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Effects of migration on rural development.

Mankge, Mathibela Rousseau

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

There is still widespread uncertainty amongst social thinkers about whether migration results in a net benefit to the migrant, to his or her family, the farming community left behind and ultimately his or her region of origin. This study investigates the effects of migration on rural development. There is a need to understand better not only why people move and what factors are most important in their decision-making process, but also what the consequences of migration are for rural economic and social development.

Migration can thus include labourers both seasonal farm workers and people in other sectors of the economy; namely mining, manufacturing, domestic work and others. The causes of migration are varied. While the coercive state policy of the past regime also contributed to this oscillating migration, the post apartheid era has witnessed the exodus of people to cities driven by their internal decisions of getting better jobs to support their families. Oscillating migrant labour continues to be an important phenomenon in this era and there must therefore be additional factors that impel rural people to obtain jobs in distant locations while retaining a base in the rural areas.

Little is known about what the underlying causes and effects are of the continuation of migrant labour in post-apartheid South Africa (SA). The case study proposed here aims to shed some light on these hidden processes. The study is geographically limited to a village known as Mare in the Limpopo province – a village lying plus or minus 40 kilometres from the Pedi Kingdom of Sekhukhuneland.

1.2. Background

Migration goes together with development. For any migrant who migrates, the key driver is the need to find a means to improve or develop their lives. Sen (1999) defines

development as the expansion of peoples' capabilities. It is about increasing the possibilities for many people to realize their potentials as human beings by expanding their capabilities. The South African Human Development Report (2003) asserts that development must be sustainable by meeting present needs without jeopardizing those of future generations.

In this document, I employ the concept of development to mean the process of improving the socio-economic well being of the poor people, by particularly looking at the village of Mare. It is the betterment of the quality of life of as many rural people as possible trapped in poverty, limited access to employment, basic services and information.

Regarding migration, Wilson (1972) argues that oscillating migration occurs when men's homes are so far from their work that they cannot commute daily and can see their families only weekly, monthly, yearly or even less frequently. On the other hand there is permanent migration, which defines the movement of people to the cities or the place where they can find a better life and settle there forever. I would argue that permanent migrants are the type of workers called '*makgolwa*' or '*mafamolele*' in Sepedi meaning those migrants who never come back home after they had found jobs elsewhere. In my view, they are self-centered and not concerned about improving the living conditions of the families left in the village.

In contrast, oscillating migrants have the interests of their rural base at heart and often come back home to help their families or send money home. They are commonly also known as '*makarapa*' in local language because they bring their families some goodies. The study focuses on the oscillating form of rural-urban migration. Local people migrate because "unemployment is a very serious issue for the Sekhukhune District, and it currently stands at 69% far more than the provincial average of 49%. This represents the lowest percentage of people in employment in all districts in both Limpopo and Mpumalanga provinces" (The Gamawela Report, 2008).

It appears that migration has been there from the early stages of development. Todaro and Smith (2009) argue that the economic development of Western Europe and the United States (US) was closely associated with the movement of labour from rural to urban areas. With rural sectors dominated by agricultural activities and urban sector focusing on industrialization, overall economic development in these countries was characterized by the gradual reallocation of labour out of agriculture into more attractive industrial arenas through rural-urban migration. According to Todaro and Smith (2009: 344), this historical model served as a blueprint for development of Less Developed Countries (LDCs).

The information about the widespread use and effects of migrant labour in rural areas obtained for this research was derived from various written sources supplemented by first-hand research involving interviews in the rural area and other information gathering activities. Some information used in this study is also derived from personal experience as I was growing in the village and moved between the village and some major local cities and those of the world at large – including, but not limited to, Polokwane, Tshwane, Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban, Dublin, London, Berlin, Frankfurt, Harare, Maputo, Maseru, Windhoek and others – for study tours and employment reasons. There is no city without a migrant worker.

The research sought to explore the dilemma posed by migration from the perspectives of migrants themselves, and those left behind (dependants) in the rural areas. Attention was directed at discovering the causes of migration as the reasons why people continue to migrate in this way, as this would shed some light on what effect this activity has on people's lives. In addition, the research examined the investment practices of migrants' families, the effect of remitted earnings on the rural household. While such an investigation could not be expected to answer questions about all the consequences of a person's migration, I am confident that my study would shed some light on many dark corners of the general controversy over migration, and thereby enable policy thinkers to design interventions appropriate to national priorities and proper aid to rural planning and

development. It is my hope that the study would make it easier for policy makers to integrate rural people into improving their own living conditions.

1.3. Aim

The purpose of the research was to investigate the effects of migration (rural-urban) on rural development. By focusing on the village of Mare, I intended to examine carefully and specifically how helpful or detrimental the movement of people – men and possibly women – out of the rural village was. The study involved examining from the perspectives of migrants themselves what they brought home to sustain their local livelihood activities.

Further while there was much work on the state regulated migration in the past, little has been done to learn why people still migrate in post-apartheid South Africa. I set out to understand why people still migrate at present. While this would help a great deal in bridging a gap in the literature, it would also help to bring the dynamics of migration and its effects on development to light. Why people continue to migrate clearly has consequences for how migration affects rural people.

1.4. Research questions

Given the doubts about the effects of migration on rural development in post-apartheid SA, questions needed to be answered about the level to which migration leads to income generation, which is essential for improvements, and the extent to which this could indeed shape the broader economic and social position of poor households. This research report will address the following questions:

- Why do people migrate?
- Why they migrate and still keep, or go back to, their rural base
- Where do most people go to and why?
- What sorts of things (physical assets and so forth) do migrants bring home?

- Who receives remittances at home and who decides how to spend it?
- How are the earnings spent, and what effect do remittances have on the household, and possibly rural development?
- How should we compare present practices to those that existed in the apartheid era?
- How do current market forces affect the nature of the post-1994 SA migration patterns?
- What is the effect of migration on rural development (on women, agriculture, social and community development)?

1.5. Rationale

There are several reasons that have stimulated my interests to undertake a study on migration and development. One is simply because I have a desire to learn from the migrants themselves as to whether their efforts to move to towns and cities have positive spin offs on the land of their origin, or it is just a means of impoverishing their villages.

The search was undertaken by traveling the bumpy and dusty roads of the rural areas to document the realities of these people, and their endless efforts to improve their lives. Urban researchers and writers often ignore the social realities of the hard to reach rural parts of the country. Hence the voices of the rural poor are frequently ignored due to the urban biasness of researchers. Perhaps a study of this nature would in turn make a difference to the lives of the poor so that something could be done to help them.

Further, given the dearth of literature that seeks to understand why people migrate in the new SA, I hope that a study of this nature would be crucial to supplement the existing body of knowledge on the subject.

1.6. Scope and structure of the report

The study was not able to cover all the migrant workers in South Africa. The scope is therefore restricted to a certain geographical area. It covers a historically black, 'deep rural area'[5] known as Mare Village in the Sekhukhuneland, Limpopo Province. This area formed a unit of analysis for the study in the focus area of the research.

Many villages in rural South Africa are in the formerly underdeveloped Bantustans which the architects of apartheid ensured that they continuously supplied cheap labour to cities. The village of Mare was also affected. The resulted skewed development saw urban areas as more developed and offering better living and job opportunities as opposed to poor rural areas with little or less such opportunities. Although the study was limited to the village of Mare, some questionnaires transcended this rural boundary, since I had also visited migrants where they lived in the urban centers.

With regard to the structure of the report, subsequent to Chapter 1 that presented the introduction and background, purpose of the study, research questions, rationale and scope, Chapter 2 describes the methodology underpinning this study. It also takes the reader through the problems or research limitations underlying the investigations.

Chapter 3 presents the literature review which discusses theoretical, ideological and policy issues of migration and rural development. The review covers international and some local literature on the theme of migration in general and specifically its ramifications on rural development.

The research findings are presented in Chapter 4, which provides a narrative of the knowledge drawn from stakeholder interviews and other sources. Chapter 5 weaves together the findings from the case study and the literature presented in earlier chapters.

[5] I employ the concept to mean any area which is not easily accessible by use of a small car, especially when it is raining, as the roads are not tarred. The roads are hilly, slippery, bumpy and rocky.

The final Chapter, that is 6, aims to present a concluding discussion and recommendations on the image of migration that determines the development context in rural SA.

CHAPTER 2 METHODOLOGY

2.1. Introduction

Various research approaches have been used in the preparation of this research report to obtain information, some of which would have been impossible to acquire by using a single research technique. Specific attention will be put firstly on the typology of research methods used and why.

The study was shaped by a qualitative research method. The second important issue to focus on is the procedures of data collection. Inter alia, an extensive literature review on migration generally and its effects on rural development in particular were undertaken. Finally, the focus would be on the methodological issues underpinning sampling.

2.1.1. A qualitative research method

The search for the effects of migration on rural development was based on a qualitative approach whereby the informants were asked to explain their situations and life experiences from their own point of view. Miles (1996: 54) argues that there has been a long and hot debate within the social sciences about methodology and about how particular research aims and techniques inform our views of society and reflect the social conditions of the production of knowledge. Within this debate, inter alia, emerged the rejection of the conventional and traditional values of positivistic scientific research.

Boston (in Miles, 1996), wrote that an alternative approach to research, the so-called quantitative revolution is highly ‘mathematical’ with growing emphasis on the construction and testing of theoretical models. This approach came under serious criticism both socially and philosophically, and raised questions about the ability to present a holistic understanding of society (Eyles, 1986).

From the mid-1960's social scientists became increasingly disillusioned with science and technology alongside the quantitative technique. The significance of becoming directly and intellectually involved in matters of deep social concern such as the provision of social welfare and dealing with the problems of poverty, racial, class, gender and spatial inequalities, a facet which was ignored in the previous approaches to geography and development, began to emerge (Johnston, 1976).

Over the last two decades "social thinkers came to realize that the traditional methods of data collection based on a model of positivism and empiricism have failed to enrich our understanding of people, the world, processes of change and people's subjective experiences as agents of change" (Miles, 1996: 55). Conventionally, the research design aimed to establish regularities or common patterns through the use of formal interviews or the survey techniques that lend themselves to statistical analysis. Inevitably, as seen in Patton (2002), Merriam (1998) and Neuman (1997), this research technique requires the researcher to be objective, and secondly requires the researcher to be detached from the subjects being studied or remain uninvolved with the informants. Nevertheless, my intention was to live as closely as possible with the people being studied to get the first hand experience and understanding of their world. As the results, qualitative research method was found more appropriate for the study.

2.1.2. Procedures of data collection

2.1.2.1. Participant observation

Participant observation formed part of the procedures utilized to collect data for this research report. Investigating rural-urban migration and development on the rural base requires a higher level of interaction with the people being studied. An inquiry by observation is very important to understand fully the complexities of many situations. Patton (2002) argues that direct participation and observation of the phenomenon of interest may be the best research method.

Howard-Becker, one of the leading practitioners of qualitative research in the conduct of social research, argues that participant observation is the most comprehensive of all types of research strategies: “The most complete form of the sociological datum, after all, is the form in which the participant observer gathers it; an observation of some social event, the events which precede and follow it, and explanations of its meaning by participants and spectators, before, during and after its occurrence"(Becker and Geer, 1970: 133).

Growing and living amongst the migrants in the village, including while I was doing this study presented me with an opportunity to observe the changes which occur in the households as the result of labour migration. For example, seeing the sort of things migrants would bring home which they didn’t have before. Such data gives us more information about the event under study than data gathered by any other sociological method.

2.1.2.2. Interviews and open-ended questionnaires

The purpose of gathering responses to open-ended questions was to make it possible to understand and capture the points of view of the respondents without predetermining those points of view through prior selections of questions. The aim was to understand the world as seen by the respondents themselves, as to why they migrated and so on.

