

**Rural Livelihoods in Zimbabwe:
Impact of Remittances from South Africa**

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France Maphosa

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Introduction

Labour migration to South Africa from neighbouring countries including Zimbabwe dates back to the 19th century when gold and diamond mines were established in South Africa. Countries such as Zimbabwe, Malawi, Lesotho, Zambia and Mozambique were the major exporters of labour to the South African mines; this was organised through the contract labour system.

At independence in 1980, the government of Zimbabwe discontinued the contract labour system as a protest against apartheid. Despite the discontinuation of the contract labour system, Zimbabwe has continued to be a major source of migrant labour to South Africa, although labour migration has become more informal, unregulated and illegal. The main forms of illegal entry into South Africa are border jumping and entering legally through official entry points and then overstaying. Crush (2003) found that 23% of the Zimbabwean adult population have been to South Africa, 24% have parents who have been to South Africa and another 23% have grand-parents who have been to South Africa.

Most of the labour migrants, especially illegal migrants, come from Districts such as Bulilima, Mangwe, Gwanda, Beitbridge and Matobo in Matabeleland South. These Districts share borders with Botswana and South Africa. A combination of environmental, economic, political socio-cultural and historical factors accounts for this large-scale movement of people across the border to seek for employment.

Matabeleland Region predominantly lies in agriculturally marginal and drought prone Region V. Agricultural production, particularly crop production, in this part of the country is largely for subsistence. Even in a good year, very few households are left with surplus produce from which they can obtain income. The recurrent droughts and floods which Zimbabwe has experienced since the early 1980s have increased the number of people who are vulnerable. The region has been declared a state of national disaster not less than four times between 1995 and 2001.

The structural adjustment programme (SAP) embarked on by the Government of Zimbabwe from 1991 to 1995 saw a lot of people being retrenched from both the public and private sectors leading to a rise in unemployment levels. The

continued decline of the Zimbabwean economy, characterised by high levels of unemployment, high rates of inflation and the rising cost of living, has continued to push many people out of the country in search of employment and better standards of living. However the effects of SAP in Matabeleland have been exacerbated by the recurrent droughts and lack of alternative livelihoods such as gold panning to which many unemployed people have resorted in other parts of the country.

The political unrest of the 1980s in Matabeleland and parts of Midlands saw a number of people fleeing the country into neighbouring Botswana and South Africa. Young men and women were the main targets of the army's backlash against the activities of insurgents in those parts of the country. Most of these migrants ended up working in these countries.

A large number of the people in Matabeleland share historical, kinship and linguistic ties with people in South Africa and Botswana. For example, languages such as Venda, Sotho and Ndebele are spoken on both the Zimbabwean and South African sides of the Limpopo River. Tswana and Kalanga are also two languages that are spoken on both the Zimbabwean and Botswana sides of the Ramogkwebane River. Coupled with geographical proximity, this factor facilitates the movement of people from Matabeleland to either Botswana or South Africa, because the kinship networks make it easy to relocate by providing information about the destination, facilitating travel and accommodation on arrival at their destination.

While literature on labour migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa exists (van Onselen 1976; Amanor-Wilks and Moyo, 1996), no extensive study has been carried out to assess the impact of remittances sent by these people to their country of origin. Amanor-Wilks and Moyo (1996) have, however, observed that there is an increase in rural income and investment in certain areas of significant out-migration suggesting net gains to migrants and their communities at both micro and macro levels. A significant amount of literature on the remittances-development nexus derives from Latin and Central America (Meyers 1988; Orozco 2000; Lopez et al, 2001; Stein 2003).

This study focuses on the impact of remittances on household livelihoods in Matabeleland South Province of Zimbabwe. While the research was conducted in one Ward, the findings may be extrapolated to other areas with similar characteristics such as geographical proximity to country of destination, climatic conditions and cultural and historical links with country of destination.

Labour Migration in other Southern African Countries

The history of labour migration from other countries in the Southern African region to South Africa is linked to the introduction of the capitalist mode of production into Southern Africa which resulted in uneven development in the sub-continent. South Africa, particularly its mining areas, became the centre while other regions were peripheralised and allocated the role of labour reserves (Weyl 1991). As stated by Weyl, labour migration from these countries was 'circulatory' whereby migrants regularly returned to their places of origin which were their bases for subsistence and social security.

Labour migration had both positive and negative consequences on migrant-sending communities. Boeder (1978) stated that remittances sent by Malawian migrants had become the second most important source of foreign currency and that as a result of these remittances the country's standard of living had risen. For Murray (1981) no aspect of village life in these societies can be understood without reference to the dependence of villagers for their livelihood on earnings derived from the export of labour. Despite the economic benefits of labour migration to sending countries, it often led to serious social problems especially on family life (Boeder 1978; Murray 1976; 1981; de Vletter 1981; Hishongwa 1991; Lubkemann 2002). Writing on labour migration from Namibia to South Africa, Hishongwa (1991:37) states that it:

...prevented African men fulfilling their roles as father, husbands and members of the community.

Murray (1981) states that the separation of spouses generated acute anxiety, insecurity and conflict. Studies in Mozambique (Lubkemann 2002) and Namibia (Hishongwa 1991) have shown that in many instances the separation of spouses led to migrant husbands getting into sexual relationships that led to transnational polygamy. This in turn led to husbands either reducing their support to their families back home or totally abandoning them.

Area of Study

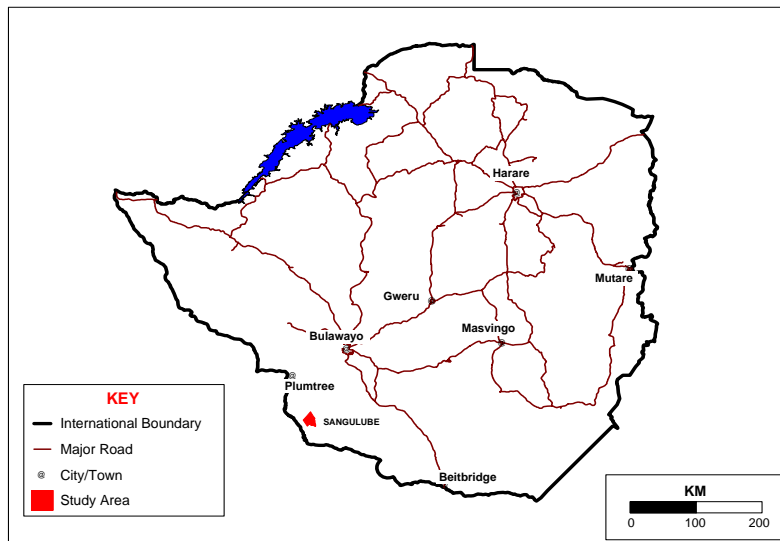
Geographical Description

The study was conducted in Ward 7 of Mangwe District which is in Matabeleland Province in the Southern part of Zimbabwe. The Ward is located about 100 kilometres South of Plumtree town, the administrative town for Mangwe District, and about 200 kilometres from Bulawayo, Zimbabwe's second largest city.

Zimbabwe is divided into five agro-ecological regions based on the average amount of rainfall received annually and potential for agricultural productivity. Mangwe District is in agro-ecological region V which is characterised by low rainfall patterns, poor soils, hot weather and persistent droughts, making the contribution of agriculture, particularly crop agriculture, to household incomes and livelihoods negligible. There are no perennial rivers in the whole District and water for domestic use is obtained from boreholes or extracted from river beds (Hobane 1999). In 2003 as in several other previous years, the whole of Matabeleland region was declared to be in a state of disaster by the President. The declaration was made in order to facilitate the mobilization of resources to be channelled to the area as well as to facilitate donor assistance in alleviating the negative impacts of drought-induced crop failure and livestock losses.

Livelihoods

A livelihood involves the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living (Chambers and Conway, 1992). People in Matabeleland mainly grow drought-tolerant crops such as millet and sorghum. Maize is grown to a lesser degree as it cannot withstand the prevailing harsh climatic conditions. Due to these harsh climatic conditions, harvests are generally very low and income from crop production is insignificant. Crops are grown mainly for domestic consumption. Traditionally, cattle were the mainstay of the Region's economy. However, the recurrent droughts have drastically reduced their contribution to



household incomes. Other livestock such as goats, sheep, donkeys, pigs and chickens are also raised for sale and domestic consumption.

Wage employment within the District is low with most of the people in wage employment employed as migrant workers outside the District within or outside the country. The most popular destinations for migrant labourers are South Africa and Botswana. Most of the migrant labourers are men, leaving most of the households as female-managed households. Hobane (1999) found that 62% of the adults in Ward 7 were employed in South Africa and Botswana and that their remittances constituted an important source of household income.

Other livelihoods include the sale of *amacimbi*¹ (mopane worms), home-brewed beer and crafts. Some residents are also engaged in petty trading in basic commodities such as sugar, matches, salt and tea, sourced mainly from South Africa and Botswana, while others are engaged in cross-border trade.

Recent Economic Developments in Zimbabwe

The interventionist development policies adopted by the government of Zimbabwe at independence in 1980 up to the 1990s were meant to address historically created economic imbalances characteristic of the country at independence. The policies, whose main aim was poverty reduction, were;

...geared towards increased social sector expenditures, expansion of rural infrastructure and redressing the social and economic inequalities including land reform. As a result of all these efforts, Zimbabwe's social indicators were impressive during this period (ZHDR 2003:8-9).

The 1990s, however, saw the displacement of these interventionist policies with the neoliberal reforms whose impact was a reversal of the gains made in the 1980s, particularly in the social sector. Trade liberalization, budget reforms and public expenditure management, financial sector liberalization and labour market deregulation – the central facets of the market-oriented SAP – had a far-reaching impact on most African states who embraced the economic reforms. The shrinking of the state in the provision of essential services, privatization, withdrawal of subsidies and recovery of user fees in essential services such as health and education resulted in a deterioration of the health and education sectors. Vulnerable social groups such as the youth, children and women are the worst affected by negative impacts of the reforms programme.

The year 2000 witnessed a wave of farm invasions leading to the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) referred to as *jambanja* (land seizures) due to their destructive and violent nature. Due to the importance of the land and agri-

culture to Zimbabwe's economy the fast track land reform constituted an important landmark in Zimbabwe's development process. This was followed by a decline in agricultural productivity as well as unemployment as a result of loss of jobs by former farm labourers (Sachikonye 2003). The situation has been aggravated by the several droughts that the country has experienced since independence. The Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare's second Poverty Assessment Study Survey (PASS II, 2003), a follow-up of PASS 1995 found that poverty in Zimbabwe increased considerably between 1995 and 2003. For instance the proportion of households below the Food Poverty Line (very poor) increased from 20% in 1995 to 48% in 2003.

Up to 1987 when the Unity Accord was signed between the ruling ZANU (PF) and the opposition PF-ZAPU, the war in Matabeleland and Midlands provinces made it impossible for any development activities to take place in the provinces. Even after the hostilities ceased there was no deliberate effort towards reconstruction or compensation for the destruction that took place during the years of violence (Alexander et al, 2000).

The failure by the Fast Track Land Reform Programme to decongest the communal areas as reported by the Presidential Land Review Committee Report (popularly known as the Utete Report) of 2003 has had devastating effects on areas such as Matabeleland which are heavily congested. As livestock, mainly cattle, is the predominant agricultural activity in the region, congestion in these areas has a serious negative impact on the livelihoods of the residents.

Methodology

Study Design

The study adopted a case study approach in which one Ward in Mangwe District of Matabeleland South Province was selected for the study. A ward is the third-level administrative unit in Zimbabwe. At the bottom is a household. One hundred households make up a village and six villages make a ward. A number of wards make a district. The number of wards in a district varies according to its size. A number of districts make up a province. The number of districts in a province also varies according to the size of the province. There are altogether 56 districts and 10 provinces into which the country is divided. By 2002 Zimbabwe had a total population of 11,634,663, while Matabeleland South Province had a population of 653,054. Mangwe District had a population of 78,427 and Ward Seven, in which the study was carried out, had a population of 5,207. The small size of the population of a ward, relative to the national as well as the provincial

population, makes it difficult to extrapolate the findings of this study to these higher levels. The advantage of a case study approach is that it is holistic and in depth, and yields detailed data through the use of multiple sources of data.

Sampling

Ward 7 of Mangwe District in Matabeleland South Province was purposely selected because of its geographical proximity to South Africa and its accessibility. Using village registers obtained from village heads of the six villages of Ward Seven 10% percent of the households in each village were selected using random sampling. A total of 150 households were selected for interviews.

Data Collection Techniques

The study used a variety of data collection tools, namely a questionnaire, group discussions, individual unstructured conversations, and focus group discussions in order to achieve methodological triangulation.

The questionnaire with both open and close-ended questions was administered to 150 households with the help of research assistants over a two-week period. The research assistants were familiar with the local language. The questionnaire was intended to obtain, mainly quantifiable, data such as household sources of income, the number of migrant labourers in the household, sex, age and jobs of the migrant labourers, the amounts, frequencies and uses of remittances.

A group discussion was conducted with community leaders who included village heads, church leaders, village health workers, traditional healers, home-based care givers, World Vision constituted local management committees (LMCs) and local management boards (LMBs). This discussion was intended to obtain the views of the community leaders on both the negative and positive impacts of labour migration in general and in particular, the impact of remittances at the community level. The discussion was facilitated by the researcher.

Individual, unstructured interviews were conducted with the two headmen (Headman Sangulube and Headman Hobodo), whose areas of jurisdiction are part of Ward 7. These interviews were intended to obtain the views of these most senior traditional leaders in the Ward about the impacts of labour migration and their views on the policies that can be put in place in order to maximise the positive impacts of labour migration while minimizing its negative impacts. The interviews were conducted by the researcher.

Focus group discussions were conducted with groups of school leavers and youths attending school (potential migrants), return migrants and current migrants (known as *injiva*)². The focus group discussions with school leavers who

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had not been to South Africa and those still at school were intended to find out the aspirations of school leavers and youths still attending school, their knowledge of South Africa and their perceptions about working in South Africa as compared to working in Zimbabwe. The focus group discussions with return migrants were intended to find out the reasons for their return and their experiences as labour migrants as well as their aspirations. Focus group discussions with current migrants were intended to find out about their motivations to migrate and their experiences including the constraints in sending remittances. The focus group discussions were facilitated by the researcher with the assistance of research assistants.

Research Challenges

Characteristics of Respondents

The questionnaire was administered to households and respondents included migrant labourers themselves, return migrants, spouses (mostly wives), parents, children and other relatives of migrant labourers as well as domestic workers. Characteristics of respondents such as their level of education and relationship to the migrant had an obvious effect on the amount and reliability of information obtained. It was easier to obtain factual information such as the age of the migrant, the year the migrant started working in South Africa, their job and their educational level from spouses, children and parents of migrants than from other relatives and workers. Age also had an effect on the quality of information as elderly respondents had problems in remembering ages, education levels of their migrant children and estimating the amounts of remittances they received.

Perceptions of Respondents

A lot of respondents were very sceptical about the objectives of the study fearing that the information might be used against their relatives, most of whom are illegal migrants. There was also scepticism that the information might be used to select beneficiaries for government and NGO assistance, hence the temptation to under-report benefits from migrant labourers cannot be overlooked.

