members of organisations to which they belonged, 7.0 percent described them as acquaintances, 23.8 percent as just friends, and 69.2 percent as close or very close friends. Examined within the context of social ties, these descriptions point to the existence of networks of friendship between the respondents and other members of social organisations.

Those who belonged to social organisations/clubs made various contributions to them. Church members indicated that they participated fully in church activities. They made monetary contributions and also devoted a lot of time to the church. Among the principal respondents 32.1 percent of the 212 church members contributed money, 21.7 percent contributed time and 46.2 percent contributed both money and time. On the other hand, of the 149 respondents who belonged to a burial society, 42.3 percent contributed money, 24.8 percent mainly gave in terms of time, while 32.9 percent gave both money and time. Of the 30 respondents who belonged to other organisations/clubs, 53.3 percent contributed money, 30.0 percent contributed time, and 16.7 percent contributed both money and time.

The benefits derived from the respondents' membership of organisations and clubs, varied by type of social organisation. Religious congregations provided a major source of spiritual fulfilment and social and emotional support for the members. According to them, the church was more like a family. Not only did it help them during crisis situations like deaths but also during happy occasions like weddings. Of those principal respondents who were church members, 48.6 percent received spiritual guidance, 20.8 percent material and social support, 16.5 percent expected a church burial upon death, and 14.1 percent received both spiritual guidance and material

support. Benefits deriving from membership of burial societies included burial services for the members and/or his/her family, social support during bereavement and other social occasions, and both burial services and social support. Benefits from membership of other organisations/clubs included personal satisfaction, social support, and both personal satisfaction and social support. Those interviewed for their life histories and who belonged to social organisations and clubs also reported receiving benefits similar to those received by the principal respondents who belonged to such societies.

#### **6.4 Variations in Urban Social Ties**

Testing for variations in urban social ties is imperative to establish whether these are universal across categories of urban residents. The possibility that the nature and extent of urban social ties among the residents of Broadhurst can vary by social characteristics of residents cannot be ruled out. Such variations have been demonstrated by previous research (see, e.g., Wilmott, 1987; Vaa, et. al., 1989). For instance, women migrants are said to be more likely to be involved in a social world extending beyond the family in the city (Vaa, et. al., 1989; Schlyter, 1990). They join savings clubs, develop fictive kinship links with friends and establish close, supportive relations with neighbours. According to Vaa, et al. these give women a network of people upon whom they can depend in time of need without necessarily replacing family interactions in the village. Similarly, men and women have also been shown to have different patterns of social relationships (Wilmott, 1987).

Further analyses were carried out to explore for variations in urban interaction patterns based on sex, marital status, housing ownership, household size, duration of residence in the city, residential stability, education, and employment status using cross tabulation. The Chi square ( $\chi^2$ ) was the statistical test used to assess whether the principal respondents' sense of community, advice-seeking patterns and membership of social organisations and clubs varied by these variables. In all cases the assessment

of significance utilised a 2-tailed test. Table 15 summarises the significant variations in urban social interaction patterns obtained from the cross-tabulation analyses. The detailed results are presented in Appendix III, Tables 22a to 29c.

#### **6.4.1 Sense of Community**

Concerning sense of community, cross-tabulation analysis involved looking at whether the respondents considered those in the surroundings to be neighbours and whether they visited, chatted, and participated in social occasions with neighbours. As evident from Table 15, all respondents were equally likely to consider others to be neighbours. No significant variations based on sex, marital status, housing ownership, household size, duration of residence in the city, residential stability, education, and employment status were observed (see Appendix III, Tables 22a - 29c). Similarly, there were no significant variations in visiting patterns based sex, marital status, housing ownership, household size, duration of residence in the city, residential stability, or education. The only significant variations found were in employment status (see Appendix III, Table 29a). The results showed that those who were unemployed were more likely to visit neighbours relative to their employed counterparts. Results for chatting with neighbours showed no significant variations based on sex, marital status, housing ownership, household size, duration of residence in the city, residential stability, education, or employment status. On the other hand, the analyses for involvement in social occasions revealed variations based on education only. Those with primary and lower levels of education were more likely to participate in social occasions with neighbours compared to those with secondary and higher levels of education.

#### **6.4.2 Advice-Seeking Patterns**

Advice-seeking patterns were analysed in terms of whether the respondent consulted, and was consulted by, relatives and friends with respect to family, social and financial matters. The detailed results of the analyses are depicted in Appendix III, Tables 22a -

**Table 15: Significant Variations in Urban Social Ties**

Category	Variable	Chi-square Value
<b>Sense of Community:</b>		
<i>Issue of Neighbour:</i>		
1. Others are neighbours	No significant Variations	Not Applicable
2. Visiting	Employment	$\chi^2 = 4.248$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .039
3. Chatting	No significant Variations	Not Applicable
4. Social occasions	Education	$\chi^2 = 5.298$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .021
<b>Advice Seeking Patterns:</b>		
<i>Family Matters:</i>		
1. Consulted relatives	No significant Variations	Not Applicable
2. Consulted by Relatives	No significant Variations	Not Applicable
3. Consulted friends	Household Size	$\chi^2 = 5.925$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .015
	Education	$\chi^2 = 4.344$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .037
4. Consulted by Friends	No significant Variations	Not Applicable
<i>Social Matter:</i>		
1. Consulted Relatives	No significant Variations	Not Applicable
2. Consulted by Relatives	Household Size	$\chi^2 = 5.319$ d.f. = 1; p-value = .021
	Employment	$\chi^2 = 9.820$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .002
3. Consulted Friends	Education	$\chi^2 = 6.281$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .012
4. Consulted by Friends	No significant Variations	Not Applicable
<i>Financial Matters:</i>		
1. Consulted Relatives	Sex	$\chi^2 = 7.233$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .007
	Education	$\chi^2 = 6.905$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .009
	Employment	$\chi^2 = 5.198$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .023

**Table 15 [Continued]**

<b>Category</b>	<b>Variable</b>	<b>Chi-square Value</b>
2. Consulted by Relatives	Sex	$\chi^2 = 7.279$ d.f. = 1; p-value = .007
	Household Size	$\chi^2 = 8.386$ d.f. = 1; p-value = .004
	Education	$\chi^2 = 7.729$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .007
	Employment	$\chi^2 = 18.884$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .000
3. Consulted Friends	Sex	$\chi^2 = 7.482$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .006
	Residential Stability	$\chi^2 = 4.507$ d.f. = 1; p-value = .034
	Household Size	$\chi^2 = 4.850$ d.f. = 1; p-value = .028
	Education	$\chi^2 = 4.219$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .040
	Employment	$\chi^2 = 5.582$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .018
4. Consulted by Friends	Household Size	$\chi^2 = 5.345$ d.f. = 1; p-value = .021
<b>Membership of social Organisations</b>		
1. Church Membership	Sex	$\chi^2 = 21.155$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .000
	Household Size	$\chi^2 = 10.025$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .002
	Education	$\chi^2 = 7.341$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .007
	Employment	$\chi^2 = 4.487$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .034
2. Burial Society	No significant Variations	Not Applicable
3. Other Clubs	No significant Variations	Not Applicable
4. Both Church and Burial Society	Sex	$\chi^2 = 12.750$ ; d.f. = 2; p-value = .002
	Neighbourhood Stability	$\chi^2 = 6.353$ ; d.f. = 2; p-value = .042

29c. Concerning family matters, the only significant variations observed were based on household size and education with respect to respondents consulting friends. The results (see Tables 27b and 28b) showed that respondents who belonged to larger households (more than four members) were more likely to consult friends on family

matters. Similarly, the less educated were more likely to consult friends on family matters compared to those with secondary and higher levels of education.

Analysis focusing on social matters showed statistically significant variations based on education with respect to the respondents consulting friends (see Appendix III, Table 28b). Respondents with primary and lower levels of education were more likely to consult friends on social matters compared to those who had attained secondary and higher levels of education. No significant variations were observed based on all other independent variables analysed. Concerning consultation by relatives and friends on social matters, the only significant variations found were based on household size and employment status both with respect to consultation by relatives. As evident from Appendix III, Table 27b, respondents who were members of larger households were more likely to be consulted on social matters by relatives compared to those belonging to smaller households. On the other hand, unemployed respondents were more likely to be consulted on social matters by relatives compared to their employed counterparts (see Appendix III, Table 29b).

The final area of consultation analysed for variations was financial matters. With respect to consulting relatives, the results showed significant variations based on sex, education and employment (see Appendix III, Tables 22b, 28b, and 29b). While males were found to be more likely than females to consult relatives on financial matters, the more educated respondents were more likely to consult relatives on the same. Similarly, consultation with relatives on financial matters was higher among those who were employed compared to the unemployed respondents. Pertaining to consulting friends on financial matters, the results showed the existence of significant variations based on sex, residential stability, household size, education, and employment (see Appendix III, Tables 22b, 25b, 27b, 28b, and 29b). Male respondents were more likely than females to consult friends on financial matters and so were those who had resided in the current neighbourhood for between 1 and 5

years five years compared to those who had lived there for 6 or more years. Similarly, respondents who resided in household size with 4 or more members were more likely to consult friends on financial matters relative to their counterparts who lived in household with 1-3 members. Also found to have been more likely to consult friends on financial matters were respondents who had attained primary and lower levels of education relative to those who had secondary and higher levels of education. Furthermore, the propensity of consulting friends on financial matters was higher among respondents who were employed relative to their unemployed counterparts.

Analyses focusing on consultation by relatives on financial matters revealed significant variations based on sex, household size, education, and employment (see Appendix III, Tables 22b, 27b, 28b, and 29b). Females were more likely than males to be consulted by relatives on financial matters. In addition, respondents who resided in household size with 4 or more members were more likely to be consulted by relatives on financial matters than their counterparts who lived in household with less than 4 members. Respondents who had attained primary and lower levels of education relative to those who had secondary and higher levels of education were also more likely to be consulted by relatives on financial matters. Finally, the chances of being consulted by relatives on financial matters were greater among respondents who were unemployed compared to their employed counterparts. Results for consultation by friends on financial matters revealed significant variations based on household size only (see Appendix III, Tables 27b). Those who resided in households with 1-3 members were more likely to be consulted by friends on financial matters.

#### **6.4.3 Membership of Social Organisations**

The final test for variations in urban social ties focused on membership of social organisations and clubs. This was analysed in terms of the respondents' identification with churches, burial societies and other social clubs. As indicated earlier, 58.3 percent of the respondents were members of churches, 41.4 percent members of burial

societies and only 8.3 percent members of other social clubs. The results from cross-tabulation analyses revealed the existence of significant differences in membership of churches based on sex, household size, educational attainment, and employment status (see Appendix III, Tables 22c, 27c, 28c, and 29c). No significant variations were observed for membership of burial society and other social clubs. More specifically, the propensity of belonging to a church was significantly greater among females relative to males. On the other hand, respondents from larger households (4 or more members) were more likely to belong to churches than those who resided in smaller households. Also, respondents with low levels of education were found to be more likely to be members of churches compared to their counterparts who had attained secondary and higher levels of education. Finally, respondents who were unemployed had a higher propensity of belonging to a church than those who were employed.

Further analysis using dual membership of church and burial society yielded significant variation based on sex and neighbourhood stability only. Women were more likely than men to belong to a church and a burial society simultaneously. Men, on the other hand, were more likely to be members of one social organisation or not to be a member of any organisation at all. Concerning neighbourhood stability the analysis showed that those who had resided in the neighbourhood for shorter periods were more likely to belong to both church and burial society compared to those who had resided there longer. Similarly, the propensity for being a member of only one organisation or of none at all was higher among those who had lived in the neighbourhood for longer periods.

## **6.5 Summary of Findings**

The main purpose of this section is to summarise the findings presented in this chapter following the broad theme of urban social ties. This is preceded by a brief description of the characteristics of the study sample. The study focused on two categories of

respondents. The first category, made up of 360 respondents whose ages ranged between 18 and 65 years, included nearly equal numbers of males and females. The second category comprised of 30 respondents who were profiled for their life histories. These included 10 males and 20 females whose ages ranged from 26 to 68 years. While very few of the respondents had no education, primary school and junior secondary were the dominant educational levels attained by most of them. The overwhelming majority of those studied were migrants from rural areas in Botswana who had come to the city mainly in search of employment. Most of them had lived both in Gaborone and in their current neighbourhoods for considerable periods of time.

Only slightly over half of the respondents were employed at the time of the study. Those who were employed were mainly in low-paying occupations such as labourers, domestic servants, and informal sectors businesses. The majority of the respondents resided in low cost housing. These comprised detached units, semi-detached, single rooms, prefabs, tents, and caravans. Most of the dwelling units were rented from private landlords. Virtually all households studied were composed of individuals who were either related by blood or marriage to the household head. As such, they qualified to be families either in the nuclear or extended sense.

Three indicators of urban social interaction were employed by this study. These are sense of community, advice seeking patterns and membership of social organisations. Most respondents indicated that they considered others located next door, within the vicinity or elsewhere in the city to be their neighbours. They considered their neighbours to be friendly, trustworthy, co-operative, caring, and to be individuals one could count on for help. Among others, they frequently exchanged greetings, chatted, and visited with neighbours; frequently participated in social occasion such as wedding and funerals together quite often; and their children played together. In some cases, neighbours had even developed borrowing networks involving small

commodities such as tea, sugar or salt and they watched each other's houses when anyone was away. Most respondents were also quite attached to the neighbourhood and never wished to move to another area. The majority of them indicated that they would be sorry/very sorry to leave their neighbourhood. Attachment to neighbourhoods was even stronger among those who owned the house they occupied. Indeed, most respondents indicated that they would have preferred to buy a plot and build a house instead of renting. However, plots are not readily available in Gaborone. Another basis for neighbourhood attachment was the difficulty of finding accommodation elsewhere. Some respondents also felt that they had built quite a good relationship with the landlord and would not want to leave.

Results from the tests for variations in sense of community showed that the majority of the respondents were equally likely to project a strong sense of community viewed from the four dimensions of consideration of others as neighbours, visiting, chatting and involvement in social occasions. The only significant variations observed were in visiting and social occasions. Those who were unemployed were more likely to visit neighbours relative to their employed counterparts while those with primary and lower levels of education were more likely to participate in social occasions with neighbours compared to those with secondary and higher levels of education.

Despite the cordial relationships reported by the respondents, most of them did not consider the strength of these to approximate those found in the rural areas. They believed that social ties are more concrete and much more intense in the rural compared to the urban areas. People in rural areas are very close to each other, interact a lot, and are there for each other in times of need. According to the respondents, this is the case because the majority of people would be related and as the saying goes "blood is thicker than water". Family is important in one's life no matter where you stay or work. In addition, people in the rural areas identify themselves as one tribe sharing the same norms and values and feel that doing things

together is part and parcel of culture or tradition. On the contrary, people in town do not interact with one another intensely because they are busy with their lives. For instance, one may not attend a funeral in the neighbourhood because he/she has to go to work.

Those studied sought advice from and also provided the same to others, including relatives, friends and work mates, on matters pertaining to family, social, personal/private and work issues. The patterns found by this study demonstrated that urban residents maintained a high density of ties with relatives, friends, and work mates living in Gaborone. The majority of those studied reported that they most frequently sought advice on social and family matters from relatives as opposed to friends and work mates. Relatives were least consulted on work and financial matters. Those multiple individuals consulted by the respondents were located in diverse places within Gaborone. Relatives, friends, and work mates had been consulted a significant proportion of the respondents on family, social, work, and financial matters. Relatives and friends mainly consulted the respondents on family and social matters while consultation by work mates tended to revolve around work issues. Although a variety of modes of communication were utilised during consultation, face-to-face was used most frequently regardless of the person being consulted or consulting.

The results from tests for relationships showed that the seeking of advice on family matters from friends varied by household size and education. On the other hand, being consulted by relatives on social matters varied by household size and employment while being consulted by friends varied by education. Significant variations were also observed for consultation on financial matters. The results showed that consulting relatives tended to vary by sex, education and employment while being consulted by relatives varied by sex, household size, education and employment. Similarly, consulting friends on financial matters varied by sex, residential stability, household

size, education, and employment while being consulted by friends on financial matters varied by household size only.

The last indicator of urban social ties employed by this study was membership of social organisations. Although the majority of the respondents were members of some social organisation or clubs, church membership was most prevalent. The respondents mainly belonged to churches and church-related groups such as mothers' guild, choir, and prayer groups. Those who belonged to organisations contributed money, time, or effort in exchange for benefits such as spiritual guidance, material support and burial service. The results from tests for relationships showed that membership of churches varied by sex, household size, educational attainment, and employment status. Females and members of large households were more likely to belong to a church and so were those who had attained primary and lower levels of education and the unemployed. Further analysis using dual membership of church and burial society produced significant variation based on sex and neighbourhood stability. Women and those who had resided in the neighbourhood for shorter periods were more likely to belong to a church and a burial society simultaneously. On the other hand, the probability of belonging to one organisation or to none at all was higher among males and those who had lived in the neighbourhood for longer periods.

## **6.6 Conclusion**

Overall, the results on urban social ties indicated the existence of a strong sense of community among urban dwellers in the Broadhurst area. They perceived themselves to be part of the urban community they were living in and as experiencing cordial relationships with their neighbours. Even in the minority of cases where individuals did not interact intensely with neighbours and only exchanged greetings with them, this did not manifest strained relationships with or abhorrence of their neighbours. This trend is supportive of what has been found by most previous studies carried out in sub-Saharan Africa and elsewhere (Dempsey, 1990; Schlyter, 1990; Gugler, 1996b;

Geschiere and Gugler, 1998; Peil and Oyeneeye, 1998). Based on these studies, urban dwellers not only share a place of residence but also develop close social bonds of friendship that give them a sense of community and belonging. As such neighbours may gradually become friends and get involved with each other in activities similar to those found by this study.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN**

### **7.0 URBAN-RURAL LINKAGES**

This chapter focuses on the nature and extent of urban-rural linkages that characterise the residents of Broadhurst. It utilises data from both the principal respondents and from those profiled for their life history. The Chapter is organised into five sections. The first section describes urban-rural linkages construed in terms of property ownership and involvement in economic activities in rural areas; participation in social activities; exchange of money, goods, and visits; types of communication maintained; and advice seeking patterns. Section two focuses on the respondents' views on the effects of urban residence on ties with rural kin and on future residence in the urban areas. While section three presents the variations in urban-rural linkages, section four summarises the major findings. The final section presents the conclusions.

#### **7.1 Urban-Rural Linkages**

Urban-rural linkages can be viewed as the structural social relationships maintained between individuals in the urban environment and those in rural areas. The respondents' links to especially rural areas were established by asking whether they owned property, engaged in economic activities, and participated in social activities in the rural areas. The exchange of money, goods, and visits; frequency of communication with relatives and friends; and consultation with people living in rural areas were also used as indicators of urban-rural linkages.

As a preamble to the questions about the practices analysed in this section, the respondents were asked to give an indication of how many of their family members were residing in the home village. By family members it was meant anyone related to the respondent by blood or marriage. The results showed that all respondents had family members residing in the rural areas. For the principal respondents 53.3 percent indicated that most of their family members resided in the home village while 26.1

percent reported that all of their family members lived here. The remaining 20.6 percent had only a few family members residing in the home village. In addition, most respondents, that is 71.1 percent of the principal respondents, were categorical that they had no plans to have rural relatives join them in the urban area. While 19.4 percent indicated that they wished their relatives to join them in town sometime in the future, only 9.4 percent were unsure.

### **7.1.1 Ownership of Property and Involvement in Economic Activities**

The first indicator of urban-rural linkages utilised by this study was the respondents' ownership of property and involvement in economic activities in the rural areas. The survey showed that virtually all respondents owned property in rural areas either personally, through a spouse, or through a family member. Among the principal respondents 91.9 percent owned property in rural areas. With respondents owning more than one type of property, the range of properties owned included residential plots, housing, farmland/fields, livestock, cattle posts/grazing fields, business plots, and other types of properties. Table 16 presents the distribution of principal respondents by types of property owned. Those who owned land were asked to indicate how they acquired it. The survey showed that 34.2 percent had inherited the land, 33.3 percent owned tribal/communal land, 19.7 percent were allocated land by the Land Board, 8.3 percent owned freehold land, and 4.3 percent had leased it from other persons.

**Table 16: Ownership of Property among Principal Respondents**

<b>Type of Property</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage*</b>
Residential plots/housing	253	70.3
Farmland/fields	233	64.7
Livestock	230	63.9
Cattle posts/grazing fields	204	56.7
Business plots	52	14.4
Other types of property	34	9.4

\* Respondents owned more than one type of property. The percentage column, therefore, does not total to 100.

Among the life history respondents the ownership of a combination of properties and how these were acquired is best captured through the following extracts:

*Lebogang and her husband (Toteng) have a house on the outskirts of Maun which they built on a plot Toteng inherited from his father. They are planning to build a house in Maun and have applied for a plot in the centre of town for rental.*

*Mma Pilane owns lands in Shoshong but her family does not plough any more. She intimated, that "the youth of today are not interested in agriculture hence there is no one to plough the land." The land is a family plot, and was divided amongst her and her siblings by her father. However, the men were allocated larger tracts of land although their major interest lay with cattle farming. She also owned a few cattle in her late husband's village and a residential plot, which has two huts on it.*

*Mma Modise owns ploughing land in her home village of Sikwane. Although she does not plough, she says that the land is security for her children as well as her grandchildren. She also owns a plot in the village which she acquired from the Land Board.. She indicated that she was developing the plot with her children and grandchildren in mind. Mma Modise did not own any livestock. She maintained that her relatives 'ate' them all. With some bitterness, she related an incident one of her children passed away and she had to appeal to her sister to lend her a cow to cater for the people at the funeral.*

*Mma Mpho owns a plot in Mochudi, which she acquired from the Land Board in 1994. After the Land Board threatened to repossess the plot, she started developing it around 1995. Her son was schooling abroad at that time and on his return he helped in developing it. It was at her son's insistence that she had acquired that plot. The son had reasoned that the mother should develop her own plot because his grandmother's plot where everyone seemed to want to build was now overcrowded.*

As can be deduced from the ownership of property, only 8.1 percent of the principal respondents did not own any property in rural areas. Similarly, only a few of the respondents interviewed for their life history reported that they did not own property in their home villages as evident through the following cases:

*James does not own any land or livestock although his father did. He maintains that he is not interested in owning any land at home but had access to family land in the village. He had no intention of investing in any livestock as they were too expensive to maintain and would require him to be going home regularly.*

*Mma Bareki did not own land or livestock in the rural areas. She indicated that once she got divorced she gave up on the land she used to plough in her former husband's village. In addition, the livestock (cattle) that her family used to own in the village were kept by the husband when they got divorced.*

Concerning involvement in economic activities in rural areas, the surveys revealed that most of the respondents were involved in a variety of economic activities including cattle rearing, keeping of small stock (sheep and goats), poultry farming, and arable agriculture, in their village. Of the principal respondents, 82.2 percent indicated that they were involved in economic activities. With some of the respondents participating in more than one activity, 56.9 percent were involved in farming, 50.0 percent were practising livestock rearing, 16.7 percent were involved in business, and 10.3 percent reported being engaged in other economic activities.

The involvement of those profiled for their life history in economic activities in the rural areas is evident from the narratives presented below:

*Tiro belongs to a cattle syndicate comprising of eight members, including his brothers and cousins. They decided to come together, five years ago and contribute money towards buying a borehole for watering their livestock. In addition they have bought cattle together and also employ two herd boys to look after the cattle. Whenever they want to increase their herd or sell some of the cattle it has to be a unanimous decision. Running the syndicate has proved to be quite profitable.*

*Mma Dimpho and her husband, have a cattle post where they rear cattle and goats. They also have farming land for ploughing, which they rarely cultivate because it is so difficult to supervise ploughing and harvesting from Gaborone. Unlike cattle rearing which does not require you to be there all the time as long as you have good herd boys and plenty of water, ploughing requires close supervision. Her husband most often spends a lot of time there and his brothers also keep an eye on their cattle.*

*To supplement their income, Mothusi's wife runs a poultry farm at her home village Mapoka where she rears broilers for selling. She is required to go to Mapoka at least once a month to check on the business. The farm is running quite well and is proving to be quite profitable. Life is even made easier because she has her own transport and she can buy the day old chicks as well as other supplies like chicken feed, vaccines in Francistown.*

*Koketso enjoys hunting and agriculture. She spends most of her time at the lands in Manyelanong, which is about 5 km away from her home village of Manyana. When it is ploughing time she sometimes takes leave from work to help out her mother and other relatives. Her favourite food is beans, so she makes sure she plants a lot of it. Koketso indicated that she owned livestock, mainly cattle for meat and milk. She maintains a small herd because it is easy to look after. She keeps the cattle at the family cattle post and contributes towards the payment of the herd boys, buying cattle medicine as well as buying fuel for the bore hole generator.*

*Mr Moremi inherited farming land from his grandfather on which he cultivates and plants sorghum and beans. Last November he took time off work to plough. He planted sorghum and beans but he did not have a good harvest due to poor rains. He is also involved in pastoral farming and goes to the cattle post almost every weekend. The cattle post is owned jointly with his father and his brothers. Sometime back they put money together to sink a borehole for watering the cattle.*

### 7.1.2 Participation in Social Activities

Urban-rural ties were also assessed in terms of the respondents' frequency of involvement in social activities in the rural areas. The study focused on two major types of activities, namely, social ceremonies, such as weddings and funerals, and civic meetings, such as *kgotla* and Village Development Committee (VDC) meetings. The *kgotla*, which means a traditional meeting palace, is an important local public consultative assembly which is well-rooted in Tswana society (Molutsi, 1998; Somolekae and Lekorwe, 1998). It is a forum where "information on government policies is disseminated and development initiatives and popular participation are encouraged" (Government of Botswana, 1997:461). During *kgotla* forums all community members deliberate over social and economic development matters affecting the community under the guidance of the chief, headmen, and councillors.

The VDCs, co-ordinate development activities in the villages through self-help efforts. Members of the VDC are selected every two years at the *kgotla*. Through consultation with the community, they are responsible for the identification of development projects, make recommendations to the relevant authorities (district councils) for the inclusion of such projects in the District Development Plans, and oversee the implementation of development projects (Government of Botswana, 1997; Molutsi, 1998; Somolekae and Lekorwe, 1998). Chiefs are *ex-official* members of the VDC and play a facilitating role as traditional leaders in all the plans and projects over which the VDC is responsible.

Concerning participation in social ceremonies, those interviewed indicated that they participated considerably in social activities not only in their home villages but also in other villages including their spouses' or partners'. The majority indicated that they attended especially social ceremonies like weddings and funerals and often participated in the organisation and financing of such occasions. According to the respondents, attending especially funerals was very important because it is part of the

Tswana tradition. Some respondents were even members of burial societies in their home villages. Among the principal respondents only 3.3 percent indicated that they never took part in weddings and funerals in the rural areas. While 72.4 percent reported that they participated either often or very often, the remainder sometimes or seldom participated. The respondents also took a keen interest in the development of their villages to the extent that they attended *kgotla* meetings and participated in the VDC meetings to keep abreast with developments in the village. To illustrate, only 14.4 percent of the principal respondents indicated that they never participated in *kgotla* meetings in rural areas. While 47.2 percent said that they often or very often attended such meetings, the others sometimes or seldom attended. In addition, only 13.1 percent of these respondents indicated that they never attended VDC meetings in the home village; 27.2 percent attended often or very often while the remainder sometimes or seldom attended.