Questionnaires were used to collect data from the participants in the study. Participants were in the same time interviewed face-to-face by means of in-depth interviews to unearth in-depth qualitative information, thus probing extensively.

2.1.2.3. Life history

As seen from Miles (1996), the value of life or oral histories has become critical in many parts of Africa where no written records existed before the nineteenth century, and its uses has also proven worthwhile in the recovery of lost histories of present day illiterate men and women. In light of this, I therefore saw this research tool appropriate and

relevant for use in the rural village of Mare where most people could hardly read or write a word in English.

Mirza and Stobel (1989), in Miles (1996), argue that life histories offer the opportunity to observe phenomena of a particular society through the lens of individual lives.

The life histories that emerged were valuable. The life history is presented below to gain more information about the conditions that led the movements of migrants and the effects this had on their households. The story, as it will be seen in the report, also reveals changes in the benefits of migratory work system on the rural household level and its negative effects. The highlight of this approach is that it is able to uncover a series of historical events from the voice of the senior citizens pertaining to their experience of migration during the apartheid era and the new democratic dispensation. However, I would further argue, on the other hand, that some historical examples might be out-dated and therefore could not sufficiently take historical changes from apartheid to democracy into account and the extent to which circumstances have changed in post apartheid SA.

Another challenge about the life histories is that they require more time to hear the whole story from the teller. Given time constraints, I was not able to undertake many life histories in the village to get various perspectives. Future research should look into that to gather wholly new perspectives; evidence and interpretations from ordinary men, women and children (‘others’) about what they believed had mattered most in their lives.

2.1.2.4. Literature review

The literature review embodies international and some local literature on rural-urban migration and development. It instigates new as well as practical implications for rural development. Further, the review has attempted to draw, as far as possible, on literature that has focused on LDCs and has also provided a mix of theoretical material with case studies and accounts of actual development experiences.

Most interestingly, the literature provides insights into debates that either depict migration as a good thing for rural development or present it as a bad thing. The lessons learned from studies in other countries are also presented.

2.1.3. Sampling and research population

The method of sampling used was the non-probability sampling. The purpose of the study was less to generalize its findings to a larger population than to gain a deeper understanding about the aftermath of migration and development in the village of Mare. One idea was to generate insights and suggest new direction for research based on one case study. There was no guarantee that each element in the population would be represented in the sample.

The type of non-probability sampling alluded to in the above is, nevertheless, referred to as purposive or judgmental sampling (Neuman, 1997 and Babbie, 1989). It is important for selecting unique cases that are informative. As pointed out by Mogaladi (2007: 55), the researcher deliberately or purposefully selected judgmental samples because he believes that the selected people would provide valuable insight to the research topic and to answering the research questions.

Further, through the use of non-probable sampling methods main stakeholders in the village were chosen selectively rather than randomly. For example, the *ntona*[6] was chosen because he plays a crucial role in shaping a new order in rural development, as he allocates every new household with a piece of land on which to produce food for the family. In addition, snowballing sampling was utilized to locate migrants in the village and elsewhere through their friends, relatives and fellow migrants.

Since it was not the intention of the study to generalizing on the findings or to be statistically significant, a sample of 20 people was chosen for interviews. It comprised of the migrant workers themselves, their dependants (i.e their wives and children, their

[6] Village headman in Sepedi

fathers and mothers and siblings), the village *ntona*, local municipal officials, and teachers. In addition to the individual interviews, one focus group interview of 10 people was also conducted with all categories of the bigger group to observe if there were any similarities or variances in trends on the question. Table 1 below presents the target population selected for the research.

Table 1: Target Population for the study

Category	**Number**
Migrant workers	9
Dependants of migrant workers	8
Local municipal official/s	1
School teachers	4
Ntona/ Induna (Headman)	1
Total	**23**

2.1.4. Research limitations

Many factors have caused limitations to this study. First this research has been constrained by very limited access to primary information such as migration and development indicators of the area under study. The Local municipality, which is Makhuduthamaga, could not provide any useful documented information on the subject on the village of Mare. The municipality's Integrated Development Plan for 2008/ 2009 is silent on Mare village.

The second limitation was around the issue of time. The nature of the research method employed to investigate the effects of migration on rural development dictates that the researcher spends a long time in the rural setting with migrants, engaging in participant observation. This would allow the researcher to see the kind of goods, for example, that migrants continuously bring home. But this is only possible through time-consuming observations.

Thirdly, reliability was one of the limitations for the study. Mogaladi (2007: 61) argues that is not easy to obtain reliability using a qualitative research methodology. Reliability criterion is necessary to ensure that the research results obtained on certain occasion under certain conditions can be reproducible. Nevertheless the researcher used the same set of questions for all participants in accordance with the research questions and probed for more detailed information. To ensure reliability of the data, the researcher after collating all the responses according to the themes validated the data with the respondents for them to confirm that what was captured represent their views.

Furthermore, Leedy & Ormrod (2001) in Mogaladi (2007) argue that interviews in a qualitative study are more likely to result in information that the researcher did not plan for, and the researcher obtains information from different people and may not be able to compare information. To minimize this, the researcher asked questions guided by the research questions and categorized the data in themes in relation to the research question to get a pattern or trends in the data.

Lastly, securing appointments with people and actually meeting them was not an easy task. To show this, several interviewees agreed to be met for the interviews but failed to show up. Hence, as the researcher hungry for information, I had to be patient and arrange the meetings again. These problems had time and budgetary implications that could not easily be ignored in a qualitative research like this.

2.2. Data analysis

The researcher transcribed all the interviews and did the analysis in a narrative manner. In particular, the researcher did the analysis of the content of the discussions to look for trends and patterns that reappear within one category of the people and one focus group and amongst various categories of respondents in the study. A report of interviews in each category was developed as per questioned asked with amplifying quotes and in the language spoken by the migrants.

The results were compared and contrasted documenting the various reasons that were a cause for migration and the resulting benefits and costs. The researcher analysed the responses of individual respondents from each category of the subjects and noted the number or percentage of people within a category. Peoples' responses were compared to view similarities and differences within them, and checked the patterns and trends within and across the various group of migrants.

2.3. Conclusion

This research is limited to one small rural setting called Mare, in the Makhuduthamaga Municipality. Outcomes and conclusions of the study should be viewed within the framework of a relatively limited scope of enquiry, which might be difficult to generalize. However, it can present some lessons for further studies on rural-urban migration.

A qualitative research methodology was used as it has widely been proven by many researchers as the best tool to understand the social problems from the perspective of those being studied. It is through this research approach that data gathering tools such as open-ended interviews were used to understand why people migrate to cities. Life histories were also used to understand the depth of the problem in the language of migrants themselves, particularly as there were no written documents on this subject in the village under study.

A major part of the secondary data to understand migration and its benefits to the sending areas were drawn from those of the neighboring countries such as Lesotho and other international cases significant to the study.

CHAPTER 3 LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1. Introduction

The study is framed by a desire to expand the existing body of knowledge on migration and rural development. This chapter reviews the related bodies of theories and literature relevant to this study. There is a need to understand from other studies why people migrate; where most go to and why; what physical assets they bring home; who receives remittances and controls the spending.

Other questions include how current market forces affect the nature of the post-1994 South African migration patterns; and what is the effect of migration on rural development (on women, agriculture, social and community development). However, part of the crucial question in the present context is why migrants keep ties to the rural areas. Why don't they move permanently to the urban areas? The review also touches some international perspectives on migration, borrowing from case studies emerging from some African, Asian and European countries.

3.2. Theoretical framework

Under discussion here are the debates over migration using the Todaro migration theory, neoclassical and traditional kinship approaches, and theories of pure gain. This review also touches on theories of private gain and social loss.

3.2.1. The Todaro migration model

As seen in Todaro and Smith (2009), the Todaro migration model assumes that migration is primarily an economic phenomenon resulting from an individual rational decision of expected job prospects in cities despite the existence of urban unemployment. The model

postulates that migration proceeds in response to urban-rural differences in expected income rather than actual earnings.

"The fundamental premise is that migrants consider the various labour market opportunities available to them in the rural and urban sectors and choose the one that maximizes their expected gains from migration" (Todaro and Smith, 2009: 345). Todaro and Smith argue that migrants leave the low paying rural farm work and seek the higher-paying urban jobs.

3.2.2. Neoclassical approach

The neoclassical theory contends that labor is deployed in such as way that it maximizes returns. This approach states that the marginal product of labour (which is assumed to determine the rural wage) is less than the wage that can be earned from migration. The migrant is able to remit to his or her family a sum adequate to hire labor at the going wage rate to substitute for him or herself if this is required. A bonus to his family is that his absence means one less resident adult unit of consumption, so that there is a rise in the household's per capita food consumption (Palmer, 1985).

In addition the migrant's net gains allow investment in new farm resources thereby overcoming past constraints on breaking out of low productivity agriculture (Palmer, 1985:3). Farm output is not only maintained, but should actually increase. Rural income distribution improves to a better level. The decline in a supply of labor leads to a rise in wages. While the poorest part of the community, which cannot afford to migrate gains from being employed in the farms, the farm owners who employ most labour might on the other hand lose due to the higher cost of labour.

3.2.3. The traditional kinship approach

This approach recognizes that there is a specific seasonal need for migrants' labor power at home. It cannot be assumed that labor that can be hired is available, or perhaps

affordable. Kinship relations with the extended families substituting for the migrant and exchange labor render necessary support (Palmer, 1985).

According to this theory, because of many slack periods during the annual agricultural timetable, the lack of migrant's labor is only felt at specific periods of the year when the total household workforce is fully employed. In large extended families this shortage can be covered by new work arrangements. In the case of the nuclear household experiencing difficulties when the principal male head is away, the husband's kin steps in to replace the missing labor (Palmer, 1985).

This traditionalist theory emphasizes the most important seasonal task of the male migrant, which is land preparation. This theory, which does not include an active wage-labor market, implies no change in rural income distribution as a result of increasing migration.

3.2.4. Theories of private gain and social loss: The generic challenge

Existing literature on some approaches to the effects of male out-migration point to declining agricultural output, at least of subsistence crops. There is also evidence of worsening income distribution, loss of national production and greater inequality of income distribution described as "social crises" (Palmer, 1985). All these have led to more tentative comments on the benefits of migration. While it is still assumed that the migrant enjoys the private net gain, concern over these social costs have raised questions about the use to which private gains are put, and the strategies of adapting agriculture to a reduced household labor: land ratio if remittances are not earmarked for hiring substitute labor. It is not questioned that remittances are made, but the prioritizing of their function has become a matter of concern.

The empirical evidence for the use of remittances to maintain output is inconsistent. Family consumption expenses, especially school fees, appear more significant than

support of farm output levels. Perhaps this shows that in the absence of new government agricultural policy there is no noticeable investment in higher-productivity agriculture.

Some emphasis points merely to possible long-term strategies on the part of migrants, leaving a void in the matter of what is happening back home on the farm where roles must be changing. Why not at least maintain levels of farm output, especially since so much remittance goes to family support? Lastly it needs to be born in mind that many of these challenges to the ideas of pure gain focus only on the ambiguity of private gain to the migrant himself and not on the social losses. Apart from the migrant and society, there is the migrant's wife, and family. How do they fare? It is against this backdrop that gender relations of production, exchange and decision-making must be looked into.

3.3. Different aspects of the migrant labour problem

3.3.1. The causes of migrant labour

Different factors catalyzed the movements of people from rural to urban areas, ranging from the decisions imposed on the people by the state and, by their own decisions through their own consciousness to seek greener pastures. This section highlights not only the economic push factors of migrant labour but also the sociology of political and cultural aspects associated with migration.