Definition of Labour Migration

Remittances are an outcome of migration. It is therefore almost inevitable for any discussion on remittances to be preceded by one on migration (Chimhowu, Piesse and Pinder, 2003). This section is therefore devoted to defining migration and related concepts, namely migrant and migrant labourers/workers.

Defining migration is difficult because of its accelerating and multifaceted nature (Ammassari and Black 2001). Despite these problems many definitions of migration use a combination of distance, time and purpose as the characteristics that distinguish one type of migration from another (Kothari 2002).

For Oucho (2002) migration is a process that involves the geographical movement of people from their area of origin to take up temporary or permanent residence in another area. According to the United Nations (1990) it involves the crossing of a boundary of a political or administrative unit for a certain minimum period of time. This includes the movement of refugees, displaced persons, uprooted people as well as economic migrants. While internal migration refers to a move from one area (a province, district or municipality) to another within the one country, international migration is a territorial relocation of people between nation-states.

Two concepts in the above definitions require elaboration. Firstly, migration involves the spatial or geographical movement of people across a boundary. Although some boundaries, particularly between countries, are demarcated using natural physical features such as rivers and mountains, they were arbitrarily drawn by colonial powers, in the process separating people who share a common history, cultural heritage, language, religion and other bonds (Matlosa 2000). In many cases because of the bonds that bind people across borders, people who are said to have migrated may not see themselves as having done so or they may see themselves as return migrants.

Secondly, the definitions do not specify the length of residence in an area other than that of origin for such a movement to be defined as migration. This seems to include people who relocate permanently from areas of origin to other areas and those who relocate for short periods of time.

Thirdly the definitions do not include the reasons for relocating to areas other than those of origin. In this case, migrants include people who are displaced by war, by environmental catastrophes, and those who move in search of employment, among other reasons. The focus of this paper is on people who leave their areas of origin to seek employment in other areas, otherwise known as labour migrants. The United Nations (1990) defines a labour migrant as,

...a person who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a State of which he/she is not a national.

There are different categories of migrant workers namely:

'frontier worker' – a migrant worker who retains his/her habitual residence in a neighbouring State to which he/she normally returns everyday or at least once a week.

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'seasonal worker' – a migrant worker whose work by its character is dependent on seasonal conditions and is performed only during part of the year.

'seafarer' – a migrant worker employed on board a vessel registered in a State of which he/she is not a national.

'worker on an offshore installation' – a migrant worker employed in an offshore installation that is under the jurisdiction of a State of which he or she is not a national;

'itinerant worker' – a migrant worker who, having his or her habitual residence in one State, has to travel to another State or States for short periods, owing to the nature of his or her occupation;

'project-tied worker' – a migrant worker admitted to a State of employment for a defined period of work solely on a specific project being carried out in that State by his or her employer;

'specified-employment worker' – a migrant worker who has been sent by his or her employer for a restricted and defined period of time to a State of employment to undertake a specific assignment or duty;

'self-employed worker' – a migrant worker who is engaged in a remunerated activity other than under a contract of employment and who earns his or her living through this activity normally working alone or together with members of his or her family, and to any other migrant worker recognized as self-employed by applicable legislation of the state of employment or bilateral or multilateral agreement.

Migrants can be temporary labour migrants also known as guest workers, highly skilled and business migrants, irregular migrants or undocumented or illegal migrants, forced migrants, family members, and return migrants (UN 1990; Oucho 2002).

The above definitions refer to people who cross national boundaries in search of employment. It is however possible to be a migrant within one country as when people leave the rural areas to work in the cities for a relatively long period. Other notions of migration include step, circular, cyclical and return migration (Kothari 2002). Very few people from this part of the country become immigrants in South Africa as migration has always been cyclical in nature. Migrants neither settle permanently in South Africa nor cut ties with their country of origin but maintain close ties through, among other things, frequent visits, sending remittances and communication.

Theories of Labour Migration

A variety of theoretical models have been developed to explain why people relocate temporarily or permanently to other areas other than their areas of origin in search of employment although economic considerations play an important role in labour migration (Mehlum 2002). Early literature on migration was influenced by the dual sector model of economic development propounded by Lewis (1954). This model supposes a modern economic sector which is characterized by shortage and high demand for labour and a traditional sector which is characterised by surplus labour and unemployment. The model was elaborated by writers such as Todaro (1969) and Harris and Todaro (1970) into what is now referred to as the neo-classical approach to labour migration. Neo-classical theorists emphasise wage differentials between the area of origin and the area of destination as the determinant of migration. While wage and employment differentials between two areas present conditions in which migration becomes a possibility, the neo-classical theorists place human agency at the centre of the decision to migrate. This means that the decision to migrate is a rational choice by an individual, in response to economic incentives (Rutman 1974).

A variant of the neo-classical approach is the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) propounded by Stark (1984). This approach shifts focus from an individual to the household as the unit of analysis. According to NELM, the decision to migrate is taken by the household as a risk prevention strategy in the context of imperfect or non-existent insurance and credit facilities. The decision to migrate is therefore based on a contract between the migrant and the members of the household left behind for the migrant to send remittances in order to avert risks associated with occurrences such as drought, floods and a failed harvest.

Both the neo-classical and the NELM approaches do not take into account structural factors in the local and national economies. They also fail to take into account factors of a political, ideological and cultural nature that have no economic cause.

The structural approach has been influenced by neo-Marxist thinking mainly the dependency approach and the world system approaches. This approach explains migration as a result of the structural forces created by the penetration of the capitalist mode of production in peripheral economies leading to the undermining of subsistence production through the commodification of production and the proletarianisation of labour. Capitalism naturally leads to uneven development in turn creating core and periphery relations between

different regions. Areas where it is not fully developed become labour reserves for the developed areas.

The structuration approach has its roots in the works of Anthony Giddens (1984). This approach was developed in response to the inadequacies of both the rational choice and the structural approaches in explaining the phenomenon of migration. Giddens' objective was to show that structure and agency are not mutually exclusive in explaining social reality as he argues that structure does not determine action and vice versa (Giddens 1984). Structure and agency cannot be conceived apart from one another, they are two sides of the same coin (Ritzer 2000).

Gender Issues in Labour Migration

Earlier discourse on migration did not take into account gender. Specific gender determinants and consequences of migration did not receive much attention in the discourse on migration (Hefti 1997). Migration literature has generally presented women as a group left behind or as those accompanying their husbands or fathers (Medel-Ononuevo 1996).

The NELM which sees migration as an outcome of family bargaining does not take into account the gender power dynamics in the bargaining process. The model discusses intergenerational bargaining between non-migrant parents and migrant children, where the decision to migrate is therefore presented as a result of consensus among non-migrant family members and migrant family members. The model, however, overlooks gender relations in this bargaining process and how gender power dynamics have an effect on who migrates and who stays behind.

The last twenty years have seen a growing attention to gender issues in migration at both the theoretical and empirical levels (Medel-Ononuevo 1996; Hefti 1997; Chammartin, <http://www.ilo.org/public/English/dialogue/actrav/publ/121/7.pdf>; Estopace 2002). The focus on gender issues in migration has highlighted issues such as power relations in the decision-making process of who migrates and who does not, women's vulnerability to discrimination and abuse and sex stereotyping of jobs and role shifts. The determinants and consequences of migration are gender specific. The problems faced by women migrants are compounded by their being both migrants and women. As workers in a gender segregated market, they are vulnerable to discrimination, exploitation and abuse.

Chammartin (<http://www.ilo.org/public/English/dialogue/actrav/publ/121/7.pdf>) argues that women have less chances of migrating legally and

therefore tend to be more vulnerable to discrimination, abuse and violence than men. Hefti (1997) states that women are vulnerable to gender related violence such as rape, sexual harassment and physical abuse. Most migrant women, because of their low education and often illegal migrant status end up in domestic and service work. Such jobs, because they are often considered to be in the private realm and done within the confines of the home, often escape official government scrutiny and supervision. They therefore flout standard labour practices, with regard to wages, social security and welfare benefits and the rights of workers to organize and strike for better working conditions.

The Impacts of Migration

The impacts of migration on both migrant sending and receiving countries remain an issue of intense and often emotional debate. The impacts on the host countries have often focused on the negative impacts of immigration and this debate which is often led by media reports and political statements, gives rise to xenophobic feelings and often violence against immigrants.

For example there are media reports of Zimbabwean immigrants in Botswana and South Africa being assaulted by law enforcement agents and women migrants being subjected to sexual harassment by both the law enforcement agents and ordinary local people. These result from the perception of immigrants as taking away jobs from the locals, committing crimes and spreading HIV / AIDS. Most of the information on the treatment of immigrants, particularly illegal immigrants, is obtained from media reports and scattered personal accounts of the migrants themselves. Although many of these reports have not been substantiated, they raise concerns on the issue of human rights violation, especially the violation of migrants' rights, including illegal migrants. There is yet to be a systematic study of this phenomenon in order to make firm conclusions about the extent, nature and possible solutions to human rights and migrants' rights abuses in these countries.

Impact on Host Countries

Jobs and Wages

Immigrants have been accused of driving wages down and undermining labour standards (Hussein 1996; Ryklief 2003). According to Ryklief in South Africa, illegal migrant workers often work in the informal sector and the lower end of the labour market, predominantly the agricultural, hotel, construction and domestic sectors. Their vulnerability leads to the usual accusations of driving

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down wages and undermining labour standards.. Ryklief also argues that in South Africa while the contraction in the gold industry since 1987 has led to the loss of 200 000 jobs, the industry's continued employment of contract labour has led to dissatisfaction among the retrenched South Africans.

The perception of immigrants taking away jobs from locals is often driven by emotions rather than hard facts. Illegal migrants are mostly undocumented and their numbers are often grossly inaccurate. For example in South Africa, the estimated number of illegal immigrants in that country has ranged from 1 to 11 million (Hussein 1996; Reitzes 1977; Crush 2003). Crush (2003) argues that the number of illegal immigrants in South Africa is exaggerated.

The argument that migrants are responsible for unemployment overlooks their contribution to employment creation in both the formal and informal sectors. It also overlooks the fact that in many cases, immigrants take the jobs that the natives do not want. Stalker (http://pstalker.com/migration/mg_theories_2.htm) refers to these as the Three-D-Jobs – the dirty, dangerous and difficult jobs. According to Simon (1989) the behavioural characteristics of immigrants are generally conducive to economic advancement not only for the immigrants themselves but also to the host community. Immigrants generally work harder than the natives of the same sex and age, save more, have a higher propensity to start new businesses and are more likely to innovate.

Social Services

Immigrants have also been blamed for putting a strain on social services such as housing, electricity and water provision. They are also blamed for unlawful settlement as stated by Hussein (1996);

'the large concentration of illegal immigrants in the country places an inordinate burden on the state, decreasing its capacity to deliver impoverished South Africans from misery.'

He uses the example of clinics in the former Kangwane and Gazankulu areas of South Africa which are now being over-stretched by the demands placed on them by Mozambican immigrants residing in those areas. Simon (1989), however, argues that migrants contribute to national coffers through the payment of taxes. As a result the balance between receiving these services and paying for them is in the favour of the natives.

The Spread of Diseases

According to a study by Brummer (2002), the epidemiology of HIV/AIDS is closely linked to the process of migration. Hussein argues that illegal immigrants

are responsible for the spread of diseases such as yellow fever, tuberculosis, cholera and HIV/AIDS. He states that;

'It is also a disturbing fact that illegal migrants bring with them diseases with epidemic proportions that can be attributable to poverty.'

Brummer observes, however, that several studies have shown that migrants are more vulnerable to HIV infection than their non-migrant counterparts. Rather than being responsible for the spread of HIV/AIDS, migrants are a group at risk of HIV/AIDS infection. Illegal immigrants and women immigrants in particular are more at risk of infection because of their vulnerability to abuse by law enforcement agents, employers, ordinary locals and other immigrants. Sex is often exchanged for jobs, accommodation, security and freedom from arrest and deportation. This makes immigrants also a group at at-risk rather than just agents for the spread of HIV/AIDS.

Crime

A number of scholars have discussed the relationship between immigration and crime. Savona (1995) argues that illegal migrants, because of their lack of status and precarious economic and social conditions commit crimes. He attributes this to a lack of integration. When a migrant fails to integrate into the host country and fails to realize his/her dream for a better life, the migrant can adopt a variety of individual responses ranging from stronger religious devotion to criminal behaviour. Csoti (1997) states that in many European countries, the number of foreigners responsible for certain forms of crime is well above their share of the total population in those countries. He links illegal migration with crimes such as drug trafficking and other forms of organized crime. Martens' (1997) study in Sweden concluded that migrants generally have higher crime rates than the indigenous Swedes. This is particularly true of cases involving violence and theft. Besides, illegal immigrants are more likely to be victims of violence than the locals. Killias (1997) states that more recently in Switzerland, the proportion of non-Swiss offenders increased substantially. He found that more crimes were committed by illegal and non-resident foreigners than legal resident foreigners.

For Harowitz (2001) immigrants commit more crimes than they are reported to be committing because most of the crimes committed by immigrants are unreported. The reasons for the underreporting of immigrant crime include, common nationality between the victim and the offender, the treatment of some offences as family matters not requiring outside interference and the connections that immigrants often have with crime rings abroad that help them to escape.

Hussein (1996) reports that in South Africa, there is a functional relationship between illegal aliens and the rate of crime. For example he states that in 1993, 4 969 illegal immigrants were arrested in South Africa in connection with rape, murder, theft and burglary. In 1994, 12 403 illegal immigrants were arrested for committing serious crimes.

There are two problems with the argument that immigrants are disposed to crime. Firstly, the arguments, and statistics, largely focus on illegal immigrants. Their migrant status has the potential of influencing the number of those arrested, convicted and sentenced. Their illegal status makes them criminals before they are even arrested and this influences how many of them get arrested and the processes that follow. Secondly, the undocumented nature of illegal immigrants makes it difficult to estimate accurately the proportion of illegal immigrants who commit crimes and those that do not, compared to the locals. Hence Simon (1989) concludes that the perception that immigrants are more disposed to crime has no basis in fact.

The commission of an offence naturally attracts the attention of law enforcement agents, leading to possible arrest and, for illegal immigrants, possible deportation. From a rational point of view, immigrants, especially illegal immigrants are more likely to avoid engaging in activities that would attract the attention of the law enforcement agents leading to their possible arrest, harassment and/or deportation.

Immigrants have positive impacts on the host communities. These include creating employment and contributing to the development of their host communities through the contribution of labour and skills. The following section discusses the positive and negative impacts of migration to host countries.

National Development

Some economies such as the United States of America and South Africa have grown to what they are today because of the contribution of immigrants. Without migrant labour, South Africa's economy, especially the mining and agricultural industries would not be what it is today. By the 1970s for example contract workers from outside South Africa made up 40% of the 400 000 mine workers (Crush 2003).

Brain Gain

Immigrants bring with them a variety of skills and knowledge that benefit their host communities. A lot of literature on brain drain/gain focuses on professionals and legal migrants. Some illegal migrants, as this study shows, are quite educated. This is often associated with the fact that the host country pays less

than the actual value of the worker and therefore gains more in terms of cheap labour. Even the unskilled, who have received little attention in the literature on brain drain, make an important contribution to the development of their host countries.