The extent of participation in social activities is best captured thorough the following accounts:

*Mr Moremi maintains very strong links with his relatives in the rural areas. He participates in ceremonies like weddings and funerals, because he says they are part of culture. As Mochudi is close to Gaborone, he has no excuse but to attend all these functions. This is becoming quite strenuous because almost every weekend there is a funeral in the village. At times he is forced to attend a burial on a Saturday and then again on a Sunday, not necessarily of his relatives but people he knows or relatives of fellow villagers. He is a member of a burial society in the village and has to support other members in times of their bereavement. In return, fellow members provide moral as well as financial support in times of need. Mr Moremi is also involved in other activities in the village and takes any opportunity to attend kgotla meetings. He wants to keep abreast of the developments in the village. Since he spends a lot of time in Mochudi, this is where he attends church.*

*Nkamo attends and contributes towards the financing of social ceremonies, funerals or weddings in her home village. During such occasions she gets an advance of salary from the workplace. She believes that attending funerals is part and parcel of the Tswana tradition.*

*Mma Pilane participates in all social activities involving relatives and friends in the home village such as funerals and weddings. Her family and friends have been supportive in times of bereavement and ceremonies and, except for the occasional animosities, they constitute a unified family*

James who had not visited his home village during the three years preceding the study best represented the few exceptional cases among the life history interviewees. He indicated that he did not even attend funerals or weddings. The last time he had been to the village was when he attended his grandmother's funeral. He did not have much contact with other relatives because, in his opinion, they were never supportive of him when he needed help especially when he was growing up.

### **7.1.3 Exchange of Money, Goods, and Visits**

Other indicators of urban-rural links utilised by this study were the exchange of money, goods, and visits between the respondents and individuals (family, kin or friends) resident outside Gaborone. The surveys showed that urban residents sustained ties with rural dwellers through the exchange of money, goods, and visits. Virtually, all those interviewed had engaged in one or several of these practices. Table 17 summarises the patterns in these practices among the principal respondents. As evident from the Table, only 11.9 percent of these respondents indicated that they had not sent money to people resident in rural areas during the six months preceding the interviews. The frequency of sending money ranged from once to more than six times with the majority (71.4 percent) of the respondents sending it more than two times. Although money was sent to relatives, friends, and both relatives and friends, the majority (82.1 percent) of those who sent money sent it to relatives. The money sent was mainly used for buying food, paying workers, and educational expenses. However, in a few cases money was used to purchase property especially livestock and to pay debts.

Asked whether they had received money from others resident in rural areas during the six months prior to the study, only 41.7 percent (150) of the principal respondents reported that they had done so; the remaining 58.3 percent (210) had not. The frequency of receiving money ranged from 1 to 6 times. As can be deduced from Table 17 only 14.4 percent had received money more than twice. The money received

by respondents from rural areas mainly came from relatives. But a few did receive money from friends or from both relatives and friends. Like money sent to rural areas, cash received from rural areas was for the most part utilised for household expenses such as food and rent. Only in very few cases was it used for buying property or for paying debts.

Only 28.1 percent of the principal respondents reported that they had not sent goods to others resident in rural areas during the six months preceding the surveys, the remainder, 71.9 percent, had sent goods at one time or another. However, only 29.2 percent had sent goods more than two times. The bulk (72.2 percent) of those sending goods to rural areas sent them to relatives while only a few sent them to friends. The

**Table 17: Exchange of Money, Goods and Visits between Principal Respondents and Others in Rural Areas**

Frequency of Exchange	Types of Exchanges					
	Money		Goods		Visits	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
<b><u>Sending:</u></b>						
Never	43	11.9	101	28.1	32	8.9
1-2 times	60	16.7	154	42.8	222	61.7
3-4 times	98	27.2	73	20.3	69	19.2
5-6 times	144	40.0	23	6.4	28	7.8
> 6 times	15	4.2	9	2.4	9	2.4
<b>Totals</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b><u>Receiving:</u></b>						
Never	210	58.3	137	38.1	78	21.7
1-2 times	98	27.3	169	46.9	203	56.4
3-4 times	39	10.8	36	10.0	60	16.7
5-6 times	13	3.6	18	5.0	12	3.3
> 6 times	0	0.0	0	0.0	7	1.9
<b>Totals</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>100.0</b>

major purpose for which the goods were sent was domestic use (75.3 percent). In a minority of cases goods were sent for the purpose of strengthening of friendship and for sale. Concerning receipt of goods, 61.9 percent (223) of those interviewed indicated that they had received goods from others resident in rural areas. Out of this number, 15 percent had received goods more than two times during the six months preceding the study. Goods were received mainly from relatives but in a few cases the respondents received them from friends. The majority of those who had received goods indicated that these were for domestic consumption.

The most common way of maintaining urban-rural ties was through visiting. The respondents reported that they frequently visited relatives and friends in their home villages. Among the principal respondents the majority reported that they had visited people in rural areas during the six-month period preceding the interviews. These included 29.5 percent who had visited rural areas more than two times. Those frequenting rural areas mainly visited relatives (60.0 percent), friends (10.1 percent), and both relatives and friends (29.9 percent). Visits to rural areas were mainly undertaken for social reasons, economic, and both social and economic reasons. The survey also showed that 78.3 percent of the principal respondents had received visitors during the six months preceding the interviews; 21.9 percent of these had received visitors more than twice (see Table 17 for details). The visitors were mainly relatives although a few respondents hosted friends. Those visiting the respondents did it mainly for both social and economic reasons such as attending weddings and funerals, to spend time with relatives, and collecting money and goods to pay workers at the cattle post and for consumption in rural areas, respectively.

Among those profiled for their life history the practices of exchanging goods, money, and visits are best captured through the following selection of narratives:

*Busang reported that, although his wife and children had died, he still visited relatives in the home village regularly. He also went back there on account of the land and livestock he owned there. He indicated that during those times when he was laid off, he would return to the lands in his home village to farm and take care of the livestock.*

*Mma Modise has lived in Gaborone for quite some time but frequently visits the rural areas and especially her late husband's village of birth of Sikwane where she owns ploughing land. She also visits and is visited by relatives from her village of birth but not as often as she would like to. During the six months preceding the interview, she had visited relatives only once and they had visited her twice. She visited her rural home in Mochudi to check on her relatives but she did not stay there much. According to her, she was rather unhappy with her relatives because they had appropriated all her livestock in the village. But she felt that she had to maintain links with them because her son was about to be married and his future in-laws were asking for eight heads of cattle. She was hoping that her relatives would help out this time.*

*Mma Pilane has lived most of her life in Gaborone but maintains rural links with her brothers and sisters in Shoshong and her late husband's relatives in Serowe. Although she does not visit them that frequently - she does not like travelling - she makes it a point to occasionally visit at least in December for Christmas. Her brothers and sisters also visit her in town more frequently than she visits them in the rural areas. During the past six months preceding the interviews, they had come to visit her once.*

*Mothusi and his wife Shatani have close linkages with their relatives in the countryside. They visit the countryside frequently. Mothusi and his wife spend most of their holidays in Mopipi at his mother's place. Since Mothusi's mother, who has a disability, retired to the home village, they are forced to frequent the village and not a month passes by without one of them visiting her. Their brothers, sisters and mothers visit them in the city often. Mothusi and his wife regularly send money and goods to relatives in the village. At times, their visiting relatives bring them what they have produced on the farm including vegetables, maize and sweet reeds. The family enjoys getting produce from the farm. It brings back memories of when he was growing up in the village.*

*Most of Lorato's family members live in the home village of Serowe in the Central District. She visits them frequently and sends money and goods regularly to her mother to help support her son who is staying with her. She wishes to get a transfer to a school in her home village of Serowe because it will save her money on rent and transport. She says she loves her mother very much because she is always there for her in time of need. Like recently when the mother came to look after her when she was sick. When her mother was well she used to send her dried vegetables and biltong (dried beef). Nowadays she does not expect anything from her because she is not well. Being the eldest daughter and the only one with a steady job amongst her siblings a lot is expected from her. She has the responsibility of going to the lands, to assist in the ploughing and harvesting. She also has to assist in paying workers and buying fertiliser.*

*Despite having lived in Gaborone for 9 years Mr Bakang still maintains strong contacts with his family in the rural areas. He considers family to be very important in his life. Most of his relatives still live in his home village of Goo Sekweng where they are engaged in subsistence farming. Mr Bakang sends money regularly to his mother and brother who recently lost his job to pay the herd boys or to pay rent for the borehole. Bakang does not expect anything in return from those he sends money and goods to.*

In one unique case, the respondent did not maintain ties with his home village through the exchange of money, goods, or visits but he was very attached to his partner's village as evident from the following information:

*Moemedi does not maintain strong links with relatives in his home village of Kasane. The last time he went there was two years ago to attend his uncle's funeral. According to him ever since his grandparents died he has never been close to any of the relatives still living there. His uncles and aunts have moved away and established their own homes. His mother and stepfather reside in Gaborone West. Despite not having much contact with his relatives in his home village, he is quite attached to his partner's family who live in Kumakwane village, which is about thirty minutes drive from Gaborone. They go there frequently and the children spend most of their holidays there.*

#### **7.1.4 Communication Patterns**

Another form of maintenance of urban-rural linkages analysed by this study was communication patterns between urban residents and rural dwellers. Three forms of communication, namely, mail, verbal, and telephone were studied. Table 18 depicts the patterns in these practices for the principal respondents. The Table shows that only 28.9 percent of the 360 principal respondents indicated that they had not sent mail to others resident in rural areas during the six months preceding the interviews; 32.2 percent of the respondents sent mail more than two times. The majority of those who sent mail sent it to relatives while a few sent it to friends or to both relatives and friends. The mail was sent for social or economic reasons. With respect to receipt of mail from others resident in rural areas during the six months previous to the study, 71.4 percent (257) of the principal respondents reported that they had received mail. The survey showed that 25.6 percent had received mail more than two times. Consistent with the sending of mail, the majority of those receiving mail received it from relatives; only a few received it from friends or from both relatives and friends. The receipt of mail was explained in terms of social and economic reasons.

As evident from Table 18, 82.8 percent of the respondents had sent verbal messages to others resident in rural areas during the six months preceding the surveys with 38.4 percent sending messages more than two times. Those who sent messages included 61.7 percent who sent them to relatives; the remainder sent them to friends or to both relatives and friends. Verbal messages were sent for social and economic purposes.

**Table 18: Communication Between Respondents and Others in Rural Areas**

Frequency of Exchange	Types of Exchanges					
	Mail		Verbal Messages		Telephone	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
<b><u>Sending:</u></b>						
Never	104	28.9	62	17.2	40	11.1
1-2 times	140	38.9	160	44.4	173	48.1
3-4 times	71	19.7	71	19.7	72	20.0
5-6 times	31	8.6	37	10.4	38	10.5
> 6 times	14	3.9	30	8.3	37	10.3
<b>Totals</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b><u>Receiving:</u></b>						
Never	103	28.6	41	11.4	191	53.1
1-2 times	165	45.8	102	28.3	78	21.7
3-4 times	42	11.7	119	33.1	44	12.2
5-6 times	28	7.8	68	18.9	31	8.6
> 6 times	22	6.1	30	8.3	16	4.4
<b>Totals</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>100.0</b>

On the other hand, 88.6 percent of those interviewed indicated that they had received verbal messages from others resident in rural areas; 60.3 percent of them more than two times. In most cases verbal messages were received from relatives. The purposes for which verbal messages were received included social, economic, and both social and economic.

The last form of communication between urban residents and rural dwellers studied was telephone. Out of the total 360 principal respondents, 89.9 percent reported that they had telephoned someone in rural areas during the six-month period preceding the interviews. Those who had telephoned more than twice included 40.9 percent of the respondents. More often than not, telephone calls were made to relatives mainly for social and economic reasons. However, a few of the respondents reported that they telephoned friends for similar reasons. Concerning the receipt of telephone calls 46.9

percent of the respondents reported that they had received such calls from rural areas during the six months preceding the interviews; 25.2 percent of these had received telephone calls more than twice. Most telephone calls originated from relatives and were made for social and economic reasons.

### **7.1.5 Advice Seeking Patterns**

A final measure of urban-rural ties utilised by the study was the respondents' patterns of seeking advice from relatives and friends resident in rural areas. These were analysed in terms of advice sought by the respondents themselves from others and that sought by others from the respondents. The former focused on the frequency at which the respondents consulted relatives and friends on matters relating to family, social, work, and financial issues while the latter examined whether relatives and friends consulted the respondents on the same issues.

#### **7.1.5.1 Advice-Seeking by Respondents**

The respondents indicated that they sought advice from relatives and friends on family, social, work, and finance related matter. Relatives were mainly consulted on what were considered confidential or family matters. According to the respondents, they did not feel comfortable discussing such matters with individuals who were not close kin. The relatives consulted included parents, siblings (brothers and sisters), uncles, and adult children.

Of the 360 principal respondents interviewed, 86.9 percent had consulted relatives on family matters, 77.8 percent on social matters, 34.2 percent on work issues, and 50.0 percent on financial matters, at least once during the six months preceding the interviews. The frequency of consultation ranged from once to over 6 times for family and social matters and from once to six times for work issues and financial issues (see Table 19 for details). Concerning advice sought from friends, 50.0 percent of the respondents sought advice on family matters, 47.5 percent on social matters, 25.3 percent on work issues, and 25.3 percent on financial matters, at least once during the

**Table 19: Frequency with Which Respondents Consulted Others Resident in Rural Areas By Selected Matters**

Person Consulted/Matter of Consultation	Frequency of Consultation											
	Never		1-2 Times		3-4 Times		5-6 Times		Over 6 Times		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
<b><u>Relatives:</u></b>												
Family Matters	47	13.1	30	8.3	166	46.1	94	26.1	23	6.4	360	100.0
Social Matters	80	22.2	194	53.9	60	16.7	18	5.0	8	2.2	360	100.0
Work Issues	237	65.8	78	21.7	36	10.0	9	2.5	0	0.0	360	100.0
Financial Matters	180	50.0	106	29.4	52	14.4	22	6.1	0	0.0	360	100.0
<b><u>Friends:</u></b>												
Family Matters	180	50.0	99	27.5	71	19.7	10	2.8	0	0.0	360	100.0
Social Matters	189	52.5	95	26.4	46	12.8	30	8.3	0	0.0	360	100.0
Work Issues	269	74.7	58	16.1	33	9.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	360	100.0
Financial Matters	269	74.7	65	18.1	26	7.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	360	100.0

six-month period before the study. As evident from Table 19, the frequency of seeking advice on family and social matters ranged from once to six times while advise seeking on work and financial issues ranged from once to four times. Overall, the results on advice seeking by respondents suggest that they consulted others in rural areas most frequently on family matters and least frequently on work and financial matters. In addition, relatives were the most frequently consulted particularly when it comes to family and social matters. This is an affirmation of the sentiments expressed earlier (see Chapter 6) by most respondents that one can only discuss family and other confidential matters with close kin.

Of the rural-based relatives consulted by the principal respondents 73.2 percent were located in the respondents' home village while the remaining 26.8 percent dwelt elsewhere in the rural areas. On the other hand, 78.9 percent of friends consulted resided in the home village of the respondent while 21.1 percent lived in other rural areas. Various forms of communication were utilised by the respondents when seeking advice from relatives and friends. These included face-to-face communication, third party, telephone, and a combination of both face-to-face and third party. However, face-to-face communication was the most utilised method; it was employed by 65.3 percent of those consulting relatives and by 47.8 percent of those who consulted friends.

#### **7.1.5.2 Advice-seeking from Respondents**

The respondents were also asked to indicate whether others resident in rural areas had consulted them for advice during the six-month period prior to the study. Table 20 depicts the patterns emerging from the data. As evident from the Table, over 83.6 percent of the respondents had provided relatives with advice on family, 73.9 percent on social matters, 80.0 percent on work issues, and 80.8 percent had been consulted by relatives on financial matters at least once. The frequency of provision of advice to relatives ranged from once to six times for social and financial matters and to over six

**Table 20: Frequency with Which Others Resident in Rural Areas Consulted Respondents By Selected Matters**

Person Consulting/Matter of Consultation	<u>Frequency of Consultation</u>											
	Never		1-2 Times		3-4 Times		5-6 Times		Over 6 Times		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
<b><u>Relatives:</u></b>												
Family Matters	59	16.4	132	36.7	92	25.6	51	14.2	26	7.2	360	100.0
Social Matters	94	26.1	174	48.3	67	18.6	25	6.9	0	0.0	360	100.0
Work Issues	72	20.0	163	45.3	73	20.3	44	12.2	8	2.2	360	100.0
Financial Matters	69	19.2	163	45.3	97	26.9	31	8.6	0	0.0	360	100.0
<b><u>Friends:</u></b>												
Family Matters	228	63.3	86	23.9	37	10.3	9	2.5	0	0.0	360	100.0
Social Matters	186	51.7	96	26.7	51	14.2	27	7.5	0	0.0	360	100.0
Work Issues	121	33.6	135	37.5	75	20.8	29	8.1	0	0.0	360	100.0
Financial Matters	189	52.5	85	23.6	47	13.1	39	10.8	0	0.0	360	100.0

times for family and work issues (see Table 20 for details). Concerning the provision of advice to friends, 36.7 percent of the respondents had advised friends on family matters, 48.3 percent on social matters, 66.4 percent on work issues, and 47.5 percent on financial matters, at least once during the six- month period previous to the study. The frequency of advising friends on all matters analysed ranged from once to six times.

The survey showed that the majority of the relatives and friends consulting resided in the respondents' home village while the remainder lived in other rural areas. These relied on a variety of communication modes including face-to-face, third party, telephone, letters, and a combination of face-to-face and third party, while seeking advice from the respondents. Face-to-face communication, however, was the mode of communication most commonly used by relatives and friends who consulted the respondents.

The practices of consulting and being consulted by others among the life history cases can be captured through the following:

*Mma Mpho usually turns to her children and especially her first-born daughter whom she relies on when she is depressed or worried. She also consults with her sisters and their children in the home village. Concerning death in the family, she consults relatives particularly her sisters. For instance, when her son died she consulted her sisters who turned out to be a source of great comfort even though they could not give her financial support. Some relatives did contribute a goat towards the funeral. Her youngest son gave her P2 000 towards the cost of the funeral.*

*When Lebogang has problems she consults relatives in rural areas particularly her elder brother who also helps her out financially. She recalls that during her wedding ceremony, her family including uncles, aunts, cousins and her own siblings gave her a lot of support both financially and morally. They had formed a committee to plan the wedding. Some members of the family donated money as well as small livestock towards the wedding. It was quite an expensive undertaking because the ceremony had to take place both in Gabane and Maun where Toteng comes from. Toteng's side of the family had also formed a similar committee.*

*Mr Busang gets support from his relatives in the village and more from his uncle and mother-in-law because he trusts them. As he put it, "in life you only discuss private or confidential issues with those you trust and know they can assist you." Mr. Busang prefers to discuss matters with others face- to- face. However, there are times when this is not possible and he has to rely on a third party.*

## **7.2 Effects of Urban Residence on Social Ties with Rural Kin**

The research also sought the respondents' views about future residence in urban areas, the effects of urban residence on family ties, and the strength of social ties in urban versus rural areas. Most respondents planned to retire to their home villages and wished to be buried there. Among the principal respondents 72.8 percent saw the urban area as a place for work; their real home was in the village. In addition, 18.9 percent of those studied desired to retire and be buried in the village but for them this was not mandatory. Only 8.3 percent considered town to be their home and wanted to spend their entire life here. The sentiments expressed by the life history cases concerning their future residence in the urban areas can best be captured as follows:

*Koketso prefers staying in the rural areas because it reminds her of her childhood days when she used to go to school in the villages of Manyana, Moshupa and Otse. She would also prefer being buried there when she dies and not in Gaborone. According to her "Gaborone is just a place to work in and I would not want to settle there." Hence, she plans to retire in her home village of Manyana.*

*Kedibonye expresses a wish to go and live in Good Hope in a house she had contributed towards building for her parents who are now deceased. None of the siblings are staying there. What is keeping her in town is the fact that her eldest son who has finished his secondary education, is still unemployed. Once he gets a job then she will move to the village and start a business there. She will take the two younger sons since they are still at school with her to Good Hope.*

*Although Lebogang maintains quite strong ties with her home village of Gabane, when her and the husband eventually retire she would like to retire to Maun, the husband's home village. She would even want to be buried there. She considers Maun as her home village now. 'I am married there. It is now my home.' Her and her husband do try to go for weddings and funerals. The place is quite far, over 1 000 kilometres away.*

*Rona enjoys living in Gaborone but she would not want to settle here. Rona would like to be buried in her home village or in her partner's village. She says that her partner wants to establish a home in Mathangwane where he was born and probably start her catering business there.*

*Tebogo sees Gaborone as a place of work. She plans to retire and go live in Goodhope. In preparation for this eventuality she recently acquired a residential plot from the land board on which she plans to build a two bed roomed house for herself. This will be her second house in the village. She has built one in her parent's yard but now she feels she needs to build away from the family home but not too far.*

*Mr Mothusi wants to be buried in Mopipi. According to him, town is just a place to work and amass wealth if possible and go back home to probably reinvest. He would love to retire in his home village in a few years to come and rent out the house he lives in Gaborone*

Despite the strong sentiments expressed by most of the respondents concerning future plans to eventually return to the rural areas, two respondents desired to stay in the urban areas. One of these was born in Gaborone while the other was a migrant to the city. Their sentiments are captured through the following extracts:

*James is 48 years old and has been living in Gaborone for the past twenty years. He was born in Mbalambi in the North East District. He dropped out of school before completing his primary school due to lack of school fees. He decided to go and try his luck at finding employment in South Africa. As he did not have a passport and had crossed illegally into South Africa, he could only get piece jobs, which were not well paying. After two years he decided to come back to Botswana and look for employment in Gaborone. James is much happier in Gaborone than in the village. He would not even mind being buried here. This is home for him.*

*Zibo does not have strong affiliation with his home village and would not mind being buried in Gaborone. He considers Gaborone home. This is where he was born and bred. He has built a house here and even his parents are here in Gaborone. His siblings have also settled in Gaborone and they are not attached to rural life. His parents own cattle back home which is looked after as part of the family herd. Neither Zibo nor his siblings take an active interest in the cattle. His parents also own a house in the village, which remains unoccupied the time they are in Gaborone. They do use it when they go for family functions.*

The respondents expressed diverse views about the effects of urban residence on ties with family members in rural areas. However, the majority felt that family ties are stronger in the rural areas compared to the urban areas. While 11.7 percent of the principal respondents felt that such ties were weakened by urban residence, 40.6 percent considered urban residence to have had no effects on such ties. The other 47.8 percent felt that urban residence had strengthened social ties with rural-based family members. Comparing social bonds in urban areas with those in rural areas, 62.2 percent of these respondents felt that these were stronger in rural areas. Another 24.2 percent considered social bonds to be equally strong in both urban and rural areas, and 13.6 percent felt that social ties were stronger in urban areas as opposed to rural areas.

The sentiments expressed by the life history cases concerning the strength of family ties are illustrated through the following:

*Mr Bakang considers family ties to be stronger in rural areas relative to the urban area. For him Gaborone is not home; it is just a place to work. He would like to relocate to his home village but unfortunately there are no employment opportunities there. Mr. Bakang, nevertheless feels that Gaborone is far and makes it quite expensive to be checking on his family in the village. As such he wants to relocate to Selebi Phikwe, the nearest town to his home village. Relocating to Phikwe does not mean that he will make the town his home. He would still want to settle in Goo Sekweng.*

*All in all, Lesego feels that living in Gaborone has weakened her social ties with some of her family members who stay in the rural areas. However, she believes that family ties are stronger in rural areas than in towns. Family is important in one's life no matter where you stay or work and she regards any blood relative as family. She believes in the home village, people see themselves as a unit as a tribe, so they feel that doing things together is part and parcel of culture or tradition.*

*Mr Moremi, who sees Gaborone as a place to work and plans to retire to his home village of Mochudi, maintains that family ties are stronger in the rural areas than in the urban areas. In the rural areas people do a lot of things together like getting together during the festive season or even helping each other during harvest time.*

### **7.3 Variations in Urban-Rural Linkages**

Variations in the nature and extent of urban-rural linkages among urban residents have been demonstrated by previous research (see, e.g., Wilmott, 1987; Vaa, et. al., 1989; Brydon, 1992). According to Brydon (1992), for example, single women migrants who do not have independent access to land in rural areas may be more committed to urban areas than their male counterparts. However, it is not uncommon for them to practice child-fostering back in their village of birth (Nelson, 1987; Findley and Diallo, 1988; Bledsoe and Isugo-Abanike, 1989; Larson 1998) thereby maintaining stronger links relative to their male counterparts. Wilmott (1987), on the other hand, found that a person's place in the social structure viewed in terms of income, occupational status and family background had some bearing on the nature of informal relationship he/she would engage in. According to him, commitment to one's job may minimise the amount of time available to visit rural kin especially for those in full-time employment. Being employed can strengthen urban-rural linkages through exchange of goods and money or even provide the capital to invest in rural villages which, in turn, will guarantee extended linkages with one's village of origin. Based on these observations further analyses were carried out to explore for variations in urban-rural linkages based on sex, marital status, household size, duration of

residence in the city, housing ownership, education, and employment status using the Chi square ( $\chi^2$ ) test. Table 21 summarises the significant variations obtained from the cross-tabulation analyses. In all cases the assessment of significance utilised a 2-tailed test. The detailed results are presented Appendix III, Tables 30a to 36d.

### **7.3.1 Socio-economic Involvement with Rural Areas**

The respondents' socio-economic involvement with rural areas was analysed in terms of ownership of property; participation in economic activities; and participation in social ceremonies, and in *kgotla* and VDC meetings. The tests for variations showed no significant variations in ownership of property or participation in economic activities based on sex, marital status, household size, duration of residence in the city, housing ownership, education, or employment status (see Appendix III, Tables 30a to 36d). However, involvement in social ceremonies was found to vary only by duration of residence in the city. The results showed that those who had lived in the city for less than 11 years were more likely to participate in social ceremonies in the rural areas. While participation in *kgotla* meetings was found to vary by education alone, no significant variations were observed for participation in VDC meetings. Those who had primary and lower levels of education were more likely to attend *kgotla* meetings relative to their counterparts who had secondary and higher education.

### **7.3.2 Exchange of Money, Goods, and Visits**

Other indicators of urban-rural linkages utilised by the study were the exchange of money, goods, and visits. More specifically, the study focused on whether the respondent had sent money to and received money from relatives and friends resident in the rural areas during the six months prior to the survey. The results showed that the propensity of sending money to others in rural areas varied by education and employment. It was substantially higher among those who had attained secondary and higher levels of education and among the employed. No significant variations were

Table 21: Significant Variations in Urban-Rural Linkages

Category	Variable	Chi-square Value
<b><u>Involvement in Economic Activities:</u></b>		
1. Ownership of Property	No significant Variations	Not Applicable
2. Economic Activities	No significant Variations	Not Applicable
<b><u>Involvement in Social Activities:</u></b>		
1. Social Ceremonies	Duration of Residence	$\chi^2 = 4.324$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .038
2. Kgotla Meeting	Education	$\chi^2 = 4.485$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .034
3. VDC Meetings	No significant Variations	Not Applicable
<b><u>Exchange of Money, Goods, and Visits:</u></b>		
1. Send Money	Education	$\chi^2 = 8.542$ ; p-value = .003
	Employment	$\chi^2 = 6.646$ ; p-value = .010
2. Received Money	No significant Variations	Not Applicable
3. Send Goods	No significant Variations	Not Applicable
4. Received Goods	No significant Variations	Not Applicable
5. Paid Visits	Duration of Residence	$\chi^2 = 4.011$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .045
	Housing Ownership	$\chi^2 = 4.124$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .042
6. Received Visitors	No significant Variations	Not Applicable
<b><u>Advice Seeking Patterns:</u></b>		
<b><u>Family Matters:</u></b>		
1. Consulted relatives	No significant Variations	Not Applicable
2. Consulted by Relatives	Sex	$\chi^2 = 5.888$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .015
3. Consulted friends	Sex	$\chi^2 = 6.407$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .011
	Education	$\chi^2 = 4.801$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .028
4. Consulted by Friends	No significant Variations	Not Applicable
<b><u>Social Matter:</u></b>		
1. Consulted Relatives	No significant Variations	Not Applicable
2. Consulted by Relatives	No significant Variations	Not Applicable
3. Consulted Friends	No significant Variations	Not Applicable
4. Consulted by Friends	No significant Variations	Not Applicable

Table 21 [Continued]

Category	Variable	Chi-square Value
<i>Financial Matters:</i>		
1. Consulted Relatives	Sex	$\chi^2 = 8.444$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .004
2. Consulted by Relatives	No significant Variations	Not Applicable
3. Consulted Friends	Sex	$\chi^2 = 13.280$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .000
	Household Size	$\chi^2 = 12.540$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .000
	Housing Ownership	$\chi^2 = 5.420$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .020
	Education	$\chi^2 = 10.218$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .001
	Employment	$\chi^2 = 11.603$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .001
4. Consulted by Friends	Sex	$\chi^2 = 7.950$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .005
	Household Size	$\chi^2 = 5.466$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .019
	Housing Ownership	$\chi^2 = 5.104$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .024
	Education	$\chi^2 = 4.153$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .042
	Employment	$\chi^2 = 4.568$ ; d.f. = 1; p-value = .033
<b>Other:</b>		
Future Urban Residence	No significant Variations	Not Applicable

observed at all with respect to receiving money. Results from tests for variations in exchange of goods showed that the practice did not vary significantly by sex, marital status, household size, duration of residence in the city, housing ownership, education, or employment status. This applied to both the sending and receipt of goods.