3.3.1.1 Policies of the colonial and apartheid government

Studies of the migrant labour system in South African indicate that during the era of apartheid, government pushed men into migrant labour to work in order to pay tax in the form of cash (Harries, 1994). In his studies of the migrant laborers in Mozambique and South Africa, Harries (1994: 226) argues "the vicious circle of forced labour and emigration, the one fuelling the other, was the result of Portugal's policy of developing Southern Mozambique as a protected market for metropolitan produce and as a service economy for South Africa". The Portuguese sold the Mozambicans labour power to the

SA mines in exchange for hard currency. Migrants' choices still played a role for them to sustain their livelihoods.

According to Harries (1994), the first migrant job opportunity for Mozambicans started in the 1850s with the sugarcane plantations in Natal. This mobility was also a traditional resource in a region plagued by seasonal food shortages and often devastating famine that brought war and disease in their wake. To sustain the supply of economically active male labour, the colonial governments opposed the permanent establishment of immigrant African proletarians and prohibited women from occupations such as mining. The emigration of women was particularly restricted because their labour reproduced the homestead, the key element in the cycle of accumulation dominated by men (Harries, 1994).

On the other hand, Kok, Gelderblom, Oucho & van Zyl (2006) and the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) Report (2005) indicate that cheap labour was also drawn from the SA's rural areas (and neighbouring countries such and Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and others) to feed the country's capitalists markets in Johannesburg. Given the past racial discrimination policies, black migrant workers were allowed in the cities only as temporary sojourners, working for low wages.

Delius (1996) indicates that in order to control their movement, these migrant workers were housed in hostels. The mines preferred migrant workers from the rural areas because, unlike people from the townships, they would not join labour movements or strike. There was an increasing flow of job seekers from the villages to the cities, as a result of the Land Act of 1913 which displaced a large number of black people from their arable land, forcing them to take jobs in the mining towns in order to survive.

However, Harries (1994) points out that migrant labour was integrated into economic and social life long before the imposition of colonialism. Despite the colonial pressures,

Mozambique had for many years prior to the discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand mines, long before the small Portuguese garrisons on the coast could exert a pressure on men to sell their labour, a diaspora of about fifteen thousand Mozambican workers stretched across Natal and the Transvaal to Grigualand West and the Cape Colony for work. In 1910, seventy seven thousand and five hundred men from southern Mozambique were employed on the Witwatersrand mines. "Migrant workers from Southern Mozambique played a central role in developing the Witwatersrand into the greatest centre of gold production in the world" (Harries, 1994: 228).

3.3. 1.2. Strengthening capital security and political cross-fertilisation

"The first Pedi workers had seen migrancy as a way of protecting the independence of the kingdom" (Delius, 1996: 23). According to Delius, the Pedi were amongst the earliest migrant labourers in South Africa. Long before the conquest of the kingdom, young men left home for up to two years and retuned with guns and cash to sustain its independence.

The Pedi migrants traveled enormous distances across dangerous territory on foot. From the 1850s they found jobs on the farms and in the coastal towns of the Eastern Cape. From the 1870s until the mid 1890s, they dominated the labour market at the Kimberly diamond fields. Delius (1996) argues that with their earnings, the Pedi men bought guns to protect their land from the invasion by the Zulu, the Swazi, the Boers and the British. They also worked in the gold mines in the Witwatersrand and the coal mines in Witbank and Middleburg to earn a living.

Delius (1996) shows that it is through the migrant labour system that the struggle against apartheid that emerged in cities was able to reach the rural areas. The struggle politics of the Communist Party (CP) and the African National Congress (ANC) was carried through to the countryside indicating the "importance of migrant workers in the process of political cross-fertilization which contributed both to the revolt in 1958 and to the decision to launch Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) in 1961" (Delius, 1996: 5). Three key men from the Sekhukhuneland, namely Motsoaledi, Boshielo and Nkadimeng, went to

Johannesburg as migrant workers, but ended up holding senior positions with the Transvaal African National Congress. They played leading parts in the various campaigns launched by the ANC. Boshielo led the first defiance campaign in Johannesburg in 1952.

Delius (1996) argues that the men also established *Sebatakgomo* as a movement to mobilize rural migrant workers. The organization under the leadership of Elias Moretsele in the 1950s drew a large number of workers and others with strong rural connections into a more militant and mass-based ANC. I would argue that this seek to highlight an important role that migrants played in the transition from apartheid to democracy in this country. It shows that the social development experienced today in the villages, and cities, in the form of human and political freedom succeeded also due to the historical convergence of the migrant workers from various regions of the country into the Witwatersrand where their political consciousness developed, and went back to their rural settings to raise awareness amongst their masses to intensify the struggle.

3.3. 1.3. Limited local economic activity and diminishing agricultural returns

In the early 1900s there was no active economic activity either in the form of firms or mines taking place in the Sekhukhuneland. According to Delius (1996: 21) there was a political and social order based on a migrant labour system, which dominated the economy of the region. Too little cash amounts could be derived from seasonal labour on white farms, and it was mostly women who took advantage of this in the 1930s.

Apart from the political ideology of building a very strong and impenetrable territory that triggered rural-urban movement of Pedi men, diminishing agricultural returns resulting from unpredictable climate also contributed to people resorting to migrant work to earn a living for survival (Delius, 1996). Delius argues that there was not enough arable land on which the rural communities could produce. The remoteness from major markets also hampered the efforts to make food for themselves and generating cash income.

The Bapedi cattle were also dying from droughts especially in the years 1924-9 which saw over 11000 cattle die of starvation. As a result of all this, a large number of young men, coupled with few women, sought jobs elsewhere in the major cities of the country (Kimberly, Witwatersrand, East Rand, Pretoria, Witbank, Middleburg and others) in order to earn a living to support their families (Delius 1996).

3.3.1.4. Cultural obligations of marriage

Delius (1996) points out that rural-urban migration was seen as a necessary evil which had to be undertaken not only in order to pay taxes but also to secure the resources to marry, build a homestead, accumulate cattle and ultimately allow for rural retirement.

As per the Bapedi culture and tradition, after the young men had graduated from the initiation school expectations are that they should start their own families. It is often after this stage that men spent some years as migrants in order to contribute substantially to their *magadi* (bridewealth). Most young men in the Sekhukhuneland left even after primary school to work in the mines and factories far from home as unskilled and semi-skilled labour to buy cows for *magadi*. Those without some level of education attended night schools while working by day to enable them to acquire higher educational standards to help them secure better jobs (Delius, 1996).

In the case of Mozambique, Harries (1994: 227) shows that Mozambican men found it more profitable to invest their energies in migrant labour as wages earned in SA would be exchanged for gold coins as the local medium of bridewealth. Chiefs and elders drew a profit from the wages repatriated by the young men, and gradually, despite the perils of a long journey, the dangers of mine work, and the alienation of wage labour, a period of work in SA became an almost obligatory life passage for young men, while their respectable women remained at home.

3.3.1.5. Political instability

Political instability often threatens local economic activity, which at the end pushes people to neighbouring cities to seek a better life. One key example of this is Zimbabwe. Several reports indicate that the country has seen a total economic collapse which has also affected sectors such as heath, education, finance and others because of Mr Mugabe's iron fist rule and failed government (The Star, 2009).

According to Hamilton Wende (in the Star, 2009) close to 6 million Zimbabweans sought refuge economically in SA as they lost their jobs in the farms and firms, which had closed down due to economic meltdown and brutalization of farmers and Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) members by Mugabe's government forces. With many shops with shelves running empty, many Zimbabweans also saw working in SA as an opportunity to buy their families some groceries.

Given the cholera outbreak in that country and the soldiers and other civil servants joining asylum queues, the number of immigrants passing through the Beit Bridge border post into SA was 3000 a day, in 2009. The country also saw the worsening of influx of economic migrants (6000 a day) from Zimbabwe since the waiving of the visa requirements from Zimbabweans by the Department of Home Affairs (DHA), which was thought would expedite access of short-term job seekers into the country (The Star, 2009).

The post-apartheid political, social and economic changes of the 1990s brought about some changes in SA's internal migration patterns. New trends observed show a huge brain drain of skilled and professional migrants from Zimbabwe to SA. From 1998, Zimbabwe was found to be contributing 90 percent of SA's immigration from Africa, mainly as economically active immigrants (Kok, Gelderblom, Oucho & van Zyl (2006).

3.4. The consequences of rural-urban migration

The literary information presented below reveals the pros and cons of migration on rural development.

3.4.1. What happens to women left behind?

Delius (1996: 34) states "marriages to migrant workers also involved periods of separation which usually lasted for months at a time and could easily stretch out for years. It is not surprising that husbands often emerge as rather remote figures in the accounts of women's lives". New wives usually stayed with their husbands' family and continue to take orders from them until they have their own children and start their own *lapa* (household). This often caused tension, especially between the *makoti* (daughter-in - law) and the *mmatswale* (mother-in-law) as the old woman could make heavy demands on her.

According to Delius (1996), friction between the *mmatswale* and the *makoti* is also exacerbated by protracted tussle over control of funds, because men would prefer to send remittances to their mothers for household expenditures. They would also send money to their fathers to buy livestock to prepare for wealth accumulation after retirement. Migrants would only bring their wives clothes and blankets when they come home. This tension often contributed to wives establishing their new and separate *lapa*.

The consequences of the erratic pattern of remittance force many rural households to resort to dependence on women's labour in the nearby white farms for food and cash requirements. This is a burden of work for women, because besides caring for the young ones, they are also forced to produce food and transport them to the local small markets. Delius (1996) shows that in the 1930s the Pedi women would produce sorghum and take it to shops in exchange for salt, sugar, utensils, cloth and blankets. They would also brew sorghum beer and sell it to migrants who were at home in order to support their families.

The sale of beer was the most important source of income for rural women, as it to some extent helped to redistribute the money that migrants brought into the villages. The money also enabled households to pay for their dipping fees and taxes (Delius, 1996).

According to Harries (1994), labour migration causes the responsibilities of women within the rural areas to increase, and reinforces the men's dominance by controlling the circulation of money. Strom (1986) argues that when men leave their rural villages they create potential problems for the farm household. Strom (1986) and Murray (1976) assert that the decrease of the supply of male labour in the village raises problems with regard to shared tasks, like land preparation and ploughing which was traditionally men's work with women doing weeding and harvesting. Where there is relatively little landless labor available for this hard work – land preparation and ploughing – which has to be done within a very short period of time, the cost of hiring labor will bear no relation to any abstract notion of marginal product. This implies that the cost of employing male labour for crucial tasks is probably much greater than theoreticians have assumed (Palmer, 1985).

Finally, women have a limited ability to supervise hired male labor. The shift to hired labor "reduces the incentives to heavy and efficient labor-input, especially if many of the supervisors are women who may not easily command the respect of labourers who are used to taking instructions from men" (Lipton, 1976: 30). Subsequently, the hired labor may not turn up for the agreed job. Again, the outcome is lower-quality product for the same price. All these factors are dependent on gender relations in the market place.

While men and women usually harvest and carry the crop together, it is difficult to see how women with the assistance of their children can work more intensively and longer to offset the absence of husbands in these seasonally rushed jobs. Hiring extra hands in the seasonally high demand for labor will be at a premium and once again bear no relation to abstract ideas of marginal products. The alternative is additional seasonal work burden and stress for women (Gordon, 1981).

3.4.2. Family disintegration

Kok, Gelderblom, Oucho & van Zyl (2006: 77) point out that much research has been done on the negative effects on rural development of the out-migration of young men. Such patterns of migration resulted in considerable social costs to local households and communities, as families were fragmented and women and children left with the additional burden of traditional male work.