Impacts on Migrant Sending Communities

The impacts of migration on migrant sending countries or communities are also debatable with some authors believing that the positive impacts of migration such as remittances sent by migrants to their countries and communities of origin are outweighed by the negative impacts such as the depletion of manpower and brain drain. The following sections discuss in some detail the negative and positive effects of migration on the migrant sending communities or countries.

Effects on Agricultural Production

The most commonly mentioned negative impact of migration is its removal of able bodied people especially from agricultural communities. This leads to a decline in productivity, thus increasing poverty and vulnerability at both the household and national levels (Oucho 2002). According to Oucho emigration has led to the stagnation of agriculture in rural areas in countries of origin, causing food shortages and declines in both production and sale of commercial crops and plunging the communities into deeper poverty.

Sambajwe and Makatsjane (1992) found that in Lesotho while labour migration is beneficial in the short term, by adding to national and family income in the form of remittances, the high dependency on migratory employment has serious negative long term political, economic and social implications on the migrant sending country, the family and community. They argue that due to the absence of males from homes, women have to play multiple roles of being household heads, full-time farmers and house helpers in addition to their role of bearing and rearing children.

About southern Mozambique Manghezi (1998) argues that although the migrant labour system has benefited some workers and their families, these are only a minority. The negative effects of the system on the majority of workers and the peasant economy as a whole, which cannot be quantified in financial terms alone, outweigh its benefits. The system has transformed and distorted the peasant economy, making it so dependant on mine wage remittances that without inputs from South Africa, the economy could not reproduce itself. He further states that the traditional division of labour in the family, although heavily tipped against womenfolk, had, nonetheless some clearly defined roles to ensure

that all members of the family made meaningful contributions towards the production of food and other goods. The migrant labour system badly upset this 'delicate balance' in the existing social organisation of the peasantry by withdrawing its male population from agricultural production into the mining industry in South Africa.

Emigration would have a meaningful impact on agricultural productivity under two conditions. One is that agriculture is a significant and labour intensive economic activity. The other condition is that there are no sufficient compensatory benefits such as hiring of labour to replace those who would have migrated and the purchase of seeds and other inputs which would have not been possible had there been no emigration.

Impact on Families

Labour migration has some negative impacts on the families. These are due to long periods of spousal separation and the deprivation of children of family life leading to behavioural problems (Murray 1974;1981; Boeder 1978; de Vletter 1981; Hishongwa 1991; Lubkemann 2002)

Brain Drain

The issue of brain drain has been the major concern for migrant sending countries. This issue has often been raised in connection with skilled and professional workers such as doctors, nurses, engineers, social workers and teachers (Gaidzanwa 1999).

Skills Transfer

Return migrants bring back important skills acquired from their host countries. Labour migrants are employed in various sectors either as professional or unskilled workers. The experience and knowledge acquired is brought back home for the benefit of the migrants' families, community and country Boeder (1974), however, found that the skills learnt by Malawian migrants in the mines and farms of South Africa had little applicability to Malawi's economy.

Remittances

Remittances constitute the most important contribution of labour migrants to their home communities. Hence the focus of this paper is on remittances as an outcome of labour migration ((Matlosa 1998; McKinley 2003; Orozco 2000; Meyers 1988; Lopez et.al, 2001; Chimhowu, et.al. 2003; Stein 2003; Puri and Ritzema 2003).

Definition of Remittances

Literature on remittances tends to focus on financial remittances thus overlooking non financial or in-kind remittances (Hsu, http://.princeton.edu/jhsu/writing/remittances_3.doc). As a result many definitions of remittances refer to them as 'money' sent back home by migrant labourers. While acknowledging that remittances can be in-kind. Doorn (www.ilo.org/public/english/employment/finance/download/remit2.pdf) states that the term is usually used in reference to cash transfers. Migrants send not only money but also a variety of goods. Return migrants also bring back skills and knowledge acquired in their host countries. To restrict the definition of remittances to cash transfers only would be to reduce the contribution of migrant labours to their households and home communities. Migrants also transfer consumer goods, capital goods and skills and technological knowledge to their countries of origin. The term 'remittances' is therefore used here in a generic sense to include cash, goods, skills and knowledge.

A distinction is made between formal remittances, those that are sent through official means such as bank transfers and money transfer companies and informal remittances sent through unofficial channels such as private money couriers through friends and relatives or delivered home by the migrants themselves (McKinley 2003; Orozco 2000; Meyers 1988). The channel for sending remittances depends on a number of factors such as the existence of banking and other financial institutions, the speed, efficiency and security of the system as well as the educational status of the sender and the recipient. The status of the migrant can also determine the choice of channel for sending remittances with illegal migrants less likely to send their remittances through official channels.

Most of the literature on remittances focuses on individual remittances thus overlooking the importance and potential of collective remittances (Lopez et.al, 2001). Collective remittances are those that are channelled through formal and informal arrangements or associations widely referred to as home-town associations (HTAs) (Orozco 2000; Taylor and Fletcher, <http://www.precesam.colmex.mx/Volume2-ing.html>). Home-town associations are groups of migrants from particular communities who come together to pool resources in order to help the development of their home communities.

Why Migrants Remit

There is limited research on both the reasons why migrants send remittances and the variables that determine the size of remittances (Taylor 2000). The new

economics of labour migration (NELM) explains migration as an outcome of an implicit contract between migrants and members of the household remaining behind. The obligation of those members of the household remaining behind include bearing the cost of migration and other support until the migrant is established in their destination as well as providing support to the migrant in the event of them returning home because of illness, unemployment and other misfortunes. They also include managing the migrant's investments such as livestock and business. The migrant's obligation is to provide the household with capital and income insurance through remittances. This is an altruistic perception of why migrants send remittances.

Chimhowu, et.al. (2003) identify three schools of thought in the literature on the motivations to remit, namely the *risk sharing*, *altruism or livelihoods* and *risk sharing and altruism* schools. According to the risk sharing school remittances are instalments for individual risk management. As premium payments for future risk, remittances allow the remitter and the remaining household members to secure their livelihoods in the event of external shocks such as loss of employment on the part of the remitter or drought in the case of the recipient. Remittances are part of a mutually beneficial and enforceable contract between the remitter and the recipients. The main problem with this approach is that it conceives remitting behaviour as motivated purely by rational economic considerations, thus overlooking altruism as a possible factor in remitting behaviour.

The altruism or livelihoods school views remitting as motivated by an obligation to the household. Remittances are sent out of affection and responsibility towards the family. The migrant is simply part of a spatially extended household that is reducing the risk of impoverishment by diversifying across a number of activities. In this model migration is considered to be a family decision and remitting resources is part of fulfilling family obligations. This perspective suggests that the migrant is supported by an established network of migrants and remitting helps to keep these going for those still to migrate. According to this view, poorer households would receive fewer remittances than the richer ones. The third school combines altruism and self interest to account for remitting behaviour. Migrants are motivated by both self-interest and altruism.

The Significance of Remittances

The volume of remittances to developing countries has been growing significantly, particularly over the last twenty years. The total value of remittances

flowing through official channels worldwide more than doubled between 1988 and 1999 (McKinley 2003). The World Bank estimates that in 2001 officially recorded workers' remittances stood at USD 72.3 billion. Latin America receives the largest share of remittances which was USD 25 billion in 2001. Latin America is followed by Asia with USD 16 billion. Data on remittance flows to and between African countries is still scarce. In 2001 official development assistance to developing countries amounted to USD 57 billion (OECD 2003). The total amount of resources remitted is much higher than these figures because a large number of transactions are carried out through informal channels. Remittances have therefore become a major source of foreign currency and development finance (Orozco 2000; Lopez, et al. 2001). They have become the second largest source of external funding after direct foreign investment (DFI) and ahead of official development aid (ODA).

Stein, (2003) argues that the importance of remittances is that they are received without any obligations, constraints or preconditions other than the will of the sender. He further argues that remittances are spread directly to the low income families without government interference. Chimhowu et al (2003) also state that remittances flow directly into the pockets of both low-income and well to do households in both the urban and rural areas, something that normal aid fails to do.

Not all remittances are without conditions and obligations. Some remittances have conditions such as how they should be used and who should benefit and there are often implicit obligations on the recipients.

Remittances have positive impacts at both the household and individual levels. The growing importance of remittances as a source of development finance makes it imperative for policy makers to develop strategies that would make it easy for migrants to send their remittances as well as create an environment suitable for investing them.

Remittances and Development

The discourse on the development impact of remittances is influenced by two broad perspectives, namely the migrant syndrome approach and the one that is influenced by the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) (Taylor and Fletcher, <http://www.precesam.colmex.mx/Volume2-ing.html>). The two sides represent the negative and the positive or the pessimistic and optimistic views on remittances. The pessimistic approach views remittances as payment for the

labour exported from source regions through migration. Migration represents the removal of labour from the sending communities thus affecting productivity in those countries. Remittances only partially compensate for this loss of labour. If migrant labour sending communities or households are the poorest, then the loss of production due to labour migration increases their poverty. The benefits of migration may not be to the poor if the cost of migration is costly and risky. This means that migrants would then come from the middle or upper segments of the migrant sending communities not from the poorest households. This means that the gap between the poor and the richer households is increased.

The optimistic approach to remittances views migration as part of an overall family strategy to raise income, obtain funds for investment and insure against risks. Remittances or even the potential for remittances can loosen production and investment constraints, setting in motion a development dynamic in poor, rural environments. Migration raises household income by shifting population from the low income rural sector to the relatively high income urban and foreign economy. The loss of population to migration raises the average incomes of those left behind and remittances may raise incomes further.

Matlosa (1998), states that Lesotho's survival is predicated on four basic factors of capital accumulation, namely Southern African Customs Union receipts, migrant remittances, foreign aid and income from the Lesotho Highlands Water project undertaken jointly with the Southern African government. Migrant remittances account for 50% of GNP and 70% of the households depend on migrant remittances which constitute 80% of their gross income.

The conventional approach to analysing the impact of remittances on the domestic economies of labour sending countries focuses exclusively on officially recorded flows and their effects on the various economic aggregates in the formal sector (Puri and Ritzema 2003). The true magnitude of unrecorded remittances and their economic implications have received comparatively little attention.

Meyers (1998) observes that literature shows that for the most part, remittances are used for the daily expenses such as food, clothing, and health care. Remittances are also spent on building or improving housing, buying land or cattle and buying durable consumer goods such as sewing machines and television sets. Generally only a small percentage of the remittances are used for savings and 'productive investment' like income and employment generating activities such as buying land or tools, starting a business and other activity with multiplier effects.

Labour migration has become a major source of support for poor families in the developing countries. Substantial amounts of remittances move between regions through different mechanisms.

Findings

Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

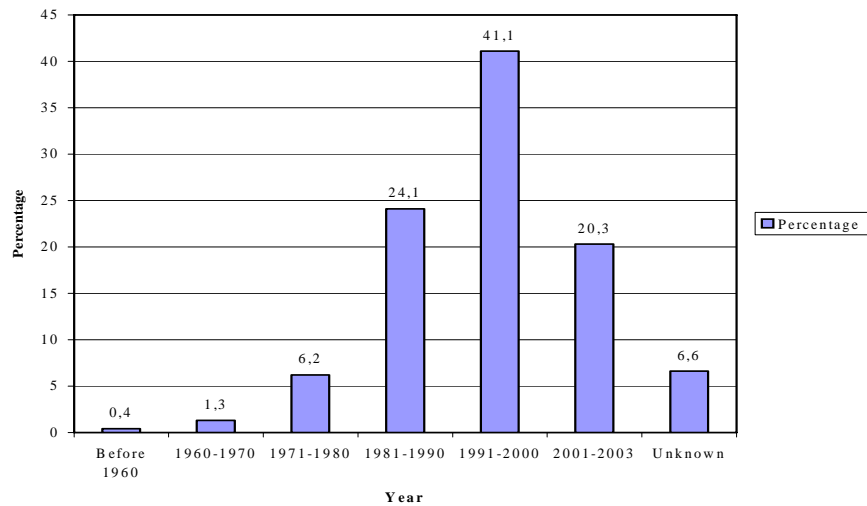
A total of 1 139 people were enumerated. Women constituted 51.4% of the enumerated population with men constituting the remaining 48.6%. Of the 1 139 people enumerated, 22.2% were reported to be habitually resident outside the country. Of those outside the country, 95.3% were in South Africa, 2.8% in Botswana and 1.9% in other countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States of America. Out of the 150 households sampled, 103 (68.7%) had at least one member who was a migrant labourer in South Africa while 9.1% of the total enumerated population were return migrants themselves. Children under the age of 15 constituted 19.8% of the enumerated population, while 27.3% were 64 years or older. These figures point to a high dependency ratio although the number of people whose ages were unknown, which was quite significant, may distort the ratio. The level of unemployment is quite high with only 19.9% of the enumerated population in wage employment both within and outside Zimbabwe. A large proportion of the population (68.6%) were single, while 23.6% were married, 6.5% were widowed and 1.3% were divorced.

Migration Trends

Labour migration in Ward 7 has been increasing over the years. The largest number of migrants were those who had left in the ten years between 1991-2000. Over 20% of the migrants had left within a three year period from 2001 to 2003. This is almost half of the percentage representing those who left within a period of ten years between 1991 and 2000.

Various factors can be attributed to this unprecedented rise in migration. One is the continued deterioration of the economy, characterised by, among other things, unemployment and the rising cost of living. The droughts that have been experienced over the past two decades have also had a contributing factor to increasing volumes of migration. As more and more people migrate, migrant networks continue to develop and these assist further migration as they reduce the risks and costs of migration.

Table 1: Year of Emigration



Education

Migrants had varying levels of educational attainment, ranging from those with no formal education at all to those with tertiary education.

As shown in Figure 1 (page 25), most of the migrants had completed secondary school. The second highest group was those who had attempted but had not completed secondary school. The smallest group was of those who had 'A' levels which is six years of secondary education, and above. In their study of migrant labour in Lesotho, Sambajwe and Makatsjane (1996) found that migrant workers inside the country tended to be more educated than those outside the country. They attributed this to the general perception by Basotho that employment in the formal sector belongs to those who have some form of education. This might seem to be the case with the sample in this study because only a very small proportion of the migrants had completed 'A' levels

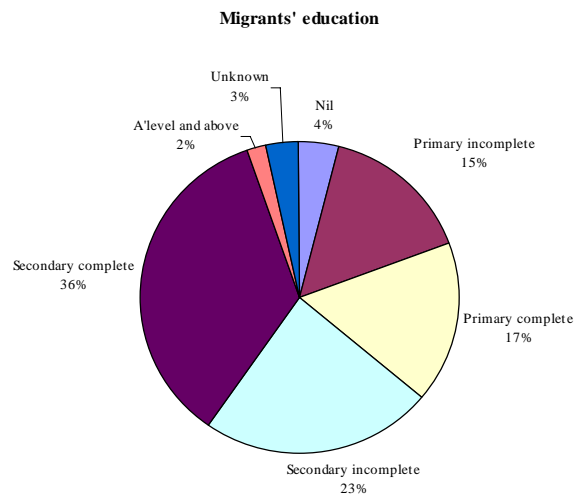
Before making such a generalisation, however, there is need to make a caveat. In this part of the country very few people proceed beyond secondary school. There are various explanations for this phenomenon. These include the simplistic explanation that young people in this part of the country are not interested in education because of their preoccupation with working in South Africa where educational attainment is not an important factor in securing employment. The

question that begs an answer is that if young people are not interested in education why they go on into completing secondary school before they migrate. Rather than treating this phenomenon as purely an attitudinal problem, it is important to also consider the structural constraints that lead to people migrating. It is important to note that there are very few schools that offer A' Level in the Ward and in the whole District. The few that exist are under-resourced both in terms of human and material resources. As a result there is a high failure rate at all levels. Many students fail to obtain the required passes to proceed to A' Level³

Another explanation for the significant proportion of migrants with secondary education is the failure of the formal employment sector, in both the public and private sectors, to absorb those who have completed secondary education⁴. Because of the high failure rate, most prospective employees fail to secure employment in the formal employment sector both in the private and public sectors because of a failure to meet the requirements.