Urban rural linkages were also analysed in terms of visitation patterns. This was measured in terms of the respondent having visited or been visited by relatives and friends resident in the rural areas during the six months preceding the interviews. The results from cross-tabulation analyses showed that the practice of visiting others varied significantly by duration of residence in the city and by housing ownership. The proportion of those who reported having visited others in rural areas was substantially higher among those who had resided in the city for over 10 years compared to those who had lived there for less than 10 years. Similarly those who owned the housing units they lived in were more likely to visit relatives and friends in

the rural areas compared to those who rented their homes. No significant variations in the receipt of visitors by respondents from rural areas were found.

### **7.3.3 Advice-seeking Patterns**

Advice-seeking patterns were analysed in terms of whether the respondent consulted, and was consulted by, relatives and friends resident in the rural areas on family, social and financial matters. The detailed results of the analyses are depicted in Appendix III, Tables 30a - 36d. Concerning family matters, no significant variations were obtained with respect to the respondents consulting relatives. However, the respondents' propensity to consult friends on family matters was found to vary significantly based on sex and education (see Appendix III, Tables 30c and 35c). The results showed that males were more likely than females to consult friends on family matters. Similarly, respondents with primary and lower levels of education were more likely to consult friends on family matters compared to those with secondary and higher levels of education. Concerning consultation by rural relatives and friends, the results showed that consultation by relatives only varied by sex while no variations emerged with respect to consultation by friends. Male respondents were found to be more likely to be consulted by relatives on family matters compared to their female counterparts.

No statistically significant variations based on sex, marital status, household size, duration of residence in the city, housing ownership, education, or employment status were found with respect to both consulting and being consulted by relatives and friends on social matters (see Appendix III, Table 30a to 36d). However, analyses of consultation on financial matters showed that consulting relatives varied by sex only. Males were found to be more likely than females to consult relatives on financial matters. The results also showed that consulting friends varied significantly by sex, household size, housing ownership, education, and employment status. More specifically, the propensity to consult friends on financial matters was higher among

males, members of small households, those who rented the housing unit they occupied, the more educated, and the employed.

Pertaining to being consulted by relatives and friends on financial matters, the results showed no significant variations in consultation by relatives. However, significant variations based on sex, household size, housing ownership, education, and employment were observed with respect to consultation by friends (see Appendix III, Tables 30c, 32c, 33c, 35c and 36c). Specifically, male respondents, those who resided in households with less than four members, those who rented the housing unit they were occupying, respondents who had attained secondary and higher levels of education, and those who were employed were more likely to be consulted by friends on financial matters.

#### **7.3.4 Plans about Future Urban Residence**

Cross-tabulation analysis was also carried out to test for variations in the respondents' plans for future residence in the city utilising sex, marital status, household size, duration of residence in the city, housing ownership, education, or employment status as independent variables. The results showed no significant variations based on any of these variables. That is, the propensity of returning to the rural areas was the same for all respondents regardless of their sex, marital status, household size, duration of residence in the city, housing ownership, education, and employment status. The data showed that 91.7 percent of the respondents planned to return to the rural areas in future.

#### **7.4 Summary of Findings**

This section summarises the findings of the study following the theme of urban-rural linkages. The strength of urban-rural links was captured through five ways. That is, ownership of property; participation in economic and social activities; exchange of money, goods, and visits; communication patterns; and consultation patterns. Overall,

the results showed the existence of strong urban-rural linkages among those interviewed.

With respect to the ownership of properties and participation in economic activities, the study found that most respondents owned property in their home village either directly or indirectly through family and were also engaged in a variety of economic activities. Only a negligible few neither owned property nor participated in economic activities. While the major types of properties owned by the respondents included livestock especially cattle, cattle posts, land for ploughing, residential plots, business plots, and housing, the major economic activities in which the respondents were involved included livestock rearing and arable agriculture. Like with the ownership of property and involvement in economic activities, the majority of those studied were very involved socially with their rural areas. They indicated that they took part in social activities such as weddings and funerals, *kgotla* meetings, and VDC meetings.

The study also demonstrated the existence of strong ties between urban and rural dwellers sustained through the exchange of money, goods, and visits. Virtually, all those interviewed had engaged in one or several of these practices. Specifically, the majority of the respondents sent money to others resident in rural areas. In certain instances, money was sent to help relatives, particularly parents and members of the immediate family, to pay for farm inputs, ploughing, and the wages of herd boys and to buy medicines for the cattle. Concerning the receipt of money, most of the respondents indicated that they did not receive money from rural areas. However, according to them, this was not unusual considering that their rural kin were not gainfully employed. Further analyses using cross-tabulation showed that the practice of sending money to others varied by the respondents' education and employment status. Respondents who had secondary and higher levels of education and those who were employed were more likely to send money compared to those who had primary

and lower level of education and the unemployed. No variations were observed in the receipt of money.

The exchange of goods was another measure of urban-rural linkages utilised by this study. The majority of the respondents had sent out goods to mainly relatives residing in the rural areas. Unlike with money, a significant proportion of the respondents had received goods mainly from relatives residing in the rural areas. These indicated that they received goods especially agricultural produce, such as vegetables, maize and sweet reeds, during good rains. Some respondents also received meat. According to them, it was not uncommon for relatives to send meat after they slaughtered a cow, sheep or goat for the holiday during occasions such as Christmas. Results from cross-tabulation analyses showed no significant variations in the sending or receipt of goods. That is, all respondents were equally likely to send to or receive goods from others resident in rural areas.

Similarly, the majority of the respondents frequently visited relatives and friends in their home villages mainly for social reasons such as attending weddings, funerals or simply to spend time with them. Those interviewed also reported that they frequently hosted visitors, particularly relatives, from the rural areas. Results from relational analyses revealed that the practice of visiting others varied by duration of residence and housing ownership. Significantly greater proportions of those who had lived in Gaborone for over 10 years and those who owned the housing units they lived in visited others compared to those who had resided in the city for less than 11 years and those who rented the housing unit they occupied, respectively. With respect to the receiving of visitors, no significant variations were obtained.

Another form of maintenance of urban-rural linkages analysed by this study was communication between urban residents and rural dwellers viewed in terms of the sending and receipt of mail, verbal, and telephone messages. The results showed that

the majority of the respondents utilised these forms of communication. While the respondents most frequently used the telephone to communicate with others in rural areas, those in the rural areas mainly sent verbal messages to them. Messages were sent as well as received mainly for social and economic reasons.

The respondents' patterns of seeking advice from relatives and friends resident in rural areas was the final measure of urban-rural ties utilised by the study. These were analysed in terms of advice sought by the respondents themselves from others and that sought by others from the respondents on matters relating to family, social, work, and financial issues. With respect to advice seeking by respondents, the results suggest that they consulted others in rural areas most frequently on family matters and least frequently on work and financial matters. In addition, relatives were the most frequently consulted particularly when it comes to family and social matters. Such matters were considered confidential or family. According to the respondents, they did not feel comfortable discussing such matters with individuals who were not close kin. Relatives were less frequently consulted with respect to work and financial matters. On the contrary, the majority of the respondents did not consult friends on all four matters studied. The study found that the majority of the respondents had provided relatives with advice on family, social, work, and financial matters. However, like with the trends observed for consultation by the respondents, relatives most frequently sought advice on family matters. On the contrary, friends mainly consulted the majority of those studied on work issues only. Face-to-face encounters were the most commonly used form of communication during consultation on various matters.

The results from tests for relationships showed that the seeking of advice on family matters from friends varied by sex and education. Males and less educated respondents were more likely to consult friends on family matters. In addition, being consulted by relatives varied by sex with males consulting more often than females.

Within the context of financial matters, the propensity to consult relatives was higher among males. On the other hand, males, members of small households, those who resided in rented dwelling units, the more educated, and the employed were more likely to consult and be consulted by friends.

The study also sought the respondents' views about their future residence in the city, the effects of urban residence on family ties, and the strength of social bonds in urban versus rural areas. Concerning future residence in Gaborone, most respondents planned to retire to their home villages and wished to be buried there. According to them, the urban area was a place for work; their real home was in the village. The majority of the respondents felt that family ties and social bonds are stronger in the rural areas compared to the urban areas. Cross-tabulation analysis carried out to test for variations in the respondents' plans for future residence in the city showed no significant variations based on any of the variables analysed. The propensity of returning to the rural areas was the same for all respondents regardless of their sex, marital status, household size, duration of residence in the city, housing ownership, education, and employment status.

### **7.5 Conclusion**

Despite the strong sense of community and the high density of social ties evident in the urban environment among the respondents, this study demonstrated the existence of strong urban-rural linkages. Although the majority of the respondents had lived in Gaborone for many years they still maintained strong links with their home villages. Indeed, based on the findings those who had lived in the city for longer periods frequented the village more often. The respondents not only invested in properties and businesses in their home villages, but also played an active part in social activities such as weddings, funerals, and *kgotla* and VDC meetings. Furthermore, they exchanged money, goods and visits with mainly kin in the rural areas. They also frequently consulted on family, social and financial matters and communicated with

others in rural areas. In addition, the strength of attachment to rural areas by the respondents was manifested through a desire to return to the village in the future. Virtually all those surveyed were categorical that they planned to retire to and wished to be buried in the village of origin. For them life in town was temporary and the village was their actual home. As will be illustrated in Chapter 8, these trends have been supported by previous studies that have spanned the same subject matter (see e.g., Gugler, 1996a; Ocho, 1996; Geschiere and Gugler, 1998; Larson, 1998; Krüger, 1998; Trager, 1998; Ferguson, 1999).

## **CHAPTER EIGHT**

### **8.0 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS**

The primary objective of this study is to examine the nature and patterns of social interactions in the Broadhurst area of Gaborone. The focus is on the forms of social interaction that emerge within the urban population itself as reflected through involvement with neighbours, advice seeking patterns and membership of social organisations. These reflect the social ties existing among urban residents. Above all, the study examines the nature of urban-rural linkages maintained by individuals residing in urban areas. These are reflected through practices such as ownership of property in rural areas; participation in economic and social activities; exchange of money, goods and visits; communication patterns; and advice-seeking patterns. By examining urban social ties and urban-rural linkages the study also hopes to establish whether increasing urbanisation in Botswana has weakened family ties. While this is not a primary focus of the study, it is important because the family is a major basis for social interactions. The strength of the family will be assessed in terms of the composition of urban households and the extent of contacts with rural kin.

The discussion presented here aims to achieve two things. First, is to provide interpretative meanings to the key findings of the study. This is organised into urban social ties and urban-rural linkages. Second, to assess the extent to which the study hypotheses were or were not supported by the study findings.

#### **8.1 Urban Social Ties**

The discussion of urban social ties occurs at three levels, namely, sense of community, advice seeking patterns, and membership of social organisations. The results of this study demonstrated the existence of a strong sense of community among the residents of Broadhurst. Not only did the bulk of the respondents regard others as neighbours but also they considered neighbours to be important in their lives. It should be noted that the study revealed the existence of varied definitions of a

neighbour among the residents of Broadhurst. These ranged from “the people who live next door” to those who live in progressively larger geographical areas. However, those who were considered to be immediate neighbours were individuals whose presence was particularly conspicuous and with whom relationships were regarded to be critical. A significant proportion of the respondents considered the majority of their neighbours to be friendly, trustworthy and people one could count on for help. Further, the respondents considered their home to be a place where at least some neighbours could visit. Neighbourliness occurred on a day-to-day basis between people living in the same residential neighbourhoods. Neighbours cultivated long-term contacts among themselves by frequently engaging in various activities such as chatting, visiting informally, participating in social occasions, their children playing together, minding each other’s children, and borrowing household items.

The display of a high degree of involvement with others in the neighbourhood among the residents of Broadhurst is consistent with the results of previous studies conducted in Botswana (see e.g., Kerven, 1980; Larson, 1998; Krüger, 1998). These have acknowledged the development of urban social networks and depict urban neighbourhood dwellers in Botswana, especially those with low incomes, as being involved in survival networks of mutual aid with wider kin and neighbours such as child minding, watching over each other’s home and borrowing of household items. The existence of a high degree of involvement with others in the neighbourhood found by this study is also supportive of the position adopted by others in previous research such as Gugler (1996b), Geschiere and Gugler (1998), and Peil and Oyeneye (1998). According to these, urban dwellers not only share a place of residence but also develop close social bonds of friendship that give them a sense of community and belonging. Neighbours may gradually become friends and meet when they find time; exchange information; play games; celebrate weddings, funerals, and other festivals; share meals; and exchange visits. They may also establish networks ranging from

child-minding and house watching to borrowing of household and food items from one another whenever one runs out (Dempsey, 1990; Schlyter, 1990).

Although the respondents were characterised by a strong sense of community, most of them felt that the sense of community in urban areas did not approximate the community solidarity found in rural areas. This raises the possibility that the respondents were presenting a rural person's perspective on the urban community to which they belonged. This is particularly true in light of the fact that most of the respondents were born and raised in the rural areas; they were first generation urban dwellers. It is possible that second and subsequent generations of urban dwellers might conceive sense of community in the urban areas differently. The views expressed by the majority of the respondents that the sense of community existent in urban areas does not match that characteristic of rural areas are supportive of the finding of a study carried out in Kenya by Gitau (1995). Every subject in Gitau's study emphasised that the demographic configuration in urban neighbourhoods made it impossible for the social relations that formed here to transform into intense social ties or community solidarity.

As demonstrated through cross-tabulation analysis, all respondents were equally likely to be characterised by a strong sense of community regardless of their socio-economic backgrounds. That is, they were equally likely to consider others to be neighbours and to be involved with them regardless of their socio-economic backgrounds. The only exceptions were visiting and involvement in social occasions. The results showed that those who were unemployed were more likely to visit neighbours relative to their employed counterparts. Logically, these had more time to socialise with neighbours. Those with primary and below levels of education were found to be more likely to participate in social occasions with neighbours compared to those with secondary and higher levels of education. This suggests that this category of respondents were more likely to be unemployed and therefore have considerable

time at their disposal to interact with neighbours. The unemployed and those of low levels of education also have less access to alternative outlets for leisure activities such as private clubs. With specific reference to sex, the lack of significant variations in sense of community is inconsistent with the integration view. According to this view, the female role is more affective than the male role, ties women more closely to others, and fosters responsibilities for maintaining links with kin (Bernard, 1981; Michelson, 1985; Rosenthal, 1985). As such, women are expected to have larger neighbour networks than men do (Willmott, 1987) and to maintain more intense (Fischer, 1982) and multiplex relations with neighbourhoods.

There are several possible explanations of the strong sense of community and the high density of interactions obtained by this study. First, it may be argued that the density of housing, their close proximity and the existence of shared facilities such as communal taps and toilet facilities characteristic of the neighbourhoods studied made it utterly impossible for people to exist in the community without bumping into and conversing with acquaintances. This view is consistent with the position advanced by others such as Martin (1981), Bourke (1994), and Hoggart (1995) that, in traditional working class communities, it is hard to achieve privacy when living at close quarters because knowledge of activities of people next door came unwanted. Second, the bulk of those studied had resided in Gaborone in general and in their current neighbourhoods in particular for considerable periods. This has implications for the strength of social ties among them. Having been in Gaborone for a longer period suggests that most of the respondents had been in the city long enough to forge strong social ties with others (both kin and friends) resident in the city. The results also support Peil and Oyene's (1998) observation that urban residents, particularly long-term ones, gradually tend to become friends and meet when they find time, exchange information, play games, celebrate weddings, and attend funerals and other festivals.

The long period of consistent stay in the same neighbourhood is a pointer to residential stability or residential permanence and immobility as opposed to turnover (or mobility). It could be considered to be a pointer that an urban dweller has a positive attitude toward his/her neighbourhood and its residents. This has previously been demonstrated to be positively associated with social ties (see e.g. Elliot, Wilson, Huizinga, Sampson, Elliot, and Rankin; 1996; Sampson, Raudenbush and Earls, 1997; Ross, Reynolds and Geis, 2000; Knox and Pinch 2000). According to this view, low residential turnover increases social integration or the likelihood that neighbours will know each other, watch out for each other and share values and norms. Residential permanence and immobility also result in a strengthening of vertical ties of kinship and horizontal bonds of friendship. While neighbourly people are likely to be long-term residents of the neighbourhood, “urban villages” are most likely to evolve in neighbourhoods with relatively stable populations. Time permits the meetings and re-meetings that root people to a place. Mobility, on the contrary, undermines social integration and the development of sense of community and strong social ties among urban dwellers. It increases the likelihood that neighbours are strangers, and reduces the probability of neighbours forming and maintaining informal social relationships and friendship networks (Patterson, 1991; Sampson, 1991; Elliot et. al. 1996; Sampson, Raudenbush and Earls, 1997).

Another factor that may account for the existence of strong social ties among the residents of Broadhurst could be the socio-economic status of those studied. This study mainly focused on individuals who fit the category of low-income urban dwellers. As evident from data on respondents’ occupational history, only slightly over half of those studied were employed. Also, the majority of those working were in occupations that are likely to be characterised by low wages such as labourers, domestic workers, and self-employment in the informal sector. Furthermore, most of those studied resided in rented low-cost housing. A significant proportion of them occupied single rooms, prefabs, tents, and caravans. Jointly these facts point to the

likelihood that poverty was a major characteristic of the majority of those studied. Vulnerability to poverty is thought to foster the development of close-knit and overlapping social networks in working-class neighbourhoods (Knox and Pinch, 2000). As Knox and Pinch indicated:

... the shared and repeated experience of hard times, together with cohesion and functional interdependence resulting from the tight criss-crossing of kinship and friendship networks, generates a mutuality of feelings and purpose in working class areas: a mutuality that is the mainspring of social institutions, ways of life and "community spirit" associated with the urban village (Knox and Pinch, 2000: 251).

The existence of a strong sense of community among the residents of Broadhurst is an indication that, despite rapid urbanisation, the community has never disappeared. Rather, new forms of community based on the association of individuals have emerged as substitutes for what migrants left behind in the rural areas. Although the new forms of social ties cut across kinship groupings, kinship still plays a role. Kinship is particularly an important determinant of who one seeks advice and support from with respect to serious matters. The importance of kinship in urban social ties found by this study is consistent with the findings of previous research (Morgan, 1993; Gugler, 1996b; Geschiere and Gugler, 1998; Peil and Oyeneye, 1998). According to these studies, urban residents often develop a sense of community based on family or informal kinship ties. Kinship ties may be less important in cities than in villages but they are by no means uniquely rural phenomena; they are one of the most critical linkages among persons in urban settings (Hoyt and Babchuk, 1983; Wellman, 1985; Karp et al, 1991). Through kinship ties urban households are said to be able to sustain contacts with other households in both the immediate neighbourhood and the larger metropolitan area.

The results of this study present a different image of urbanisation from that espoused by classical European scholars such as Töennies and Wirth, among others. These,

through their “community lost” argument, viewed urbanisation as the progressive disappearance of warm, sustaining community social relations. They depicted the city as having killed community and thus as being characterised by impersonal anonymous relations. According to this view, communities are not expected to exist in cities except perhaps in a weakened form. According to them, the forces of urbanism weakened community kinship and friendship bonds, social participation in local affairs, and affectional ties for the community. In contrast to Louis Wirth’s (1938) portrayal of city dwellers as isolated individuals lacking strong ties to others, the study demonstrated the existence of a strong sense of community and neighbourhood cohesiveness among those interviewed. This is consistent with the position advanced in the great deal of both theoretical and empirical evidence challenging the “community lost” view (see e.g., Gans, 1962; Karp et al, 1991; Jablonsky, 1993; Crow and Allan, 1994; Crow, Allan, and Summers, 2002). Such evidence disputes the idea of the social redundancy of neighbours and portrays the city as characterised by sociability and friendliness consequent upon social organisation at the neighbourhood level. It argues for the existence of strong social bonds and a distinctively integrated group life among urbanites.

Herbert Gans (1962), for example, argued for the existence of social organisation and order in urban communities. According to him, there was no need to mourn the passing of cohesive social networks and the sense of self-identity associated with the small peasant community or village life because these properties existed in the inner city in a series of “urban villages”. The social bonds of the city dwellers were as meaningfully cemented as those found in villages. Urban communities were characterised by strong family life evident through the congregation of families and friends in each other’s homes, the care exhibited toward each other’s children, and the sentiments and emotions felt by the inhabitants for their community. Gans’ findings have been supported through more recent research carried out by others such as Anderson (1990), Devine (1992) Jablonsky (1993), Crow and Allan (1994), and

Crow, Allan, and Summers (2002). Like Gans, these refuted the idea of social redundancy of neighbours and the demise of neighbouring by revealing the existence of moral codes and rules of behaviour in such neighbourhoods and the existence of a strong sense of community.

From a theoretical point of view, the sense of community demonstrated by this study among the residents of Broadhurst refutes the position presented by the social disorganisation school which was influenced significantly by classical European theorists particularly Tonnie, Durkheim, and Simmel and later theorists particularly Louis Wirth. The school, which represents the “community lost” argument, emphasised the way urban life disrupted traditional ties to kin and community. Louis Wirth (1938), one of the major contributors to the disorganisation theory through his essay, “Urbanism as a Way of Life”, argued that urbanisation fosters innovation, specialisation, diversity, and anonymity. He described urbanisation as the weakening of bonds of kinship, the declining social significance of the family, the disappearance of the neighbourhood, and the undermining of the traditional basis of social solidarity. According to him, the city is characterised by greater freedom and tolerance and a decline in the sense of common community. Wirth argued that networks of friendship and kinship in modern cities are fragmented and contain few strong links, leaving residents to experience lives short on camaraderie and long on isolation. The results, however, support the views expressed by compositional theory propagated by Gans’ (1962) and the subcultural theory championed by Claude Fischer (1984). According to compositional theory, contrary to Wirth’s position, urbanisation does not lead to the demise of the family and kinship bonds. Relatives continue to be a significant source of socialising and support. These views are shared by subcultural theory which suggested that the urban area does not shape social life. Rather, urbanism shapes social networks by nurturing and changing the social worlds within which the social networks are embedded (Fischer, 1984).

The existence of elaborate social interactions among urban dwellers in Gaborone was also manifested through advice seeking. Most respondents sought advice from and provided the same to others on social, family, work, and financial matters. Significant proportions of those studied consulted others located within their urban neighbourhoods or in other areas within Gaborone in general. However, consultation on social and family matters was more frequent with financial matters being the subject where respondents consulted least. When it came to problems that affect the family, or are considered too serious, relatives, more so immediate family members, were the most important since as one respondent put it, "they are flesh and blood". This trend paints a picture of respondents who were more comfortable seeking advice concerning family matters from relatives as opposed to friends and work mates. It confirms the views expressed by most respondents that family is a private domain that could only be discussed with relatives. The patterns obtained may also suggest that among low-income urbanites social bonds are more likely to be based on family and social matters rather than work and financial matters. That is, the probability of getting assistance on family and social matters is better than that of getting work related or financial assistance. This position finds support in the fact that only slightly over half of the respondents were employed; most of them in low-income jobs.

Concerning the seeking of advice from the respondents, the results suggest that relatives consulted the respondents most frequently on social, family, and work issues. Friends, on the other hand, consulted on all four matters studied but financial and family matters emerged as the two top areas of consultation. In cases where the respondents were consulted by work mates, work related issues tended to dominate followed by social matters while very limited consultation on family and financial matters occurred. It should be noted that most of the consultations, whether by or from the respondents, occurred regardless of the respondents' socio-economic characteristics. Even where significant variations were obtained, no logical

explanation could be deduced. As such, they were thought to be possibly chance variations.

Overall, the results suggest the existence of significant social ties among urban dwellers. This is evident in the level of consultation between the respondents and their relatives, friends, and work mates. In particular kinship emerged as an important base for social relations in the Broadhurst area. Most respondents preferred to confide in relatives and were in close touch with them as their main source of social support. They strove to reach out to family, especially in times of funerals and weddings, no matter where they were. It did not seem to matter whether they kept regular contact or just saw each other occasionally. The respondents did extend their social ties beyond relatives to friends and work mates but relatives emerged as the principal confidant for most of them. The only area where relatives were not the dominant category consulted was on work-related issues. Here advice was mainly sought from work mates. However, this is understandable considering the type of information sought was likely to be specialised and very specific to one's job and thus outside of the domain of family and relatives.

The emergence of kinship as an important base for social relations in the Broadhurst area is consistent with the findings of previous studies (see e.g., Gugler, 1996b; Geschiere and Gugler, 1998; Peil and Oyeneeye, 1998; Larson, 1998). According to these studies, urban residents often develop a sense of community based on informal kinship ties. Although kinship ties may not be as strong in cities as in villages, kinship is as important a base for social relations in the towns as it is in rural areas. In the Broadhurst area the existence of strong kinship ties was evident through the composition of the households studied. Individuals who were related to one another constituted most of the households studied. The overwhelming majority of all household members were related to the household heads. They were spouses/partners,

children, siblings, nephews/nieces, grand children, cousins or other relations. This was a manifestation of the existence of elaborate family ties in the urban environment.

The final indicator of urban social ties analysed by the study was membership of social organisations. Previous studies have demonstrated that urban migrants tend to join social and voluntary organisations, such as churches; sports clubs; funeral societies; savings associations; parents' and teachers' associations (PTAs) to assist them with the transition from rural to urban life (Cohen, 1974; Yacoob, 1984; (Rakodi, 1995; Peil and Oyeneye, 1998). In this study membership of social organisations and clubs emerged as a moderate measure of social interaction in Broadhurst. It was the least utilised avenue for urban social ties. The majority of the respondents were members of some social organisation or clubs but church membership was most prevalent. The widespread membership of churches relative to other social organisation is consistent with Yacoob's (1984) position that poor migrants tend to be more welcomed into non-formal associations and religious movements. The widespread membership of churches relative to other social organisation has been observed in many African countries. In a study conducted by Rakodi (1995) in Harare, for example, belonging to a church was more prevalent compared to belonging to other social organisations. Despite the limited membership of organisations encountered in this study, organisation or club membership remains an important pointer to the existence of social ties in urban areas. Belonging to a church or burial society provides the urban dweller with the opportunity to establish ties with others also resident within the city. Unlike clubs associated with the affluent members of society such a golf clubs, these organisations offer members considerable social and material support which are necessary for their survival in the city.

The limited participation in social organisations and clubs coupled with a bias toward churches recorded in this study may be a pointer that most respondents preferred to spend more time in informal recreations and contacts with family than participate in

formal organisations (Peil and Oyeneye, 1998; Rakodi, 1995). It could also be a reflection of the income levels of those interviewed. The study focused on low-income neighbourhoods and these are likely to stay away from clubs, cinemas and other forms of commercial recreation because of the high membership fees and other financial considerations. This finding supports the explanation advanced by Knox and Pinch (2000) that membership of voluntary associations is related to class and lifestyle with middle class individuals being more likely to use voluntary associations as a means of establishing and sustaining social relationships.