Some of the adverse effects of rural-urban migration are family breakdown, as the result of long absence of men from home – wives and children (Harries, 1994). The blame could not solely be put on men. According to Harries the colonial government was not prepared to oblige migrants to return home quite often as this would push up wages and deprive the colony of skilled labour and in some cases deprive the government of some revenue.

Some men stayed away from home for decades without remitting money or returning. They abandoned their families and never came back and while living with other women in cities. "Remittances were the life-blood of the reserve economy but were often uncertain and sporadic components in the income of individual household" (Delius, 1996: 34). The lack of remittances in the family often made some women go with other men who could provide for them. This also contributed to divorce or separation of migrants and their wives.

3.4.3. New notions of sex and gender needs

Harries (1994) argues that in 1903 the Republic government passed what it called a disciplinary legislation, the Immorality Ordinance, to prevent the sale of beer and the spread of venereal diseases coming through commercialized sex. This was an attempt by the mine owners to channel the migrant workers libidinal energy to work. The policy subjected married quarters to stricter controls and confined men to single-sex barracks,

restricting their access to women. “But without women, the miners soon turned to their comrades to construct their notions of gender and satisfy their sexual needs. The migrants’ pattern of sexuality was merely one of a wide range of cultural expressions strongly influenced by the social environment of the mines” (Harries, 1994: 200).

The practice of male marriages seemed to have emerged amongst Mozambican workers in the early twentieth century. The police record of the time shows these “unnatural offences” more prevalent amongst the native Shangaans and that it was rapidly spreading to other ethnic groups. The Swiss missionary in 1903 claimed that homosexual activities were seen amongst three quarters of the young men in some of the mine compounds (Harries, 1994).

Harries (1994) contends that as men worked longer and more frequent periods on the mines, they became increasingly divorced, not only from their means of production and their culture, but also from their womenfolk.

3.4.4. Decision making authority for women

As seen in Delius (1996) and Lipton (1976), the male out-migration opens women-headed households to manipulation by male authority. It was argued that women’s new independent managerial role could mean appropriating not only the decision-making role of husbands but also the functions of the extended family. However this thinking could be dismissed for the fact that absent husbands still have a say on meaningful and major decisions. For example, deciding on capital investment and raising credit.

Women may be free to make only day-to-day decisions on family maintenance. One migrant husband might leave his wife decisions on land use but retain control over the destination of remittances (Strom, 1986 and Palmer, 1985). Others might decree land use and crop mix but be generous with the use of remittance.

Furthermore, conflict may arise between migrant and wife over total resource deployment. The long absence and infrequent communication could lead to the migrant being unaware of difficulties and opportunities arising at his home base. Secondly, his long-term strategy of saving for transformation of his livelihood on his return could clash with his wife's short-term interest. Thirdly, it might be culturally regarded as the wife's responsibility to raise and support the children from the land left in her charge, and the husband's right to retain the bulk of and carefully spend his earnings (Palmer, 1985).

3.4.5. Effects on rural income distribution

As illustrated by Harries (1994), migrant labour plays a key role in improving the standards of living in the sending areas (those areas exporting labour – like the rural areas). He argues that with the movement of labour into the SA mines, the number of letters received at Lourenco Marques, in Mozambique, multiplied twelve times in 1893. The growth of the post service had, with no doubt, also contributed a great deal to creating new opportunities of jobs to render the delivery of mails effectively. More goods and clothes also passed through the port and sold in Mozambique.

Harries (1994) states that some of the benefits of migrant labour were realized in 1893 when the Mozambican government income amounted to more than £100, 000. Lourenco Marques was transformed from a colonial backwater to by far the richest district in Mozambique, which clearly shows how important migrant labour is for development in sending areas.

Furthermore, male out-migration would lead to some increase in the demand for hired labor in the village (Palmer, 1985). Remittances are often used as capital injection for agricultural production whereby the wives of migrant workers can hire local labour to help in the fields. Palmer contends that if they can retain remitting remittances to the whole household their surplus accumulation should be rapid. This ability to accumulate surplus rather than paying a larger wage bill would contribute largely to future rural income distribution (Palmer, 1985).

3.4. 6. Family health and welfare

Besselling (2001) in Kok, Gelderblom, Oucho & van Zyl (2006) wrote a lot about a link between family health and migration. According to Besseling, "migration health refers to health issues, conditions and risks related to mobile populations and to the way in which they affect migrants, their families and communities, the population of…origin, and the [population] of destination..." (Kok, Gelderblom, Oucho & van Zyl, 2006: 120).

According to Kok, Gelderblom, Oucho & van Zyl (2006), migrant populations are often associated with dynamics that make them more susceptible to diseases, including poor endowment of resources and skills in particular social environments. They get exposed to various diseases through direct exposure, or indirectly through poor living circumstances and/ or psychological stress, amongst other things. Furthermore, Human Development Report (2009: 4) states that migrants who leave friends and family may face loneliness, may feel unwelcome among people who fear or resent newcomers, may lose their jobs or fall ill and thus be unable to access the support services they need in order to prosper. The South African Migration and Health Survey (SAMHS), carried out nationally between 1999 and 2000, supports this assertion by arguing that health status deteriorates with time for both migrants and non-migrants. "The immediate impact involves the exposure of migrants to infectious diseases at the new place of residence, while the gradual effect entails a steady worsening of a migrant's health status" (Kok, Gelderblom, Oucho & van Zyl: 2006: 142).

It is often the less educated migrants and the non-migrants who are much more likely to report poor health due to inadequate knowledge of, or access to local healthcare facilities, and more often than not by poor living conditions. The relationship between migration and health is also closely linked to the differences between areas of origin and destination, given disparities between healthcare facilities in rural and urban areas (Kok, Gelderblom, Oucho & van Zyl, 2006).

Kok, Gelderblom, Oucho & van Zyl (2006) argue that the occupation health consequences, meaning from long-term illnesses and progressions of disability injuries, have been a major cost to labour sending areas. According to the International Labour Office Report (1998), sometimes ill health of former migrant workers may emerge only after employment contracts have ceased and migrants have returned home. This results in rural households and the poorly equipped rural public healthcare systems of the sending areas having to bear the medical costs associated with such ill health.

On the other hand, Simkins (1984), on his studies of income distribution in the former homelands (Venda, Transkei, Kangwane, and Lebowa), attributes a decline in the welfare of the homelands residents in the 1960s to influx control. Simkins argues that the homelands suffered deterioration in absolute terms because of increasing landlessness and unemployment. He is of the view that migrant labour is essential to unlocking the plight of the poor in the rural areas. He said "if more rapid progress against poverty is desired ...free movement of people will be an essential component in a strategy designed to achieve this goal" (Simkins, 1984: 154).

Apart from remittances, notably from husbands to wives, from unmarried sons and daughters to parents and from parents in support of children left with kin, other sources of household income in the homelands, as argued by Simkins (1984), are transfer of payments in the form of old age pensions and disability grants, earnings of people employed in the homelands and subsistence agriculture. Sender (2002) points out that however remitted, earnings still come out top as the major source of income for many rural households. For example, 58 per cent of rural households derived almost all of their income (90 per cent or more) from wages. "No other source of income recorded in the PSLSD Survey, whether from self-employment, agricultural production or state transfers made nearly as important a contribution to the income of poor rural households" (Sender, 2002: 12). Even as shown by the October Household Survey and the Income and Expenditure Survey of 1995, access to wage income is central to determining which households are able to avoid poverty (Sender, 2002).

Harries (1994: 54) writes that in the less fertile areas wage labour became the nutrient for survival, and the acquisition of wives, and goods, a crucial means of reproducing the family and attracting a following. He argues that in Mozambique the bride prices continued to rise and by 1890 stood up at £15 – 20. Parents with female children were also well off since they were receiving money from migrants as *magadi* or *lobola* (bride price) for their daughters.

According to Palmer (1985), a large proportion of remittances are also used for family consumption, suggesting that nutrition is improved. The earnings of migrants might also be readily earmarked for school fees. Medical expenses, however, are often unforeseen and could result in situation that needs women to find additional money on short notice.

3.4.6. Economic and social changes during long absence of the migrant

The Global Commission on International Migration Report (2005) indicates that migration, economic growth and development are linked. Migrants make valuable economic, political, social and cultural contributions to the societies they have left behind.

It is reasonable to assume that changes at home accumulate over the many years of migrants' absence. Every change need not move in the same direction as the years pass. A wife grows older and children grow up. Production and consumption patterns change. The direction of change might be steered by the flow of remittances and the way their utilisation alters.

3.4.7. The aftermath of return migration

The immediate effect of the migrant's permanent return is an increase in the supply of male household labour and a resolution of the particularly labor bottleneck imposed by his absence (Palmer, 1985). On his return, he may change the farm by upgrading it.

Low (1982) poses a model of farm changes during and after male out-migration for Lesotho in which low yields, land left uncultivated and depletion of farm assets are tolerated so that savings from migrant earnings are large enough to invest in transformation to higher productivity agriculture on his return. In other situations where remittances have been used to hire labor, improve land resources, and introduce mechanization, the migrant returns to a better-endowed farm.

Francis (1999) better illustrates, through different case studies, the fundamental role played by returning migrant-workers with their earnings on building farming enterprises. According to Francis, African farmers have been growing crops commercially in Ditsobotla since at least the 1950s. Many have been able to produce on a substantial scale, sharecropping several hundred hectares on land whose holders cannot afford to buy or hire tractors. Most people used earnings from migrant labour, or trading, to buy second hand tractors, planters, trailers and threshing machines from white farmers and produced maize.

The above is supported by the case study of Lawrence Bodibe who went to school up to standard eight and worked in Johannesburg as a carpenter. Mr Bodibe came back home in 1987 and continued working as a carpenter, and grain grader. He then bought second hand farm implements and leased 12ha from the tribal authority at Kopano. Francis (1999) writes that Lawrence and others also kept livestock such as pigs and others, and also owned shops, which typify the diversified livelihood strategies of rural accumulators. However diversified strategies received criticisms on the other hand. It diverts farmers from full-time farming, and often farms collapse as a result (Francis, 1999).

Delius (1996) contends that some migrants when retired managed to sell their skills and earned modest amounts of money as builders and roofers locally. However, the return of husbands who had been away for much of their married lives was not always an easy experience for women who had grown accustomed to managing the household economy

(Delius, 1996). If earnings and savings are very large, agriculture may be abandoned and the land sold.

3.5. International case studies and insights about migration and development

Four case studies are explored to gather various global perspectives about rural-urban migration and development. They consist of Lesotho, India, Pakistan and Turkey.

3.5.1. The case study of Lesotho

The SAMP Report (2005) shows that the highest numbers of migrants entering SA each year come from countries in the SADC region, mainly Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

In the 1960s and 70s, Lesotho, which was one of the poor countries, remained the biggest exporter of black migrants to SA. It contributed about 30% out of the 48% of unemployed respondents from the Southern African region. In addition, SA also attracted a large number of white migrants from Europe and North America who were exploring new job opportunities. They all came to the major cities of the country to work or as job-seekers (SAMP, 2005).

Palmer (1985) writes that migration since 1963 was very selective. More external migrants were considered male since Basotho women were not allowed to work in SA. Half of (an estimate of over 10, 0000) adult male labor force came to work in the SA mines in 1973, leaving their women behind to manage homesteads and raise children on their own. Basotho engaged in migrant labour because earnings in SA were much higher than their local farm income. In 1973, it was estimated that 67% of earnings were repatriated. This includes remittances, transfers of deferred wages, goods and cash brought by men (Murray, 1976; Strom, 1986).