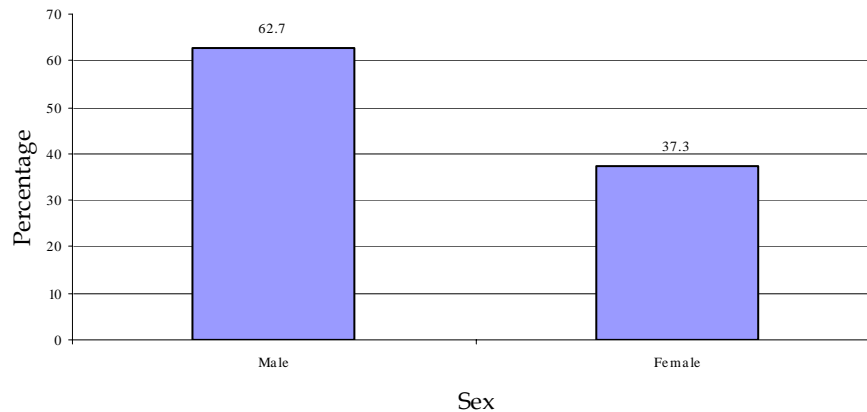
The fact that most of the migrant labourers leave after completing secondary education could be an indication of the value of education particularly the belief that education enhances an individual's chances of getting a good job either inside or outside the country.

Figure 1: Educational Level of Migrants



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Sex of Migrants



Sex of Migrants

The majority of the migrants were male, with women constituting just above half of the number of male migrants. The graph below summaries the sex distribution of migrant workers. The sex distribution of migrants shows that migration is still male dominated, where wives and children traditionally remain at home while husbands and fathers migrate.

Although it was not possible to obtain gender-disaggregated figures on migration trends for men and women, indications are that there is an increase in the number of women migrants. This is attributable to a number of factors. The first is the impact of HIV/AIDS where widowed women are joining the migration trek in order to provide for their children. The other reason is the development of networks making migration, including the migration of women, less risky than it used to be through the provision of information about the conditions at destination such as job opportunities, accommodation and general survival skills in the host country. In earlier years illegal migrants crossed the borders through what was known as the *dabulaphu*⁵ method. Although *dabulaphu* mainly entailed crossing the border through illegal entry points and walking most or all the way to the destination, the use of the term has gradually become generalised to encompass all illegal forms of emigration.

Only adult men used to emigrate the *dabulaphu* way because of the risks involved. *Dabulaphu* in its original connotation is still practised but it is largely confined to those from poorer families who cannot afford the fees for the cross-border transporters who can facilitate illegal entry into South Africa of those

without proper travel documents as long as they can afford money for transport and bribes. Cross-border transport operators can also facilitate the illegal crossing of individuals into South Africa provided there is someone already working in South Africa who has pledged to pay for the service upon the arrival of the new migrant. They also used to facilitate the process as long as the new migrant had pledged to pay the cost of transport once they have secured employment and are in a position to pay. The increasing rate of unemployment in South Africa has forced the cross-border transporters to demand cash up front before they can provide the service.

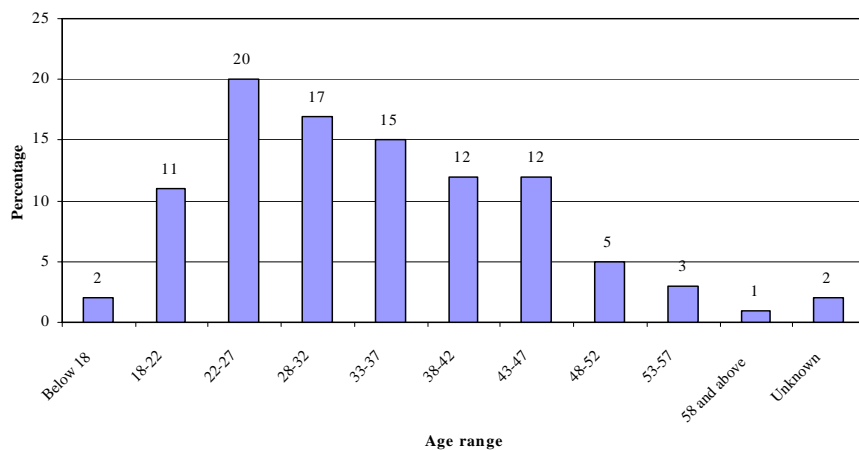
Ages of Migrants

The majority of the migrants were between the ages of 20 and 50 (see graph below).

There was a small proportion of migrants below the age of twenty. This is attributable to the delaying effect of education. Children in rural areas usually delay starting school mainly because of the long distance they have to walk to school.

Although it is becoming increasingly easier to cross the border illegally, this option still has risks and uncertainties. Potential migrants therefore prefer to cross legally using Zimbabwean passports and then overstay or literally throw away their passports and change identities once they have arrived. This therefore means that a potential migrant has to wait until he or she reaches an age at which he or she can apply for his or her own passport. Some migrants above the

Age of Migrants



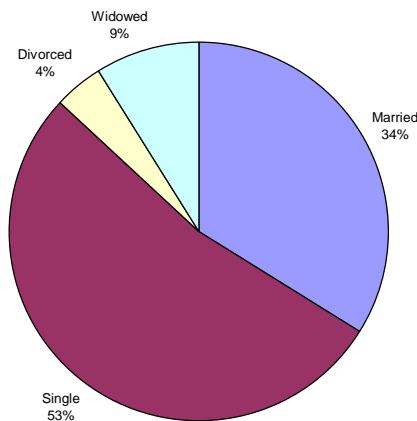
age of fifty had acquired South African residence permits taking advantage of the 1996 amnesty declared by the South African government on illegal migrants.

Marital Status

Most of the migrants (53%) were not married. Marital status is a very important variable in the decision to migrate. Single men are the most likely to migrate, while married women are the least likely to migrate.

Married women often have the burden of looking after the children while men who in traditional culture are bread winners, leave home to fend for the family.

Marital Status of Migrants



Negotiating Migrant Status

As shown in the chart below, the majority of the migrants (48%) had South African passports and other identity documents while a small proportion (4%) were holders of both South African and Zimbabwean passports. A significant percentage (25%) of them did not have any passports.

A variety of strategies are used to obtain South African identity documents including passports. These include networking, marriage and bribes.

Networking

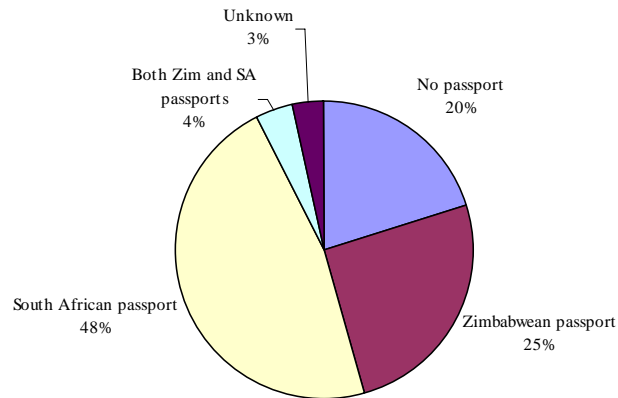
Crush (2003) observed an increase in the number of migrants from Zimbabwe crossing legally through official entry points. A lot of migrants enter legally through official entry points but overstay and eventually acquire South African identity documents including passports. The extensive migrant networks play a crucial role in this process. Networks help new migrants by providing them with information and linking them to individuals who can arrange for the acquisition of identity documents, secure employment and accommodation. This often includes bribing officials to get around the system.

Migrants who have acquired South African identity and travel documents enter Zimbabwe as visitors. That explains the low frequency of visits home because more frequent visits would attract the attention of the law enforcement agents. The mere possession of South African identity documents is on its own not a sufficient condition to escape arrest and deportation. Arrests and deportations are very common with raids targeting specific areas known to have large populations of immigrants such as the Hillbrow area of Johannesburg. Fluency in one of the South African languages such as Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho and Venda are an advantage because one can be given away by the lack of mastery of the language or speaking the languages with a *kwerekwere*⁶ accent. Migrants from Matabeleland have an advantage over migrants from other areas because they easily master South Africa languages such as Zulu which have a similarity to Ndebele, Venda and Sotho which are spoken in some parts of Matabeleland. Leaving South Africa often does not present many problems to migrants with forged documents. Problems are often experienced on re-entry into South Africa. There are accounts of migrants whose passports and identity documents have been destroyed at the border, because officials would have become suspicious of their identities mainly arising from their frequent visits to Zimbabwe.

Thabani has been working in that country for almost six years. He has South African identity documents and is a holder of a South African passport. In 2002 he came home for his mother's funeral. Crossing into Zimbabwe was no problem, but on his way back a South African immigration official got suspicious of his identity. His passport and other documents were destroyed. While he was waiting to be deported, Thabani escaped and ended up in Johannesburg where he obtained replacement documents. He still visits home as a tourist but has now learnt the art of 'ukudiza' so that he could have passage despite the suspicions of the immigration officials.

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Nationality of Passports



Bribes

Bribing law enforcement agents, referred to as *ukudiza* is another way of surviving on the streets of South Africa either with forged documents or without any documents at all. Networks are also important in this strategy of survival by illegal migrants especially recent migrants. Friends and relatives often contribute money to pay the bribe for the release of those who would have been arrested. Even crossing borders in and out of South Africa becomes easier when one is prepared to bribe.

Marriage and Cohabiting

Marriage and cohabiting is a popular strategy through which migrants obtain identity documents as well as accommodation and jobs. Most of these arrangements are marriages of convenience, referred as *omasihlalisane*⁷(sing. *umasihlalisane*) which are meant to last for as long as there is need. For example South African nationals, both men and women with accommodation, information about jobs enter into these arrangements with immigrants in exchange for steady relationships, sex and money. Earlier migrants who have been in South Africa long enough to have access to the same resources also enter into these relationships with recent immigrants from Zimbabwe or other countries for the same reasons. Many of these relationships are exploitative with reports that partners have been evicted from shared accommodation or reported to the police

when a new partner has been found or if there are any disagreements arising mainly from sharing the migrant's income. Power plays an important role in these arrangements where those with access to resources such as accommodation, the ability to link others with job opportunities and to assure them of protection from arrest and possible deportation have more influence on the relationship. The decision to terminate the relationship lies with those who have the power deriving from access to valued resources and facilities.

Children born out of marriages between South African nationals and Zimbabwean immigrants usually stay in South Africa while many children born out of relationships between Zimbabweans are sent home to their grandparents. Many relationships between Zimbabweans eventually become formal marriages. In some cases the wife is then sent home to look after the children and the home. Hishongwa (1991) found that some Namibian men abandoned their families back home as a result of establishing second families in South Africa where they migrated as contract labourers.

Some Zimbabwean migrants who enter into these relationships have wives and children at home. A few of them declare these relationships to their relatives and spouses but many of them are often clandestine. In some instances the spouses become aware of these marriages but are often powerless to do anything about them. Some of these marriages are discovered when the man dies and suddenly someone emerges to claim his benefits and property.

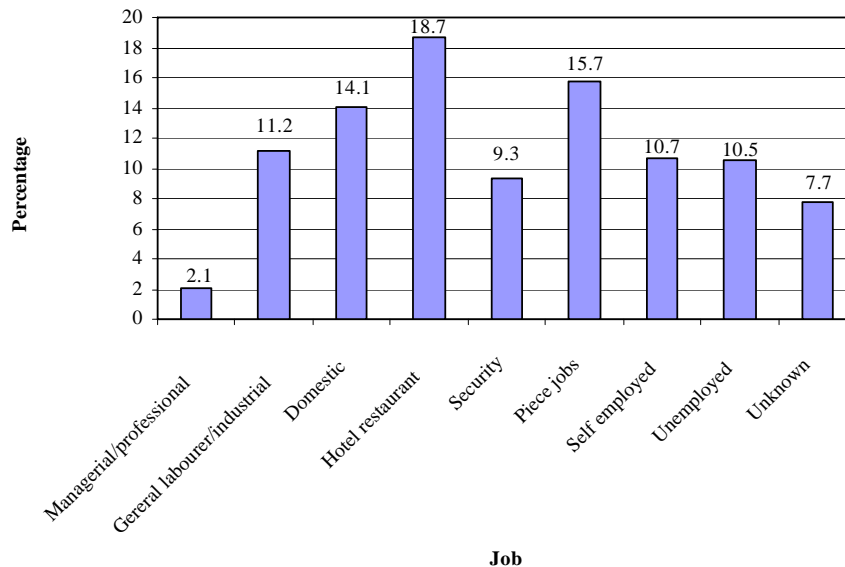
Jobs Held by Migrants

The jobs of migrants varied, although the majority of the migrants worked in the hotel and restaurant sector. Men dominated this sector while women dominated the domestic and informal sector. The reasons for men's dominance of the hotel and restaurant sector is that it is characterised by long and odd working hours. Work starts early and ends late, with workers expected to do shifts which start or end late at night. This exposes workers to criminals as they commute to and from work very early in the morning or late at night. Women are more vulnerable than men to mugging, rape and harassment. They therefore prefer the domestic sector where although the working hours are also long and odd many employers provide accommodation on their premises.

In their study of migrant labour in Lesotho, Sembajwe and Makatsjane (1992) found that the majority of Basotho males in South Africa worked in the mines, while the majority of Basotho women in South Africa worked on farms or as domestics. The contract labour system in Lesotho is responsible for the large number of Basotho men working in South African mines. The situation is different

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Job of Migrants



with Zimbabwean migrants to South Africa where the majority of both men and women worked in the hotel and restaurant sector and as domestics.

Despite the history of mine contract labour in Zimbabwe, none of the migrants in the sample were reported to be working in the mines or on farms. Working in mines and farms is generally despised by Zimbabwean migrants who refer to it as *ubugqili* (slavery). This in reference to the very unfavourable working conditions characteristic of these sectors including long working hours, dangerous working conditions and low wages.

Because working in these sectors is generally despised, it is possible that those who work in them are reluctant to disclose their jobs to their friends and families for fear of being looked down upon. There is a possibility that some of those whose jobs were unknown by the respondents worked in these sectors.