The study found that women were more likely than men to participate in churches. This is not surprising because previous studies have established that it is not unlikely for women to be more involved with churches than men (Yacoob, 1984; Wilmott, 1987; Vaa, et. al, 1989; Miles, 2001). According to Yacoob, relative to their male counterparts, female migrants are more likely to join city-based informal associations and religious groups. Similarly, Wilmott and Vaa, et al found that women in the city are more likely to extend their social ties beyond the family by establishing close supportive relations with neighbours and joining social groups. Consistent with Yacoob, Wilmott, and Vaa et al, Miles (2001) found that low-income females resident in the urban areas in Swaziland tended to join burial and church societies as a source of financial, emotional and spiritual support. For some of them membership also served as a source of moral support, a forum for networking for jobs or children's placement in schools, a platform for airing grievances, as well as an avenue for advice on marital disputes and harsh work conditions, among others.

That more females than males belonged to churches could be explained by the fact that church activities tend to be an extension of the roles women perform at home. Church activities such as those undertaken by groups like mothers' unions mirror the nurturing roles played by women at home. Men, on the other hand, tend to be more committed to other forms of recreation such as frequenting bars and sports clubs. It

may also suggest that women have stronger religious faith relative to men. Further cross-tabulation analysis showed that females were more likely than males to be members of both church and burial society while men were more likely to belong to only one of these organisations or none of them at all. These findings are consistent with the trends about women being more likely than men to belong to churches. They further confirm the positions put forth by Yacoob (1984), Wilmott (1987), Vaa, et al (1989), and Miles (2001).

The relationship obtained between membership of churches and household size, showing that those who belonged to large households were more likely to belong to churches, could be a manifestation of feelings of “social space.” That is, those who come from large households often experience crowding at home and are more likely to seek refuge in social organisations especially churches than those originating from smaller households. Of course there are those other cases in which loneliness can drive one to join organisations. This is likely to obtain among individuals who live alone or in very small households. On the other hand, the finding that lower levels of educational attainment significantly increased the respondent’s likelihood of joining a church, could be interpreted as a reflection of the differences in types of recreational and leisure activities available to the two groups. While those who have higher levels of education, and presumably higher incomes, might have alternative recreational and leisure activities (such as belonging to golf clubs and other “members only” clubs) open to them, those with low levels of education are usually confined to open membership, (non-fee) organisations and especially the church. Similar explanation could be offered for the variations obtained in respect of employment status in which the unemployed were more likely to belong to churches relative to their employed counterparts.

Those who had resided in the neighbourhood for shorter periods were more likely to belong to both church and burial society while the probability of being a member of

one or none of these organisations was higher among those who had lived in the neighbourhood for longer periods. These results suggest that those who are relatively new in the community are more likely to seek membership of social organisations as a means of acceptance and integration into it. However, as time lapses they are likely to evolve alternative forms of recreation and hence the reduced probability of being members of social organisations.

## 8.2 Urban-Rural Linkages

To reiterate, urban-rural linkages were captured utilising ownership of property; participation in socio-economic activities; exchange of money, goods, and visits; frequency of various forms of communication; and consultation patterns. This study demonstrated the simultaneous existence of strong urban ties and strong urban-rural linkages among the residents of Gaborone. Despite having lived in Gaborone for many years and the strong sense of community that characterised them, the respondents still maintained strong links with their home villages. This trend appears to lend support to Gutkind's assertion that urban-rural links could increase rather than decrease the migrants' participation in urban life. According to Gutkind (1974: 31-32):

The degree of contact the African urbanite maintains with his [*sic*] home community does not involve him in less participation in the life of the town but, frequently, in deeper and more persistent involvement. Visits to a rural home, or other regular links, are usually a reflection of a fairly high degree of commitment to an urban-based wage economy or to the perception by the migrant that life in town provides him with the potential of some degree of upward economic and social mobility which, if realised, in turn increases his stature in the rural community. Thus rural (traditional) influences rather than making migrants less of an urbanite might actually involve him more deeply in the urban milieu.

The results for the effects of urban residence on social ties with rural areas provide further evidence that those studied were very likely to maintain strong ties with the rural areas. This is evident from three findings. First, the majority of the respondents were born in the rural areas and had relatives residing there. Consistent with previous

studies (see e.g., O'Connor, 1983; Oucho, 1996; Gugler, 1996a; Potts, 1997; Findley, 1997), those studied maintained dual households, with some members of the family living in town and others in the village. Second, a significant proportion expressed no wish to have family members resident in rural areas relocate to Gaborone. Third, most respondents felt that staying in urban areas had strengthened their ties with rural-based kin and perceived social ties to be stronger in rural areas as opposed to urban areas.

The existence of strong urban-rural linkages among the residents of Broadhurst supports the findings of most previous studies. Generally speaking, urban dwellers in sub-Saharan Africa maintain close ties (or high level linkage) with their village of origin (Schlyter, 1990; Gugler, 1996a; Oucho, 1996; Geschiere and Gugler, 1998; Larson, 1998; Krüger, 1998; Trager, 1998; Ferguson, 1999; Englund, 2002). Although migrants participate in the urban economy, most remain loyal and are committed to the rural community. While the "strength and nature of African urban-rural linkages may vary over time as macro-political and economic conditions change" (Potts, 1997: 461), the general trend is one in which most urban residents never break the rural connection altogether even after the death of their parents and significant relatives (Geschiere and Gugler, 1998). As such most urban migrants in Africa live in a dual system characterised by one family but two households (Oucho, 1996; Gugler, 1996a; Potts, 1997; Findley, 1997).

In Botswana, in particular, the existence of strong urban-rural ties among urban dwellers has been documented by several previous studies (see e.g., Macliver, 1977; Izzard, 1979; Cooper, 1980; Kerven, 1980; Larson, 1998; Krüger, 1998). According to such studies, many urban workers do not cut off their links with their rural villages. Thus, like elsewhere in Africa, urban dwellers in Botswana live in a dual system characterised by one family of two households with migrants still viewing the natal village as their real home. This affirms Cooper's (1980) finding that individuals of the

same Botswana household often straddled both the urban and rural areas. The respondents of this study believed that it was essential to maintain linkages with the village because it was their home, where their parents and grandparents were born. According to them, the village was their ancestral land, their place of birth and a place where the elders lived and hence should be respected and cherished. In addition, they felt that they had an obligation to help uplift the standards of living of their relatives and reduce the overall levels of poverty in the village. In their view, migrants were economic ambassadors of their villages who had been sent out into the urban world in search of economic opportunities. As such, they were obligated to go back to the village and contribute in the improvement of the social and economic well being of other members of the immediate family and of the village at large.

The strong urban-rural linkages that characterised the residents of the Broadhurst area may be a reflection of the fact that most of the respondents were born in the rural areas. Botswana is a recently urbanised country (Larson, 1998) and most urban dwellers are migrants to the city. As such these are likely to retain strong social bonds with their rural village of birth. This concurs with Hesselberg (1993), Larson (1998) and Krüger, (1998) who found that, rather than urban-rural linkages weakening with rising migration to towns, these remain strong despite the fact that urban dwellers may also establish social ties in the city.

As evident from those interviewed, migrants envisioned their eventual return to the village. Most respondents planned to retire to their home villages and wished to be buried there. They considered the urban area as a place of work while their real home was in the village. Interestingly the age profile of surveyed households' members declined significantly after 45 years and only a very low proportion were aged 65 years and above. The steep fall in numbers of household members aged 65 years and above may reflect wider demographic patterns, yet the surveyed households' age profiles might also indicate that persons aged 45 years and over have possibly retired

to a rural area. The maintenance of rural links by urban dwellers coupled with the stated desire to revert to a rural lifestyle at some point in future is consistent with the findings of previous studies (see e.g., Andreasen, 1990; Potts and Mutambirwa, 1990; Potts, 1997; Larson, 1998; Krüger, 1998; Ferguson, 1999; Englund, 2002).

In his study of mineworkers who were just retiring or being retrenched in the Copperbelt in Zambia, Ferguson (1999) found that the majority of mineworkers planned to return to the village. Similarly, Englund (2002: 146), in his study of migrants in Chinsapo in Malawi found that “Despite their spatial mobility, most migrants have not ever “left” their *mudzi*, the home village, to which they could in any meaningful sense “return”. The migrants sustained their ties with the village of origin through ownership and cultivation of land and ownership of a house. This applied to even those migrants with the longest migration histories, who had first migrated over 10 years ago (Englund, 2002). In Botswana the plans by migrants to return to the rural village in future has been supported by Kerven (1980) and Larson (1998). Larson found that low-income urban household members not only expressed a desire to retire to their rural villages of birth but had also constructed a modern house there in readiness for such an eventuality. For these, home was “the place where you were born, where you, your relatives, came from” (Larson, 1998:42). Such findings strengthen the position advanced by Kerven, (1980) that most urban dwellers in Botswana do not plan to settle there permanently. Many of them maintain an active or passive connection to the rural areas - the lands, the village, or cattle post – by means of their families.

The ownership of property and involvement in economic activities in rural areas were other ways through which the respondents’ ties to the rural areas were strengthened. The majority of those studied owned one or several types of properties and were involved in different economic activities in rural areas. This depicted them as being quite entrenched into the rural areas. It may be argued that by owning property and

being involved in economic activities, the respondents were compelled to maintain ties with the rural areas so as to safeguard their property and economic interests here. To illustrate, some of the respondents who owned ploughing land but were not utilising it at the time of the study viewed it as security for their children as well as grandchildren. This concurs with the views expressed through previous studies (see e.g. Osirike, 1991; Rakodi, 1995; Potts, 1997; Geschiere and Gugler, 1998; Peil and Oyeneeye, 1998; Ferguson, 1999). Ferguson, for example, found that in Zambia migrants who are able to accumulate some surplus could maintain rural ties through investing it (the surplus) in the rural villages of origin. For Botswana in particular, the results about the ownership of property and participation in economic activities are consistent with the findings of the study conducted by Cooper (1980) in Selebi-Phikwe. According to him, most migrants tended to be involved with and committed to their village of origin and invested incomes earned in urban areas there. All those studied maintained strong agricultural links even after coming to town by investing in cattle and arable farming. Only a few of the respondents reported that they did not own any cattle.

The respondents' entrenchment in their rural areas of origin was further enhanced by their frequency of participation in social activities. The high frequency of involvement in social activities in the rural areas reported by those interviewed is a pointer that urban dwellers not only stay in touch with their home village but also actually travel there to join fellow villagers in various social ceremonies and civic meetings. Other means utilised to sustain social contacts with rural kin were exchange of money, goods, and visits. Having most of their family members still living in the rural areas, the respondents regularly sent to and occasionally received money and goods from rural kin and also frequented their rural village of origin and received visitors from there. Some respondents were emphatic that they had to send goods and money because they were the major breadwinners in the family. These indicated that whenever there is a problem at home, such as a funeral, the family always looks up to

them for help especially financially because it is taken for granted that those who work in towns have a lot of money and, therefore, will automatically help. Other respondents underlined the importance of sending money and goods to the village arguing that *“it is part of our culture to take care of those who are less privileged than you”*.

The trends observed by this study with respect to the exchange of money, goods, and visits as mechanisms for maintaining urban-rural linkages are in agreement with those observed by previous studies (Macliver, 1977; Osirike, 1991; Rakodi, 1995; Oucho, 1996; Gugler, 1996a; Findley, 1997; Tacoli, 1998; Ferguson, 1999). According to them, urban-rural ties throughout sub-Saharan Africa are continually reinforced through the exchange of visits, goods and money. Urban residents regularly remit to, or take with them whenever they visit their families in rural areas, gifts of money or manufactured foods and other goods (O'Connor, 1983; Andreasen, 1990; Oucho, 1990; Schlyter, 1990; Rakodi, 1995). With reference to the exchange of visits these studies have shown that migrants oscillate between the city and the village throughout their life cycle. They visit their villages of birth and are also visited by rural kin regularly.

While the majority of the respondents relied on all three ways of maintaining links with rural areas, visiting patterns emerged to be the most commonly used of the three methods. This could be explained in terms of the fact that virtually all respondents were born in the rural areas and most of them had invested in property and were involved in economic activities there. Visiting between urban and rural dwellers were also enhanced through the relatively high proportion of urban dwellers who consulted kin resident in rural areas on various issues such as family and social matters mostly using a face-to-face mode of communication. The propensity of visiting rural areas was found to be substantially higher among those who had resided in the city for longer periods. This could be viewed as suggesting that those who had resided in the

city longer had managed to invest more in the village and thus frequented there to check on their investments. Also these are the individuals who were likely to be approaching retirement and their keen interest in the village could be construed as a form of preparation for that eventuality.

Consistent with the findings of previous studies (see, Trager, 1988; Oucho, 1990; Rakodi, 1995; Peil and Oyeneeye, 1998), the exchange of money, and goods, and visits was not unidirectional but much more reciprocal or bi-directional. However, the flow of money, goods and visitors from the rural to the urban areas was lower than from the urban to the rural areas. With specific reference to money transfers from rural areas were rare. Only a minority of the respondents received money from others resident in rural areas. This is not surprising because it is often the urban migrants who remit earnings to their rural homes rather than them receiving money from there. The pattern is also consistent with the findings by others such as Oucho (1990) and Rakodi (1995) that remittances from rural to urban areas are rarer than urban to rural ones, but by no means totally absent. The proportion of respondents who received goods and visitors from the rural areas was nevertheless much higher relative to those who received money.

Ordinarily, it is expected that most urban dwellers would receive goods, especially farm produce, from rural areas as reciprocity for money and goods remitted. However, less than two thirds of the respondents of this study received goods from rural areas. It is possible that the arid conditions coupled with erratic rainfall and frequent droughts in Botswana are responsible for this trend. These make subsistence agriculture unviable and therefore limit the amounts and variety of goods (farm produce) that are available for such exchanges. The finding that the proportion of respondents who had received visitors was higher than that of those who had received goods further strengthens this view. The norm should be that when one visits the urban areas one should bring farm produce and other goods from rural areas.

The exchange of money was found to vary by education and employment status such that those who had secondary and higher levels of education and those who were employed were more likely to send money to others. Such findings are not totally unexpected considering that the potential for an urban resident to remit cash to rural areas is, for the most part, dependent on the availability of income. While those who have higher education have better chances of being gainfully employed and thus having the income to remit to rural areas, those who are employed are more likely to have ready cash to send to others in rural areas. Furthermore, it may be argued that it is the educated and the employed who are more likely to invest considerably in rural areas and hence their greater propensity to remit money. These are the individuals whose economic/financial status enables them to acquire cattle and bore holes. This argument is in tune with the view that in Botswana the affluent are also likely to spend their free time in rural areas, especially in the cattle posts (see *Mail & Guardian*, December 22, 1999).

The study found that all respondents were equally likely to send goods to or receive them from others resident in rural areas. However, those who had lived in Gaborone for much longer and those who owned the housing units they lived in were more likely to visit others in rural areas. The variations based on duration of residence could be interpreted to suggest that the length of stay in Gaborone was correlated with the amount of property owned and investments made in the rural areas. That is, the longer one had been in the city, the more likely that they had accumulated assets in rural areas as a result of cumulated remittances. It is also possible that those who had been in the city longer were nearing retirement and thus frequented the rural areas more often in preparation for retirement. That owning one's place of residence may free a certain proportion of one's income that should have gone to rent could be responsible for the variations based on housing ownership. This, in turn, increases the amount of money available to the individual. Such funds could facilitate frequent visits to and even more investments in the rural areas.

The existence of strong urban-rural ties was also reinforced through mail, verbal, and telephone communication between urban residents and rural dwellers. The results showed that the majority of the respondents utilised these forms of communication. Although the majority of the respondents most frequently used the telephone relative to mail and verbal messages to communicate with others in rural areas, those in the rural areas mainly sent verbal messages to urban dwellers. The extensive use of telephone messages by the respondents to contact others in rural areas may be due to the fact that telephone facilities are available and easily accessible in most parts of the country. It may also be argued that, relative to mail and verbal messages, telephone messages also afford a more reliable and faster mode of conveying messages to others. The use of transfer of information through correspondence and telephone calls to sustain urban-rural linkages has been supported by previous studies (Schlyter, 1990; Nelson, 1992; Oucho, 1996; Gugler, 1996a; Findley, 1997; Ferguson, 1999).

The extensive use of various forms of communication is clearly reflected in the frequency of consultation between the respondents and relatives and friends resident in the rural areas. The respondents sought from and provided to others advice on matters ranging from family to social, work, and finance utilising face-to-face and telephone communication, among others. Like with urban-based consultation, those studied consulted mainly relatives in rural areas most frequently on family and social matters. Such matters were considered confidential. Similarly, relatives most frequently sought advice from the respondents on family matters.

The results from tests for variations showed that while seeking of advice on family matters from friends differed by sex and education, being consulted by relatives on family matters varied by sex. That is, males and those with primary and lower levels of education were more likely to seek advice on family matters from friends. Males were also more likely to be consulted by relatives on family matters. The variations based on sex in both cases suggest the persistence of male dominance despite

urbanisation. Concerning variations based on education, one may argue that those with higher education may have access to other means (such as written information and professional help) of gaining information about matters pertaining to the family.

Significant variations were also observed with respect to consultation on financial matters. Males were more likely to consult both relatives and friends on financial matters and also to be consulted by friends on the same. This tends to suggest that the responsibility over financial matters within the households studied rested mainly with men. It could be construed as a reinforcement of the persistence of male dominance as breadwinners as discussed earlier. Consultation on financial matters was also found to vary by household size, housing ownership, education, and employment but only with respect to friends. This suggests that, unlike with family and even social matters, when it came to financial issues the respondents were more willing to step outside of the circle of relatives and confide in friends too. It may also be a pointer that the respondents were more likely to financially network with friends than family members.

The final measure of the strength of urban-rural ties utilised by the study was the respondents' views about their future residence in the city and the perceived effects of urban residence on family ties. The finding that most respondents planned to retire to their home villages and wished to be buried there manifests the existence of strong urban-rural linkages. As evident from the results of this study, the desire to retire to the village must have compelled the respondents to maintain contacts with and to invest in the village in preparation for such an eventuality. The finding that most respondents had the majority of their family members resident in the village and frequently participated in social and economic activities there strengthens this view further. The propensity for returning to the rural areas was the same for all respondents regardless of their sex, marital status, household size, duration of residence in the city, housing ownership, education, and employment status.

The existence of a strong desire among the majority of the respondents to revert to rural living upon retirement supports the findings of previous research (see, Andreasen, 1990; Potts and Mutambirwa, 1990; Ferguson, 1999; Englund, 2002) which have demonstrated a general commitment to rural areas among many urban dwellers in Africa. In his Kenyan study, for example, Andreasen (1990) found that urban dwellers, particularly low-income earners, were in town for the money they earned, never wished to give up the rural household, and planned to leave town upon retiring. Most recently, Englund (2002: 153), who studied migrants in Chinsapo township in Malawi, found that migrants did not value permanent urbanisation and often saw “their stay in town through the prism of their rural aspirations”. The village was an ever-present aspect of their lives rather than a distant site of “retirement”. Migrants displayed deep emotional attachment to the home village (*mudzi*) and planned to eventually return their village of origin. As Englund (2002:137) put it:

The city is rarely thought to provide an adequate place for belonging, and even those who had lived most of their lives as labour migrants, or who were born abroad as children of labour migrants, usually have no difficulty in stating their village of origin in Malawi. As such, “return to the village” (*kubwerera ku mudzi*) is an obvious end to a migrant’s career, at least in rhetoric if not in practice.

Concerning Botswana in particular, the strong commitment to rural areas among urban dwellers has been demonstrated previously by Larson (1998). In her detailed study of urban-rural linkages in Botswana, the majority of the respondents fell with the categories she referred to as “traditionally oriented” or “negotiating” urban dwellers. These were characterised by a strong desire to retire and be buried in the home-village. Both young and old were reluctant to remain in town especially at old age and embraced the norm to eventually settle in the village of birth. According to them home meant “the place where you were born, where you, your relatives, came from” (Larson, 1998: 142). They considered urban life as temporary and for work only regardless of the length of time spent in the urban area, having a family in town or owning a house in town.

### **8.3 Urbanisation and the Family**

This study did not aim specifically to assess the effects of urbanisation on the family as a social unit. However, in light of the fact that the family is a major basis for social interaction (social ties and linkages), a discussion of whether increasing urbanisation in Botswana has weakened family ties is desirable. The need for such a discussion gains more weight when viewed within the context of the finding by this study that kinship was an important basis for social ties and linkages. The study found that urban-based households more often than not interacted with other family members within and outside of the immediate household.

The results of this study demonstrated that despite urbanisation the family remain strong either as a social unit or as a basis for social interaction. This was evident in three ways. The first indication that urbanisation had not weakened the family was the composition of households studied. These tended to comprise mainly of members who were related to the household head. As pointed out in Chapter 6, most households studied qualified to be families either in the nuclear or extended sense. Household members in some cases cut across generations reflecting a semblance of extended families as a residential unit. The second indication that urbanisation had not eliminated the family was the high sense of community among urban residents. This was grounded in a new type of social structure characterised by elaborate consultation networks in which kinship still played a pivotal role. Most respondents preferred to confide in relatives and were in close touch with them as their main source of advice particularly with respect to family and social matters. Although some respondents did extend their social ties beyond relatives to friends and work mates, relatives emerged to be the principal confidant for most of them.

The final indication that urbanisation has not culminated in the disintegration of the family in Botswana was the strong urban-rural linkages maintained by the respondents. Those studied had not severed their ties with their rural kin. Most of

them maintained strong linkages with their rural village through the ownership of property; participation in economic and social activities; exchange of money, goods, and visits; exchange of mail, telephone, and verbal messages; and consultation networks that often utilised face-to-face communication. In all cases relatives played a central role. The need to maintain strong ties with kin was reinforced by the fact that most respondents had left the majority of their family members in the rural areas and by the desire to eventually return to the home village.

The results affirmed the view expressed by Aryee (1997) that across Africa despite the tendency for urbanisation and migration to push the family toward nucleation, the extended family still remains strong as a social unit in times of births, weddings, illness and funerals. According to him such occasions bring together members of the extended kin to provide assistance and emotional support as the occasion may demand. In sum, what emerges from the results of this study negates the view by the classical sociologists such as Ferdinand Töennies and Emile Durkheim that urbanisation tends to disrupt traditional family ties; that is, once individuals migrate to the urban environment, they tend to turn away from their relatives and become self-reliant.

#### **8.4 Support for Study Hypotheses**

The broad hypothesis underpinning this study is that the residents of Broadhurst not only establish social ties with other urban residents but also maintain strong linkages with their rural villages. Overall, the results strongly supported this hypothesis. The bulk of the residents of Broadhurst were characterised by a strong sense of community. They considered others to be their neighbours, and were also frequently involved with others in the neighbourhood in various ways such as chatting, borrowing household items from each other, visiting, children playing together, and watching over each others' homes. These results are consistent with those obtained by others such as Dempsey (1990), Schlyter (1990), Gugler (1996b), Geschiere and

Gugler (1998), and Peil and Oyeneye (1998). Based on such studies, dwellers in urban neighbourhoods often establish lasting close-knit social bonds that give them a sense of community and belonging. In addition, a significant proportion of those studied sought advice from and provided the same to others resident within the city. Further, the respondents interacted with others based in the city through their membership of social organisations especially churches. Concerning urban-rural linkages, the study demonstrated that the majority of Broadhurst residents maintained strong linkages with their home village. This occurred through the ownership of property; participation in economic and social activities; exchange of money, goods, and visits; exchange of mail, telephone and verbal messages; and the seeking of advice especially from rural kin.

A second hypothesis for the study stated that relative to urban social ties, urban-rural linkages are stronger among the residents of Gaborone. Although the data analysed could not facilitate the direct confirmation of this hypothesis, the results tended to suggest that urban-rural linkages were relatively stronger than urban social ties. Despite forging strong ties in the urban environment, the respondents did not consider these to be a sufficient substitute for linkages with rural kin. In fact, according to them social bonds were much stronger in the rural compared to the urban areas. Closely related to this hypothesis is the study's third hypothesis which states that, despite rapid urbanisation there exists no "permanently urbanised" population in the Broadhurst area of Gaborone. The study results clearly supported this hypothesis. The bulk of the respondents maintained strong linkages with their rural village. They had not de-linked from rural areas totally to the extent of considering the urban area to be their one and only home. The existence of strong linkages to the rural areas was demonstrated through the high numbers of respondents who owned different types of property in rural areas, participated in economic and social activities, frequently remitted money and goods to and visited the rural areas.

In addition, virtually all the respondents regardless of their socio-economic characteristics planned to retire to their home villages and wished to be buried there. They considered the urban area as a place for work while their real home was in the village. The plan to return to the home village manifested the existence of what Larson (1998), in her study of migrants in Botswana, referred to as the “traditionally oriented urbanites” in the Broadhurst area of Gaborone. These consider the village to be home where they would retire to and be buried. Both young and old migrants were reluctant to remain in town especially at old age and planned on eventually settling in the village of birth after retirement. They perceived urban life as temporary and for work only, regardless of the length of time spent there, and the village as their actual home. The overwhelming reason for migrating to town for most of those studied by Larson was to find work and earn an income.

The above results dispelled what Ferguson (1999) refers to as “The Myth of Permanent Urbanisation” or the view stated that over time the rurally based migrants transformed into a “permanently urbanised” working class. In his study of mineworkers who were just retiring or being retrenched in the Copperbelt in Zambia, Ferguson found that, over time the rurally based migrants did not transform into a “permanently urbanised” people. The majority of them planned to return to the village. This is consistent with previous findings that, across most of Africa, the city is viewed not as a real home but as a place of employment (Andreasen, 1990; Potts and Mutambirwa, 1990; Potts, 1997; Larson, 1998; Ferguson, 1999; Englund, 2002). The rural village is considered to be home; the ancestral burial place where one returned after retirement.

The study’s fourth hypothesis stated that the longer the period of residence in the city the stronger the urban social ties and the weaker the urban-rural linkages. Overall, this hypothesis was not supported by the results of this study. While its first component received no support at all, the second part received what amounted to extremely weak

support. With respect to the first component, those studied were found to be equally likely to be characterised by a strong sense of community. This was evident in terms of considering others to be their neighbours, frequent involvement with others in the neighbourhood through various ways such as chatting, borrowing household items from each other, visiting, children playing together, and watching over each others' homes. Such unconditional strong sense of community was also evident through urban-based consultation patterns. The chi-square tests for variations centring on all indicators of sense of community yielded insignificant results.

Concerning the strength of urban linkages, the study demonstrated the simultaneous existence of strong urban social ties and urban-rural linkages regardless of the length of time the respondents had lived in the city. From the tests for variations spanning the varied indicators of urban-rural linkages, the only significant differences obtained based on duration of stay were in participation in ceremonies and in visiting of relatives and friends. Respondents who had resided in the city for 10 years and below were more likely to partake in such ceremonies while those who had lived in the city for more than 10 years were more likely to visit relatives and friends in rural areas. However, the variations in visiting patterns were not in the hypothesised direction. No significant variations based on duration of residence in the city were obtained for all other indicators of urban-rural linkages. That is, ownership of property, participation in economic activities, participation in *kgotla* and VDC meetings, exchange of money and goods, and advice seeking on family, social, and financial matters.

## CHAPTER NINE

### 9.0 CONCLUSION

This study aimed to assess the extent of social interaction among the residents of the Broadhurst area in Gaborone by examining the strength of urban social ties and urban-rural linkages against the background of rapid urbanisation in Botswana mainly due to rural-urban migration. Unlike other African countries, rapid urbanisation in Botswana has occurred hand in hand with economic growth. By analysing intra-urban social ties and urban-rural linkages the study sought to address the following questions. 1) Do the residents of Broadhurst exhibit a strong sense of community? That is, do they consider others to be neighbours and do they get involved with others within their locality frequently? 2) To what extent do urban dwellers maintain ties with kin in their (rural) home villages and through what means? It is around these questions that the conclusions drawn by the study revolve.