Strom (1986) argues that household type influences the receiver and dispenser of remittances. Young migrants' wives living with their parents-in-law will not normally handle their husbands' remittances. The head of the household normally determines who migrates and control resources. A young woman is subservient to her mother-in-law and follows directions on work. She will have no fields of her own to cultivate or separate maintenance responsibilities. The migrant who would still be under the influence of his father might see sending remittances directly to his wife as inappropriate.

Earnings from the migrant workers are often earmarked for buying livestock (Murray, 1976). Cattle are seen as the source of wealth and reflection of a high social status in Lesotho. Remittances are frequently also used for household furniture, clothing, paying for school fees, buying soap, candles, tea and sugar. Sometimes the wife and husband differ on what to use the remitted earnings for. Mueller (1977) argues that migrants prefer to send only small sums in regular remittances, and bring the bulk of their savings home with them in cash or goods. The effect of this is a separation of the use of migrants' savings between day-to-day living and farming expenses, and choices made between education expenditure, livestock acquisition, improved household and clothing. Once the migrant has determined the size of remittances and savings, the main options for their wives are closed.

Most villagers in Lesotho also depend on subsistence farming for living. With men working in the mines in SA, women do most of field agriculture. Palmer (1985) contends that the absence of male family labor is also the cause of a decline in small-farm output. Fathers-in-law may be old and brothers-in-law in migratory employment.

Significant historical changes could be observed with regard to migration and its effects between apartheid and post apartheid periods. While migrants working in the mines in the apartheid era enjoyed stable incomes, this was not the case in the new democratic dispensation. About 140 000 mine workers were retrenched in 1998 given the new economic policy, neo-liberalism, which SA adopted at the time to allow privatization of state assets and flexible labour practice (Kenny and Webster 1998).

The social impact of this phenomenon, as reflected or felt in the rural areas is often ignored. The flow of remittances into Lesotho and other sending areas decreased as results. It was not easy for migrants to find stable jobs, except for those most fortunately absorbed in casual, temporary and contract work. Family breakdowns and increasing levels of poverty in the labour sending areas of Lesotho, and elsewhere, could be attributable to the curtailed access to remittances for living (Kenny and Webster 1998).

Similarly, adding to the argument by Kenny and Webster, Crush (1999) argues that subcontracting had a devastating impact on the flow of remittances into the reserves. Mine workers were retrenched and hired in subcontracts with high-level employment uncertainty and low pay. For much of the 1990s, the SA gold mining industry has been in crisis. A stagnant gold price, declining reserves and escalating production costs have led to major restructuring. Of the 500 000 mineworkers who were seen in 1987, early 1997 saw the figure dropping to 300 000. With other downsizing and retrenchments that followed, the number declined to 240 000 in 1998. Approximately 80% of household in Lesotho had no other source of income except miners' remittances, according to the 1997 SAMP Survey (Crush, 1999). The resulting hunger and starvation in Lesotho could be attributable to remittances drying out.

3.5.2. The case study of India

Biswajit Banerjee (in Todaro and Smith, 2009) provides the most detailed studies of rural-urban migration, which also attempts to test the Todaro migration models. With most migrants moving to Delhi, Banerjee indicates that a large number of workers who had migrated to the city were attracted to the informal rather than the formal sector. This was because the average monthly incomes of the informal sector were 47% higher than those of formal-sectors workers (Todaro and Smith, 2009). Most work as construction workers, sales persons, some as domestic servants.

There are numerous reasons why other migrants focus on informal sector in the city. They include the lack of contact with the formal sector. Banerjee argues that about two thirds of direct entrants into the formal sector and those switching from the informal to the formal sector found their jobs through personal contacts. Potential migrants get the job market information without being physically present in the city. Ten per cent of Banerjee's sample had a prearranged job in the city prior to migration. Further, the duration of unemployment following migration is usually very short. Most new arrivals (64%) get jobs within one week (Todaro and Smith, 2009).

Banerjee found that migrants kept close ties to their rural roots. This is demonstrated by the fact that some three quarters of the migrants visited their villages of origin and about two-thirds remitted part of their urban incomes. This shows that a concern for the whole family appeared to be a guiding force in migration" (Todaro and Smith, 2009).

Todaro and Smith (2009) argue that besides Delhi, studies in other Indian states like Kerala have shown consistency with the ideas that migrants often have a history of chronic underemployment before they migrate. They migrate only as a measure of desperation, and have the expectation of participating in the informal urban sector even in the long run. Remittances were found to be substantial, and considerable levels of return migration were also documented, among other evidence of continued close ties of migrants to their home villages (Todaro and Smith, 2009).

3.5.3. The case study of Pakistan

Pakistan presents similar migration patterns to Lesotho. Beside the internal (rural-urban) migration, considerable external (emigration) movements to the Middle East were seen. Palmer (1985) points out that the movements to urban-centres were triggered by the rise of administrative and the military sectors, with a higher demand for labor, offering better wages than could be earned in farming. Of about 120 000 migrants leaving the country every year almost three-quarters go to the Middle East being pushed by low productivity in farming.

Regarding remittances, Palmer (1995) asserts that migrants might spend a period of three to four months after obtaining employment before they can be able to send money home. At first, remittances might be spent on repaying loans incurred by travel costs. Those households that find themselves short of necessary male household labour heavily feel the burden of this delay. And the impact can be felt long after net remittances are received.

Furthermore, it is the tradition of women in Pakistan not to control any property or handle money. Despite having her own bank account, a migrant's wife must obtain the agreement of a male relative, often father-in-law or a brother-in-law, to withdraw and use part of remittances, especially for wives in joint households. Even women from the nuclear households with bank accounts in their names were still under constraints (Palmer, 1985).

The large items of expenditure that involved some measure of decision-making by migrants' wives concerned the purchase of small livestock such as chickens. In the case of the purchase of buffaloes, this could not be done without prior consultation with male relatives, despite the fact that livestock care is women's responsibility. For women the most important use of remittances was to alleviate the effect of poverty and to provide some area of maneuverability, including easing their greater workload (Palmer, 1985).

The role of women in agriculture includes participation in planting, sole responsibility for weeding, helping in harvesting. They are also required to do cooking of meals and taking them to men in the fields, and process crops. Apart from their involvement in very labor-intensive domestic work, they also do some income generating activities such as cotton weaving. The absence of men always has an effect. Remaining male labor might be able to manage the farms at a high cost. In the past male wages in the area, for example, rose from Rs 150 to Rs 400 a month (Palmer, 1985).

Nuclear families usually have problems since they are amongst the poor small-scale farming household. Their ability to pay for labour is less than average. Women as a result are forced to apply their labor intensively in tasks normally done by men. Their only other recourse is to rely on their children's labor. And there is a growing tendency for women to confine their growing daughters in the house when farmers are absent (Palmer, 1985: 51).

Palmer (1985) further contends that it is in the poorest nuclear households where any process of surplus accumulation is slowest that a woman might have to wait for three to four years before remittance are large enough to permit the hiring of sufficient labour, to reduce her workload in farming to the level it was at before husband's departure. Women are faced with additional prospects of having to supervise the farm. This entails learning how to obtain seeds and fertilizers and how to sell the produce. With the absence of men, productivity declines, and land may be rented out to sharecroppers.

On the other hand, Shaheed (1981) points to some benefits of migrant labour. He argues that families receiving regular remittances from abroad enjoy a higher standard of living than before. He singles nutrition as the key sign of change. There is better food such as milk and milk products and eggs from the newly acquired livestock. Expenditures in clothes and children's education have risen with migrant families sending daughters to school more frequently. Improved cooking utensils are a clear benefit to women, while the acquisition of sewing machines points to higher labor productivity in an old expenditure-displacing task.

Further, in spite of the poor opportunities for investing profitably in agriculture, large savings were spent on conspicuous consumption. Sound systems like radios, cassette players and other luxury household goods were even seen amongst the poorest-paid external migrants when they come home. Huge saving is earmarked for marriage expenses including dowries and house improvement, symbolizing improved family status (Shaheed, 1981). However men working as migrants can add to women's burden of

domestic chores. For example, the accumulation of furniture does not make cleaning easier for women.

3.5.4. The case study of Turkey

A study of the villages of Bogazliyan and Yozgat in Turkey shows that migratory employment occurred because people did not own land. As shown by the case studies of Lesotho and Pakistan, poverty pushed the local people to seek paid jobs in the urban centres and abroad. Remittances are sent to rural areas on a regular basis to the effective remaining head of household, and are obtainable from banks or post-offices (Palmer, 1985: 12).

Through access to remittances, daily needs are easily met which translates into improved living standards for the migrant and his or her family. This includes furniture and electrical goods (even before electricity is available). Greater buying power is used to reduce time-consuming economic activities such as looking after sheep (Palmer, 1985).
Unlike the migrants' wives in Lesotho and Pakistan who are not free to decide what to use the remittances for, their Turkish counterparts were seen to be having a control over the remitted earnings. Palmer (1985: 63) argues that whenever there is some land left, it is the women who decide what work is going to be done, when and by whom. If the woman does not want to look after sheep personally, she can sell it or hire labor for the task. The degree of her control over the remittances suggests that she has a financial capacity to maintain farm output in the absence of her husband. It could be concluded that women's new authority and resources are adequate to maintain output.

Demand for female wage labour should rise if migrants' wives wish to reduce their own labor input. Inflation of food prices is probable even if more food is supplied from new sources because migrants' families buy more to eat since many landless families have sent men to migratory employment. Abada-Unat (in Palmer, 1985), points out that in villages new social division can be realised by the larger houses of families with a member employed abroad.

3.6. The local case study of Phokeng and women migrants

Bozzoli and Nkotsoe (1991) reveals the structural constraints that acted on the society and economy of Phokeng during the 1920s and 1930s, combined to make it possible for the young women of the time, like the young men of their own ages, to leave home and seek employment in the cities and nearby towns.

In their study of the twenty women migrants from Phokeng, Bozzoli and Nkotsoe (1991: 106) wrote: "leaving home was, for the women, the first in a series of episodes of migration and city contact. In stead of seeing migration as a process of 'oscillation – an endless moving back and forth, with a cultural system constructed to suit – it may be useful to see it as a process that acquired cumulative meaning over time. Thus the women's own portrayal of their lives as migrants casts them as part of an evolving life strategy that passed through phases, each of which acquired a meaning which was built upon the one preceding it".

Bozzoli and Nkotsoe (1991) points out that many South African black rural areas of the time underwent a progressive economic decline. The white farmers enjoyed government support in the form of a series of laws made in their favour, which began to change the terms of the relationships between themselves and those who had sharecropped on their land. Phokeng, nevertheless, continued to maintain a relatively wealthy status. It was able to resist "underdevelopment" for a very long, which gave rise to the survival of its independent peasantry until the 1920s and 1930s. African farmers in Phokeng had bought land of their own, sunk boreholes and employed sophisticated farming methods, and were more advanced than other districts in SA.

The Bafokeng had from the very beginning under the leadership of chief Molotlegi and others strongly objected to laws that imposed segregation upon them. They petitioned against the 1913 Land Act and fought for buying more farms even those reserved for whites, as the African population was growing. Bozzoli and Nkotsoe (1991) argue that

the community owned fertile land and used the land productively, which provided a basis for the wealthier and middle class community of farmers well served with schools in Phokeng.

African farming was effective in Phokeng to such an extent that they were not relying on government for support even in the form of training. They had learnt their farming skills from their observations of Boer agriculture and missionaries. The community also produced a class of young artisans of bricklayers, carpenters, shoemakers and other trades through the support of missionaries. They would make a better living by means of their farming, and not only a better life, but also an easier life. Many natives used to harvest between 100 and 200 bags of grain while others produced 500 per year, which was sold to the markets in Rustenburg in the late 1930s (Bozzoli and Nkotsoe, 1991).