A significant proportion of the migrants (9.3%) were working in the security industry. The employment of a significant proportion of migrants in the security sector might indicate that the perception that immigrants are predisposed to criminal behaviour is an over generalisation. On the other hand, the risks associated with this job might be a deterrent to local job seekers and foreigners accept such jobs because they have few options.

Evidence shows that the jobs that Zimbabwean migrants do fall into Stalker (http://pstalker.com/migration/mg_theories_2.htm)'s category of the *Three D Jobs*. A labour migrant working in the hotel and catering sector had this to say:

Most of the South Africans live with their families (in Johannesburg). They need to go back to their families after work. This is not the case with us because we leave our families here (in Zimbabwe). We are in Johannesburg to work, so we can accept any job regardless of how difficult and boring it is. What can you do if you are not in your country?

Households with Migrants

Out of 150 households sampled, 68.7% had at least one member who had migrated to South Africa. This suggests a much higher percentage of migrants than found in Lesotho where Sambajwe and Makatsjane (1992) found that 41% of the households in Lesotho had at least one migrant working in South Africa. There are two probable explanations for this difference. One is that the Lesotho study was national in scope including both rural and urban areas. This study had a smaller focus and concentrated on a rural area that is situated very close to the border with South Africa and with a long history of labour migration. The second explanation could be that employment prospects in Lesotho are better than in Zimbabwe hence less than half of the working population opt to migrate.

Hobane (1999) found that in 1996, 62% of the adults in Ward Seven were working in South Africa and Botswana. She argues that the figure had been higher but had come down to 62% because of the intensification of the crack-down on illegal migrants in these two countries. The figure has gone up because of two possible reasons. One is the worsening economic situation in Zimbabwe, especially in the period up to 2003 which saw the unprecedented fall in the value of Zimbabwean Dollar when compared to other currencies including the South African Rand. The other, related to the first, is the rising level of unemployment.

Remittance Receiving Households

Not all households with migrant labourers receive remittances. A significant number of households with migrants in South Africa (22.3%) indicated that they did not receive any remittances from relatives in South Africa. There are many factors accounting for non remitting behaviour or the amount of remittances sent by each migrant. These include employment status of the migrant, level of income and marital status. Migrants who do not send remittances are referred to as *omadliwa* (sing. *umadliwa*)⁸ or *imigewu* (sing. *umgewu*)⁹

Reasons for Migration

The reasons given for migrating were largely economic as shown in the table below.

These include lack of employment (52%) in Zimbabwe and better pay prospects in South Africa (12%). This means that people in this part of the country migrate to South Africa in order to better their lives economically. Agricultural production, particularly crop production is an economically marginal activity and is engaged in primarily for subsistence purposes.

With limited employment opportunities within the country, this means that people look elsewhere for cash income. Cattle and other livestock which have traditionally been the mainstay of the economy have been decimated by drought induced deaths.

Although most of the respondents gave economic factors as the main reason for migrating, other factors such as peer pressure and prestige, representing 11% and 12% respectively of the reasons for migration, play a crucial role in the decision to migrate. Men's maturity is often synonymous with their readiness to go to South Africa with the saying *usukhulile, usuzakuya eGoli* (you are now mature to go to South Africa) a common way of recognising a boy's maturity. This indicates that many people in this part of the country see migration to South Africa as a rite of passage. Among the youth, men who have not been to South Africa are often despised and perceived as *ibhare* meaning people who are not streetwise or unsophisticated. This phenomenon was observed by Schapera, (1947) among Batswana and argued that a stint in the mines of South Africa had become a substitute for more traditional forms of initiation.

A self help training college, a project initiated by Headman Sangulube has failed to attract students for training. The college is located at Brunapeg Business Centre, the biggest business centre in the Ward. It is close to St Annes' Brunapeg Hospital and could be a catchment of at least three secondary schools, one which has applied for A' level status. The college offers courses including building, typing and carpentry. Some students have, over the years, enrolled with the college but there has never been any who have graduated as they withdraw before completing the courses. As a result equipment which includes type writers and carpentry tools is lying idle because there are no students.

The enrolment pattern which is characterised by a 100% dropout rate might be taken as an indication of lack of a culture of self employment as, traditionally, those who cannot be absorbed into the formal employment market migrate to South Africa or Botswana to look for employment rather than engage in self help projects.

There are, however, two other possible explanations for this state of affairs. One is the issue of community involvement in the project. A number of respondents indicated that they were not aware of the objectives of the project indicating lack of community involvement in the initiation and running of the project. This underscores the need for community involvement in the initiation and management of projects if communities are to feel a sense of ownership and have an interest in projects that are meant to benefit them.

The other explanation could be the lack of institutional support for the project. For imparting skills such as carpentry, building and typing is not in itself a sufficient condition for creating entrepreneurs. For the graduates to be able to create successful income generating activities there is a need for more institutional support than just skills training. They need business management skills as well as start-up capital. This therefore requires the contribution of other institutions such as those that offer business management training courses and those that provide capital for business start-up.

Young people in this area have considerable knowledge about the conditions in South Africa such as high incidences of crime, xenophobia, unemployment, arrests, harassment and deportation of immigrants. The saying *iGoli iyabheda*, things are not well in Johannesburg, is popular among migrants when asked about life in South Africa. Despite this knowledge about the unfavourable conditions in South Africa, especially for immigrants, many still expressed the desire to work in South Africa. The case of Zibani in the box below illustrates this point.

<i>Interviewer:</i>	What do you want to do after you complete your O' Levels?
<i>Zibani:</i>	I want to go to <i>eGoli</i>
<i>Interviewers:</i>	Have you heard about conditions in <i>eGoli</i> ?
<i>Zibani:</i>	Yes. <i>iGoli iyabheda</i> . I know they do not like us, Zimbabweans. They arrest, harass and deport migrant workers from <i>eGoli</i> . I know there is a lot of violence and I know people who have been killed there. There is no accommodation and people share small rooms as their homes.
<i>Interviewer:</i>	Do you still wish to go despite all these problems?
<i>Zibani:</i>	Everyone wants to go to <i>eGoli</i>

There are cases of people leaving their secure in Zimbabwe to seek employment in South Africa. The cases of Mbisana and Khumbulani in boxes illustrate this phenomenon.

France Maphosa

Mbisana is a trained primary school teacher who left his job for South Africa in 2002. The respondent did not know the job that Mbisana was doing in South Africa and Mbisana had neither sent any remittances nor visited home since he left in 2002. It is possible that Mbisana is unemployed.

Khumbulani completed his A' Levels in 2003. Although he had not performed well, he got a job with an international NGO as a local outreach officer. Khumbulani left his job with the NGO and emigrated to South Africa. He had been in touch with a friend who promised to secure a job for him in South Africa. Khumbulani left for South Africa during the time of the research had phoned back home informing his relatives that he had arrived safely in South Africa although he did not say whether he had got the promised job or not. He had no passport and used cross-border transport operators to illegally cross into South Africa

Types of Remittances

Migrant workers send both cash and non-cash remittances. The remittances are used for various purposes as described under the section on *uses of remittances* below. Amanor-Wilks and Moyo (1996) only indicated that there is evidence of remittances playing an important part in the incomes of people in these remittance sending areas. Hobane (1996) also found remittances played a significant part in household incomes and livelihoods. The amounts and frequency of remittances are influenced by the employment status of the migrant, the level of wages of the migrants and the uses to which remittances are put to among other factors.

Remittances and Other Sources of Income

The table below shows the sources of income for the sample in order of importance. The amounts of remittances varied between migrants and households. Non-cash remittances constituted the bulk of the value transmitted by migrant labourers. Recipients generally did not keep any records of the cash remittances received. It was not possible to estimate the total value of remittances because of the difficulty of estimating the value of non-cash remittances flowing into individual households and the community. Some of the respondents were reluctant to disclose the amounts of remittances they received either out of fear of attracting official attention to their dealings in foreign currency or being excluded from NGO and government public assistance programmes.

Channels of Remittances

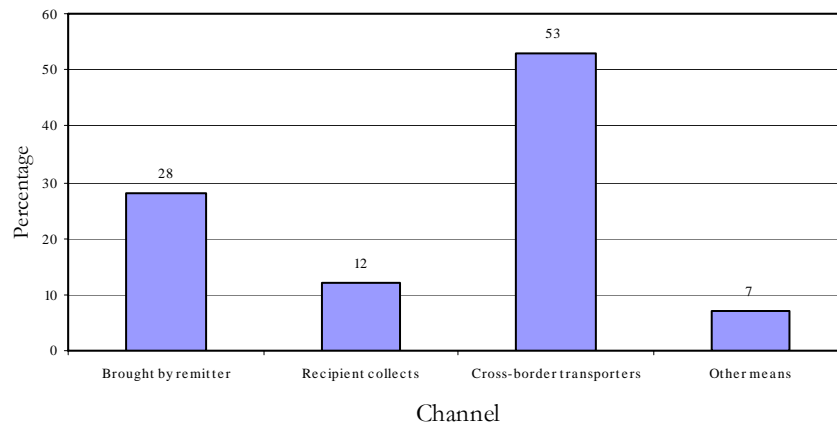
The following sections discuss the various channels of transmitting remittances, highlighting their advantages and disadvantages. Most of the remittances were

Rural Livelihoods in Zimbabwe: Impact of Remittances from South Africa

sent through informal channels. These included cross border transport operators, personal delivery by the remitter or collection by the beneficiary. Almost the same channels were used for both cash and non-cash remittances except in very few instances where cash remittances were sent through the banks. The most preferred method of channelling both cash and goods was through cross-border transport operators.

The amounts of cash remittances varied between households and migrants. The amount remitted depended on the type of job of the migrant, the length of time as a migrant labourer and marital status. The money was received either as South African Rand or Zimbabwean dollars. There are foreign currency dealers, mostly cross-border transport operators who provide money changing services to the migrants in South Africa before it reaches the recipients.

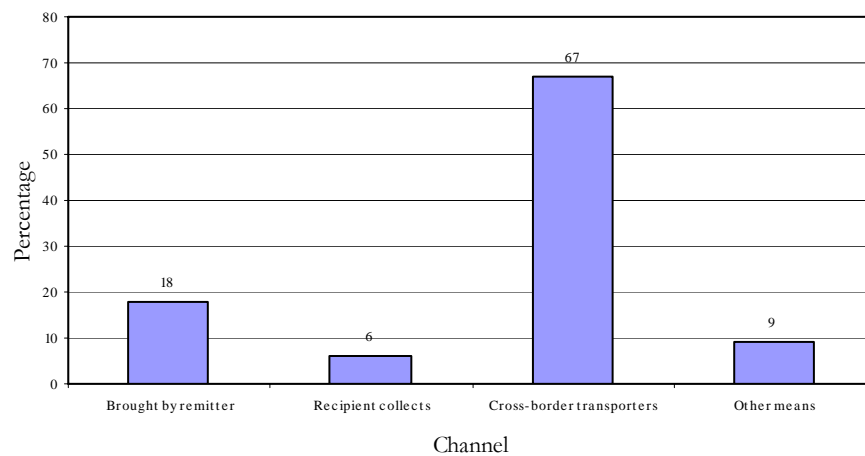
Channels for Cash Remittances



Sending money in foreign currency depends on two considerations. One of the considerations is the literacy level (especially numerical literacy) of the recipient. The recipient should be able to understand the transactions that take place on the black market where the probability of being swindled is high if one does not appreciate the mathematics involved. The other consideration for sending money in foreign currency is the urgency with which the money is needed. When there is a pressing need such as outstanding school fees or medical expenses it becomes an aim of the remitter to change the money into local currency before it reaches the recipient. If there is no urgent need, money can be sent in foreign currency so

that recipients can look for the most favourable rate on the parallel market. Trust is very important in these transactions, mainly for two reasons. Dealing in foreign currency on the black market is illegal and one should trust that the people one is dealing with are not going to report him or her to the authorities. The other reason is that the recipient of the foreign currency who is the seller usually depends on the buyer for rates and other factors.

Channels for Non-Cash Remittances



Non-cash remittances included foodstuffs such as maize-meal, sugar, salt and cooking oil, consumer goods such as bicycles, radios, sofas, agricultural inputs and building material. Most of the remittances sent were in-kind. There are two explanations for preferring this type of remittance to cash remittances. Non-cash remittances respond to the specific and immediate needs of their recipients. The shortages and high cost of goods in Zimbabwe, particularly in 2002 and 2003, motivated many migrants to send non-cash remittances instead of sending cash. The non-existence of banking facilities is another reason why most migrants preferred non-cash to cash remittances. Cash remittances are therefore sent for specific purposes such as payment of school fees, purchase of building material and purchase of livestock. This means that the proportion of the cash remittances that goes to financial savings is very low.

There were fewer problems with receiving non-cash remittances than there were with cash remittances. Unlike with cash there is less temptation by third parties to convert non-cash remittances into their own use. The temptation to

convert money sent through third parties such as cross-border transport operators in the hope of paying it back later or not at all giving explanations such as the loss or confiscation of the money is high. This is not to say that there are no cases of non-cash remittances being converted to own use by third parties as the case of Khiwa and Mr Nkomo illustrates.

Khiwa is a cross border transport operator who was given diesel by Mr Nkomo in South Africa to take it to his family in Zimbabwe. Mr Nkomo then phoned his family informing them to expect the diesel from Khiwa at a specified time. When the diesel did not arrive, Mr Nkomo's son approached Khiwa to enquire about the diesel. Khiwa became hostile and told Mr Nkomo's son stay away from him. He argued that the arrangement to bring the diesel was between him (Khiwa) and Mr Nkomo and not Mr Nkomo's son. So Mr Nkomo's son had nothing to do with the issue. Khiwa owns a grinding mill and the Nkomo family suspect he had converted the diesel to his own use or sold it to other motorists or grinding mill owners as demand for the commodity at the time was very high due to shortages.

Cross-Border Transport Operators

The most popular mode of sending both cash and non-cash remittances is through cross-border transport operators. Remitters prefer this mode of transmitting cash remittances because there are no banking facilities in the ward. Banks can be found in Plumtree which is 100 km away. A postal agency that used to offer banking facilities had closed a year ago citing high rentals for the premises from which it was operating. If remitters were to use banks or the postal service to send their remittances, recipients would have to travel to Plumtree in order to access the remittances. This would make the cost of receiving remittances very high. The cost includes transport, accommodation and food if one has to spend a night in Plumtree which is often the case because of transport problems. At the time of the research, there were no buses directly to Plumtree passing through the Ward. Residents of the Ward with pressing business in Plumtree resorted to the route that would first take them Bulawayo, making the journey to Plumtree three times longer and by far more expensive than normal. Besides, there are limited banking facilities in Plumtree, with only two commercial banks, two building societies and one post office savings bank. If all remittance sending migrants in South Africa and Botswana were to send their remittances through banks or the postal service, there would be congestion.

The second reason for preferring informal channels of sending remittances is the illegal migrant status of most remitters. Because of their illegal status most migrants often shun the formal and official ways of doing business.