Several basic conclusions can be drawn from the data presented in this study. First, despite rapid urbanisation, a strong sense of community characterised the residents of the Broadhurst area of Gaborone. Those studied displayed a strong sense of community manifested through various types of involvement with others in the neighbourhood, elaborate consultation networks and, to a lesser extent, participation in social organisations particularly churches. In addition, those studied extensively consulted and were consulted by others on family, social, work-related, and financial matters with kin emerging to be important in such consultations. When it came to family and social matters, those studied preferred to consult with family members. Such social ties in the urban environment are likely to be strengthened with time because of declining economic fortunes in the city. As unemployment rises, new migrants will more than ever need kin and others to subsist in the city.

The existence of strong urban ties among the residents of Broadhurst suggests that increasing urbanisation in Botswana has not produced a more individualised culture that has dissolved the foundations of sociability between neighbours and led to the disappearance of community from urban societies. Rather, it has led to the birth of new forms of community in which relations between neighbours are not only extensive in scope but also positive in content. In this new type of social structure kinship still plays a pivotal role but is no longer the only uniting factor and the determinant of social groupings. The new type of social structure is anchored on social contacts among neighbours and membership of voluntary associations and societies that cut across kinship groupings. The existence of a strong sense of community among those studied is a testimony to this fact. Such a conclusion refutes the 'community lost' argument presented by the social disorganisation school which described urbanisation as the weakening of bonds of kinship, the declining social significance of the family, the disappearance of the neighbourhood, and the undermining of the traditional basis of social solidarity. However, it supports the views expressed by compositional and the subcultural theorists that for many urban individuals, family, and kinship bonds were far from dead, and relatives continued to be a significant source of socialising and support. It also mirrors Durkheim's views about modernity. According to him urbanisation produced a new social order rather than dismantled social life.

One of the hypotheses tested by this study addressed the issue of whether there exists a 'truly' urbanised population amongst the residents of Broadhurst. The basic conclusion that can be derived from the study results is that those studied did not constitute a permanent urban population; one that has severed all ties with rural areas and considers the city to be their only home. Overall, the evidence presented by this study supports the general conclusion that runs through much of current research on urban-rural ties in sub-Saharan Africa that, due to various social and economic reasons, migrants to urban areas have not severed ties with rural areas of origin. The

majority of the respondents fitted Larson's (1998) category of 'traditionally oriented urbanites'. These are the individuals who see the urban area as a place of work while the village is home. Those studied had not severed their ties with their rural kin as evident through the strong urban-rural linkages they maintained. They acquired property in the rural areas, participated in economic and social activities, exchanged money and goods, and frequently visited the rural areas. Most important, they desired to retire to the home village. Consistent with urban social ties, such urban-rural linkages are also expected to strengthen in the future. The key pointer to this conclusion is the rising unemployment characteristic of most African countries, Botswana included, which dictates that migrants retain ties with rural kin as a form of social and economic security. Lack of access to land and credit facilities in urban areas, for especially low-income groups, inclines the migrant to maintain ties with rural areas for the purpose of accessing land, a very valued resource among African populations.

With reference to the family, it can be concluded that it remains a fundamental social unit in Botswana even within the urban areas. Despite the many social and economic changes that it has undergone, the family still plays a significant role in the lives of its members. It is still the dominant source of shelter and social support for its members. This was evident from the fact that the households studied mainly were comprised of people who were related to the household heads and thus qualified to be families. In addition, kin emerged to be very important when it came to socio-economic involvement with others, and consultation networks within the city. Within the context of urban-rural linkages it was also evident that family bonds had not been weakened by rural to urban migration. This was evident in various ways. First, most respondents had the majority of their kin still resident in the rural areas and had no plans to have them relocate to the city. Further, they maintained frequent contacts with them that guaranteed that the family remained strong as a social unit. Such contacts were sustained through frequent exchange of money, goods, and visits;

exchange of mail, telephone and verbal messages; and consultation on various matters such as family, social and financial matters more often than not utilising face-to-face communication. One may also mention that the urban dwellers had established strong economic and social links with their home village. In sum, rather than obliterate the family, the high rate of urbanisation has contributed to the constant changes that the family has been undergoing. While the family may be constantly evolving and transforming due to urbanisation, it is not by any means dying.

In Chapter Two it was pointed out that Botswana's urbanisation is unique compared to other African countries. Unlike in most other African countries, rapid urbanisation in Botswana was accompanied by impressive economic growth though no significant industrial development has taken place. It should be noted that despite Botswana's uniqueness, the patterns of social interaction, especially the urban-rural linkages, found by the study are consistent with those documented for other developing countries. Data from most sub-Saharan African countries (Ferguson, 1999; Gugler, 1996a; Oucho, 1996; Englund, 2002) show that, like in Botswana, migrants do not sever their links with their rural areas of origin; they still maintain strong ties with their rural kin.

Gender and class are important factors in the study of social interactions. For instance they can lead to variations in the nature and extent of social interactions. Utilising a sample in which the proportion of females approximated that of males, this study observed no major gender variations in the nature and extent of urban-based social ties and urban-rural linkages. Overall, both males and females displayed a high sense of community viewed in terms of who is considered to be one's neighbour, frequency of involvement with others in the neighbourhood, and advice seeking. Similarly both sexes were equally likely to maintain strong ties with their rural kin visualised in terms of ownership of property, participation in economic and social activities; the

exchange of money, goods, and visits; exchange of mail, verbal, and telephone communication; and consultation networks.

Concerning class, the study was not able to assess its relationship to social interactions because of two factors. First, the study sample did not cut across class lines. Those studied mainly comprised of residents in low-income neighbourhoods. Second, income, which is often used as an indicator of class, was not measured by the study. However, it is possible that strong urban-rural linkages can also be associated with those urbanites residing in high- and middle-income areas. These are the individuals who are likely to maintain links with rural areas through investments particularly in livestock rearing. Because of these investments such Batswana oscillate between the city and rural based cattle posts during holidays and weekends (Mail and Guardian, December 22, 1999). O'Connor (1983) shared the views expressed here when he argued that all classes or income groups of urban dwellers share the commitment to rural areas. According to him, visiting rural areas is found in all income groups. While the poor may have the greatest need to maintain rural ties for security, the more affluent may have invested in land which they must supervise from time to time. Thus, it is not uncommon to find that even individuals born and brought up in town identify themselves with home in the rural areas. The reasons for maintaining links include the strength of family and kinship ties and the wish to retain land rights and thus a measure of security.

This study was mooted mainly for the generation of theoretical knowledge rather than to guide policy formulation. Its findings nevertheless have broad implications for development policy formulation and implementation in Botswana. What emerges from the study suggested the existence of dual residence for most urban dwellers in the country. It is vitally important that policymakers and development planners take note of this trend. In the past there has occurred the tendency to draw too sharp a distinction between the urban and rural areas resulting in a dichotomous approach to

planning and policy implementation in which the bulk of resources were concentrated in the urban environment. The results of this study have demonstrated the need to shift from the more urban biased approach to development planning and implementation toward a more balanced approach that treats the urban and rural areas as equally deserving when it comes to the allocation of resources. That is, rural and urban should not be treated as distinctive spheres because it is the same population that benefits from developments in both areas. Urban residents benefit from good services in the urban environment during their stay but will need similar services when they eventually return to the rural areas. In addition, most of their other family members reside in the rural areas and equally deserve good services.

Not only should future development efforts strike a balance between urban and rural areas, policy implementation should also reflect this balance. It is important to balance urban and rural development to encourage the trend observed in this study whereby the majority of urban dwellers are already investing in their rural villages. The results, for instance, showed that for most individuals residing in urban areas resources, particularly land, which are important in investment decisions are easily accessible in the rural areas. The initiatives by urban dwellers to invest in their home villages provided a strong base on which the government could build to enhance rural development.

Finally, it is necessary to indicate whether or not the study actually met its stated objectives. To a large extent, this study was able to reach the goals it set. It was able to adduce data illustrating both urban social ties and urban-rural linkages among the residents of Broadhurst area of Gaborone. The study demonstrated the simultaneous existence of strong urban social ties and strong urban-rural linkages. Overall, these findings, particularly those related to urban-rural linkages are consistent with those realised by previous studies (Macliver, 1977; Izzard, 1979; Cooper, 1980; Larson, 1998; Krüger, 1998). These studies revealed the existence of strong ties between

urban and rural dwellers in Botswana sustained through methods similar to those employed by this study; particularly the exchange of money, goods, and visits. This study, however, focused on low cost housing and to some extent medium cost housing areas only. Furthermore, the study only sampled certain areas in Broadhurst. These facts raise the issue of the extent to which the results can be generalised across all urban residents. It is possible that the incorporation of high cost housing into the study could have moderated its results. It is on the strength of this observation that the proposal is made for future research that spans all three categories of housing in Gaborone. In addition, research that draws from both rural and urban residents for its sample is desirable to capture how urbanisation has shaped social ties and linkages from the perspectives of the two groups. This way richer data about the subject matter would be realised.

**APPENDICES**

**APPENDIX I**

**RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE**

QUESTIONNAIRE NUMBER: \_\_\_\_\_ [Interviewer Initials \_\_\_\_\_]

**STUDY OF SOCIAL INTERACTION IN GABORONE**

Dear Respondent,

This questionnaire is part of a research project that is designed to gain a better understanding of urban-rural linkages and social interaction networks amongst individuals resident in Gaborone. Your contribution to this project is very important. You are in a unique position to help identify the types of networks that people in different residential areas establish over time. By participating in this survey you will help identify what are the linkages that exist between urban dweller themselves and between urban and rural residents.

Your participation in this survey is highly appreciated. Answers to all questions are voluntary and all answers will be kept completely confidential. Your responses will be used only in combination with the responses from other participants. No names or any information that could be used to identify particular respondents will be employed in reporting the research findings. All survey questionnaires will be destroyed at the end of the study.

I would appreciate it if you could take some time to respond to the questions that I will put across to you. The survey should take between 30 to 45 minutes to complete and you are encouraged to answer all questions asked. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers to any of the questions you will be asked. However, you should be as candid as possible. Please feel free to ask for further clarifications where questions are unclear.

**I want to thank you in advance for your time and co-operation.**

**PART I:**

**SECTION A: HOUSEHOLD IDENTIFICATION**

1. Plot No. \_\_\_\_\_

2. Residential area: \_\_\_\_\_

3. Type of Residence [**Please circle one**]

1. Medium Cost
2. Low Cost

4. Type of Housing Unit [**Please circle one**]:

1. Detached,
2. Semi-detached
3. Flat
4. Rooms
5. Servants' quarters
6. Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

5. Acquisition of housing unit [**Please circle one**]:

1. Purchased
2. Inherited
3. Rented (Indicate from whom e.g. Government, BHC, relative etc) \_\_\_\_\_
4. Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

**SECTION B: CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS**

6.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Names of persons residing in housing unit (starting with household head) <sup>1</sup>	Sex: 1. M 2. F	Age (in years)	Relationship to household head	Place of Birth	Occupational Status:	Is household member: 1. Usual Member 2. Visitor [indicate reason for visit]	Usual place of residence: 1. Housing unit 2. Other unit in Gaborone 3. Elsewhere	Duration of residence	[Usual household members only] Indicate whether member is: 1. Present 2. Absent [Indicate where member is and reason for absence]
1.									
2.									
3.									
4.									
5.									

<sup>1</sup>Mark respondent's name with an asterisk (\*).

Question 6 |Cont'd|

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Names of persons residing in housing unit (starting with household head) <sup>2</sup>	Sex: 3. M 4. F	Age (in years)	Relationship to household head	Place of Birth	Occupational Status:	Is household member: 3. Usual Member 4. Visitor [indicate reason for visit]	Usual place of residence: 4. Housing unit 5. Other unit in Gaborone 6. Elsewhere	Duration of residence	[Usual household members only] Indicate whether member is: 1. Present 2. Absent [Indicate where member is and reason for absence]
6.									
7.									
8.									
9.									
10.									

<sup>2</sup>Mark respondent's name with an asterisk (\*).

**PART II: [FOR SELECTED HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS AGED 18 + YEARS]**

From each household the interviewer selects one member. Eligible respondents are those 18 years and above and it does not necessarily have to be the head of household but preferably should be the head.

**SECTION A: BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS**

1. Plot No. \_\_\_\_\_
2. Residential area: \_\_\_\_\_
3. Row number in part I \_\_\_\_\_
4. Citizenship \_\_\_\_\_
5. Marital status:
  1. Married
  2. Cohabiting
  3. Never married
  4. Separated
  5. Divorced
  6. Widowed
6. Highest level of education attained:
  1. None
  2. Primary
  3. Junior Certificate
  4. 'O'/'A' Level
  5. Diploma
  6. Bachelors degree and above
  7. Other [specify] \_\_\_\_\_
7. Currently are you:
  1. Still at school [**Skip to Section C**]
  2. Unemployed, has never worked [**Skip to Section C**]
  3. Unemployed; but has worked in the past
  4. Employed

**SECTION B: OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY**

8. Current occupational Status: \_\_\_\_\_
9. Place/company/organisation of Work \_\_\_\_\_
10. Duration [in years] in current job: \_\_\_\_\_
11. How did you acquire current job in Gaborone?
  1. Applied
  2. Family
  3. Friend
  4. Other [specify] \_\_\_\_\_

12. Have you changed jobs during the last five years?  
 1. Yes [indicate previous job held] \_\_\_\_\_  
 2. No [Go to 18]

13. Reason for job change:  
 1. Retrenched  
 2. Dismissed  
 3. Better opportunities  
 4. Job security  
 5. New skills/training  
 6. Transfer  
 7. Promotion  
 8. Other [specify] \_\_\_\_\_

14. Length of time in previous job: \_\_\_\_\_

15. Was the job change your first one?  
 1. Yes [Go to 18]  
 2. No [indicate previous job held] \_\_\_\_\_

16. Reason for job change:  
 1. Retrenched  
 2. Dismissed  
 3. Better opportunities  
 4. Job security  
 5. New skills/training  
 6. Transfer  
 7. Promotion  
 8. Other [specify] \_\_\_\_\_

17. Length of time in second job: \_\_\_\_\_

**SECTION C: URBAN SOCIAL NETWORKS**

**Urban Informal Social Ties**

18. How long have you resided in Gaborone? \_\_\_\_\_ years.

19. How long have you resided in this neighbourhood? \_\_\_\_\_ years

20. Where else in Gaborone did you reside before moving to this neighbourhood?

1. Always lived in this neighbourhood  
 2. Lived elsewhere [specify]:

Previous Places of Residence [list from most recent]	Period	Reason for change of residence

21. Who do you consider to be your neighbours?  
 1. No one  
 2. The person next door  
 3. The people who live within the vicinity  
 4. Anyone I interact with  
 5. Everyone who lives in my neighbourhood  
 6. Other [Specify] \_\_\_\_\_

22. How important are neighbours in your life?

- |                         |                   |
|-------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Not important at all | 3. Important      |
| 2. Somewhat important   | 4. Very Important |

23. Would you describe your home as:

1. A private place for you and your family
2. A reclusive place where only a few neighbours and relations are welcome to visit periodically
3. A place where visitors are welcome as long as they warn you in advance
4. A place always open to neighbours and other people to pop in

24. Which of the following statements best describes the residents of your neighbourhood?

1. Majority are friendly, trustworthy and can be counted on for help
2. Most of them are neither friendly nor hostile
3. Majority are hostile, untrustworthy and cannot be counted on for help

25. How often do:

Activity	Frequency				
	Never [1]	Seldom [2]	Sometimes [3]	Often [4]	Very often [5]
1. You visit informally with your neighbours					
2. You chat with your neighbours					
3. You and your neighbours help each other out by lending things like sugar, salt, tools and other household goods; watching each other's houses when you are away or exchanging baby sitting					
4. You and your neighbours invite each other for meals					
5. You and your neighbour exchange gifts during special occasions such as birthdays and Christmas.					
6. You and your neighbours participate in social occasions such as weddings and funerals					
7. Your children and those of your neighbours spend time playing together.					

26. How would you feel about moving away from this neighbourhood?

1. Very pleased
2. Pleased
3. Neither Pleased nor sorry
4. Sorry
5. Very Sorry

27. How would you describe your ties with family members residing in Gaborone and other urban areas since coming to Gaborone?

1. Weakened
2. Remained the same
3. Strengthened

ii) **Advice-Seeking Patterns**

28. During the past six months how many times did you consult the following categories of persons residing in urban areas concerning the following situations:

Subject/Matter	Number of Times Person consulted		
	Relatives	Friends	Work mates
Family			
Social			
Work			
Financial			

29. Where are the people you consulted above resident?

Place of Residence	Person Consulted		
	Relatives	Friends	Work mates
In your neighbourhood			
Elsewhere in Gaborone			
In another urban area			

30. How did you communicate your problems to these people?

Mode of communication	Person consulted		
	Relatives	Friends	Work mates
Face to face			
Written message			
Third party			
Telephone			
Other [specify]			

31. During the past six months how many times did the following categories of persons residing in urban areas consult you concerning the following?

Situation/ Matter	Number of Times Consulted		
	Relatives	Friends	Work mates
Family			
Social			
Work			
Financial			

32. Where were the individuals who consulted you for advice and support residing?

Place of Residence	Person Consulting		
	Relatives	Friends	Work mates
In your neighbourhood			
Elsewhere in Gaborone			
In another urban area			

33. How did the individuals who consulted you communicate their problems to you?

Mode of communication	Person consulting		
	Relatives	Friends	Work mates
Face to face			
Written message			
Third party			
Telephone			
Other [specify]			

**iii) Membership of Associations, Clubs and Formal Organisations**

34. Are you a member of any of the following associations, clubs, societies or social groups?

1. Church
2. Burial society
3. Social club

35. How often do you participate in the activities of your association/society/club/ formal organisation?

1. Seldom
2. Sometimes
3. Often
4. Very often

36. Would you describe the other members of your association/society/club/formal organisation as?

1. Acquaintances
2. Just Friends
3. Close friends
4. Very close friends

37. What contributions do you make to your your association/society/club/ organisation?

Name of Organisation	Contributions made		
	None	Monetary	Time/effort
1. Church			
2. Burial society			
3. Other social organisation/club			

38. Indicate the benefits you receive from your association/society/club/ organisation

Benefits Received	Name of Organisation		
	Church	Burial society	Social club
1. None			
2. Monetary/material support			
3 Burial Service			
4 Social support			
5. Personal satisfaction			
6 Spiritual guidance			
7. Friendship networks/social ties			
8. Burial Service			

#### **SECTION D: URBAN- RURAL LINKAGES**

39. Indicate whether:

1. Only a few members of your family reside in the village
2. Most members of your family live in the village
3. All members of your family live in the village

40. If members of your immediate family are in rural areas, how soon do you wish to have them join you in town.

- 1 Never
- 2 Unsure
- 3 In the distant future
4. Soon
5. Very soon

41. What kinds of properties do you own in the village?

- |                                |   |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 1. None                        | 5. Cattle post/grazing field                  |
| 2. Residential Plot or housing | 6. Livestock (e.g., cattle, goats, sheep etc) |
| 3. Farmland/fields             | 7. Other [Specify] _____                      |
| 4. Business plot               |   |

42. If you own land in the rural areas how was it obtained?

- |                      |                             |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Does not own Land | 5. Tribal/Communal          |
| 2. Inheritance       | 6. Self-allocated           |
| 3. Freehold          | 7. Leased from other person |
| 4. Land Board        | 8. Other [Specify] _____    |

43. What economic activities, if any, are you involved in, in the village? [Can select more than one]

- |                      |                          |
|----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. None              | 4. Business activities   |
| 2. Farming           | 5. Other [specify] _____ |
| 3. Livestock rearing |                          |

44. How often do you participate in the following activities in the rural areas:

Activity	Frequency				
	Never [1]	Seldom [2]	Sometimes [3]	Often [4]	Very often [5]
1. Ceremonies like weddings, and burials					
2. <i>Kgotla</i> (public) meetings					
3. Village Development Committee meetings					

45. How many times have you engaged in the following during the past six months?

Activity	Frequency				
	Never	1 - 2 Times	3 - 4 Times	5 - 6 Times	> 6 Times
1. Sent goods to others resident in rural areas					
2. Sent money to others resident in rural areas					
3. Visited others resident in rural areas					
4. Sent mail to others resident in rural areas					
5. Sent verbal messages to others resident in rural areas					
6. Telephoned others resident in rural areas					

46. Provide the following details concerning the above transactions:

Activity	Details about Transaction	
	Person involved	Purpose
1. Sent goods to others resident in rural areas		
2. Sent money to others resident in rural areas		
3. Visited others resident in rural areas		
4. Sent verbal messages to others resident in rural areas		
5. Sent mail to others resident in rural areas		
6. Telephoned others resident in rural areas		

47. During the past six months how many times have you:

Activity	Frequency				
	Never	1 - 2 Times	3 - 4 Times	5 - 6 Times	> 6 Times
1. Received goods from others resident in rural areas					
2. Received money from others resident in rural areas					
3. Been visited by others resident in rural areas					
4. Received verbal messages from others resident in rural areas					
5. Received mail from others resident in rural areas					
6. Received telephone calls from others resident in rural areas					

48. Provide the following details concerning the above transactions:

Activity	Details about Transaction	
	Person involved	Purpose
1. Received goods from others resident in rural areas		
2. Received money from others resident in rural areas		
3. Visited by others resident in rural areas		
4. Received mail from others resident in rural areas		
5. Received mail from others resident in rural areas		
6. Received telephone calls from others resident in rural areas		

49. During the past six months how many times did you consult the following categories of persons resident in rural areas concerning the following situations:

Subject/Matter	Number of Times Person consulted	
	Relatives	Friends
Family		
Social		
Work		
Financial		

50. Are the people you consulted above resident in:

Place of residence	Person Consulted	
	Relatives	Friends
In your home village		
Elsewhere in the rural areas		

51. How did you communicate your problems to these people?

Mode of communication	Person Consulted	
	Relatives	Friends
Face to face		
Written message		
Third party		
Telephone		
Other [specify]		

52. During the past six months how many times did the following categories of persons resident in rural areas consult you concerning the following situations:

Subject/Matter	Number of Times Person consulting you	
	Relatives	Friends
Family		
Social		
Work		
Financial		

53. Were the individuals who consulted you for advice and support residing:

Place of residence	Persons Consulting	
	Relatives	Friends
In your home village		
Elsewhere in the rural areas		

54. How did the individuals who consulted you communicate their problems to you?

Mode of communication	Person Consulting	
	Relatives	Friends
Face to face		
Written message		
Third party		
Telephone		

55. Which of the following statements best sums up your views about living in the urban areas?

1. Town is just a place to work in; my real home is in the village and that is where I plan to retire and be buried
2. To retire and be buried in the village is desirable but not necessary
3. Town is where I want to spend entire life, retire and be buried when I die

56. In your view has living in an urban area:

1. Weakened your ties with family members residing in rural areas
2. Strengthened your ties with family members residing in rural areas
3. Has had no effect on your ties with family members residing in rural areas

57. Overall, how do rural communities compare with urban communities today?

1. Social ties and bonds are stronger in rural areas than in urban areas
2. Social ties and bonds are stronger in urban areas than in rural areas
3. Social ties and bonds are equally strong in both the rural and urban areas

**[Thank you very much for your co-operation]**

## APPENDIX II

### INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR LIFE HISTORIES

This is the second phase of data collection and it comprises of profiling the life histories of 30 respondents. This will take the form of informal conversation held with each respondent. Respondents for the life histories should be selected from the household and individual interviews. It is left to the researcher or her assistant to identify a respondent who would make an interesting case for the life history using **age and length of time** the individual has resided in Gaborone as guiding factors.

Extensive data on respondent socio-economic background and the types of linkages (interaction patterns) the respondents maintains with other urban residents as well as people residing in the rural areas should be solicited utilising the following talking points.