Although Phokeng was experiencing labour migration, it was not the kind of deep and desperate poverty that characterized other areas. As the natives were able to sustain themselves economically, migration was part of the strategy of improving the peasant economy. As one observer noted, in Bozzoli and Nkotsoe (1991: 84):

> The original intention of the natives in going to work was quite a good one. A native went to Johannesburg after having got married. He went there with his wife to earn money in order to be able to buy a span of oxen and a double-furrow plough, and after he had earned enough he came back in order to farm…. The aim and object of most of the natives is to go in for farming, for cultivating the land, and they go out to work in order to earn enough money to buy a team of oxen and a double-furrow plough and a wagon, and once they have got those they stay at home and they do not go out any more.

Unmarried men went to the cities to work and earn enough money for *magadi* and cover the costs of wedding, in order to get married. In Phokeng the first records of migration were that of men sent by chief Mokgatle in 1860s to work in the Kimberly diamonds mines. The chief derived tax from those male migrants and sharecroppers. According to Bozzoli and Nkotsoe (1991), as in other societies of this type, this had not been a sign of

the weakness of the Phokeng economy, but rather its strength and capacity to use the burgeoning cash economy as a means to peasantisation and land acquisition.

Further, Bozzoli and Nkotsoe (1991) argue that even in their reserve Africans could not always buy land as preference was given to white men, these restrictions on land acquisitation affected men severely. This became some of the push factors to migration, as they sought to escape the burdens of a traditional order in which obedience and their submission to the chief could not longer be exchanged for a guarantee of economic mobility. The young and educated ambitions of land ownership had run against the traditions of communalism.

It was also the need of the young and educated to earn more wages in the big cities that motivated them to migrate. They didn't want to look after the cattle of their parents any longer. They wanted to work and be in a position to buy themselves clothes and other things they want. Also contributing to the push factors was the displacement of local black farm workers by foreign workers, from Nyasaland (Malawi). Foreign labour was able to settle for low wages because they were not paying any taxes. In contrast the local labour had head and dog taxes to pay. As a result of this and many other forces, migrant labour increased gradually in Phokeng with others working in Kimberly and Johannesburg (Bozzoli and Nkotsoe, 1991). Johannesburg became the best-preferred place because it offered the migrants more means to accumulate sufficient cash to reinvest in their farms. Although a few of migrants from Phokeng worked in the mines, a large number preferred to work as kitchen boys and store boys, delivery men, shop assistants or worked in dairies, or as gardeners while some worked in the firms in town.

Women worked in the city suburbs of Johannesburg as domestic workers. Most traveled to Johannesburg because it was paying more than Pretoria (Bozzoli and Nkotsoe, 1991). For some women, migration was a matter of prestige or status. It was a sign of adulthood happening immediately when the girls start leaving school and getting religious confirmation. Most left school in standard 3, 4 or five, between the ages of 17 and 20. This was exacerbated by the fact that the mission school did not allow girls to further

studies. For example, one of the women migrants from Phokeng, Mahubi Makgale said: "we were ejected. Penzhorn (the mission school principal) handpicked us according to our ages, the oldest girls were put through confirmation classes, after that you are told to go and find a job. Penzhorn did not allow us to go further than standard 5. He even expelled one teacher that wanted to teach us further" (Bozzoli and Nkotsoe, 1991: 90).

Women migrant workers used to go home twice a year, during Easter and Christmas. On arrival home, it was customary for them to hand the money to their mothers whom would then present it before their fathers for thanks giving. The parents would then provide the migrant worker with the money to go back to the city (Bozzoli and Nkotsoe, 1991).

As men worked to be able to pay magadi and for wedding, the women of Phokeng engaged in migrant work to be able to bring furniture into the marriage. It was also a status to work in cities, as the women there would bring new fashionable clothes as well. It was also a sign of independence for women workers. Bozzoli and Nkotsoe (1991) point out the even the daughters of the most wealthy families in Phokeng decided to become migrant workers. As put by Nthata Mokale, the daughter of one of the peasants of the time, when asked if migration was just a usual thing, she said that no one would marry you if you were not working, being just a bag of lazy bones without a stick of furniture.

Most of the women from Phokeng used home girl networks to get jobs in the suburbs of Gauteng. They had also built upon good position in the labour market that their male predecessors had established in order to find jobs in the better paying suburbs. Their relatives or family members would often find them jobs in the Golden City (Gauteng) before leaving the village. They did not look for jobs for too long, because as soon as they arrive in the city their relatives take them to where they had jobs lined up for them, the following day (Bozzoli and Nkotsoe, 1991). Another advantage in finding a job easily was language. Their ability to communicate well in English seemed to have given the work-seeking women some bargaining power. Most also went to English speaking suburbs of Johannesburg because of the language advantage, as they had problems conversing in Afrikaans in Pretoria. As a result of this they were able to command higher

wages in many areas. Bozzoli and Nkotsoe (1991) indicate for example that Mrs Mokotedi was paid R12 a month in the 1920s, which was more than what most migrants used to earn in Pretoria.

3.7. Conclusion

In migrants' places of origin, the impacts of movement are felt in higher incomes and consumption, better education and improved health, as well as at broader cultural and social levels. Moving generally brings benefits, most directly in the form of remittances sent to immediate family members. However, the benefits are also spread more broadly as remittances are spent – thereby generating jobs for local workers – and as behaviour changes in response to new ideas from abroad. Women, in particular, may be liberated from traditional roles (Human Development Report, 2009: 7).

From the literature reviewed, it is clear that the rural-urban migrant labour system is going to continue for many years unless more attractive job opportunities are created in the rural areas. All the case studies (Lesotho, India etc) reviewed points to similar causes of migration, which occurs as the results of little productive work, and limited paid opportunities in rural areas as opposed to the urban areas. Cities remain the centre of attraction for migrants because of many industries and the advantage of job opportunities there, including in the informal economy. This is also confirmed by various theories of migration. For example, the Todaro Migration model postulates that it is people's expectations of wages that are higher than actual earning that pull them to the cities.

For women migrants, migration was a strategy to escape from traditional constraints, but was also a means to accumulate the dowry they regarded as necessary to make a good marriage and to support their young families later in life. Women also perceived working in the city as a strategy through which they would accumulate sufficient savings to buy a house back in home, as indicated through the case study of Phokeng. This case study highlights that migration could not only be seen as a male thing, but a phenomenon which

women are also capable of venturing into in order to become active agents in the development of their lives and those left behind in their home villages.

The most positive aspect of migration is remittances that migrants send back to their rural home villages to support their families and pay for children's school fees and others. Remittances play a very important role in improving the living conditions of poor rural communities. It subsidizes the rural subsistence economy. The literature indicates that migrant workers also bring home some household goods like furniture, radios and others, improving the social status of the family.

The literature reveals the negative side of migration as well. While men work in the cities and send remittances home, often their wives do not control how they would be used. The in-laws often decide how to spend the money, especially the father in law. Migration is also a vehicle for sexually transmittable diseases, which might have a devastating impact on the rural community. As illustrated through the case of Mozambican workers in the SA mines, this long absence of men from their wives had negative repercussions on cultural and traditional beliefs of marriage as an institution formed by a man and a woman. Men turned to other men as sexual partners, thus promoting homosexuality, as the mines did not allow them to live with their wives in the hostels.

The nature of migration in SA today is not the same as in the past. The literature shows that in the past, the decision to migrate was external as it was mostly imposed upon people by the state. During the colonial and the apartheid era, laws of dispossession and tax were passed also as a strategy to move Africans from their fertile land in order to meet the rising demands for cheap labour in the burgeoning mining industry. Contrary to this, the post apartheid era is highly characterized by people's internal decisions to move freely to where better work opportunities are available. The challenge facing migrant labour in the post-apartheid era is that it is predominantly characterized by massive lay-offs, due to large-scale privatization, also compounded by the selling of government assets. Alongside the massive job loss for male population and the resulting uncertain

jobs, women are also seen to be engaging in migratory labour system as men continue to find it difficult to get jobs to support their families.

CHAPTER 4 PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1. Introduction

This chapter reports on the findings of the data collected at Mare village with an effort to understand the effects of migration on this very small setting. It reveals stories in which people, particularly men, were forced to leave the dwellings of their mothers and fathers and followed the footsteps of their predecessors who left the village in search of work in an attempt to fight poverty, hunger and the starvation facing their families. The ultimate goal of their migration was to improve their family living conditions through a myriad of livelihood generation modes.

The chapter first presents the background of the village in the study. Secondly, a brief profile of the people in the study in terms of their educational levels and gender is also presented. The third section further outlines the findings, in accordance with the other research questions, from the interviews with migrants and their dependants on the consequences (either positive or negative) of migration on the development efforts of their rural area. The last section provides a conclusion with a summary of the general impressions given by the people in the study on the effects of migration on rural development.

4.2. Background to Mare village

Mare village is a small rural setting lying plus or minus 40 kilometers from the Bapedi Kingdom of Sekhukhune. The land belongs to traditional leadership, historically of *Kgoši-kgolo* Mampuru Sekwati who also lives 30 Kilometers away. It is a poor and deep rural village falling under the Makhuduthamaga Municipality, of Greater Sekhukhune Municipality in Limpopo Province.

The village has 140 households. According to the Gamawela Report of 2008, the village forms part of the many villages in Sekhukhune District were unemployment is a very serious issue, and it currently stands at 69% far more than the provincial average of 49%. This represents the lowest percentage of people in employment in all districts in both Limpopo and Mpumalanga provinces.

When the researcher asked people to describe the environment in which they live and also the levels of employment, 20 respondents said that there are high unemployment rates in the area. For instance one migrant said:

> It is a rural village whereby most of the youth and adults are unemployed. Unemployment rates are very high. Most families depend on social grants to survive.

On the other hand, many other respondents pointed to the fact that the types of jobs available locally are in the agricultural sector, which most people ignore to take advantage of given better opportunities in the cities. To show this, one responded asserted that:

> Here at home people depend too much on farming. This is the only kind of work people can find predominantly available locally and it is less attractive to the young ones.

The only type of development in the village that is observable is in the form of a secondary and primary schools. There is also a clean water tap on every street corner provided by the Government of Flanders.

The roads are dusty, bumpy and muddy when it rains. There are no signs to provide directions to the village from the main road, except those erected by this international aid donor, which clearly reads: “Mare Water Project, provided for by the Government of Flanders”.

South Africa is into the 15th year of democracy, but the village still does not see enough freedom in the form of development and basic service delivery by the local municipality.

It is still a dark village because there is no electricity. Villagers use firewood for cooking and candle light and paraffin for lighting. This is despite the fact that electricity has always been on top of the villagers' priority needs list. The local municipality has since failed to deliver this basic service, besides making promises every year since 1994.

Part of the above emerged when the researcher asked the questions whether the community hold meetings and what issues are discussed. One responded said that:

> We talk about community development issues in meetings chaired by the *induna* and sometimes the local councilors. Electricity is something which we have always said we want to have in this community, but is not delivered yet.

The director for community services in the local municipality, Mr Lekala, also confirmed that the municipality was not able to cater for the community's priority needs, as he said:

> Top of the Mare community needs is electricity and we have not been able to supply it as we also depend on Eskom to do so. Mare is also one of several villages in which the municipality is planning to facilitate electrification, but the challenge is budget constraints.

4.3. Profile of participants in the study

Out of the 23 people who were interviewed individually in the study, the majority were males. For example, out of the nine migrants interviewed, only one was a female. Table 2 below presents the profile of participants in the study in terms of gender.