There are two types of cross-border transport operators – full-time and part-time operators. Full-time operators are those to whom this activity is a full-time occupation, while part-time operators have jobs in South Africa and engage in the trade on weekends or month-ends.

The remitter pays for the service before the money or the goods are delivered to the recipient. The transport operators charge an average of R20 for every R100 they deliver. The charge for transporting goods is determined by weight. There are no standardised methods of determining weight such as scales but the weight is determined by lifting the parcel and 'feeling' its weight. Although the charge can be negotiated, the transport operator has more power in the negotiation process than the remitter. Often very small or insignificant items (*impahla ezingabalulekile*¹⁰) are not accepted.

Cross border transport operators have become the *nouveau riche*, most of them having established businesses such as general dealer shops, grinding mills and bottle stores. Besides the profit they make in their transport business, they also make money doubling up as foreign currency dealers. It is not clear what puts these individuals ahead of other migrants but possible explanations include, relatively better paying jobs, family backgrounds and individual thrift.

The basic requirement for being a cross-border transport operator is to own a car which is suitable for such purposes. This means that such migrants should be earning a salary that is good enough to enable him or her to meet family obligations and still remain with extra money to buy the car cash or through hire purchase. Family background is also a possible explanation as to why some migrant labourers get ahead of others. People from richer backgrounds usually get ahead of those from poorer ones because the former have less family obligations than the later.

All things being equal, entrepreneurship is about individual thrift. This involves the propensity to take risks, the ability to identify and take advantage of opportunities and the ability to network among other things. These characteristics seem to apply to cross-border transport operators.

Advantages

The advantages of using cross-border transport operators to send remittances are security, speed, cost and convenience. Although there are cases of remittances not reaching their intended beneficiaries, these cases are few. Cross-border transport operators seem to be a generally trusted mode of transmitting both cash and non-cash remittances, although the non-existence of cheaper and safer methods may also explain its apparent popularity. Trust plays a crucial role in the use of this channel of transmitting remittances. The choice of the transporter is

influenced by kinship relations, friendship ties, neighbourhood among other considerations.

It takes about half a day for transport operators to drive from Johannesburg to Plumtree. The remitter is therefore assured that his or her remittance reaches the home area the same day it is sent.

Although both remitters and the recipients complained about the exorbitant charges of cross-border transport operators, this is probably a cheaper option than receiving remittances through banks and the postal service. Receiving remittances through banks and the postal service would include the costs of travelling and accommodation to Plumtree or Bulawayo to collect the remittances.

In many cases cross-border transport operators deliver the remittances to the recipient's door-step. This is an advantage particularly with regard to non-cash remittances which are often bulky. The recipient is therefore saved the time, cost and convenience of collecting the items.

Disadvantages

The cost of sending remittances through cross border transport operators is not low. The charge of R20 for every R100 (which is 20%) of the amount remitted is, by many standards, very high. This is the main problem mentioned by both migrants and recipients of remittances. Arriving at a charge for non-cash remittances presents more problems because the procedure is arbitrary. Although there is room for negotiation, the transport operator often has the final say. This is because of the monopoly they enjoy in the business because they are very few. Personal factors such as kinship relations and friendship influence the negotiation process.

Although not a common problem, remittances sometimes do not reach their intended beneficiaries at all or are delayed. This has the potential to create conflicts between families, although various mechanisms for solving these problems have evolved.

There is no insurance against loss or damage of property. The amount of money paid by the remitter does not cover him or her against loss or damage. It only covers transport costs and bribes (*ukudiza*). Money for *ukudiza* is intended for bribing mainly customs officers not to pay customs duty. Police and other law enforcement agents are often offered bribes to disregard offences including speeding and overloading. There is no standard fee for a bribe. The amount is negotiated and depends on, among other things the magnitude of the offence and the negotiation skills of the one who is required to pay the bribe.

Cross-border transport operators also transport passengers. The need for insurance becomes more obvious when considering the transportation of peo-

ple either from or to South Africa. The vehicles used by the transporters are often not registered as public passenger vehicles and therefore not adequately insured. The vehicles, mostly 4x4 pick-ups are not suitable for passenger transport and are often overloaded with people and goods with travellers having to endure long hours of discomfort and anxiety. Cross-border transport operators have a tendency to speed, in the process exposing people to serious danger in the event of the vehicles developing problems such as a tyre burst. A number of people have died on these trips as the case of Ms Ncube illustrates this point.

Ms Ncube, a single parent, had been working in South Africa since the late 1990s and was travelling to Zimbabwe for Christmas in 2003. The vehicle she was travelling in burst a tyre and caught fire. The fire was exacerbated by the petrol the vehicle had been carrying. The other passengers and the driver managed to escape, some of them seriously injured but Ms Ncube and an infant (not her child) died on the spot. Although the owner of the vehicle who was the driver at the time the accident occurred and who escaped with minor injuries provided funeral assistance, there was no other form compensation to the bereaved family. Ms Ncube leaves behind her children with no one to look after them. Mrs Ncube was not married and had no child of her own although she was staying her sister's daughter.

Cross-border transport operators face risks such as robbery and murder. They are targets of criminals on both sides of the border, who are aware that they transport valuables including substantial amounts of money. Because their vehicles are often not adequately insured, the loss of a vehicle often leads to a decline in the standard of living or the migrant sinking into poverty if transport operation was the migrant's only livelihood. Doubt's case illustrates this point:

Doubt had been working in South Africa since the mid-nineteen seventies. He had bought a car and had started operating as a cross-border transport operator. One day he was robbed at gun-point and his car together with goods and money he was carrying were taken away by the robbers. He is now a return migrant and as many other return migrants he is now dependent on remittances from his children and subsistence farming.

Brought by Migrants

Remittances brought personally by migrants are few. The frequency of such remittances depends on the frequency of home visits by the migrant. These may be in addition to those sent through other channels such as cross-border transport operators.

Advantages

Bringing remittances in person ensures that the correct amount of money and goods are delivered to the intended recipients. This mode of remittance transmission reduces the possibility of remittances not reaching their intended beneficiaries.

Disadvantages

The disadvantage of this method of channelling remittances is that the frequency of the remittances is tied to the frequency of home visits by the remitter. If the migrant labourer has a regular visiting pattern, then the recipients are assured of receiving the remittances regularly. This helps them to plan and budget for the use of the remittances. If the remitter does not have a regular visiting pattern, this creates uncertainty for the recipients who cannot plan and budget on the basis of the expected benefits. Most migrants visit home during holidays such as Easter and Christmas. These are extremely busy times and the vehicles are often full with people and goods. This therefore limits the goods that can be brought by the migrant.

Collected by Beneficiary

Beneficiaries who go to collect remittances are often spouses and children of migrants. Parents of migrants can also go to collect remittances from their children. Those who go to collect remittances are often holders of Zimbabwean passports who enter South Africa using holiday visas. The beneficiaries who go to collect remittances should be assured of accommodation in South Africa. The value of the remittance should be significant enough to offset travelling and other costs associated with this mode of remittance transmission. The case of Mrs Tshuma illustrates this point.

Mrs Tshuma who has three daughters and a son in working in South Africa travels at least twice a year to collect remittances from them. When in South Africa, she stays with one of her daughters who is married to a fellow Zimbabwean. The remittances she collects include food items and furniture and cash. Most of the money she gets from her children in South Africa is used for school fees for four children who are at school, all of them children of migrant labourers.

Advantages

As in the case where the migrant brings the remittances in person, in the case of the beneficiary collecting the remittances both remitter and recipient know the

amount of money and the goods that have been transferred. This reduces the possibility of the remittance not reaching the intended beneficiary at all or delaying. This therefore reduces the possibility of conflicts associated with remitting through a third party.

Disadvantages

This is the most expensive among the three methods of transmitting remittances discussed here. The costs include transport and visa application fees. If the recipient crosses illegally the cost of using this mode of receiving remittances has to factor in bribes to facilitate the illegal entry into and exit from South Africa. Most of the recipients who go to collect, however, cross legally on tourist or holiday visas. There is also the need to make arrangements for accommodation for the recipient while in South Africa. As discussed elsewhere, accommodation is one of the greatest problems facing Zimbabwean labour immigrants in South Africa, particularly illegal immigrants. Often migrants do not want their spouses and relatives to come and collect remittances from them in South Africa for fear of having their *masihlalisane* marriages discovered.

Problems of Receiving Remittances

Of the 80 remittance-receiving households, 34% indicated that they had had problems with receiving remittances before. Most of the problems mentioned involved cross-border transport operators. This is probably because this is the most widely used method of transmitting both cash and non-cash remittances. The problems as the table below shows include late delivery of remittances, remittances reported being lost, wrong parcels or amounts of money being delivered and damage of property in transit.

Conflict Resolution

Various structures and mechanisms are used by the migrants and their families in resolving conflicts arising from problems associated with the delivery of remittances. Most of the problems were resolved within the context of the families involved, with or without the involvement of the extended family.

Of those households that had experienced a problem with receiving remittances, 27% indicated that they had done nothing about it. There are two explanations for this apparent indifference. This might be an indication of trust, leading to the intended recipients as well as the remitter taking transmitters for

their word concerning the explanations about losses, delays and mix-ups in delivering remittances as well as promises of compensation.

This might also indicate fear of losing the use of that channel in future. There are but a few cross-border transport operators and this monopoly gives them power not only to control what they charge for the service but also power to deny their services to anyone labelled a bad customer. There is also the probability of fear of damaging relations that transcend the provision of remittance transmission services. The decision on which transporter to send remittances with is often influenced by considerations such as kinship, friendship, neighbourhood and membership of the same church.

Uses of Remittances

Household Level

As indicated under the section on remittances and other sources of income, remittances are an important source of income for household in the study area¹¹. A large share of household budgets come from remittances. As observed by van Doorn (<http://.ilo.org/public/english/employment/finance/download/remit2.pdf>) a large proportion of household budgets is used for daily expenses such as food. Also health care and school fees take a large share of the remittances. Recipients also use remittances to build and improve houses, to buy livestock and consumer goods. A very small proportion of the remittances is saved or used for productive investments.

Table 1: Uses of Remittances

Use	Number of households (out of 80) mentioning use	Percentage of 80
Food	79	98.8
Fees	63	78.8
Medical expenses	52	65
Livestock	47	58.8
Building and Consumer goods	25	53.8
Agricultural inputs	43	31.2
Business	8	10
Other	31	38.8

Almost all remittance-receiving households (98%) indicated that they use remittances to buy food. This can be attributed to the observation that a large

proportion of non-cash remittances are food. This might also indicate the scarcity of food in the region due to drought and the low levels of agricultural production, especially crop production where harvest barely last households to the next harvest. It also attests to the poverty of the households where food would make up the largest item of expenses made. A large proportion of the remittances are used for school fees. Of the 80 remittance-receiving households 78.8% indicated that they use some of the money from remittances to pay school fees. Although the figures do not indicate the amounts allocated for school fees, the fact that most households set aside money for school fees indicates the importance of education in household budgets. This probably explains the relatively high literacy levels observed, where most of the migrants had either completed or attempted secondary school. As stated above, probably education is seen as a gateway to a good job either inside or outside the country. This is also evidence of Zimbabwe's very positive history of investing in good education.

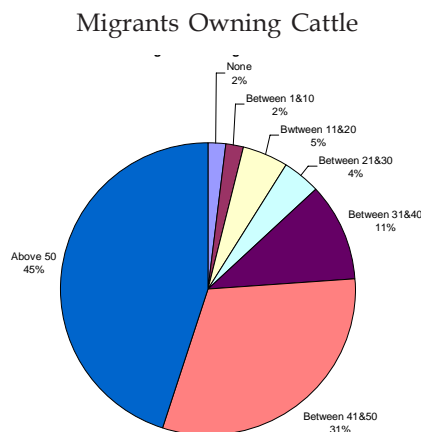
Medical expenses were mentioned by 65% of the remittance-receiving households, an indication that this was a significant budget item for many households. This is probably as a result of the impacts HIV/AIDS pandemic leading to a lot of people, including migrants, seeking medical attention. It may also indicate the difficulty for poor people to access the former good state health facilities.

A relatively small number of remittance receiving households (31.2%) mentioned using remittances to invest in crop production such as the purchase of seed and fertiliser. There is no motivation to invest in crop production, because the returns from this activity are very small due to the unfavourable climatic conditions. A larger proportion of the remittance-receiving households (53.8%) mentioned building and the purchase of consumer goods than those who mentioned investment in crop production as one of the uses of remittances.

A significant proportion of the remittance-receiving households (58.8%) mentioned investment in livestock as one of the uses of remittances. Livestock such as cattle and donkeys provide draught power for crop production. Cattle are, however, reared mainly as a source of income, although they provide milk and occasionally are slaughtered for beef.¹²

Purchase of Cattle

The following chart shows the proportion of the households studied owning cattle. As stated above, cattle have traditionally been the mainstay of the economy in most parts of Matabeleland Region. Although no comparison was made between remittance-receiving and non-remittance receiving households in terms



of ownership of cattle, evidence indicates that many remittance-receiving households spend part of their remittances on the purchase of livestock mainly cattle.

Cattle in this region have not only been traditionally a source of income but are a status symbol. As shown in the chart, 45% of the remittance-receiving households owned more than 50 head of cattle per household. The recurrent droughts experienced in this part of the country have, however, made investing in cattle no longer sustainable. The grazing area has not been expanding, meaning that if the climatic conditions improve, more people would invest in cattle leading to the problem of overgrazing. The land reform exercise embarked on by the government ostensibly to decongest the communal areas did not achieve this purpose as many communal areas are still overcrowded.

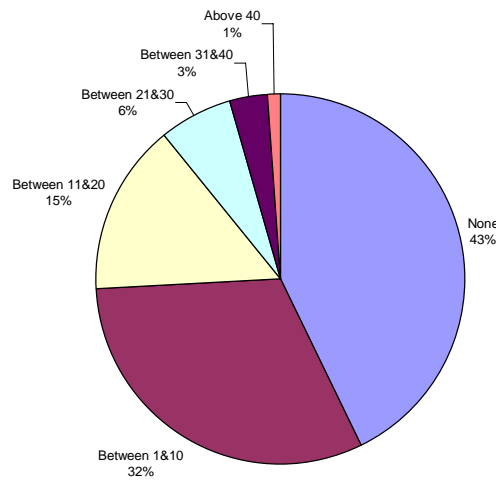
The importance of cattle as a form of investment by migrant workers was also observed by de Vletter (1981) among Swazi migrants. Up to 60% of respondents in the study indicated a desire to buy cattle. Hishongwa (1991) also found that many of the letters Namibian migrants wrote home often contained questions about cattle and other livestock. Such questions required detailed information such as whether the cattle produced enough milk, the number of calves born and the number of cattle that had died.

Remittance-receiving households were asked to rank the top five uses of cash remittances on the basis of the proportion of the household budget that was allocated to that use and 86.3% of them ranked food as number one. This again shows that a significant proportion of household budgets go towards food.