1. **Residential Details:**
  - Plot no
  - Residential area
  - Type of residence
  - Type of housing unit
  - Acquisition of housing unit
  - Ownership of other properties in Gaborone
2. **Biographical Details:**
  - Place of birth/origin
  - Family background [from childhood to present]
  - Marital status
  - Educational Background
  - Economic Activity [e.g. occupational history]
3. **Residential History:**
  - Date of migration to Gaborone
  - Reasons for migration
  - Areas of residence in Gaborone:
    - Name of area
    - Duration of residence in each area
    - Acquisition of residence
  - Duration of residence in each area
  - Reasons for residence change
4. **Social Networks**
  - Persons consulted for advice/help in the following situations:
    - work matters
    - Social matters [e.g., death in family, personal problems]

- Financial matters
  - Location of those consulted
    - Within Gaborone
    - Other Urban Areas
    - Rural areas
  - Reasons for seeking support/advice
  - Method of communication with those consulted [e.g. face to face, mail, telephone, third party etc]
- 5. Community Sentiments**
- Feelings about neighbourhood
  - Description of relations with neighbours
  - Activities involved in with neighbours
  - Involvement with neighbourhood social groups, clubs and organisations
- 6. Urban-Rural Links**
- Ownership of properties [e.g. land, housing, cattle etc.]
  - Participation in social activities in rural areas
  - Participation in economic activities in rural areas
  - Membership to rural groups, associations and committees [e.g., VDCs]
  - Visiting pattern
    - Destination of visits and origin of visitors
    - Frequency of visiting others and receiving visitors
    - Who is visited or visiting
    - Purpose of visit
  - Exchange of goods
    - Destination and/or origin of goods
    - Frequency of exchanges
    - Persons goods sent to or received from
    - Use of goods
  - Exchange of money
    - Destination and/or origin of goods
    - Frequency of exchanges
    - Persons goods sent to or received from
    - Use of goods
  - Communication with rural kin [e.g. verbal messages, letters and telephone calls]
    - Destination and/or origin of messages
    - Frequency of communication
    - Persons involved
    - Reason for communication
- 7. Views About the Family**
- Definition of family [what is it and composition)
  - Changes in family over time and their causes
  - Family within context of urbanisation
    - Strength of social ties

- 8. Future Plans**
  - Retirement plans
  - Burial plans
- 9. Overview of Social Bonds in Urban and Rural Communities**
  - Key differences if any
  - Major similarities, if at all
- 10. Any other Observation**

**APPENDIX III**

**CROSS-TABULATION TABLES**

Table 22a: Relationship between Sex and Sense of Community

<b>Issue/Activity</b>	<b>Males</b>	<b>Females</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Sense of Community:</b>			
<i>i) Issue of Neighbours:</i>			
Does not considers others neighbours	6.3% [11]	4.8% [9]	5.6% [20]
Considers others neighbours	93.7% [163]	95.2% [177]	94.4% [340]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.377; d.f. = 1; p = .647$			
<i>ii) Visiting Neighbours:</i>			
Never	6.9% [12]	3.8% [7]	5.3% [19]
Visits neighbours	93.1% [162]	96.2% [179]	94.7% [341]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.765; d.f. = 1; p = .184$			
<i>iii) Chatting with Neighbours:</i>			
Never	4.0% [7]	1.6% [3]	2.8% [10]
Chats with neighbours	96.0% [167]	98.4% [183]	97.2% [350]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.934; d.f. = 1; p = .164$			
<i>iii) Social Occasions with Neighbours:</i>			
Never	5.2% [9]	4.8% [9]	5.0% [18]
Participates with neighbours	94.8% [165]	95.2% [177]	95.0% [342]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.021; d.f. = 1; p = .885$			

Table 22b: Relationship between Sex and Urban Advice Seeking Patterns

Area of Consultation	Males	Females	Total
<b>i. Consultation on Family Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	11.5% [20]	15.1% [28]	13.3% [48]
Consulted relatives	88.5% [154]	84.9% [158]	86.7% [312]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.986; d.f. = 1; p = .321$			
Was not consulted by relatives	21.4% [37]	25.8% [48]	23.7% [85]
Consulted by relatives	78.6% [136]	74.2% [138]	76.3% [274]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.969; d.f. = 1; p = .325$			
Did not consult friends	26.4% [46]	25.8% [48]	26.1% [94]
Consulted friends	73.6% [128]	74.2% [138]	73.9% [266]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.019; d.f. = 1; p = .892$			
Was not consulted by friends	22.4% [39]	28.0% [52]	25.3% [91]
Consulted by friends	77.6% [135]	72.0% [134]	74.7% [269]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.462; d.f. = 1; p = .227$			
<b>ii. Consultation on Social Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	8.0% [14]	9.1% [17]	8.6% [31]
Consulted relatives	92.0% [160]	90.9% [169]	91.4% [329]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.137; d.f. = 1; p = .712$			
Was not consulted by relatives	24.1% [42]	22.0% [41]	23.1% [83]
Consulted by relatives	75.9% [132]	78.0% [145]	76.9% [277]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.222; d.f. = 1; p = .637$			

Table 22b Continued

<b>Area of Consultation</b>	<b>Males</b>	<b>Females</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Consultation on Social (cont'd):</b>			
Did not consult friends	23.6% [41]	21.5% [40]	22.5% [81]
Consulted friends	76.4% [133]	78.5% [146]	77.5% [279]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.218; d.f. = 1; p = .640$			
Was not consulted by friends	29.9% [52]	29.0% [54]	29.4% [106]
Consulted by friends	70.1% [122]	71.0% [132]	70.6% [254]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.031; d.f. = 1; p = .859$			
<b>iii. Consultation on Financial Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	39.1% [68]	53.2% [99]	46.4% [167]
Consulted relatives	60.9% [106]	46.8% [87]	53.6% [193]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 7.233; d.f. = 1; p = .007$			
Was not consulted by relatives	38.5% [67]	25.3% [47]	31.7% [114]
Consulted by relatives	61.5% [107]	74.7% [139]	68.3% [246]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 7.279; d.f. = 1; p = .007$			
Did not consult friends	43.1% [75]	57.5% [107]	50.6% [182]
Consulted friends	56.9% [99]	42.5% [79]	49.4% [178]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 7.482; d.f. = 1; p = .006$			
Was not consulted by friends	24.1% [42]	23.7% [44]	23.9% [86]
Consulted by friends	75.9% [132]	76.3% [142]	76.1% [274]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.011; d.f. = 1; p = .915$			

Table 22c: Relationship between Sex and Membership of Social Organisations

<b>Social organization/club</b>	<b>Males</b>	<b>Females</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>i. Church Membership:</b>			
Not a member	54.0% [94]	30.1% [56]	41.7% [150]
Is a member	46.0% [80]	69.9% [130]	58.3% [210]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 21.155; d.f. = 1; p = .000$			
<b>ii. Membership of Burial Society:</b>			
Not a member	59.8% [104]	57.5% [107]	58.6% [211]
Is a member	40.2% [70]	42.5% [79]	41.4% [149]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.186; d.f. = 1; p = .666$			
<b>iii. Membership of Other Clubs:</b>			
Not a member	92.5 [161]	90.9% [169]	91.7% [330]
Is a member	7.5% [13]	9.1% [17]	8.3% [30]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.328; d.f. = 1; p = .567$			
<b>iv. Membership of Both Church and Burial Society:</b>			
Not a member of any	32.2% [56]	22.0% [41]	26.9% [97]
Is a member one only	49.4% [86]	43.5% [81]	46.4% [167]
Is a member of both	18.4% [32]	34.4% [64]	26.7% [96]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 12.750; d.f. = 2; p = .002$			

Table 23a: Relationship between Marital Status and Sense of Community

<b>Issue/Activity</b>	<b>Never married</b>	<b>Ever married</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Sense of Community:</b>			
<i>i) Issue of Neighbours:</i>			
Does not considers others neighbours	5.7% [11]	5.4% [9]	5.6% [20]
Considers others neighbours	94.3% [181]	94.6% [159]	94.4% [340]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.024; d.f. = 1; p = .878$			
<i>ii) Visiting Neighbours:</i>			
Never	5.7% [11]	4.8% [8]	5.3% [19]
Visits neighbours	94.3% [181]	95.2% [160]	94.7% [341]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.168; d.f. = 1; p = .682$			
<i>iii) Chatting with Neighbours:</i>			
Never	3.1% [6]	2.4% [4]	2.8% [10]
Chats with neighbours	96.9% [186]	97.6% [164]	97.2% [350]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.184; d.f. = 1; p = .668$			
<i>iii) Social Occasions with Neighbours:</i>			
Never	5.2% [10]	4.8% [8]	5.0% [18]
Participates with neighbours	94.8% [182]	95.2% [160]	95.0% [342]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.038; d.f. = 1; p = .846$			

Table 23b: Relationship between Marital Status and Urban Advice Seeking Patterns

Area of Consultation	Never married	Ever Married	Total
<b>i. Consultation on Family Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	12.5% [24]	14.3% [24]	13.3% [48]
Consulted relatives	87.5% [168]	85.7% [144]	86.7% [312]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.247; d.f. = 1; p = .619$			
Was not consulted by relatives	21.9% [42]	25.6% [43]	23.6% [85]
Consulted by relatives	78.1% [150]	74.4% [125]	76.4% [275]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.742; d.f. = 1; p = .389$			
Did not consult friends	24.5% [47]	28.0% [47]	26.1% [94]
Consulted friends	75.5% [145]	72.0% [121]	73.9% [266]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.568; d.f. = 1; p = .451$			
Was not consulted by friends	25.5% [49]	25.0% [42]	25.3% [91]
Consulted by friends	74.5% [143]	75.0% [126]	74.7% [269]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.013; d.f. = 1; p = .910$			
<b>ii. Consultation on Social Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	7.3% [14]	10.1% [17]	8.6% [31]
Consulted relatives	92.7% [178]	89.9% [151]	91.4% [329]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.910; d.f. = 1; p = .340$			
Was not consulted by relatives	24.0% [46]	22.0% [37]	23.1% [83]
Consulted by relatives	76.0% [146]	78.0% [131]	76.9% [277]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.189; d.f. = 1; p = .664$			

Table 23b Continued

<b>Area of Consultation</b>	<b>Ever married</b>	<b>Never married</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Consultation on Social (cont'd):</b>			
Did not consult friends	21.4% [41]	23.8% [40]	22.5% [81]
Consulted friends	78.6% [151]	76.2% [128]	77.5% [279]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.310; d.f. = 1; p = .578$			
Was not consulted by friends	31.3% [60]	27.4% [46]	29.4% [106]
Consulted by friends	68.8% [132]	72.6% [122]	70.6% [254]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.646; d.f. = 1; p = .422$			
<b>iii. Consultation on Financial Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	46.9% [90]	45.8% [77]	46.4% [167]
Consulted relatives	53.1% [102]	54.2% [91]	53.6% [193]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.039; d.f. = 1; p = .843$			
Was not consulted by relatives	27.6% [53]	36.3% [61]	31.7% [114]
Consulted by relatives	72.4% [139]	63.7% [107]	68.3% [246]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 3.138; d.f. = 1; p = .076$			
Did not consult friends	51.0% [98]	50.0% [84]	50.6% [182]
Consulted friends	48.0% [94]	50.0% [84]	49.4% [178]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.039; d.f. = 1; p = .844$			
Was not consulted by friends	25.0% [48]	22.6% [38]	23.9% [86]
Consulted by friends	75.0% [144]	77.4% [130]	76.1% [274]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.279; d.f. = 1; p = .597$			

Table 23c: Relationship between Marital Status and Membership of Social Organisations

<b>Social organization/club</b>	<b>Never Married</b>	<b>Ever Married</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>i. Church Membership:</b>			
Not a member	41.1% [79]	42.3% [71]	41.7% [150]
Is a member	58.9% [113]	57.7% [97]	58.3% [210]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.046; d.f. = 1; p = .830$			
<b>ii. Membership of Burial Society:</b>			
Not a member	57.8% [111]	59.5% [100]	58.6% [211]
Is a member	42.2% [81]	40.5% [68]	41.4% [149]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.108; d.f. = 1; p = .742$			
<b>iii. Membership of Other Clubs:</b>			
Not a member	89.6% [172]	94.0% [158]	91.7% [330]
Is a member	10.4% [20]	6.0% [10]	8.3% [30]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 2.338; d.f. = 1; p = .126$			
<b>iv. Membership of Both Church and Burial Society:</b>			
Not a member of any	25.5% [49]	28.6% [48]	26.9% [97]
Is a member one only	47.9% [92]	44.6% [75]	46.4% [167]
Is a member of both	26.6% [51]	26.8% [45]	26.7% [96]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.518; d.f. = 2; p = .772$			

Table 24a: Relationship between Duration of Residence in the City and Sense of Community

<b>Issue/Activity</b>	<b>1 to 10 years</b>	<b>11 + Years</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Sense of Community:</b>			
<i>i) Issue of Neighbours:</i>			
Does not considers others neighbours	4.3% [4]	6.0% [16]	5.6% [20]
Considers others neighbours	95.7% [89]	94.0% [251]	94.4% [340]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [93]	<b>100%</b> [267]	<b>100%</b> [360]
$\chi^2 = 0.376; d.f. = 1; p = .540$			
<i>ii) Visiting Neighbours:</i>			
Never	6.5% [6]	4.9% [13]	5.3% [19]
Visits neighbours	93.5% [87]	95.1% [254]	94.7% [341]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [93]	<b>100%</b> [267]	<b>100%</b> [360]
$\chi^2 = 0.346; d.f. = 1; p = .557$			
<i>iii) Chatting with Neighbours:</i>			
Never	3.2% [3]	2.6% [7]	2.8% [10]
Chats with neighbours	96.8% [90]	97.4% [260]	97.2% [350]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [93]	<b>100%</b> [267]	<b>100%</b> [360]
$\chi^2 = 0.093; d.f. = 1; p = .760$			
<i>iii) Social Occasions with Neighbours:</i>			
Never	5.4% [5]	4.9% [13]	5.0% [18]
Participates with neighbours	94.6% [88]	95.1% [254]	95.0% [342]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [93]	<b>100%</b> [267]	<b>100%</b> [360]
$\chi^2 = 0.037; d.f. = 1; p = .847$			

Table 24b: Relationship between Duration of Residence in the City and Urban Advice Seeking Patterns

Area of Consultation	1 to 10 years	11 + Years	Total
<b>i. Consultation on Family Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	14.0% [13]	13.1% [35]	13.3% [48]
Consulted relatives	86.0% [80]	86.9% [232]	86.7% [312]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[93]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[267]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.045; d.f. = 1; p = .832$			
Was not consulted by relatives	18.3% [17]	25.5% [68]	23.6% [85]
Consulted by relatives	81.7% [76]	74.5% [199]	76.4% [275]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[93]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[267]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 2.023; d.f. = 1; p = .155$			
Did not consult friends	22.6% [21]	27.3% [73]	26.1% [94]
Consulted friends	77.4% [72]	72.7% [194]	73.9% [266]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[93]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[267]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.810; d.f. = 1; p = .368$			
Was not consulted by friends	20.4% [19]	27.0% [72]	25.3% [91]
Consulted by friends	79.6% [74]	73.0% [195]	74.7% [269]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[93]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[267]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.560; d.f. = 1; p = .212$			
<b>ii. Consultation on Social Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	10.8% [10]	7.9% [21]	8.6% [31]
Consulted relatives	89.2% [83]	92.1% [246]	91.4% [329]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[93]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[267]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.731; d.f. = 1; p = .393$			
Was not consulted by relatives	21.5% [20]	23.6% [63]	23.1% [83]
Consulted by relatives	78.5% [73]	76.4% [204]	76.9% [277]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[93]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[267]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.170; d.f. = 1; p = .680$			

Table 24b Continued

<b>Area of Consultation</b>	<b>1 to 10 Years</b>	<b>11 + Years</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Consultation on Social (cont'd):</b>			
Did not consult friends	24.7% [23]	21.7% [58]	22.5% [81]
Consulted friends	75.3% [70]	78.3% [209]	77.5% [279]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [93]	<b>100%</b> [267]	<b>100%</b> [360]
$\chi^2 = 0.358; d.f. = 1; p = .550$			
Was not consulted by friends	26.9% [25]	30.3% [81]	29.4% [106]
Consulted by friends	73.1% [68]	69.7% [186]	70.6% [254]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [93]	<b>100%</b> [267]	<b>100%</b> [360]
$\chi^2 = 0.396; d.f. = 1; p = .529$			
<b>iii. Consultation on Financial Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	47.3% [44]	46.1% [123]	46.4% [167]
Consulted relatives	52.7% [49]	53.9% [144]	53.6% [193]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [93]	<b>100%</b> [267]	<b>100%</b> [360]
$\chi^2 = 0.043; d.f. = 1; p = .836$			
Was not consulted by relatives	32.3% [30]	31.5% [84]	31.7% [114]
Consulted by relatives	67.7% [63]	68.5% [183]	68.3% [246]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [93]	<b>100%</b> [267]	<b>100%</b> [360]
$\chi^2 = 0.020; d.f. = 1; p = .887$			
Did not consult friends	54.8% [51]	49.1% [131]	50.6% [182]
Consulted friends	45.2% [42]	50.9% [136]	49.4% [178]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [93]	<b>100%</b> [267]	<b>100%</b> [360]
$\chi^2 = 0.920; d.f. = 1; p = .337$			
Was not consulted by friends	25.8% [24]	23.2% [62]	23.9% [86]
Consulted by friends	74.2% [69]	76.8% [205]	76.1% [274]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [93]	<b>100%</b> [267]	<b>100%</b> [360]
$\chi^2 = 0.254; d.f. = 1; p = .615$			

Table 24c: Relationship between Duration of Residence in the City and Membership of Social Organisations

<b>Social organisation/club</b>	<b>1 to 10 Years</b>	<b>11 + Years</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>i. Church Membership:</b>			
Not a member	43.0% [40]	41.2% [110]	41.7% [150]
Is a member	57.0% [53]	58.8% [157]	58.3% [210]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [93]	<b>100%</b> [267]	<b>100%</b> [360]
$\chi^2 = 0.093; d.f. = 1; p = .760$			
<b>ii. Membership of Burial Society:</b>			
Not a member	59.1% [55]	58.4% [156]	58.6% [211]
Is a member	40.9% [38]	41.6% [111]	41.4% [149]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [93]	<b>100%</b> [267]	<b>100%</b> [360]
$\chi^2 = 0.014; d.f. = 1; p = .904$			
<b>iii. Membership of Other Clubs:</b>			
Not a member	93.5% [87]	91.0% [243]	91.7% [330]
Is a member	6.5% [6]	9.0% [24]	8.3% [30]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [93]	<b>100%</b> [267]	<b>100%</b> [360]
$\chi^2 = 0.581; d.f. = 1; p = .446$			
<b>iv. Membership of Both Church and Burial Society:</b>			
Not a member of any	25.8% [24]	27.3% [73]	26.9% [97]
Is a member one only	51.6% [48]	44.6% [119]	46.4% [167]
Is a member of both	22.6% [21]	28.1% [75]	26.7% [96]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [107]	<b>100%</b> [253]	<b>100%</b> [360]
$\chi^2 = 1.583; d.f. = 2; p = .453$			

Table 25a: Relationship between Residential Stability and Sense of Community

<b>Issue/Activity</b>	<b>1 - 5 years</b>	<b>6 + Years</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Sense of Community:</b>			
<i>i) Issue of Neighbours:</i>			
Does not considers others neighbours	4.4% [10]	7.4% [10]	5.6% [20]
Considers others neighbours	95.6% [215]	92.6% [125]	94.4% [340]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[225]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[135]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.412; d.f. = 1; p = .235$			
<i>ii) Visiting Neighbours:</i>			
Never	4.9% [11]	5.9% [8]	5.3% [19]
Visits neighbours	95.1% [214]	94.1% [127]	94.7% [341]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[225]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[135]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.82; d.f. = 1; p = .670$			
<i>iii) Chatting with Neighbours:</i>			
Never	2.7% [6]	3.0% [4]	2.8% [10]
Chats with neighbours	97.3% [219]	97.0% [131]	97.2% [350]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[225]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[135]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.027; d.f. = 1; p = .868$			
<i>iv) Social Occasions with Neighbours:</i>			
Never	4.4% [10]	5.9% [8]	5.0% [18]
Participates with neighbours	95.6% [215]	94.1% [127]	95.0% [342]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[225]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[135]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.3901; d.f. = 1; p = .532$			

Table 25b: Relationship between Residential Stability and Urban Advice Seeking Patterns

<b>Area of Consultation</b>	<b>1 - 5 Years</b>	<b>6 + Years</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>i. Consultation on Family Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	13.8% [31]	12.6% [17]	13.3% [48]
Consulted relatives	86.2% [194]	87.4% [118]	86.7% [312]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[225]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[135]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.103; d.f. = 1; p = .749$			
Was not consulted by relatives	21.8% [49]	26.8% [36]	23.6% [85]
Consulted by relatives	78.2% [176]	73.2% [99]	76.4% [275]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[225]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[135]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.203; d.f. = 1; p = .273$			
Did not consult friends	26.2% [59]	25.9% [35]	26.1% [94]
Consulted friends	73.8% [166]	74.1% [100]	73.9% [266]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[225]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[135]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.004; d.f. = 1; p = .951$			
Was not consulted by friends	23.6% [53]	28.1% [38]	25.3% [91]
Consulted by friends	76.4% [172]	71.9% [97]	74.7% [269]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[225]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[135]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.942; d.f. = 1; p = .332$			
<b>ii. Consultation on Social Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	7.1% [16]	11.1% [15]	8.6% [31]
Consulted relatives	92.9% [209]	88.9% [120]	91.4% [329]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[225]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[135]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.715; d.f. = 1; p = .190$			
Was not consulted by relatives	21.3% [48]	25.9% [35]	23.1% [83]
Consulted by relatives	78.7% [177]	74.1% [100]	76.9% [277]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[225]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[135]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.003; d.f. = 1; p = .317$			

Table 25b Continued

Area of Consultation	1 - 5 years	6 + Years	Total
<b>Consultation on Social (cont'd):</b>			
Did not consult friends	21.3% [48]	24.4% [33]	22.5% [81]
Consulted friends	78.7% [177]	75.6% [102]	77.5% [279]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[225]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[135]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.468; d.f. = 1; p = .494$			
Was not consulted by friends	28.9% [65]	30.4% [41]	29.4% [106]
Consulted by friends	71.1% [160]	69.6% [94]	70.6% [254]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[225]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[135]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.089; d.f. = 1; p = .765$			
<b>iii. Consultation on Financial Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	42.7% [96]	52.6% [71]	46.4% [167]
Consulted relatives	57.3% [129]	47.4% [64]	53.6% [193]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[225]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[135]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 3.343; d.f. = 1; p = .068$			
Was not consulted by relatives	34.2% [77]	27.4% [37]	31.7% [114]
Consulted by relatives	65.8% [148]	72.6% [98]	68.3% [246]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[225]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[135]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.811; d.f. = 1; p = .178$			
Did not consult friends	46.2% [104]	57.8% [78]	50.6% [182]
Consulted friends	53.8% [121]	42.2% [57]	49.4% [178]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[225]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[135]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 4.507; d.f. = 1; p = .034$			
Was not consulted by friends	24.0% [54]	23.7% [32]	23.9% [86]
Consulted by friends	76.0% [171]	76.3% [103]	76.1% [274]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[225]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[135]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.004; d.f. = 1; p = .949$			

Table 25c: Relationship between Residential Stability and Membership of Social Organisations

<b>Social Organisation/club</b>	<b>1 - 5 years</b>	<b>6 + Years</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>i. Church Membership:</b>			
Not a member	38.7% [87]	46.7% [63]	41.7% [150]
Is a member	61.3% [138]	53.5% [72]	58.3% [210]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[225]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[135]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 2.222; d.f. = 1; p = .136$			
<b>ii. Membership of Burial Society:</b>			
Not a member	56.9% [128]	61.5% [83]	58.6% [211]
Is a member	43.1% [97]	38.5% [52]	41.4% [149]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[225]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[135]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.743; d.f. = 1; p = .392$			
<b>iii. Membership of Other Clubs:</b>			
Not a member	91.6% [206]	91.9% [124]	91.7% [330]
Is a member	8.4% [19]	8.1% [11]	8.3% [30]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[225]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[135]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.010; d.f. = 1; p = .922$			
<b>iv. Membership of Both Church and Burial Society:</b>			
Not a member of any	26.2% [59]	28.1% [38]	26.9% [97]
Is a member one only	42.7% [96]	52.6% [71]	46.4% [167]
Is a member of both	31.1% [70]	19.3% [26]	26.7% [96]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 6.353; d.f. = 2; p = .042$			

Table 26a: Relationship between Housing Ownership and Sense of Community

Issue/Activity	Owner occupier	Rental	Total
<b>Sense of Community:</b>			
<i>i) Issue of Neighbours:</i>			
Does not considers others neighbours	5.5% [9]	5.7% [11]	5.6% [20]
Considers others neighbours	94.5% [154]	94.3% [183]	94.4% [337]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[163]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[194]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.004; d.f. = 1; p = .951$			
<i>ii) Visiting Neighbours:</i>			
Never	6.7% [11]	4.1% [8]	5.3% [19]
Visits neighbours	93.3% [152]	95.9% [186]	94.7% [338]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[163]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[194]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.211; d.f. = 1; p = .271$			
<i>iii) Chatting with Neighbours:</i>			
Never	2.5% [4]	3.1% [6]	2.8% [10]
Chats with neighbours	97.159% [159]	96.9% [188]	97.2% [347]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[163]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[194]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.133; d.f. = 1; p = .716$			
<i>iv) Social Occasions with Neighbours:</i>			
Never			
Participates with neighbours	5.5% [9]	4.6% [9]	5.0% [18]
<b>Total</b>	<b>94.5%</b> <b>[154]</b>	<b>95.4%</b> <b>[185]</b>	<b>95.0%</b> <b>[339]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.144; d.f. = 1; p = .704$	<b>100%</b> <b>[163]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[194]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>

Table 26b: Relationship between Housing Ownership and Membership of Social Organisations

Social Organization/club	Owner occupier	Rental	Total
<b>i. Church Membership:</b>			
Not a member	38.0% [62]	43.8% [85]	41.2% [147]
Is a member	62.0% [101]	56.2% [109]	58.8% [210]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[163]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[194]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.221; d.f. = 1; p = .269$			
<b>ii. Membership of Burial Society:</b>			
Not a member	59.5% [97]	57.2% [111]	58.3% [208]
Is a member	40.5% [66]	42.8% [83]	41.7% [149]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[163]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[194]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.191; d.f. = 1; p = .662$			
<b>iii. Membership of Other Clubs:</b>			
Not a member	89.0% [145]	93.8% [182]	91.6% [327]
Is a member	11.0% [18]	6.2% [12]	8.3% [30]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[163]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[194]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 2.715; d.f. = 1; p = .099$			
<b>iv. Membership of Both Church and Burial Society:</b>			
Not a member of any	28.8% [47]	24.2% [47]	26.3% [94]
Is a member one only	39.9% [65]	52.6% [102]	46.8% [167]
Is a member of both	31.3% [51]	23.2% [45]	26.9% [96]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[163]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[194]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 5.925; d.f. = 2; p = .062$			

Table 27a: Relationship between Household Size and Sense of Community

<b>Issue/Activity</b>	<b>1 - 3 Members</b>	<b>4 + Members</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Sense of Community:</b>			
<i>i) Issue of Neighbours:</i>			
Does not considers others neighbours	8.3% [11]	4.0% [9]	5.6% [20]
Considers others neighbours	91.7% [122]	96.0% [215]	94.4% [337]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[133]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[224]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 2.854; d.f. = 1; p = .091$			
<i>ii) Visiting Neighbours:</i>			
Never	6.8% [9]	4.5% [10]	5.3% [19]
Visits neighbours	93.2% [124]	95.5% [214]	94.7% [338]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[133]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[224]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.878; d.f. = 1; p = .349$			
<i>iii) Chatting with Neighbours:</i>			
Never	3.8% [5]	6.3% [5]	2.8% [10]
Chats with neighbours	96.2% [128]	97.8% [219]	97.2% [347]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[133]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[224]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.715; d.f. = 1; p = .398$			
<i>iv) Social Occasions with Neighbours:</i>			
Never	6.8% [9]	4.0% [9]	5.0% [18]
Participates with neighbours	93.2% [124]	96.0% [215]	95.0% [339]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[133]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[224]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.317; d.f. = 1; p = .251$			

Table 27b: Relationship between Household Size and Urban Advice Seeking Patterns

Area of Consultation	1-3 Members	4+ Members	Total
<b>i. Consultation on Family Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	11.3% [15]	13.8% [31]	12.9% [46]
Consulted relatives	88.7% [118]	86.2% [193]	87.1% [311]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[133]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[224]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.488; d.f. = 1; p = .485$			
Was not consulted by relatives	23.3% [31]	23.3% [52]	23.3% [83]
Consulted by relatives	76.7% [102]	76.7% [171]	76.7% [273]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[133]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[224]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.000; d.f. = 1; p = .998$			
Did not consult friends	33.1% [44]	21.4% [48]	25.8% [92]
Consulted friends	66.9% [89]	78.6% [176]	74.2% [265]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[133]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[224]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 5.925; d.f. = 1; p = .015$			
Was not consulted by friends	23.3% [31]	25.9% [58]	24.9% [89]
Consulted by friends	76.7% [102]	74.1% [166]	75.1% [268]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[133]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[224]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.298; d.f. = 1; p = .585$			
<b>ii. Consultation on Social Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	6.8% [9]	8.9% [20]	8.1% [29]
Consulted relatives	93.2% [124]	91.1% [204]	91.9% [328]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[133]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[224]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.522; d.f. = 1; p = .470$			
Was not consulted by relatives	29.3% [39]	18.8% [42]	22.7% [81]
Consulted by relatives	70.7% [94]	81.3% [182]	77.3% [276]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[133]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[224]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 5.319; d.f. = 1; p = .021$			

Table 27b Continued

Area of Consultation	1-3 Members	4+ Members	Total
<b>Consultation on Social (cont'd):</b>			
Did not consult friends	18.8% [25]	23.7% [53]	21.8% [78]
Consulted friends	81.2% [108]	76.3% [171]	78.2% [279]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[133]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[224]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.156; d.f. = 1; p = .282$			
Was not consulted by friends	34.6% [46]	25.9% [58]	29.1% [104]
Consulted by friends	65.4% [87]	74.1% [166]	70.9% [253]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[133]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[224]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 3.055; d.f. = 1; p = .080$			
<b>iii. Consultation on Financial Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	40.6% [54]	49.6% [111]	46.2% [165]
Consulted relatives	59.4% [79]	50.4% [113]	53.8% [192]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[133]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[224]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 2.690; d.f. = 1; p = .101$			
Was not consulted by relatives	40.6% [54]	25.9% [58]	31.4% [112]
Consulted by relatives	59.4% [79]	74.1% [166]	68.6% [245]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[133]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[224]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 8.386; d.f. = 1; p = .004$			
Did not consult friends	42.9% [57]	54.9% [123]	50.4% [180]
Consulted friends	57.1% [76]	45.1% [101]	49.6% [177]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[133]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[224]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 4.850; d.f. = 1; p = .028$			
Was not consulted by friends	16.5% [22]	27.2% [61]	23.2% [83]
Consulted by friends	83.5% [111]	72.8% [163]	76.8% [274]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[133]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[224]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 5.345; d.f. = 1; p = .021$			

Table 27c: Relationship between Household Size and Membership of Social Organisations