Table 2: Participants Breakdown by Gender

Category	**Number**	
	Male	**Female**
Migrant workers	8	1
Dependants of migrant workers	2	6
Local municipal official/s	1	
School teachers	2	2
Ntona	1	
Total	**14**	**9**

The levels of educational achievements of the respondents also varied. For example, there were those who had academic qualifications beyond grade 12 and those below it. Most migrants had qualifications up to grade 12.

For the majority of those with low levels of education or those without tertiary education, the Sepedi language was used in the interviews with them. There were also a few group of senior cititizens interviewed, as they had a privilege of observing migration unfolding over many decades. This also provided a better understanding of the historical nature of this work. The following table presents the profile of the participants in the study in terms of educational qualifications (see table 3).

Table 3: Participants Breakdown by Educational Qualification

Category	**Number**	
	Grade 12 & below	**Tertiary & post graduate**
Migrant workers	8	1
Dependants of migrant workers	8	
Local municipal official/s		1
School teachers		4
Ntona	1	
Total	**17**	**6**

4.4. Who Migrates?

When the researcher asked the question "who is a migrant worker" in the families of the respondents, it emerged that migrants are predominantly male. For example, 18 of the people interviewed said that it is their brothers, fathers and uncles who are migrant workers. Contrary to this, one respondent said that it is their sister who is a migrant worker whereas another one said their mother is a migrant.

In addition, the findings reveal that it is mostly the young and the courageous people who view the cities as attractive places that offer better jobs. Hence they migrate. It is mainly the grade 12 graduates and those who drop out of higher school, from ages of 18 upwards whom their relatives take to the urban areas to work or look for work. For example one respondent from the focus group interview said:

> My uncle took my two brothers and my sister after matric to work in Gauteng with him. He found my brothers a job at his firm. My sister also works as a cleaner there. My uncle said there are a lot of job opportunities in Gauteng, and when I finish matric I am also going to join them.

4.5. The root causes of migration

Three key reasons emerged from the interviews when the researcher asked the respondents why people became migrant workers. These are explained in details below.

4.5.1. Employment opportunities

Lack of better job opportunities in the rural village is one of the push factors to rural-urban migration. Nearly all the respondents indicated that the village has high levels of unemployment.

One of the respondents, Mr Tomas Makolane, when asked why he became a migrant worker, responded that:

> I was looking for a job and there was no work at home. So I went to Belfast where I worked for TBA, constructing the roads. Subsequently I moved to Middelburg where I worked for Spoornet for 11 years.

In fact "looking for a job", was mentioned by all the respondents as one of the reasons why they left the village. They said that they are forced to find jobs elsewhere because there is nothing locally despite dominant local farming industry, which also offers little job opportunities. Farm work is less attractive to the local youth.

Further reasons given by the respondents as to why they don't want to work in the local farms, they said it is because the sector offers short-term jobs. It is seasonal. Most village youth, men in particular, also despise it for being women's work. Farm work involves doing hand-hoeing and collecting maize cops.

There is also a fence-making project in the village by the name of *Hlapi Holofela Leraga*. However that too is despised for being old people's work. Those who work in it serve as volunteers and only get paid if they managed to sell the fence. There is no sustainable

market for the fence, so the business is not very viable. There is also a construction company that builds low cost RDP houses in the village. Although it cannot absorb everyone, many local youth have also shown less interest to work in this project. According to one of the respondents:

> This construction company is not paying us enough money. You work the whole day doing hard labour, building houses, but get only forty rands a day as payment. I can rather go to *makgoweng*[7] than building RDP houses.

4.5.2. Wages

All the 30 respondents (with the focus group included) in the study indicated that wage disparity plays a major role in people's decision to choose work in urban areas than in the rural village. Those working in farming activities were said to be earning very low salaries as opposed to those working in the industrial sectors far away from home. Farm work is seasonal and those engaged in this activity earn R840.00 per month. There are no benefits and people work 7 days per week.

The respondents stated that those working far away from home earn more money than those working in the village. For example one of the respondents, Edward Mankge, said:

> I worked in Vereeniging, Burgersfort and now Witbank. Although it is very far from home the salaries are better there because I take home, excluding benefits, nearly 30 times more than what I would get here at home. I'm able to send money home every month for my kids. I had also given financial support to my siblings since – given that I am the first-born and my parents were unemployed – while they were at university. I also paid for my own part-time studies and am now a qualified professional in engineering. I achieved all these as a migrant worker.

[7] The concept means places of the whites in Sepedi. It's the place most perceived to be offering better work opportunities and better wages. It can also be any place or even the place of the blacks, but could only be classified as *makgoweng* as long as it has those opportunities available.

4.5.3. Lack of basic resources

Investigations in the village suggest that it is not only the lack of jobs that pushes people out, but also a lack of resources that could help them create jobs for themselves. Respondents complained about the fact that there is no electricity in the village. Ex-migrants could not continue with their trade in the village like doing welding works for doorframes and windows. As clearly put by one of the respondents:

> I'm a self-taught mechanic and designer. I also know how to design frames, which is something that I could venture into as a business opportunity. Villagers buy frame far away and also have to pay transport. It could be cheaper to buy them locally, but because there is no electricity my plans are stuck. Without electricity you can't do anything. You can't even watch TV. We have been requesting the local municipality to provide us with the electricity but to date nothing has happened. We are tired of the promises they make every year and worse when they want votes.

In the village there are no entertainment amenities, which also contribute to the youth shunning the area. As clearly put by Mr Lekala of local municipality:

> There is nothing that attracts the youth in the village. Most prefer to work in Gauteng where there are movie places, restaurants, stadiums and others.

4.6. Major destinations for migrant workers

Gauteng province emerges as the major attraction of migrant workers. When the researcher asked the respondents their preferred work place, 10 of them said Gauteng and 5 Mpumalanga. Four of the respondents indicated that their relatives moved to the towns of Limpopo and one pointed to the Eastern Cape as the place where his relative works.

Migrants select a destination because they have a relative or friend who works there. The advantage of having a migrant worker relative is that they would provide a new migrant with food and accommodation and inform him when companies need someone. Some

migrants find jobs already organized for them by their relatives. As a result most would hardly take a month to find a job. As said by one responded:

> My uncle took my two brothers…after matric to work in Gauteng with him. He found my brothers jobs at his firm. They didn't have to market[8]. My uncle said there are a lot of work opportunities in Gauteng, and when I finish matric I am also going to join them because they can offer me a place to stay.

It is clear that many people prefer to work in Gauteng because they think there are more job opportunities in that province than anywhere else in the country.

Mpumalanga, especially Witbank, remains the second preferred destinations by migrant workers in the village, followed by the mining towns of Burgersfort and Tubatse (Steelpoort) in Limpopo. For example although Edward Mankge (the respondent) started working in Vereeniging, he said that he latter moved to work in the mines in Burgersfort and subsequently the coal mines of Witbank. Table 4 below presents the provinces and cities most preferred by the migrant workers from the village.

Table 4: Provinces & cities where most migrants work

%	Province	Cities
60	Gauteng	Johannesburg, Pretoria, Benoni, Springs and Vereeniging
29	Mpumalanga	Witbank, Middleburg and Mashishing (Lydenburg)
5	Limpopo	Polokwane
1	Eastern Cape	East London
-	Western Cape	-
-	Northern Cape	-
-	North West	-
-	Free State	-
-	KwaZulu-Natal	-

[8] As mostly used by job seekers, it means to look for a job.

When asked what sectors they work for, responses have shown that those working in the Gauteng province are absorbed in the manufacturing industry and big retail businesses, while majority of those working in Mpumalanga indicated that they work in the mines. Migrant workers who replied that they work in Polokwane are employed by the South African Police Service (SAPS) as policemen. The Burgersfort, Tubatse and Mashishing towns also offer job opportunities in the growing mining sector.

4.7. Migrants and their rural base

4.7.1. Why do migrants often come home?

The researcher wanted to know why migrants still keep their rural base, and received various opinions on this from the respondents. Many migrants themselves (including all other respondents) mentioned that they come home to see their wives and children. It is very important for a migrant to send remittances home or bring groceries. For example Callies Lekgeu said:

> I should often go home to see my children and family. If I don't go, I send money so they can buy food and other things.

Most migrant workers do not live with their families where they work in the cities. They leave their families back in the village. When the researcher asked why women and children stay behind while the migrants work in the cities, one respondent said:

> I can't live with my family in Johannesburg because I'm there just to work. My heart is at home right in the village where I come from. So as a Pedi man, I work to develop my family and my home. That's where I was born. My parents and ancestors are here in the village. Besides, cities are not the places you can raise your children in. There are no morals in the city. Children in the urban areas don't have respect for elders. We meet them in the streets everyday; they take drugs, smoke and drink alcohol. They party a lot and end up being involved in gangsterism and even prostitution.

While some migrant workers stay alone in cities, others squat with friends or relatives in a small rented room in a township, hostels or a shack. They are there for a temporary period. Cultural events such as wedding ceremonies, initiations and funerals also contribute to factors that often pull migrant workers to their rural base. Some respondents mentioned that their forefathers and foremothers are buried in the village, so they also come home to perform ancestral calls at their family graves.

The cost of living with a family in the urban area can be seen as one of the push factors that cause migrants to always go back home. The cost of living in the city is too high. Hence migrants prefer their families to remain in the village, while in the process making frequent visits to them. As clearly put by one migrant worker:

> It'd be very expensive to bring all my family here. We are six and each has to pay R150 taxi fare from the Mare to Gauteng. If am to send my children to school in the city, it means I have to pay their school transport, give them money for food and pay expensive school fees. It is very cheaper in the village because they go to school on foot nearby and the school fees charges are much lower.

Further, it appears that migrants are pushed back home by the crimes in the urban areas. Some prefer taking their remittances home and spend weekends with their children in the village rather than bringing them in the urban areas because it is not safe.

One of the respondents said of her uncle who was a lecturer at the University of Limpopo (Ga-Rankuwa campus):

> My uncle had for many years worked in Gauteng. But when he retired he decided to move back to the village because it is cheap and safe to live here. You don't pay rent or rates in the village. He built himself a nice big house. Besides, the good thing about the rural area is that you don't have to worry about that some thugs would break into your house while you're sleeping or someone would steal your car. It's very peaceful and crime free in the village.

4.7.2. How often do migrants come home?

When the researcher asked the respondents to indicate how often migrants come home per year, most have ticked ‘every month’ as the preferred time. For example as shown in table 5 below, 12 of the respondents said migrants come home every month end. The second popular time is every fortnight. Most migrants gets paid by month end whilst others by end of every two weeks. Hence they time their visit to their rural base carefully tied to their payday.

Distance and traveling costs also dictate the period of visit to home. For example, it was revealed that one respondent who works in the Eastern Cape Province comes home once per year. This is clearly because of the very long distance between the place of his work and his home. The migrant would avoid frequent visits home during the year, to cut travel costs and spending a short time at home with his family. He would rather send remittances home than take a journey home.

Contrary to the above, the findings point out that those migrant workers working in Gauteng and Mpumalanga provinces come home every month and every two weeks or every two months. Those working in the towns of Limpopo Province come home every weekend because it is closer to home and the travel costs are low.

Other job factors such as leave and the level of payment also dictate how often a migrant worker comes home. Those earning a lot of money could easily make frequent trips home as opposed to those who earn less.

Although migrants plan to come home months end as indicated, unplanned visits also occur some times. For example, one respondent said:

> If there is death in a family or a relative, one has no choice but just to pack bags and go home to offer the support needed. You can’t wait for a month end or pay day for that. If you don’t have money, you can borrow or ask for advance payment from your employer.

Table 5: Frequency of home visit by migrants

How often	Number of responses
Every fortnight	4
Every month	12
Every two months	3
Other	3

4.8. Remittances

From the above sections, it emerges that migrant workers travel to work in the cities to make money and send them back home to the rural area. If they do not come back home by month's ends they would replace their self-visit by remitting money home. This section looks at remittances, which is the source of migrant work and the nerve centre of rural livelihoods.