Purchase of Goats and other Livestock

Goats are important livestock in the Matabeleland Region. They are more drought tolerant than cattle and therefore can survive in harsh climatic conditions. Migrants, however, invest less in goats than in cattle, because cattle are not only a source of income, milk and beef, but are also a status symbol. Goats and other smaller livestock such as pigs, sheep and chicken provide a quick way of raising income particularly for emergencies such as school fees, medical expenses and funerals. Unlike the decision to sell cattle which is often that of the head of the household (usually a male migrant labourer), the decision to sell smaller livestock may be taken by other members of the household (usually wives or children of migrants) in response to arising needs. This also applies to the decision to slaughter smaller livestock for meat.

Migrants Owning Goats



Building and Consumer Goods

Building houses and purchasing consumer goods takes up a significant proportion of remittances. The table below shows investments by the 241 migrants from the 80 remittance-receiving households.

Investment	Number out of 241	Percentage of 241
Car	25	10.4
Radio	159	66
Bicycle	144	59.8
Scotch-cart	70	29
TV and VCR	48	20
House/hut at home	133	55.2
Solar power	32	13.3
Boreholes	10	4.1

Radios, bicycles and houses are some of the major investments made by migrants. A few have bought cars, scotch-carts, TVs and VCRs and invested in solar power and boreholes. Radios, TVs and VCRs are bought mainly for entertainment, with most of the audio and video-tapes being brought from South Africa.

Bicycles and scotch-carts are major forms of transport in many rural areas. Besides being used to run errands, bicycles are a useful means of transport for school children, particularly secondary school children who would otherwise walk long distances each day to and from school. Scotch-carts (usually donkey pulled) are a very versatile form of transport in these areas. They are used as transport for daily needs such as fetching water and firewood. They are also used as private transport, ambulances and hearses. Migrants keep their cars with them in South Africa and only bring them when they visit mainly during holidays. This means that investing in cars has minimal benefits to the migrants' households as well as the community.

Remittances are also used for other purposes such as debts, funeral assistance, membership and subscription fees for burial societies and payment of workers. Households use part of the cash remittances to pay workers. Migrants with aged parents and those with children at home usually hire domestic workers to take care of their parents and children. In households where all or most of the adult male members are migrant labourers, workers are often hired as herd boys and to assist in agricultural activities. Casual labourers are also hired during

the periods when agricultural labour is in greatest demand such as when there is a need to fence the fields, to till the land and during harvest time.

There is very little investment in productive activities. Most of those who have invested in formal businesses are cross-border transport operators. This is because their frequent visits enable them to supervise their businesses although not on a full-time basis. Ownership of their own transport gives them flexibility to travel home when there is a need and also enables them to bring in stock from South Africa or to order locally. A number of migrants who had not invested in business expressed the fear of mismanagement of their investments because of their inability to be home frequently to check on them.

Business

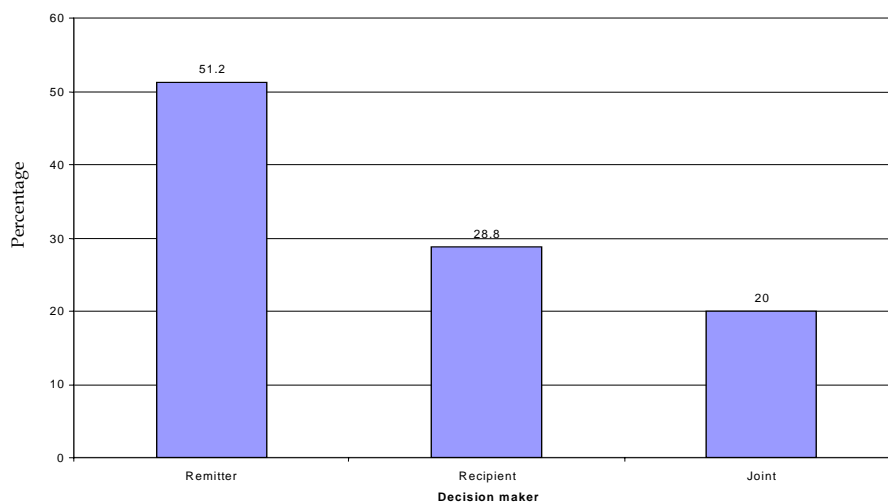
Ownership and Management

Only eight of the 241 migrants from migrant-receiving households had invested in formal businesses. Five of those were reported to be owned by the remitter, while one was owned by the recipient while the remaining two were jointly owned by the remitter and the recipient. None of the business owners and managers had received any formal business training. Five of the businesses were reported to be managed by the remitter who is the owner (a cross-border transport operator) while the rest were managed by other people including spouses or jointly managed by the remitters and the recipients.

Types of Business

Most of the businesses started by migrant labourers are the typical rural businesses such as general dealer shops, grinding mills and bottle stores. Although a number of migrants, particularly return migrants have acquired a variety of skills such as brick laying, carpentry and welding there are no formal businesses established specialising in these trades. Their activities are informal, micro-scale and seasonal having very little multiplier effects such as employment creation. Most house construction takes place during the post harvest season when both the client and the service provider are not busy in the fields. Such activities can therefore be described as part-time activities engaged in as way of supplementing income from other activities such as subsistence farming, cattle rearing and collecting *amacimbi*. Some recipients of remittances sell commodities such as sugar, cooking oil and bread. These commodities, which are in short supply in Zimbabwe, are often ordered from South Africa or Botswana. These activities are also intended to supplement income from other sources such as remittances, sale of livestock and *amacimbi*.

Decision Making on Remittance Use



Decision on Use of Remittances

Remitters often decide how both cash and non-cash remittances should be used. This leaves very little or no room for the beneficiaries (in most cases the wives of the migrants) to take advantage of investment opportunities when they arise. Often the money is sent with a detailed budget on how it should be spent.

Community Level

There is very little investment at the community level. Migrant labourers have assisted community projects on an *ad hoc* basis such as contributing money towards the refurbishment of a local mortuary at the local hospital, contributing towards school development funds and supporting local sports clubs. Support for sport is not on a continuous basis, but is mainly confined to small individual donations towards prizes for particular matches. Migrant workers have individually contributed to funds set up by local communities for specific purposes. This demonstrates philanthropy that can be harnessed and directed towards sustainable community development projects.

Migrants however have well established and well organized burial societies based on their villages of origin. These burial societies can be embryonic

organizations for home-town associations in their current or altered form. Members of burial societies contribute money regularly to a fund that is intended to assist the family of the deceased with funeral arrangements and expenses, particularly the repatriation of the body back to Zimbabwe. Even the bodies of those migrants who would have changed their identities have to be repatriated home to their country of origin.

Most non-members of these burial societies are those who are not well integrated into the home community networks or work outside major cities such as Johannesburg and Pretoria. There are some migrants working in the major cities who are not members of the burial societies. These are people who are often accused of criminal behaviour and who do not want to associate with others for fear of having their activities known and communicated to their relatives back home. When such people die their bodies also have to be repatriated back home. Members of the burial societies have to collect money to do so on an ad hoc basis. A senior member of the society has to accompany the body home. This is usually an individual who has a Zimbabwean passport with a South African work permit. The process is simple and no questions are asked about the illegal status of the deceased. In the rare cases where it is asked, respondents stated that they declare that the deceased was a border jumper.

Studies have shown that hometown associations (HTAs) are an important catalyst in community investment by migrant labourers. There are no hometown associations set up to contribute towards the development of this community of origin.

Reversing the Gains of Labour Migration

There are several negative impacts of labour migration which have the effect of reversing its gains. These include the impact of HIV/AIDS, the disruption of family life, the loss of productive labour and cultural impacts.

The HIV/AIDS Pandemic

Sub-Saharan Africa is the region worst affected by HIV/AIDS. Countries like Lesotho, Botswana, South Africa, Swaziland and Zimbabwe have the highest HIV prevalence rates in the world. As observed by Brummer (2002) the epidemiology of HIV/AIDS is closely linked to the process of migration. Migrants – and mobile populations in general – have played a significant role in the initial spread of HIV in southern Africa. The largely seasonal or temporary character of migration in southern Africa, with migrants returning home to their families on a regular basis, has facilitated the rapid spread of the virus.

Migrants give disturbing descriptions of their living conditions in South Africa. The living conditions of migrants, particularly illegal migrants expose them to HIV infection. There are some cases where up to twenty people, both men and women, share one small room.

Some people live with their partners in these conditions and some have wives and girlfriends at home to whom they regularly return when they visit. In many cases the wives and partners are disempowered to negotiate sex particularly condoms use for fear of violence, divorce or being labelled prostitutes. A number of migrants have succumbed to AIDS. Many die in South Africa while others come back home ill. The increasing number of deaths means that people have to spend a lot of time and resources on funerals affecting other activities both social and economic. This is particularly a problem during the rainy season when demand for agricultural labour is at its peak. When there is a death in the community, it is taboo for people to engage in any activity that involves the soil or land, such as tilling and weeding until after the burial.¹³

A research carried out at a local hospital, St Anne's Brunapeg Hospital, showed that 100% of migrants from Botswana who came for voluntary counselling and testing were HIV positive while 88% of those from South Africa tested positive for HIV. These statistics might just be a tip of the iceberg as voluntary counselling and testing of HIV/AIDS is very low. An official of CESVI, an organisation that provides among other services voluntary counselling and testing, most people who come for voluntary counselling and testing are pregnant women. Some of them are wives of labour migrants. Even after the wife has tested positive, most husbands are reluctant to come for voluntary counselling and testing. Some women are also reluctant to go for voluntary counselling and testing for fear of being accused of promiscuity, or else having to face stigma, violence and divorce.

Many migrants die in South Africa and Botswana while many of those who return to Zimbabwe ill would be at an advanced stage of illness. There is not enough data to establish a causal link between migration and HIV/AIDS infection and there is need for further research on the magnitude of the problem, the patterns as well as the impacts of HIV/AIDS on the community. Existing evidence shows that migration contributes to the spread of HIV infection.

There is now a substantial amount of research and literature on the impacts of HIV/AIDS on families and livelihoods. One of the impacts of HIV/AIDS on labour migration is the erosion of the savings and investments made by migrant labourers. Although most of those infected come back home in an advanced state of illness, there are some who come back home and endure long periods of illness. Some of them are the sole breadwinners. This means that the family has

to look elsewhere to raise money for medical attention as well as other needs. This includes selling property and borrowing in order to seek medical attention. In some cases relatives have had to sell livestock such as cattle and other belongings to raise money for medical expenses both from the traditional as well as modern sector.

When the individual finally dies, the family incurs further costs in funeral expenses which have the effect of further eroding the savings and investments of the migrants. The increasing number of deaths largely as an impact of HIV/AIDS leads to the depletion of livestock heads. When a death occurs in a family, an animal has to be slaughtered to feed the mourners as well as a sign of respect for the dead¹⁴. Cattle, goats and other livestock are slaughtered not only to provide relish for the mourners but also a sign of respect for the dead. Usually the type and size of the animal depends on the position of the dead in the family hierarchy. The more senior the deceased member is in the family hierarchy, the bigger the animal that is slaughtered. This leads to the reduction of draught power and the loss of a source of income and livelihood.

Mr Mguni had been working in South Africa since the early 1970s, had obtained South African identity documents and had a live-in South African partner in Johannesburg. He died in 2002 and his body was repatriated to Zimbabwe for burial. The family alleges that his brothers who are also migrants to South Africa connived with his live-in partner to claim benefits from his employers which they shared and his wife and parents did not get anything.

When the migrant dies, his/her survivors are often left behind with little or nothing to survive on. Many families and households are thrown into poverty leading to the possibility in future of children migrating at an early age, more women migrating and more girls migrating leading to a vicious cycle of migration and HIV infection, the creation of more orphans and increasing levels of poverty.

The burden of looking after orphans is often left to the elderly whose only source of income could have been remittances from the migrant. Some of these orphans might also be HIV-infected. Other impacts of HIV/AIDS include rising levels of poverty, school dropouts, more migration, early marriages and child-headed households which in turn have the effect of leading to more infections and death. The extended family system within which most AIDS orphans are cared for is under stress in terms of human and material resources.

Most migrants change their identities on arrival in South Africa. This creates a problem for the surviving family members or relatives when the migrant dies. As they are registered as South Africans, it becomes difficult for relatives to claim

terminal benefits from the employer if the migrant was in formal employment. In some cases, friends and relatives of the deceased manage to get the benefits through various means including bribery, which in some cases do not reach the intended beneficiaries such as the surviving spouse (mostly wife) and children.

The Problem of Return Migrants

As observed by Murray (1981) in the case of Lesotho,

... almost all men and a few women spend most of their middle years absent from their rural homes, yet when their working lives are over or when they have reached a stage in the life cycle when they depend on the support of the children and their kin, the large majority return home to settle.

Most of the migrants in the area of study when they migrant retire, lose their jobs, or are incapacitated in any way, return home to depend on their investments or if they have not invested, depend on their children or relatives. As most of the remittances are used for consumptive purposes and very little is invested in productive ventures. Return migrants often find themselves with nothing to fall back on. While some of the migrants have built good houses, invested in solar power and bore-hole water, these investments can easily deteriorate if the owner no longer has a steady flow of income for their maintenance. Investment in cattle is not sustainable because of the persistent droughts which have destroyed pastures and led to the decimation of livestock heads every year.

Disruption of Family Life

One of the greatest problems created by labour migration is its disruption of family life. This includes family conflicts, strained marriages and the shifting of raising children to the elderly and domestics. Conflicts between spouses, between children and parents and between siblings arising from, among other things, the use of remittances, are common. Some marriages are strained or break-up mainly as a result of long periods of separation between spouses. Cases of domestic violence, separation and divorce arising from accusations of infidelity were also mentioned. In many cases women are the ones who are accused of infidelity although some men have partners in South Africa often with the knowledge of their wives. Similar observations were made by Murray (1981) in Lesotho as he states that separation of spouses generates acute anxiety, insecurity and conflict. He also states that anthropologist have realised that the prolonged absence of husbands and fathers is associated with high rates of conjugal breakdowns and desertion. 'Transnationalised polygyny' is the concept used by

Lubkemann (2002) to describe the conjugal relationships which cut across borders which often presents multiple problems for spouses and relatives.

The Trans-nationalisation of Domestic Groups

The term 'domestic group' is used here in preference to family or household because of the difficulties associated with defining these last two concepts. The organisation of domestic groups is influenced by the demographic historico-social processes taking place over time (Seymour-Smith 1986). The essence of the family is kinship relations, that is, a marital link between spouses and children affiliated to them, while the essence of household is domestic activities, mainly living and eating together (Cheater 1986; Seymour-Smith 1986).

While the traditional definitions of family acknowledge that the family can be spatially dispersed at any given time, spatial dispersion can also be a characteristic of new forms of households which result from the movement of people especially labour migration, namely trans-national domestic groups.

Trans-national domestic are those groups which although spatially dispersed, maintain such close relations that decisions and domestic activities are shared across borders almost on a daily basis. Coupled with the impact of HIV/AIDS, labour migration leads to the creation of various types of kinship groups such as male headed and managed, female headed and female managed, male headed and female managed, grandparents headed and managed, grand parents managed, child managed, child-headed and worker managed domestic groups.

Male headed and managed domestic group – This is a domestic group whose head is a male adult who is not a migrant worker. He makes most or all decisions for the group.