Social Organisation/club	1-3 Members	4+ Members	Total
<b>i. Church Membership:</b>			
Not a member	51.9% [69]	34.8% [78]	41.2% [147]
Is a member	48.1% [64]	65.2% [146]	58.8% [210]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[133]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[224]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 10.025; d.f. = 1; p = .002$			
<b>ii. Membership of Burial Society:</b>			
Not a member	58.6% [78]	58.0% [130]	58.3% [208]
Is a member	41.4% [55]	42.0% [94]	41.7% [149]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[133]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[224]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.103; d.f. = 1; p = .910$			
<b>iii. Membership of Other Clubs:</b>			
Not a member	93.2% [124]	90.6% [203]	91.6% [327]
Is a member	6.8% [9]	9.4% [21]	8.4% [30]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[133]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[224]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.737; d.f. = 1; p = .390$			
<b>iv. Membership of Both Church and Burial Society:</b>			
Not a member of any	31.6% [42]	22.3% [52]	26.3% [94]
Is a member one only	48.1% [64]	46.0% [103]	46.8% [167]
Is a member of both	20.3% [27]	30.8% [69]	26.9% [96]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 5.722; d.f. = 2; p = .057$			

Table 28a: Relationship between Education and Sense of Community

Issue/Activity	Primary and Below	Secondary and Above	Total
<b>Sense of Community:</b>			
<i>i) Issue of Neighbours:</i>			
Does not considers others neighbours	3.7% [4]	6.3% [16]	5.6% [20]
Considers others neighbours	96.3% [103]	93.7% [237]	94.4% [340]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.958; d.f. = 1; p = .328$			
<i>ii) Visiting Neighbours:</i>			
Never	1.9% [2]	6.7% [17]	5.3% [19]
Visits neighbours	98.1% [105]	93.3% [236]	94.7% [341]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 3.539; d.f. = 1; p = .060$			
<i>iii) Chatting with Neighbours:</i>			
Never	0.9% [1]	3.6% [9]	2.8% [10]
Chats with neighbours	99.9% [106]	96.4% [244]	97.2% [350]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.915; d.f. = 1; p = .166$			
<i>iv) Social Occasions with Neighbours:</i>			
Never	0.9% [1]	6.7% [17]	5.0% [18]
Participates with neighbours	99.1% [106]	93.3% [236]	95.0% [342]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 5.298; d.f. = 1; p = .021$			

Table 28b: Relationship between Education and Urban Advice Seeking Patterns

Area of Consultation	Primary and Below	Secondary and Above	Total
<b>i. Consultation on Family Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	9.3% [10]	15.0% [38]	13.3% [48]
Consulted relatives	90.7% [97]	85.0% [215]	86.7% [312]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 2.095; d.f. = 1; p = .148$			
Was not consulted by relatives	29.0% [31]	21.4% [54]	23.7% [85]
Consulted by relatives	71.0% [76]	78.6% [198]	76.3% [274]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[252]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[359]</b>
$\chi^2 = 2.365; d.f. = 1; p = .124$			
Did not consult friends	18.7% [20]	29.2% [74]	26.1% [94]
Consulted friends	81.3% [87]	70.8% [179]	73.9% [266]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 4.344; d.f. = 1; p = .037$			
Was not consulted by friends	27.1% [29]	24.5% [62]	25.3% [91]
Consulted by friends	72.9% [78]	75.5% [191]	74.7% [269]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.268; d.f. = 1; p = .604$			
<b>ii. Consultation on Social Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	7.5% [8]	9.1% [23]	8.6% [31]
Consulted relatives	92.5% [99]	90.9% [230]	91.4% [329]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.249; d.f. = 1; p = .618$			
Was not consulted by relatives	24.3% [26]	22.5% [57]	23.1% [83]
Consulted by relatives	75.7% [81]	77.5% [196]	76.9% [277]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.133; d.f. = 1; p = .716$			

Table 28b Continued

<b>Area of Consultation</b>	<b>Primary and Below</b>	<b>Secondary and Above</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Consultation on Social (cont'd):</b>			
Did not consult friends	14.0% [15]	6.1% [66]	22.5% [81]
Consulted friends	86.0% [92]	73.9% [187]	77.5% [279]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 6.281; d.f. = 1; p = .012$			
Was not consulted by friends	29.9% [32]	29.2% [74]	29.4% [106]
Consulted by friends	70.1% [75]	70.8% [179]	70.6% [254]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.016; d.f. = 1; p = .900$			
<b>iii. Consultation on Financial Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	57.0% [61]	41.9% [106]	46.4% [167]
Consulted relatives	43.0% [46]	58.1% [147]	53.6% [193]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 6.905; d.f. = 1; p = .009$			
Was not consulted by relatives	21.5% [23]	36.0% [91]	31.7% [114]
Consulted by relatives	78.5% [84]	64.0% [162]	68.3% [246]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 7.729; d.f. = 1; p = .007$			
Did not consult friends	58.9% [63]	47.0% [119]	50.6% [182]
Consulted friends	41.1% [44]	53.0% [134]	49.4% [178]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 4.219; d.f. = 1; p = .040$			
Was not consulted by friends	23.4% [25]	24.1% [61]	23.9% [86]
Consulted by friends	76.6% [82]	75.9% [192]	76.1% [274]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.023; d.f. = 1; p = .879$			

Table 28c: Relationship between Education and Membership of Social Organisations

Social Organisation/club	Primary and Below	Secondary and Above	Total
<b>i. Church Membership:</b>			
Not a member	30.8% [33]	46.2% [117]	41.7% [150]
Is a member	69.2% [74]	53.8% [136]	58.3% [210]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 7.341; d.f. = 1; p = .007$			
<b>ii. Membership of Burial Society:</b>			
Not a member	59.8% [64]	58.1% [147]	58.6% [211]
Is a member	40.2% [43]	41.9% [106]	41.4% [149]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.091; d.f. = 1; p = .763$			
<b>iii. Membership of Other Clubs:</b>			
Not a member	91.6% [98]	91.7% [232]	91.7% [330]
Is a member	8.4% [9]	8.3% [21]	8.3% [30]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.001; d.f. = 1; p = .972$			
<b>iv. Membership of Both Church and Burial Society:</b>			
Not a member of any	19.6% [21]	30.0% [76]	26.9% [97]
Is a member one only	51.4% [55]	44.3% [112]	46.4% [167]
Is a member of both	29.0% [31]	25.7% [65]	26.7% [96]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 4.155; d.f. = 2; p = .125$			

Table 29a: Relationship between Employment Status and Sense of Community

<b>Issue/Activity</b>	<b>Unemployed</b>	<b>Employed</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Sense of Community:</b>			
<i>i) Issue of Neighbours:</i>			
Does not considers others neighbours	5.1% [8]	5.9% [12]	5.6% [20]
Considers others neighbours	94.9% [150]	94.1% [190]	94.4% [340]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.130; d.f. = 1; p = .718$			
<i>ii) Visiting Neighbours:</i>			
Never	2.5% [4]	7.4% [15]	5.3% [19]
Visits neighbours	97.5% [154]	92.6% [187]	94.7% [341]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 4.248; d.f. = 1; p = .039$			
<i>iii) Chatting with Neighbours:</i>			
Never	2.5% [4]	3.0% [6]	2.8% [10]
Chats with neighbours	97.5% [154]	97.0% [196]	97.2% [350]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.063; d.f. = 1; p = .802$			
<i>iv) Social Occasions with Neighbours:</i>			
Never	3.8% [6]	5.9% [12]	5.0% [18]
Participates with neighbours	96.2% [152]	94.1% [190]	95.0% [342]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.857; d.f. = 1; p = .355$			

Table 29b: Relationship between Employment Status and Urban Advice Seeking Patterns

Area of Consultation	Unemployed	Employed	Total
<b>i. Consultation on Family Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	13.9% [22]	12.9% [26]	13.3% [48]
Consulted relatives	86.1% [136]	87.1% [176]	86.7% [312]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.085; d.f. = 1; p = .771$			
Was not consulted by relatives	24.7% [39]	22.9% [46]	23.7% [85]
Consulted by relatives	75.3% [119]	77.1% [155]	76.3% [275]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.158; d.f. = 1; p = .691$			
Did not consult friends	21.5% [34]	29.7% [60]	26.1% [94]
Consulted friends	78.5% [124]	70.3% [142]	73.9% [266]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 3.078; d.f. = 1; p = .079$			
Was not consulted by friends	28.5% [45]	22.8% [46]	25.3% [91]
Consulted by friends	71.5% [113]	77.2% [156]	74.7% [269]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.530; d.f. = 1; p = .216$			
<b>ii. Consultation on Social Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	7.6% [12]	9.4% [19]	8.6% [31]
Consulted relatives	92.4% [146]	90.6% [183]	91.4% [329]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.369; d.f. = 1; p = .543$			
Was not consulted by relatives	15.2% [24]	29.2% [59]	23.1% [83]
Consulted by relatives	84.8% [134]	70.8% [143]	76.9% [277]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 9.820; d.f. = 1; p = .002$			

Table 29b Continued

<b>Area of Consultation</b>	<b>Unemployed</b>	<b>Employed</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Consultation on Social (cont'd):</b>			
Did not consult friends	22.2% [35]	22.8% [46]	22.5% [81]
Consulted friends	77.8% [123]	77.2% [156]	77.5% [279]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.020; d.f. = 1; p = .889$			
Was not consulted by friends	25.3% [40]	32.7% [66]	29.4% [106]
Consulted by friends	74.7% [118]	67.3% [136]	70.6% [254]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 2.310; d.f. = 1; p = .129$			
<b>iii. Consultation on Financial Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	53.2% [84]	41.1% [83]	46.4% [167]
Consulted relatives	46.8% [74]	58.9% [119]	53.6% [193]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 5.198; d.f. = 1; p = .023$			
Was not consulted by relatives	19.6% [31]	41.1% [83]	31.7% [114]
Consulted by relatives	80.4% [127]	58.9% [119]	68.3% [246]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 18.884; d.f. = 1; p = .000$			
Did not consult friends	56.7% [91]	45.0% [91]	50.6% [182]
Consulted friends	42.4% [67]	55.0% [111]	49.4% [178]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 5.582; d.f. = 1; p = .018$			
Was not consulted by friends	27.2% [43]	21.3% [43]	23.9% [86]
Consulted by friends	72.8% [115]	78.7% [159]	76.1% [274]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.714; d.f. = 1; p = .191$			

Table 29c: Relationship between Employment Status and Membership of Social Organisations

Social Organisation/club	Unemployed	Employed	Total
<b>i. Church Membership:</b>			
Not a member	35.4% [56]	46.5% [94]	41.7% [150]
Is a member	64.6% [102]	53.5% [108]	58.3% [210]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 4.487; d.f. = 1; p = .034$			
<b>ii. Membership of Burial Society:</b>			
Not a member	55.7% [88]	60.9% [123]	58.6% [211]
Is a member	44.3% [70]	39.1% [79]	41.4% [149]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.986; d.f. = 1; p = .321$			
<b>iii. Membership of Other Clubs:</b>			
Not a member	89.2% [141]	93.6% [189]	91.7% [330]
Is a member	10.8% [17]	6.4% [13]	8.3% [30]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 2.170; d.f. = 1; p = .141$			
<b>iv. Membership of Both Church and Burial Society:</b>			
Not a member of any	21.5% [34]	31.2% [63]	26.9% [97]
Is a member one only	48.7% [77]	44.6% [90]	46.4% [167]
Is a member of both	29.7% [47]	24.3% [49]	26.7% [96]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 4.412; d.f. = 2; p = .110$			

Table 30a: Relationship between Sex and Ownership of Property and Involvement in Economic and Social Activities

	Male	Female	Total
<b>Ownership of Property:</b>			
Does not own property	7.5% [13]	8.6% [16]	8.1% [29]
Owens property	92.5% [161]	91.4% [170]	91.9% [331]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[320]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.155; d.f. = 1; p = .694$			
<b>Involvement in Economic Activities:</b>			
Is not involved	18.4% [32]	17.2% [32]	17.8% [64]
Is involved	81.6% [142]	82.8% [154]	82.2% [296]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[320]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.087; d.f. = 1; p = .769$			
<b>Involvement in Social Activities:</b>			
<i>i. Ceremonies:</i>			
Is not involved	2.3% [4]	4.3% [8]	3.3% [12]
Is involved	97.7% [170]	95.7% [178]	96.7% [348]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[320]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.118; d.f. = 1; p = .290$			
<i>ii. Kgotla Meetings</i>			
Does not Attend	12.6% [22]	16.1% [30]	14.4% [52]
Attends	87.4% [152]	83.9% [156]	85.6% [308]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[320]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.884; d.f. = 1; p = .347$			
<i>iii. VDC Meetings:</i>			
Does not attend	9.8% [17]	16.1% [30]	13.1% [47]
Attends	90.2% [157]	83.9% [156]	86.9% [313]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[320]</b>
$\chi^2 = 3.202; d.f. = 1; p = .074$			

Table 30b: Relationship between Sex and Exchange of Goods, Money, and Visits

	Male	Females	Total
<b>Exchange of Goods:</b>			
Did not sent goods	29.9% [52]	26.3% [49]	28.1% [101]
Sent goods	70.1% [122]	73.7% [137]	71.9% [259]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[320]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.558; d.f. = 1; p = .455$			
Did not receive goods	40.8% [71]	35.5% [66]	38.1% [137]
Received goods	59.2% [103]	64.5% [120]	61.9% [223]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[320]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.080; d.f. = 1; p = .299$			
<b>Exchange of Money:</b>			
Did not sent money	11.5% [20]	12.4% [23]	11.9% [43]
Sent money	88.5% [154]	87.6% [163]	81.1% [317]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[320]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.065; d.f. = 1; p = .799$			
Did not receive money	61.5% [107]	55.4% [103]	58.3% [210]
Received money	38.5% [67]	44.6% [83]	41.7% [150]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[320]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.384; d.f. = 1; p = .239$			
<b>Visiting Patterns:</b>			
Did not visit	10.3% [18]	7.5% [14]	8.9% [32]
Visited relatives and friends	89.7% [156]	92.5% [172]	91.1% [328]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[320]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.881; d.f. = 1; p = .348$			
Did not received visitor	19.5% [34]	23.7% [44]	21.7% [78]
Receive visitor	80.5% [140]	76.3% [142]	78.3% [282]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[320]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.897; d.f. = 1; p = .344$			

Table 30c: Relationship between Sex and Urban-Rural Advice Seeking Patterns

Area of Consultation	Male	Female	Total
<b>i. Consultation on Family Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	9.8% [17]	16.1% [30]	13.1% [47]
Consulted relatives	90.2% [157]	83.9% [156]	86.9% [313]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 3.202; d.f. = 1; p = .074$			
Was not consulted by relatives	11.5% [20]	21.0% [39]	16.4% [59]
Consulted by relatives	88.5% [154]	79.0% [147]	83.6% [301]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 5.888; d.f. = 1; p = .015$			
Did not consult friends	43.1% [75]	56.5% [105]	50.0% [180]
Consulted friends	56.9% [99]	43.5% [81]	50.0% [180]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 6.407; d.f. = 1; p = .011$			
Was not consulted by friends	61.5% [107]	65.1% [121]	63.3% [228]
Consulted by friends	38.5% [67]	34.9% [65]	36.7% [132]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 0.490; d.f. = 1; p = .484$			
<b>ii. Consultation on Social Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	19.0% [33]	25.3% [47]	22.2% [80]
Consulted relatives	81.0% [141]	74.7% [139]	77.8% [280]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 2.067; d.f. = 1; p = .151$			
Was not consulted by relatives	23.6% [41]	28.5% [53]	26.1% [94]
Consulted by relatives	76.4% [133]	71.5% [133]	73.9% [266]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.133; d.f. = 1; p = .287$			

Table 30c Continued

Area of Consultation	Male	Female	Total
<b>Consultation on Social (cont'd):</b>			
Did not consult friends	47.7% [83]	57.0% [106]	52.5% [189]
Consulted friends	52.3% [91]	43.0% [80]	47.5% [171]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 3.110; d.f. = 1; p = .078$			
Was not consulted by friends	48.3% [84]	54.8% [102]	51.7% [186]
Consulted by friends	51.7% [90]	45.2% [84]	48.3% [174]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.551; d.f. = 1; p = .213$			
<b>iii. Consultation on Financial Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	42.0% [73]	57.0% [106]	49.7% [179]
Consulted relatives	58.0% [101]	43.0% [80]	50.3% [181]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 8.444; d.f. = 1; p = .004$			
Was not consulted by relatives	19.5% [34]	18.8% [35]	19.2% [69]
Consulted by relatives	80.5% [140]	81.2% [151]	80.8% [291]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.030; d.f. = 1; p = .862$			
Did not consult friends	66.1% [115]	82.8% [154]	74.7% [269]
Consulted friends	33.9% [59]	17.2% [32]	25.3% [91]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 13.280; d.f. = 1; p = .000$			
Was not consulted by friends	44.8% [78]	59.7% [111]	52.5% [189]
Consulted by friends	55.2% [96]	40.3% [75]	47.5% [171]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 7.950; d.f. = 1; p = .005$			

**Table 30d: Relationship between Sex and Plans about Future Urban Residence**

	<b>Male</b>	<b>Females</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Future Urban Residence:</b>			
Does not Plan to Retire to Rural Areas	9.8% [17]	7.0% [13]	8.3% [30]
Plan to Retire to Rural Areas	90.2% [157]	93.0% [173]	91.7% [330]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.910; d.f. = 1; p = .340$			

Table 31a: Relationship between Marital Status and Ownership of Property and Involvement in Economic and Social Activities

	Ever married	Never married	Total
<b>Ownership of Property:</b>			
Does not own property	9.4% [18]	6.5% [11]	8.1% [29]
Owens property	90.6% [174]	93.5% [157]	91.9% [331]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.967; d.f. = 1; p = .325$			
<b>Involvement in Economic Activities:</b>			
Is not involved	19.3% [37]	16.1% [27]	17.8% [64]
Is involved	80.7% [155]	83.9% [141]	82.2% [296]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.627; d.f. = 1; p = .428$			
<b>Involvement in Social Activities:</b>			
<i>i. Ceremonies:</i>			
Is not involved	4.2% [8]	2.4% [4]	3.3% [12]
Is involved	95.8% [184]	97.6% [164]	96.7% [348]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.887; d.f. = 1; p = .346$			
<i>ii. Kgotla Meetings</i>			
Does not Attend	14.6% [28]	14.3% [24]	14.4% [52]
Attends	85.4% [164]	85.7% [144]	85.6% [308]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.006; d.f. = 1; p = .936$			
<i>iii. VDC Meetings:</i>			
Does not attend	13.0% [25]	13.1% [22]	13.1% [47]
Attends	87.0% [167]	86.9% [146]	86.9% [313]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.000; d.f. = 1; p = .983$			

Table 31b: Relationship between Marital Status and Exchange of Goods, Money, and Visits

	Ever married	Never married	Total
<b>Exchange of Goods:</b>			
Did not sent goods	29.2% [56]	26.8% [45]	28.1% [101]
Sent goods	70.8% [136]	73.2% [123]	71.9% [259]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.252; d.f. = 1; p = .616$			
Did not receive goods	35.9% [69]	40.5% [68]	38.1% [137]
Received goods	64.1% [123]	59.5% [100]	61.9% [223]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.783; d.f. = 1; p = .376$			
<b>Exchange of Money:</b>			
Did not sent money	10.4% [20]	13.7% [23]	11.9% [43]
Sent money	89.6% [172]	86.3% [145]	81.1% [317]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.913; d.f. = 1; p = .339$			
Did not receive money	57.3% [110]	59.5% [100]	58.3% [210]
Received money	42.7% [82]	40.5% [68]	41.7% [150]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.184; d.f. = 1; p = .668$			
<b>Visiting Patterns:</b>			
Did not visit	8.3% [16]	9.5% [16]	8.9% [32]
Visited relatives and friends	91.7% [176]	90.5% [152]	91.1% [328]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.157; d.f. = 1; p = .692$			
Did not received visitor	24.0% [46]	19.0% [32]	21.7% [78]
Receive visitor	76.0% [146]	81.0% [136]	78.3% [282]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.273; d.f. = 1; p = .259$			

Table 31c: Relationship between Marital Status and Urban-Rural Advice Seeking Patterns

Area of Consultation	Ever married	Never married	Total
<b>i. Consultation on Family Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	12.0% [23]	14.3% [24]	13.1% [47]
Consulted relatives	88.0% [1169]	85.7% [144]	86.9% [313]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.420; d.f. = 1; p = .517$			
Was not consulted by relatives	14.6% [28]	18.5% [31]	16.4% [59]
Consulted by relatives	85.4% [164]	81.5% [137]	83.6% [301]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.979; d.f. = 1; p = .322$			
Did not consult friends	51.6% [99]	48.2% [81]	50.0% [180]
Consulted friends	48.4% [93]	51.8% [87]	50.0% [180]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.402; d.f. = 1; p = .526$			
Was not consulted by friends	60.9% [117]	66.1% [111]	63.3% [228]
Consulted by friends	39.1% [75]	33.9% [57]	36.7% [132]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 1.017; d.f. = 1; p = .313$			
<b>ii. Consultation on Social Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	21.4% [41]	32.2% [39]	22.2% [80]
Consulted relatives	78.6% [151]	76.8% [129]	77.8% [280]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.179; d.f. = 1; p = .672$			
Was not consulted by relatives	23.4% [45]	29.2% [49]	26.1% [94]
Consulted by relatives	76.6% [147]	70.8% [119]	73.9% [266]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.524; d.f. = 1; p = .217$			

Table 31c Continued

<b>Area of Consultation</b>	<b>Ever married</b>	<b>Never married</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Consultation on Social (cont'd):</b>			
Did not consult friends	50.5% [97]	54.8% [92]	52.5% [189]
Consulted friends	49.5% [95]	45.2% [76]	47.5% [171]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.646; d.f. = 1; p = .421$			
Was not consulted by friends	51.0% [98]	52.4% [88]	51.7% [186]
Consulted by friends	49.0% [94]	47.6% [80]	48.3% [174]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.064; d.f. = 1; p = .800$			
<b>iii. Consultation on Financial Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	49.5% [95]	50.0% [84]	49.7% [179]
Consulted relatives	50.5% [97]	50.0% [84]	50.3% [181]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.024; d.f. = 1; p = .877$			
Was not consulted by relatives	21.9% [42]	16.1% [27]	19.2% [69]
Consulted by relatives	78.1% [150]	83.9% [141]	80.8% [291]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.948; d.f. = 1; p = .163$			
Did not consult friends	75.5% [145]	73.8% [124]	74.7% [269]
Consulted friends	24.5% [47]	26.2% [44]	25.3% [91]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.139; d.f. = 1; p = .709$			
Was not consulted by friends	53.1% [102]	51.8% [87]	52.5% [189]
Consulted by friends	46.9% [90]	48.2% [81]	47.5% [171]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.064; d.f. = 1; p = .800$			

Table 31d: Relationship between Marital Status and Plans about Future Urban Residence

	<b>Ever married</b>	<b>Never married</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Future Urban Residence:</b>			
Does not Plan to Retire to Rural Areas	9.9% [19]	6.5% [11]	8.3% [30]
Plan to Retire to Rural Areas	90.1% [173]	93.5% [157]	91.7% [330]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[192]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[168]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.315; d.f. = 1; p = .252$			

Table 32a: Relationship between Household Size and Ownership of Property and Involvement in Economic and Social Activities

	1-3 Members	4+ Members	Total
<b>Ownership of Property:</b>			
Does not own property	5.3% [7]	9.8% [22]	8.1% [29]
Owens property	94.7% [126]	90.2% [202]	91.9% [328]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[133]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[224]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 2.323; d.f. = 1; p = .127$			
<b>Involvement in Economic Activities:</b>			
Is not involved	16.5% [22]	18.8% [42]	17.9% [64]
Is involved	83.5% [111]	81.3% [182]	82.1% [293]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[133]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[224]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.277; d.f. = 1; p = .599$			
<b>Involvement in Social Activities:</b>			
<i>i. Ceremonies:</i>			
Is not involved	3.0% [4]	3.6% [8]	3.4% [12]
Is involved	97.0% [129]	96.4% [216]	96.6% [345]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[133]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[224]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.082; d.f. = 1; p = .775$			
<i>ii. Kgotla Meetings</i>			
Does not Attend	17.3% [23]	12.1% [27]	14.0% [50]
Attends	82.7% [110]	87.9% [197]	86.0% [307]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[133]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[224]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.902; d.f. = 1; p = .168$			
<i>iii. VDC Meetings:</i>			
Does not attend	15.8% [21]	10.7% [24]	12.6% [45]
Attends	84.2% [112]	89.3% [200]	87.4% [312]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[133]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[224]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.951; d.f. = 1; p = .162$			

Table 32b: Relationship between Household Size and Exchange of Goods, Money, and Visits

	1-3 Members	4+ Members	Total
<b>Exchange of Goods:</b>			
Did not sent goods	27.1% [36]	28.1% [63]	27.7% [99]
Sent goods	72.9% [97]	71.9% [161]	72.3% [258]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[133]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[224]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.047; d.f. = 1; p = .829$			
Did not receive goods	35.3% [47]	39.3% [88]	37.8% [135]
Received goods	64.7% [86]	60.7% [136]	62.2% [222]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[133]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[224]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.553; d.f. = 1; p = .457$			
<b>Exchange of Money:</b>			
Did not sent money	12.8% [17]	11.2% [25]	11.8% [42]
Sent money	87.2% [116]	88.8% [199]	88.2% [315]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[133]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[224]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.211; d.f. = 1; p = .646$			
Did not receive money	55.6% [74]	59.4% [133]	58.0% [207]
Received money	44.4% [59]	40.6% [91]	42.0% [150]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[133]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[224]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.478; d.f. = 1; p = .489$			
<b>Visiting Patterns:</b>			
Did not visit	9.8% [13]	7.6% [17]	8.4% [30]
Visited relatives and friends	90.2% [120]	92.4% [207]	91.6% [327]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[133]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[224]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.518; d.f. = 1; p = .472$			
Did not received visitor	21.1% [28]	21.9% [49]	21.6% [77]
Receive visitor	78.9% [105]	78.1% [175]	78.4% [280]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[133]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[224]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.033; d.f. = 1; p = .855$			

Table 32c: Relationship between Household Size and Urban-Rural Advice Seeking Patterns

Area of Consultation	1-3 Members	4+ Members	Total
<b>i. Consultation on Family Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	14.3% [19]	11.6% [26]	12.6% [45]
Consulted relatives	85.7% [114]	88.4% [198]	87.4% [312]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [133]	<b>100%</b> [224]	<b>100%</b> [357]
$\chi^2 = 0.544; d.f. = 1; p = .461$			
Was not consulted by relatives	15.8% [21]	16.1% [36]	16.0% [57]
Consulted by relatives	84.2% [112]	83.9% [188]	84.0% [300]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [133]	<b>100%</b> [224]	<b>100%</b> [357]
$\chi^2 = 0.005; d.f. = 1; p = .944$			
Did not consult friends	46.6% [62]	51.3% [115]	46.9% [177]
Consulted friends	53.4% [71]	48.7% [109]	50.4% [180]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [133]	<b>100%</b> [224]	<b>100%</b> [357]
$\chi^2 = 0.745; d.f. = 1; p = .388$			
Was not consulted by friends	62.4% [83]	63.8% [143]	63.3% [226]
Consulted by friends	37.6% [50]	36.2% [81]	36.7% [131]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [133]	<b>100%</b> [224]	<b>100%</b> [357]
$\chi^2 0.074; d.f. = 1; p = .786$			
<b>ii. Consultation on Social Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	24.1% [32]	20.5% [46]	21.8% [78]
Consulted relatives	75.9% [101]	79.5% [178]	78.2% [279]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [133]	<b>100%</b> [224]	<b>100%</b> [357]
$\chi^2 = 0.545; d.f. = 1; p = .461$			
Was not consulted by relatives	24.1% [32]	26.8% [60]	25.8% [92]
Consulted by relatives	75.9% [101]	73.2% [164]	74.2% [265]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [133]	<b>100%</b> [224]	<b>100%</b> [357]
$\chi^2 = 0.324; d.f. = 1; p = .569$			

Table 32c Continued

Area of Consultation	1-3 Members	4+ Members	Total
<b>Consultation on Social (cont'd):</b>			
Did not consult friends	52.6% [70]	52.2% [117]	52.4% [187]
Consulted friends	47.4% [63]	47.8% [107]	47.6% [170]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [133]	<b>100%</b> [224]	<b>100%</b> [357]
$\chi^2 = 0.005; d.f. = 1; p = .942$			
Was not consulted by friends	52.6% [70]	50.9% [114]	51.5% [184]
Consulted by friends	47.4% [63]	49.1% [110]	48.5% [173]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [133]	<b>100%</b> [224]	<b>100%</b> [357]
$\chi^2 = 0.101; d.f. = 1; p = .751$			
<b>iii. Consultation on Financial Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	45.1% [60]	52.5% [117]	49.7% [177]
Consulted relatives	54.9% [73]	47.5% [106]	50.3% [179]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [133]	<b>100%</b> [223]	<b>100%</b> [356]
$\chi^2 = 1.802; d.f. = 1; p = .179$			
Was not consulted by relatives	17.3% [23]	19.2% [43]	18.5% [66]
Consulted by relatives	82.7% [110]	80.8% [181]	81.5% [291]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [133]	<b>100%</b> [224]	<b>100%</b> [357]
$\chi^2 = 0.201; d.f. = 1; p = .654$			
Did not consult friends	63.9% [85]	80.8% [181]	74.5% [266]
Consulted friends	36.1% [48]	19.2% [43]	25.5% [91]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [133]	<b>100%</b> [224]	<b>100%</b> [357]
$\chi^2 = 12.540; d.f. = 1; p = .000$			
Was not consulted by friends	44.4% [59]	57.1% [128]	52.4% [187]
Consulted by friends	55.6% [74]	42.9% [96]	47.6% [170]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [133]	<b>100%</b> [224]	<b>100%</b> [357]
$\chi^2 = 5.466; d.f. = 1; p = .019$			

**Table 32d: Relationship between Household Size and Plans about Future Urban Residence**

	<b>1-3 Members</b>	<b>4+ Members</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Future Urban Residence:</b>			
Does not Plan to Retire to Rural Areas	9.8% [13]	7.6% [17]	8.4% [30]
Plan to Retire to Rural Areas	90.2% [120]	92.4% [207]	91.6% [327]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[133]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[224]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.518; d.f. = 1; p = .472$			

Table 33a: Relationship between Duration of Residence in the City and Ownership of Property and Involvement in Economic and Social Activities

	1 to 10 Years	11 + Years	Total
<b>Ownership of Property:</b>			
Does not own property	7.5% [7]	8.2% [22]	8.1% [29]
Owns property	92.5% [86]	91.8% [245]	91.9% [331]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[93]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[267]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.047; d.f. = 1; p = .828$			
<b>Involvement in Economic Activities:</b>			
Is not involved	14.0% [13]	19.1% [51]	17.8% [64]
Is involved	86.0% [80]	80.9% [216]	82.2% [296]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[93]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[267]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.238; d.f. = 1; p = .266$			
<b>Involvement in Social Activities:</b>			
<i>i. Ceremonies:</i>			
Is not involved	0.0% [0]	4.5% [12]	3.3% [12]
Is involved	100.0% [93]	95.5% [255]	96.7% [348]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[93]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[267]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 4.324; d.f. = 1; p = .038$			
<i>ii. Kgotla Meetings</i>			
Does not Attend	11.8% [11]	15.4% [41]	14.4% [52]
Attends	88.2% [82]	84.6% [226]	85.6% [308]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[93]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[267]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.695; d.f. = 1; p = .405$			
<i>iii. VDC Meetings:</i>			
Does not attend	9.7% [9]	14.2% [38]	13.1% [47]
Attends	90.3% [84]	85.8% [229]	86.9% [313]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[93]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[267]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.261; d.f. = 1; p = .262$			

Table 33b: Relationship between Duration of Residence in the City and Exchange of Goods, Money, and Visits

	1 to 10 Years	11 + Years	Total
<b>Exchange of Goods:</b>			
Did not sent goods	28.0% [26]	28.1% [75]	28.1% [101]
Sent goods	72.0% [67]	71.9% [192]	71.9% [259]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[93]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[267]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.001; d.f. = 1; p = .980$			
Did not receive goods	39.8% [37]	37.5% [100]	38.1% [137]
Received goods	60.2% [56]	62.5% [167]	61.9% [223]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[93]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[267]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.159; d.f. = 1; p = .690$			
<b>Exchange of Money:</b>			
Did not sent money	11.8% [11]	12.0% [32]	11.9% [43]
Sent money	88.2% [82]	88.0% [235]	81.1% [317]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[93]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[267]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.002; d.f. = 1; p = .968$			
Did not receive money	55.9% [52]	59.2% [158]	58.3% [210]
Received money	44.1% [41]	40.8% [109]	41.7% [150]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[93]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[267]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.302; d.f. = 1; p = .583$			
<b>Visiting Patterns:</b>			
Did not visit	14.0% [13]	7.1% [19]	8.9% [32]
Visited relatives and friends	86.0% [80]	92.9% [248]	91.1% [328]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[93]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[267]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 4.011; d.f. = 1; p = .045$			
Did not received visitor	22.6% [21]	21.3% [57]	21.7% [78]
Receive visitor	77.4% [72]	78.7% [210]	78.3% [282]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[93]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[267]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.062; d.f. = 1; p = .804$			

Table 33c: Relationship between Duration of Residence in the City and Urban-Rural Advice Seeking Patterns

Area of Consultation	1 to 10 Years	11 + Years	Total
<b>i. Consultation on Family Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	12.9% [12]	13.1% [35]	13.1% [47]
Consulted relatives	87.1% [81]	86.9% [232]	86.9% [313]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [93]	<b>100%</b> [267]	<b>100%</b> [360]
$\chi^2 = 0.003; d.f. = 1; p = .960$			
Was not consulted by relatives	10.8% [10]	18.4% [49]	16.4% [59]
Consulted by relatives	89.2% [83]	81.6% [218]	83.6% [301]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [93]	<b>100%</b> [267]	<b>100%</b> [360]
$\chi^2 = 2.907; d.f. = 1; p = .088$			
Did not consult friends	45.2% [42]	51.7% [138]	50.0% [180]
Consulted friends	54.8% [51]	48.3% [129]	50.0% [180]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [93]	<b>100%</b> [267]	<b>100%</b> [360]
$\chi^2 = 1.174; d.f. = 1; p = .279$			
Was not consulted by friends	66.7% [62]	62.2% [166]	63.3% [228]
Consulted by friends	33.3% [31]	37.8% [101]	36.7% [132]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [93]	<b>100%</b> [267]	<b>100%</b> [360]
$\chi^2 0.600; d.f. = 1; p = .439$			
<b>ii. Consultation on Social Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	24.7% [23]	21.3% [57]	22.2% [80]
Consulted relatives	75.3% [70]	78.7% [210]	77.8% [280]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [93]	<b>100%</b> [267]	<b>100%</b> [360]
$\chi^2 = 0.457; d.f. = 1; p = .499$			
Was not consulted by relatives	30.1% [28]	24.7% [66]	26.1% [94]
Consulted by relatives	69.9% [65]	75.3% [201]	73.9% [266]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [93]	<b>100%</b> [267]	<b>100%</b> [360]
$\chi^2 = 1.038; d.f. = 1; p = .308$			

**Table 33c Continued**

<b>Area of Consultation</b>	<b>1 to 10 Years</b>	<b>11 + Years</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Consultation on Social (cont'd):</b>			
Did not consult friends	50.5% [47]	53.2% [142]	52.5% [189]
Consulted friends	49.5% [46]	46.8% [125]	47.5% [171]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[93]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[267]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.194; d.f. = 1; p = .660$			
Was not consulted by friends	50.5% [47]	52.1% [139]	51.7% [186]
Consulted by friends	49.5% [46]	47.9% [128]	48.3% [174]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[93]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[267]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.064; d.f. = 1; p = .800$			
<b>iii. Consultation on Financial Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	50.5% [47]	49.4% [132]	49.7% [179]
Consulted relatives	49.5% [46]	50.6% [135]	50.3% [181]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[93]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[267]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.023; d.f. = 1; p = .879$			
Was not consulted by relatives	23.7% [22]	51.2% [47]	19.2% [69]
Consulted by relatives	76.3% [71]	82.4% [220]	80.8% [291]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[93]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[267]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.631; d.f. = 1; p = .202$			
Did not consult friends	77.4% [72]	73.8% [197]	74.7% [269]
Consulted friends	22.6% [21]	26.2% [70]	25.3% [91]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[93]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[267]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.483; d.f. = 1; p = .487$			
Was not consulted by friends	57.0% [53]	50.9% [136]	52.5% [189]
Consulted by friends	43.0% [40]	49.1% [131]	47.5% [171]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[93]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[267]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.013; d.f. = 1; p = .314$			

**Table 33d: Relationship between Duration of Residence in the City and Plans about Future Urban Residence**

	<b>1 to 10 Years</b>	<b>11 + Years</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Future Urban Residence:</b>			
Does not Plan to Retire to Rural Areas	8.6% [8]	8.2% [22]	8.3% [30]
Plan to Retire to Rural Areas	91.4% [85]	91.8% [245]	9.7% [330]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> [93]	<b>100%</b> [267]	<b>100%</b> [360]
$\chi^2 = 0.012; d.f. = 1; p = .913$			

Table 34a: Relationship between Housing Ownership and Ownership of Property and Involvement in Economic and Social Activities

	Owner occupier	Rental	Total
<b>Ownership of Property:</b>			
Does not own property	10.4% [17]	6.2% [12]	8.1% [29]
Owens property	89.6% [146]	93.8% [182]	91.9% [328]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[163]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[194]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 2.138; d.f. = 1; p = .144$			
<b>Involvement in Economic Activities:</b>			
Is not involved	16.0% [26]	19.6% [38]	17.9% [64]
Is involved	84.0% [137]	80.4% [156]	82.1% [293]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[163]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[194]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.796; d.f. = 1; p = .372$			
<b>Involvement in Social Activities:</b>			
<i>i. Ceremonies:</i>			
Is not involved	4.9% [8]	2.1% [4]	3.4% [12]
Is involved	95.1% [155]	97.9% [190]	96.6% [345]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[163]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[194]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 2.209; d.f. = 1; p = .137$			
<i>ii. Kgotla Meetings</i>			
Does not Attend	11.0% [18]	16.5% [32]	14.0% [50]
Attends	89.0% [145]	83.5% [162]	86.0% [307]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[163]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[194]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 2.186; d.f. = 1; p = .139$			
<i>iii. VDC Meetings:</i>			
Does not attend	10.4% [17]	14.4% [28]	12.6% [45]
Attends	89.6% [146]	85.6% [166]	87.4% [312]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[163]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[194]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.289; d.f. = 1; p = .256$			

Table 34b: Relationship between Housing Ownership and Exchange of Goods, Money, and Visits

	<b>Owner occupier</b>	<b>Rental</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Exchange of Goods:</b>			
Did not sent goods	27.6% [45]	27.8% [54]	27.7% [99]
Sent goods	72.4% [118]	72.2% [140]	72.3% [258]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[163]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[194]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.002; d.f. = 1; p = .962$			
Did not receive goods	37.4% [61]	38.1% [74]	37.8% [135]
Received goods	62.6% [102]	61.9% [120]	62.2% [222]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[163]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[194]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.020; d.f. = 1; p = .889$			
<b>Exchange of Money:</b>			
Did not sent money	14.7% [24]	9.3% [18]	11.8% [42]
Sent money	85.3% [139]	90.7% [176]	88.2% [315]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[163]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[194]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 2.530; d.f. = 1; p = .112$			
Did not receive money	62.6% [102]	54.1% [105]	58.0% [207]
Received money	37.4% [61]	45.9% [89]	42.0% [150]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[163]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[194]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 2.598; d.f. = 1; p = .107$			
<b>Visiting Patterns:</b>			
Did not visit	5.7% [11]	11.7% [19]	8.4% [30]
Visited relatives and friends	94.3% [183]	88.3% [144]	91.6% [327]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[194]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[163]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 4.124; d.f. = 1; p = .042$			
Did not received visitor	22.7% [37]	20.6% [40]	21.6% [77]
Receive visitor	77.3% [126]	79.4% [154]	78.4% [280]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[163]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[194]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.227; d.f. = 1; p = .634$			

Table 34c: Relationship between Housing Ownership and Urban-Rural Advice Seeking Patterns

Area of Consultation	Owner occupier	Rental	Total
<b>i. Consultation on Family Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	14.7% [24]	10.8% [21]	12.6% [45]
Consulted relatives	85.3% [139]	89.2% [173]	87.4% [312]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[163]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[194]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.222; d.f. = 1; p = .269$			
Was not consulted by relatives	18.4% [30]	13.9% [27]	16.0% [57]
Consulted by relatives	81.6% [133]	86.1% [167]	84.0% [300]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[163]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[194]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.329; d.f. = 1; p = .249$			
Did not consult friends	52.1% [85]	47.4% [92]	49.6% [177]
Consulted friends	47.9% [78]	52.6% [102]	50.4% [180]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[163]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[194]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.791; d.f. = 1; p = .374$			
Was not consulted by friends	65.0% [106]	61.9% [120]	63.3% [226]
Consulted by friends	35.0% [57]	38.1% [74]	36.7% [131]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[163]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[194]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.384; d.f. = 1; p = .535$			
<b>ii. Consultation on Social Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	20.9% [34]	22.7% [44]	21.8% [78]
Consulted relatives	79.1% [129]	77.3% [150]	78.2% [279]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[163]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[194]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.172; d.f. = 1; p = .678$			
Was not consulted by relatives	25.8% [42]	25.8% [50]	25.8% [92]
Consulted by relatives	74.2% [121]	74.2% [144]	74.2% [265]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[163]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[194]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.000; d.f. = 1; p = .999$			

Table 34c Continued

Area of Consultation	Owner occupier	Rental	Total
<b>Consultation on Social (cont'd):</b>			
Did not consult friends	56.4% [92]	49.0% [95]	52.4% [187]
Consulted friends	43.6% [71]	51.0% [99]	47.6% [170]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[163]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[194]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.983; d.f. = 1; p = .159$			
Was not consulted by friends	55.2% [90]	48.5% [94]	51.5% [184]
Consulted by friends	44.8% [73]	51.5% [100]	48.5% [173]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[163]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[194]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.621; d.f. = 1; p = .203$			
<b>iii. Consultation on Financial Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	54.9% [89]	45.4% [88]	49.7% [177]
Consulted relatives	45.1% [73]	54.6% [106]	50.3% [179]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[162]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[194]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[356]</b>
$\chi^2 = 3.239; d.f. = 1; p = .072$			
Was not consulted by relatives	20.2% [33]	17.0% [33]	18.5% [66]
Consulted by relatives	79.8% [130]	83.0% [161]	81.5% [291]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[163]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[194]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.615; d.f. = 1; p = .433$			
Did not consult friends	80.4% [131]	69.6% [135]	74.5% [266]
Consulted friends	19.6% [32]	30.4% [59]	25.5% [91]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[163]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[194]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 5.420; d.f. = 1; p = .020$			
Was not consulted by friends	58.9% [96]	46.9% [91]	52.4% [187]
Consulted by friends	41.1% [67]	53.1% [103]	47.6% [170]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[163]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[194]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 5.104; d.f. = 1; p = .024$			

**Table 34d: Relationship between Housing Ownership and Plans about Future Urban Residence**

	<b>Owner occupier</b>	<b>Rental</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Future Urban Residence:</b>			
Does not Plan to Retire to Rural Areas	6.1% [10]	10.3% [20]	8.4% [30]
Plan to Retire to Rural Areas	93.9% [153]	89.7% [174]	91.6% [327]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[163]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[194]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[357]</b>
$\chi^2 = 2.005; d.f. = 1; p = .157$			

Table 35a: Relationship between Education and Ownership of Property and Involvement in Economic and Social Activities

	Primary and Below	Secondary and Above	Total
<b>Ownership of Property:</b>			
Does not own property	6.5% [7]	8.7% [22]	8.1% [29]
Owens property	93.5% [100]	91.3% [231]	91.9% [331]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.471; d.f. = 1; p = .493$			
<b>Involvement in Economic Activities:</b>			
Is not involved	15.0% [16]	19.0% [48]	17.8% [64]
Is involved	85.0% [91]	81.0% [205]	82.2% [296]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.831; d.f. = 1; p = .362$			
<b>Involvement in Social Activities:</b>			
<i>i. Ceremonies:</i>			
Is not involved	2.8% [3]	3.6% [9]	3.3% [12]
Is involved	97.2% [104]	96.4% [244]	96.7% [348]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.133; d.f. = 1; p = .716$			
<i>ii. Kgotla Meetings</i>			
Does not Attend	8.4% [9]	17.0% [43]	14.4% [52]
Attends	91.6% [98]	83.0% [210]	85.6% [308]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 4.485; d.f. = 1; p = .034$			
<i>iii. VDC Meetings:</i>			
Does not attend	8.4% [9]	15.0% [38]	13.1% [47]
Attends	91.6% [98]	85.0% [215]	86.9% [313]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 2.893; d.f. = 1; p = .089$			

Table 35b: Relationship between Education and Exchange of Goods, Money, and Visits

	Primary and Below	Secondary and Above	Total
<b>Exchange of Goods:</b>			
Did not sent goods	29.9% [32]	27.3% [69]	28.1% [101]
Sent goods	70.1% [75]	72.7% [184]	71.9% [259]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.258; d.f. = 1; p = .611$			
Did not receive goods	37.4% [40]	38.3% [97]	38.1% [137]
Received goods	62.6% [67]	61.7% [156]	61.9% [223]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.029; d.f. = 1; p = .864$			
<b>Exchange of Money:</b>			
Did not sent money	19.6% [21]	8.7% [22]	11.9% [43]
Sent money	80.4% [86]	91.3% [231]	81.1% [317]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 8.542; d.f. = 1; p = .003$			
Did not receive money	57.9% [107]	58.5% [148]	58.3% [210]
Received money	42.1% [67]	41.5% [105]	41.7% [150]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.009; d.f. = 1; p = .922$			
<b>Visiting Patterns:</b>			
Did not visit	8.4% [9]	9.1% [23]	8.9% [32]
Visited relatives and friends	91.6% [98]	90.9% [230]	91.1% [328]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.043; d.f. = 1; p = .836$			
Did not received visitor	19.6% [21]	22.5% [57]	21.7% [78]
Receive visitor	80.45% [107]	77.5% [196]	78.3% [282]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.374; d.f. = 1; p = .541$			

Table 35c: Relationship between Education and Urban-Rural Advice Seeking Patterns

Area of Consultation	Primary and Below	Secondary and Above	Total
<b>i. Consultation on Family Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	10.3% [11]	14.2% [36]	13.1% [47]
Consulted relatives	89.7% [96]	85.8% [217]	86.9% [313]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.033; d.f. = 1; p = .309$			
Was not consulted by relatives	17.8% [19]	15.8% [40]	16.4% [59]
Consulted by relatives	82.2% [88]	84.2% [213]	83.6% [301]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.208; d.f. = 1; p = .648$			
Did not consult friends	41.1% [44]	53.8% [136]	50.0% [180]
Consulted friends	58.9% [63]	46.2% [117]	50.0% [180]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 4.801; d.f. = 1; p = .028$			
Was not consulted by friends	61.7% [66]	64.0% [62]	63.3% [228]
Consulted by friends	38.3% [41]	36.0% [91]	36.7% [132]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.179; d.f. = 1; p = .672$			
<b>ii. Consultation on Social Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	17.8% [19]	24.1% [61]	22.2% [80]
Consulted relatives	82.2% [88]	74.9% [192]	77.8% [280]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.756; d.f. = 1; p = .185$			
Was not consulted by relatives	25.2% [27]	26.5% [67]	26.1% [94]
Consulted by relatives	74.8% [80]	73.5% [186]	73.9% [266]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.061; d.f. = 1; p = .805$			

Table 35c Continued

Area of Consultation	Primary and Below	Secondary and Above	Total
<b>Consultation on Social (cont'd):</b>			
Did not consult friends	58.9% [63]	49.8% [126]	52.5% [189]
Consulted friends	41.1% [44]	50.2% [127]	47.5% [171]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 2.484; d.f. = 1; p = .115$			
Was not consulted by friends	55.1% [59]	50.2% [127]	51.7% [186]
Consulted by friends	44.9% [48]	49.8% [126]	48.3% [174]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.736; d.f. = 1; p = .391$			
<b>iii. Consultation on Financial Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	57.5% [61]	46.6% [118]	49.9% [179]
Consulted relatives	42.5% [45]	53.4% [135]	50.1% [180]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[106]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[359]</b>
$\chi^2 = 3.555; d.f. = 1; p = .059$			
Was not consulted by relatives	15.0% [16]	20.9% [53]	19.2% [69]
Consulted by relatives	85.0% [91]	79.1% [200]	80.8% [291]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.745; d.f. = 1; p = .187$			
Did not consult friends	86.0% [92]	70.0% [177]	74.7% [269]
Consulted friends	14.0% [15]	30.0% [76]	25.3% [91]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 10.218; d.f. = 1; p = .001$			
Was not consulted by friends	60.7% [65]	49.0% [124]	52.5% [189]
Consulted by friends	39.3% [42]	51.0% [129]	47.5% [171]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 4.153; d.f. = 1; p = .042$			

**Table 35d: Relationship between Education and Plans about Future Urban Residence**

	<b>Primary and Below</b>	<b>Secondary and Above</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Future Urban Residence:</b>			
Does not Plan to Retire to Rural Areas	7.5% [8]	8.7% [22]	8.3% [30]
Plan to Retire to Rural Areas	92.5% [99]	91.3231173] [253]	91.7% [330]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[107]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[253]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.146; d.f. = 1; p = .702$			

Table 36a: Relationship between Employment Status and Ownership of Property and Involvement in Economic and Social Activities

	Unemployed	Employed	Total
<b>Ownership of Property:</b>			
Does not own property	7.6% [12]	8.4% [17]	8.1% [29]
Owns property	92.4% [146]	91.6% [185]	91.9% [331]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.081; d.f. = 1; p = .7764$			
<b>Involvement in Economic Activities:</b>			
Is not involved	15.8% [25]	19.3% [39]	17.8% [64]
Is involved	84.2% [133]	80.7% [163]	82.2% [296]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.736; d.f. = 1; p = .391$			
<b>Involvement in Social Activities:</b>			
<i>i. Ceremonies:</i>			
Is not involved	3.2% [5]	3.5% [7]	3.3% [12]
Is involved	96.8% [153]	96.5% [195]	96.7% [348]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.025; d.f. = 1; p = .875$			
<i>ii. Kgotla Meetings</i>			
Does not Attend	12.7% [20]	15.8% [32]	14.4% [52]
Attends	87.3% [138]	84.2% [170]	85.6% [308]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[320]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.727; d.f. = 1; p = .394$			
<i>iii. VDC Meetings:</i>			
Does not attend	10.8% [17]	14.9% [30]	13.1% [47]
Attends	89.2% [141]	85.1% [172]	86.9% [313]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.308; d.f. = 1; p = .2534$			

Table 36b: Relationship between Employment Status and Exchange of Goods, Money, and Visits

	Unemployed	Employed	Total
<b>Exchange of Money:</b>			
Did not sent money	15.8% [32]	7.0% [11]	11.9% [43]
Sent money	84.2% [170]	93.0% [147]	81.1% [317]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 6.646; d.f. = 1; p = .010$			
<b>Exchange of Goods:</b>			
Did not sent goods	26.6% [42]	29.2% [59]	28.1% [101]
Sent goods	73.4% [116]	70.8% [143]	71.9% [259]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.303; d.f. = 1; p = .582$			
Did not receive goods	36.1% [57]	39.6% [80]	38.1% [137]
Received goods	63.9% [101]	60.4% [122]	61.9% [223]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.468; d.f. = 1; p = .494$			
Did not receive money	55.7% [88]	60.4% [122]	58.3% [210]
Received money	44.3% [70]	39.6% [80]	41.7% [150]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.806; d.f. = 1; p = .369$			
<b>Visiting Patterns:</b>			
Did not visit	7.6% [12]	9.9% [20]	8.9% [32]
Visited relatives and friends	92.4% [146]	90.1% [182]	91.1% [328]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.582; d.f. = 1; p = .445$			
Did not received visitor	19.6% [31]	23.3% [47]	21.7% [78]
Receive visitor	80.4% [127]	76.7% [155]	78.3% [282]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.695; d.f. = 1; p = .405$			

Table 36c: Relationship between Employment and Urban-Rural Advice Seeking Patterns

Area of Consultation	Unemployed	Employed	Total
<b>i. Consultation on Family Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	13.3% [21]	12.9% [26]	13.1% [47]
Consulted relatives	86.7% [137]	87.1% [176]	86.9% [313]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.014; d.f. = 1; p = .907$			
Was not consulted by relatives	13.9% [22]	18.3% [37]	16.4% [59]
Consulted by relatives	86.1% [136]	81.7% [165]	83.6% [301]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 1.248; d.f. = 1; p = .2645$			
Did not consult friends	50.0% [79]	50.0% [101]	50.0% [180]
Consulted friends	50.0% [79]	50.0% [101]	50.0% [180]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.000; d.f. = 1; p = 1.000$			
Was not consulted by friends	61.4% [97]	64.9% [131]	63.3% [228]
Consulted by friends	38.6% [61]	35.1% [71]	36.7% [132]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 0.457; d.f. = 1; p = .499$			
<b>ii. Consultation on Social Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	24.1% [38]	20.8% [42]	22.2% [80]
Consulted relatives	75.9% [120]	79.2% [160]	77.8% [280]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.545; d.f. = 1; p = .461$			
Was not consulted by relatives	27.2% [43]	25.2% [51]	26.1% [94]
Consulted by relatives	72.8% [115]	74.8% [151]	73.9% [266]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.178; d.f. = 1; p = .673$			

Table 36c Continued

Area of Consultation	Unemployed	Employed	Total
<b>Consultation on Social (cont'd):</b>			
Did not consult friends	50.0% [79]	54.5% [110]	52.5% [189]
Consulted friends	50.0% [79]	45.5% [92]	47.5% [171]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.706; d.f. = 1; p = .401$			
Was not consulted by friends	48.7% [77]	54.0% [109]	51.7% [186]
Consulted by friends	51.3% [81]	46.0% [93]	48.3% [174]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[174]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[186]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.970; d.f. = 1; p = .325$			
<b>iii. Consultation on Financial Matters:</b>			
Did not consult relatives	55.4% [87]	45.5% [92]	49.7% [179]
Consulted relatives	44.6% [70]	54.5% [110]	50.3% [181]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 3.442; d.f. = 1; p = .064$			
Was not consulted by relatives	19.6% [31]	18.8% [38]	19.2% [69]
Consulted by relatives	80.4% [127]	81.2% [164]	80.8% [291]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.037; d.f. = 1; p = .847$			
Did not consult friends	83.5% [132]	67.8% [137]	74.7% [269]
Consulted friends	16.5% [26]	32.2% [65]	25.3% [91]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 11.603; d.f. = 1; p = .001$			
Was not consulted by friends	58.9% [93]	47.5% [96]	52.5% [189]
Consulted by friends	41.1% [65]	52.5% [106]	47.5% [171]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 4.568; d.f. = 1; p = .033$			

**Table 36d: Relationship between Employment Status and Plans about Future Urban Residence**

	<b>Unemployed</b>	<b>Employed</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Future Urban Residence:</b>			
Does not Plan to Retire to Rural Areas	9.5% [15]	7.4% [15]	8.3% [30]
Plan to Retire to Rural Areas	90.5% [143]	92.6% [187]	91.7% [330]
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[158]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[202]</b>	<b>100%</b> <b>[360]</b>
$\chi^2 = 0.496; d.f. = 1; p = .481$			

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