Female headed and female managed domestic group – The head of this domestic group is a woman who is either divorced or was never married. She makes most or all of the decisions for the group. Such domestic groups are few. This is because of the stigmatisation of women who are not married, particularly if they have children and their own homestead which are independent from their parents' homesteads. Such women are referred to by the derogatory term *omazakhela* (sing. *umazakhela*). *Umazakhela* literally means the one who builds a home for herself and refers only to women. It also excludes widows.

Male headed and female managed domestic group – This is a type of domestic group where the head is a male migrant labourer and comes home after an extended period. He makes most or all the decisions concerning the group, including the

use of the remittances, the sale of livestock, the hiring and firing of domestic workers and the choice of schools for the children. He contributes very little to the socialization of the young members of the group as most of his time is spent away from home.

Grand parents headed and managed domestic group – This is a group that is headed by grand parents. Typically, grand parents stay with their grand children whose parents have died. It may include additional members such as other relatives and non-relatives such as domestic workers. The increasing number of women migrants is one of the reasons for the increase in this type of domestic group. Most of the children born out of the various unions migrants enter into in South Africa are brought back home to be taken care of by their grand parents.

Grand parents managed domestic group – This type of household is where both parents are in South Africa and children are taken care of by their grand parents. This type of arrangement comes about when mostly one spouse, particularly the husband, migrates and is later joined by the wife after getting settled. They might or might not have had children before deciding to migrate. If they had no children before migrating, they might then decide to have children whom they send back to their parents to look after. Even if they had children they might decide to have more children once settled in South Africa whom they send back home to be looked after by their grand-parents.

Child managed domestic group – A child managed domestic group exists when all adult members of the group are migrant labourers and children are left on their own at home. The adult members of the group still make most or all the decisions for the group.

Child headed domestic groups – This type of domestic group occurs when all adult members of the group are dead and children are left on their own. Traditionally, orphans were easily integrated into other domestic groups through extended family relations, but the impacts of the HIV/AIDS pandemic have put the extended family system under stress, making it difficult to cope with the problem and absorb orphans.

Worker managed domestic group – This is a type of domestic group where adult members are migrant labourers and children are left in the care of domestic workers.

Loss of Productive Labour

While studies in labour migration (e.g. Matlosa 1996; Sambajwe and Makatsjane, 1992; Manghezi 1996) have often observed that emigration has negative impacts on agricultural production through loss of agricultural labour, this study did

not find a significant negative impact of labour migration on agricultural productivity. The loss of agricultural labour has a minimal effect on agricultural productivity. Agricultural productivity is marginal in this part of the country and it would be difficult to measure the impact of labour on agricultural productivity. Income from agriculture is insignificant whether or not there is migration and there is no correlation between the size of the field cultivated and the migration of family members. Further studies may be useful in order to compare households receiving remittances and those that do not assess the impact of remittances on agricultural productivity. This would assess the proportion of the remittances that goes towards the purchase of agricultural inputs and implements, hiring labour or any other investment in agriculture. Also what role remittances play in providing agricultural inputs. Remittance receiving household also employ labourers either permanent or casual to offset the loss of labour through emigration.

Child Rearing

Children of migrant labourers who are left in the care of their grandparents or domestic workers may lack the emotional support and guidance resulting in behavioural problems. Grand parents and domestic workers are often reluctant to discipline children left in their care for fear of losing support, in the case of grand parents, or their jobs, in the case of domestic workers. Estopace (2002) observed a similar phenomenon among Filipino families with migrant parents. He found that some grand parents had to consult the parents even on small matters before they could discipline children left in their care. The failure by caregivers to control the children of migrant parents can lead the children to engage in risky behaviours such as alcohol and drug abuse as well as early sex which in turn exposes them to HIV infection.

Cultural Impacts

Labour migration has an impact on the culture of the migrants' communities of origin. Mobile people encounter and adopt new ways of life which incorporate global symbols and products (Clawen 2002). The interface between local and adopted cultural symbols and products often results in tensions and conflicts. Migrants adopt these global symbols which they bring back to their communities of origin. This leads to tensions at the family as well as at the community level. At the family level this conflict is often manifested as intergenerational, where cultural symbols brought into the community by young migrants are often resisted by the elderly who are often adherents and custodians of tradition.

Elderly members of the community are often contemptuous of the dressing, language, style of walking and other behavioural traits exhibited by young migrants. Community leaders decried the loss of local cultural values to the globalisation of culture.

Financial independence gives young migrants power to do what they would otherwise not do if they were dependent on their parents. They are used to stay alone without any parental control. The case of Doubt in the box illustrates this.

*When I came back this time I decided to tell my parents that I want to spend my money the way I want. I told them that I now drink and smoke. I am tired of being told how to spend my money. In any case I have lots of it, so I can afford to drink and smoke as much as I want.'*¹

Discussion

Remittances from migrant labourers working in South Africa are an important source of support for many families in the southern districts of Zimbabwe. They contribute significantly to the improvement of the livelihoods of the receiving households through the purchase of food and clothing and payment for health care and education, building and improving houses and the purchase of consumer goods. While some remittance money is invested in livestock and a small proportion in business, a very large proportion of remittance money is spent on consumption. There is a small proportion of remittance money that is saved. The reasons for this 'consumptive' behaviour include the unavailability of banking facilities for many communities in the rural areas and limited investment options available to most of the remittance receiving families and generalised poverty. This is because, as observed by McKinley (2003), remittances have not received sustained attention required, by the governments in countries of origin, by the international financial institutions and the private sector (McKinley 2003). This is particularly the case with informal remittances as Puri and Ritzema (2003) state that the magnitude of unrecorded remittances and their economic implications have received less attention than formal remittances. As a result policy options for enhancing the impact of remittances on receiving households and communities have generally excluded informal remittances.

Considering the importance of remittances in the livelihoods of individuals and households in this part of the country and continued illegal emigration, it is important that policies and programmes intended to enhance the developmental impact of remittances should take into account both formal and informal remittances. As suggested by van Doorn (www.ilo.org/public/english/

employment/finance.download/remit2.pdf), such initiatives should be based on incentives rather than on regulatory approaches. More importantly, such initiatives should encourage productive investment. Productive investment is defined by van Doorn as any activity that has the potential to generate additional income or safeguard against future expenses. The economic behaviour of migrants, especially lack of investment in productive activities should not be viewed as irrational but as Ault and Rutman (1992) state, such behaviour is influenced by the institutional environment and the prevailing attitudes. There are social, political and economic constraints that affect how migrants allocate their resources. For example, de Vletter (1981) states that Swazi migrants are reluctant to engage in activities that lead to wealth creation

The following are some of the initiatives that can be developed in order to promote productive utilisation of remittances.

Establishment of banking facilities – As observed by Stein (2003) availability of full banking facilities is still very limited in most rural communities. In the case of Ward Seven and most parts of the district there are no banking facilities, a situation which encourages sending money through informal channels while discouraging saving.

Financial Support for Productive Investment

In Ward 7 as in many rural areas in the developing countries, credit options for productive investment are still conservative or non-existent (Stein 2003). This is particularly the case with investment projects initiated through informal remittances. There is, however, a need for flexibility when dealing with such projects.

Entrepreneurship Development

The low level of investment in business ventures by migrants or remittance receiving households creates a need for targeted entrepreneurial development programmes. The failure for many businesses created through remittances to go beyond the traditional typical rural businesses such as bottle stores, general dealer shops and grinding mills might be an indication of a lack of knowledge of other investment options. There are a number of entrepreneurship development training institutions which can provide business training, identification of investment opportunities, business management and marketing among other skills.

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According to van Doorn (www.ilo.org/public/english/employment/finance.download/remit2.pdf), however, it has been proven that it is difficult to convert migrant workers with no prior business experience into dynamic entrepreneurs. She therefore suggests the introduction of financial intermediaries to capture remittances as deposits and channel them to existing small businesses rather than transforming migrants directly into entrepreneurs. The problem with adopting this approach in Ward 7 and many other communities in the region, is that there are very few existing small businesses either owned by migrants or non-migrants. There is therefore still a need to encourage the generation of more business ventures. Entrepreneurial development training should include migrants and non-migrants with or without a business. The self help training project needs support from the public, private and non-governmental sectors so that skills training is strengthened with more diversity in terms of courses offered to include small business management.

Home-town associations – Research has established that hometown associations are a very important instrument of channelling collective funds from migrants to their communities for community projects

(Hsu, http://www.princeton.edu/jhsu/writing/remittances_3.doc;

Ortiz, http://naid.sppsr.ucla.edu/confs&class/class/UP/comp00/ch2_report.pdf;

van Doorn, www.ilo.org/public/english/employment/finance.download/remit2.pdf;

Orozco, 2000; Taylor and Fletcher, <http://www.precesam.colmex.mx/Volume2-ing.html>).

Home town associations however are more effective when they collaborate with local actors such as government, local non-governmental organisations and local development associations. The local actors provide a link with the communities and can also complement the efforts of the HTAs. For example in the Mexican state of Zacatecas, each dollar contributed in remittances is matched by three dollars (one from the municipality, one from the state and one from the federal government). Through this programme 400 projects with a total investment of US\$4.5 billion were completed in eight years (van Doorn, <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/dialogue/atrav/publ/129/8.pdf>.)

Government, NGOs and other players should therefore seek to promote the development of and foster relations with migrants' HTAs.

Well established and organized burial societies for Zimbabwean migrants exist in South Africa. These can be used as nucleus organizations for the esta-

ishment of hometown associations. Migrant labourers have on several occasions contributed to community development projects, but this is on an ad hoc basis such as when there is a community project or contributing to sports. This indicates a willingness by the migrants to contribute to the development of their communities as well as a capacity for self organisation.

Local development associations – Local development associations (LDAs) can provide a link with migrants' HTAs. Members of LDAs have information about development needs of their communities and can therefore provide advice to HTAs on such needs. They can also provide a link between the communities, the government and NGOs.

HIV/AIDS programmes – The greatest threat facing migrant labourers is HIV infection. As presented in the findings, the illegal status of many migrants exposes them to HIV infection. This in turn places partners left home also at high risk of HIV infection. If the problem of HIV infection is not addressed, the positive impacts of remittances will in the long run be negated by the impacts of HIV/AIDS through the savings and investments going towards the cost of medicine, death and caring for orphans. Among other programmes, there is a need to encourage voluntary testing and counselling among migrants, particularly the men.

Conclusion

Migrant labour to South Africa will remain a feature and remittances will continue to be an important source of income and livelihood in the southern districts of Zimbabwe for a long time. Irregular or undocumented migration will also remain a prominent feature of migration from these areas. While the migration process is fraught with risks and the working and living conditions in the host country are generally unfavourable, migration seems to be increasing. An income is significant if it contributes not only to the current livelihoods of its earner and his or her dependents but if it can also be saved or invested for future use. It is therefore important that the remittances be used to improve the livelihoods of their earners and their dependents and also that they be invested not only as a way to safeguard against future risks such as loss of a job, sickness, deportation or retirement of the migrant but also a way of building wealth for future generations. Migrants have been sending remittances back home for many years but, as pointed out above, remittances are used mainly for current consumption needs. Such behaviour can easily be dismissed as irrational. In an environment where there are no banking facilities where there is poor transport and communi-

cation infrastructure and where attitudes towards undocumented migrants and informal remittances ranges from indifference to hostility, such behaviour should not be seen as evidence irrationality on the part of the migrants and their dependents. While remittances make a significant contribution to the current livelihoods of people in the migrant sending areas a conducive environment that which promotes investment needs to be created. This environment can only be created if the policy makers accept that labour migration, including undocumented migration will occur for as long as poverty and unemployment in the migrant sending communities and glaring economic disparities between migrants sending areas and migrant receiving areas remain.

Notes

1. For detailed studies on amacimbi, see Hobane, A.P., 1994a, 1994b and 1999.
2. The terms used to refer to migrant labourers in this part of the country have been changing over the years. The first term used was imiwenela (plural), and umwenela (singular). The term was derived from the acronym WENELA, which stands for Witwatersrand Native Labor Act under which migrant labour was recruited from neighbouring countries such as Mozambique, Malawi and Zimbabwe for the South African mines. They were later referred to variously as imigoli (sing. umgoli), imijubheki (sing. umjubheki) and imijibha (sing. umjibha). Imigoli is derived from Goli or Egoli which is a term used to refer to Johannesburg. Imijubheki is derived from the name Johannesburg and in particular its shortened version, Jo'burg. Imigoli and imijubheki are terms used to describe people who have not only been to Johannesburg, but have also become 'Johannesburgers' in language, dress and general lifestyle. I was not able to trace the origin of the term imijibha (sing. imijibha) or injiva which is the term currently preferred in reference to migrant labourers.
3. The basic requirement for admission to A' Level is at least five O' Level passes which should include English language.
4. Many organisations require a minimum of five O'Level passes (and in many cases, one of which should be English language) for one to be considered for employment.
5. This is a derivative of the Ndebele verb, dabula or ukudabula - which literally means cut or cutting across or cutting through.
6. Kwerekwere to refers to immigrants from North of the Limpopo River in general but particularly Zimbabweans of Shona extraction. It derives from a derogatory imitation of the sound made by people who speak languages are dominated by the letter 'r' in their vocabulary.

7. The term literally means, 'let us cohabit'. It is used to describe both the 'marriage' and the partners in such an arrangement. For example one would describe his or her partner as umasihlalisane wami meaning the one I am co-habiting with.
8. This term derives from the noun ukudliwa, meaning to be eaten up or devoured. Hex connotation is of a person who has been devoured by the pleasures of South Africa especially one who spends all his money on women and beer forgetting relatives left behind.
9. Although they carry the same connotations with ukudliwa, ukugewuka from which the nouns imigewu and umgewu are derived, it was not possible to establish the origins of the word. It could be slang or a derivative of one of the languages spoken in South Africa.
10. Because they are more frequently at home than other migrants, transport operators claim to have more knowledge about what the needs of the people back home are. Besides economic considerations, when selecting what items to transport home, they also act as advisers to the remitters as to what is worth sending home.
11. See also Hobane, P A. (1999), *The Commercialisation of Gonimbrasia Belina in Bulilimamangwe Districts: Problems and Prospects*. Unpublished MPhil Thesis.
12. Cattle are rarely slaughtered except when there are functions such as weddings and traditional rituals such as umbuyiso and umthethelo or when there is a funeral. Umbuyiso is a traditional ritual where the spirit of a dead (usually elderly) member of the family is invited to come and live with and take care of the living. Umthethelo is a traditional ceremony to appease the spirits of the dead which is usually performed when things are not going well with the family, such as when there are too many deaths in the family, when members of the family are not getting jobs or when members of the family are not getting married or their marriages seem not to be working.
13. This could be interpreted in two ways. One is that it is a sign of respect for the dead who has found a new resting place in the very soil/ground that is supposed to give food. It is therefore not proper to disturb the ground on which they are supposed to be laid to rest until they are laid to rest. The other interpretation is that it is deference to the ground and an acknowledgement of its conquering power over human life. The belief is that the ground feeds on human bodies hence the saying mhlaba kawunoni (oh! ground you never get fat) to express despair at the number of people being buried without any signs of the ground relenting from taking in more people or increasing in size.

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