With remittances come questions of how often is the money sent home, how much is sent and who decides on the use of that money and what is the money mostly spend on?

4.8.1. How often do migrants sent remittances home

On the question of how often migrant workers sent money back home, a large number of the respondents (more than 18 of the respondents) indicated that every month. One migrant worker, Callies Lekgeu, also evidences this as he said:

> If I don't go home every month, I must send them money by giving it to someone who goes there or by bank so they can also buy groceries.

As some migrant workers might not always find a chance to go home, they often think about those left behind at home by sending them money by months end.

4.8.2. Who receive remittances and who control how to spend it?

As to who receive remittances at home, the respondents indicated that it is their wives or their mothers. However it emerges that the answer to this question also depends on the marital status of the migrant worker. Unmarried migrant workers mentioned that they send their earnings to their mothers or sisters. Those married sent them to their wives or their parents looking after their children.

Although a migrant worker spends most of his time in the urban area, he still controls how his remittances could be used back home in the rural area. However, this is not the case with all of them. Some migrants said despite the fact that their wives are always at the receiving end, they also have the power to decide what is needed in the house as they are the ones who manage the household in their absence. In support of this, it became very clear when the researcher observed the money relation issue in the village, especially a period before Christmas, when one migrant worker phoned the researcher asking if he could take his wife to town to buy groceries for the festive season. When the researcher wanted to know what to buy and how big the load would be, the migrant worker, Edward Mankge, said:

> Mmago Marobele is the one who knows what she wants for the Christmas. I gave her the money, so she'd tell you what to buy.

4.8.3. How much money is sent home?

In an attempt to uncover how much money per migrant flows down to the rural area every month, the researcher found no uniform answer to the question. For example one respondent said:

> I send or leave home R500 every month because it can manage to meet my family needs.

From the above assertion, it is clear that the amount of money sent home every month is also influenced by the size of the household. Nuclear families get tight budgets while the bigger ones get more. Other migrants reported that they remit in the range of between R1000 and R1500 a month. But the most, as indicated by 17 of the respondents, send or leave home between 500 and R1000 to cover family's living expenses. Migrants indicated that they save some of their earnings for future use.

Further, the question of how much each migrant sends home also depends upon the amount of money the migrant earns in the city. Those earning better wages tend to send bigger amounts, and those earning less send lesser monies home. For example a migrant worker with qualifications in the field of engineering and working in the mines in Witbank appeared to send home around R2000 a month, whilst a police man or a teacher sends home between R1000 and R1500, which is roughly between ten and twenty percent of their incomes.

Apart from monthly remittances, migrant workers reported that they sometimes exchange their hard earned cash for household furniture that they send home. Through the entire period of data gathering process, the researcher also observed bakkies and caravans carrying home some households' goods such as tables and chairs, music systems, fridges, televisions, electric stoves, mattress set, sofas, empty tanks, wheelbarrows, and others.
The researcher has seen, on the N1 to Polokwane (and Zimbabwe), Moloto and Moselalegotlo Roads leading to Groblersdal and Jane furse from Gauteng, bakkies, kombis and sometimes buses overloaded with household goods, including second had furniture, at night during months end heading to villages. These are also important valuables for migrants in addition to remittances.

4.9. The aftermath of migration on rural development

This section of the report focuses its discussion by attempting to reflect on how well respondents feel migration affects their rural life style, whether it improves community

development or affect it negatively. Responses suggest that labour migration translates both into positive and negative impacts on rural development.

4.9.1. Positive effects of migration on rural development

4.9.1.1. Subsidising rural agriculture

Remittances of migrants or their savings over a long period of time help to subsidize the rural farming. More than 15 households have tractors in the village. They were all ex-migrant workers. For example one of the former migrants, Tomas Makolane, who is now a small-scale farmer said:

> I have worked in Belfast and Middelburg for over ten years and managed to save and buy a tractor to plough the fields in the village. We don't get any assistance or subsidy from government, but I manage to cultivate close to ten hectares of my own every year using my small tractor.

Furthermore, Mr Makolane indicated that those still in migrant labour provide their households with money to plough their fields every year. As a small scale farmer,
Mr Makolane is also an entrepreneur as he rents out his tractor to villagers to plough their fields. He charges R600 per hectare. He is able to generate money, invest it and buy farm inputs (diesel, seeds, temporary workers and others).

The main crop produced by the village farmers is maize – which also serves as a staple food crop for the villagers and most people in SA and the SADC region. Apart from migrant labour, most villagers still depend on farming for living in the village. Unlike the well-established commercial farmers in the nearby Groblersdal and Marble Hall areas who used to receive farming subsidies from the state, this agrarian community receives no assistance from the government. They depend solely on the remittances sent by those working in cities to subsidies their farming activities. With the money they receive from migrants they are able to buy fertilizers and hire tractors to till the soil and to cover the costs of transporting kraal manure (*morole*) to the fields. The farming practices of the

village farmers are mostly organic because they are too poor to afford modern farm inputs and pesticides.

When asked how much money each migrant spends on farming, the majority (17 of the respondents) said that they would normally budget between R500 and R1500 for this – depending on the number of fields they would cultivate. This would go towards covering the costs of hiring a tractor and people to do hand hoeing and harvesting. Hiring people to assist in the fields, although it's a seasonal work, means a lot to the unemployed rural people who can find jobs in the fields. Rural farming is labour intensive.

Money is not the only form of payment for those working in the fields as they can also choose to get an 80 or 60 kg mealie-meal in exchange of their labour power. Small-scale agricultural activities offer a little hope for those unemployed in the village as they are protected from falling into a trap of hunger and starvation by little economic activities available to them.

There are great benefits associated with migration and rural farming. This helps villagers to be self-sufficient. One respondent said that:

> The more migrants spend money on farming, food expenditures would come down as their families would no longer buy *bupi* (mealie-meal) or *merogo* (green vegetables). They would produce them from their own fields and back yards.

It also appears that some of the village migrants were able to own land back home because of the earnings they saved over time to prepare for a productive retirement. For example when the researcher probed further to learn if there were any other benefits which can be traced down to migration, Moditšana Mankge said:

> Many people in the villages depend on farming for living and income generation. Listen, and let me tell you this: My father, *Kgoši* Sesinyi Mankge, his brothers and other Mankges, including, but not limited to Malebogo, Matabola, Sebeirane, Selebanyetši, Piet and their father, who is my tatemogolo (grandfather), Senyeki Mankge, bought the land of Magopheng in 1952. They sold their cattle and put their money together as a family consortium to buy the farm known as

> Spietskop from the white farmer, Jan Schutte, who went back to Pretoria. They called their farmland Magopheng. My grandfather had six wives and together with his sons, they had many cattle because as they were growing up they went all over to work and accumulated livestock with their earnings that they eventually sold to buy the land of their own in Magopheng. They settled here since 1935 before they bought this farm. Land is very important. My father fought in the Second World War (WW2), which happened during the period of 1939 – 1945. But unlike his white counterparts who were rewarded with farms, he was only given a bicycle, a watch and *jase'a setšoni* (big jacket). It was no easy to buy a piece of land even back home where they came from in Gamawela, where they were since dispossessed by apartheid laws from their fertile land, which was given to white farmers by the then government. As time went by with more and more removals from land, it also became more difficult for many Africans to acquire land. As a result other communities such as the Phetlas sought refugee in my fathers land here in Magopheng – gaMankge, as they were also disposed from their land in Gasedikana, near Mashishing. They had nowhere to go, but because of the good heart of the Mankges they were also given fields to feed their children. My parents used to cultivate their land with oxen and produced hundreds and hundreds bags of maize grain, beans and others. It was cheaper to engage in farming production then, using traditional methods. Nowadays many fields are no longer cultivated because tractors, fuel and fertilizers are very expensive. The government is not assisting us black farmers. They had promised us fertilizers since December 2009 when they let us fill some forms. But now is January 2010 and, we haven't received any fertilizers as promised. The importance of owning a land can also be seen in the mountains of this land as they offer better avenues to continue with our legacies of cultural practices such as circumcision schools for boys. My brother, Primbag Paul Mankge, whom my father gave him the reigns as the *kgoši* in Magopheng, now runs a successful circumcision school as a well respected surgeon in the region for decades.

One old lady also echoed similar responses to highlight the positive ultimate goals of people who engaged in migration in the 20th century and before. She said:

> Most of the men who went out to work elsewhere, in the back of their mind they always thought about investing in something ever lasting back home, which was either in the form of building a homestead and buying farms and its implements. Your grandfather, Ntweng Mankge, also bought a big farm in Stebong and used the fields productively for maize, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, beans and others that they sold in the nearby markets. Even when he went to the World War, his heart was still on his farm. Hence he took your father, *Moruti* (Rev) Mohubi Frans Mankge as someone he so much trusted, to manage the farm and take care of his children, as most were still young. Your father also followed in the footsteps of the men. He later also joined the migrant labour. He worked in the coalmines of Witbank, pushing *ingolovane* (mine coal cart/ wheelbarrow). He

became very successful quite quickly. Unlike other workers, the mine bosses often increased his pay because he worked very hard, as he was very strong, given that he never drunk alcohol or smoked. Mohubi was very productive and was never absent from work, so he was able to make more money and retired back home sooner than many other migrants. He learnt many trades while in Witbank as a migrant worker, and by attending night schools. He returned back home permanently as a tailor, a shoemaker, a builder, a carpenter, an engineer and a Zion Christian Church (ZCC) pastor, having been baptized in Witbank on 16 December 1944. Back home, in Gamawela, Mohubi bought machinery and turned part of his homestead into a mealing plant. Many locals used to grind their maize grains there for free to feed their children. They no longer had to travel as far as Stofberg or Mashishing to process their maize grains. Mohubi could fix any thing, and he continued to sell his skilled services locally by building houses for other people, designing and repairing *dituruturu* (water kettles) and making clothes. He made clothes for his children. In the past government did not build schools for African children on the farms. Today his children, including daughters whom according to the old traditions were not allowed to go to school, are very proud of him because they are no different from those who went to schools. Mankge opened a home school for them and taught them, including other villagers, how to read and write. With his skills, he even built a house for the white farmer called Mogatiana in Gamawela with cement and stones, which was something that was never seen before by many. He also built himself a house and furnished it with modern furniture, tables and chairs. He bought many cattle and donkeys to cultivate the fields. He also kept goats, sheep and chicken for food and manure. Every winter he used to slaughter a cow and a goat or a sheep to feed his family. With his livestock and productive fields, and as an entrepreneur, Mankge was able to feed his many children from his two wives.

4.9.1.2. Sustaining local businesses

Local businesses (tuck shops and others) also depend on the earnings of the migrants for survival. In most instances migrants do not come home with groceries that would last until the next period of their home visit. Respondents show that they come with little packages, like meat and sweets that would last for a day or two. The rest is bought from the local shops such as mealie-meal, cooking oil, cake flour, sugar, tea, bread, salt, vegetables, chicken heads and feet (*menotlwana*), coal, cantles and paraffin.

There are four shops that are running strongly in the village and sell groceries to the villagers.

4.9.1.3. A boost to children's education

A large number of the respondents (19 of them) mentioned that they have children and siblings attending at the local schools. The children and the schools also depend on the migrant workers' earnings to function effectively. Migrants said that they pay school fees for their children, pay for their school trips and buy them school uniforms, and buy other additional school material such as dictionaries, posters, pens, and others. The village's two schools, Mafetatšubela Primary School and a Secondary known as Mohlodi High School still continue to enroll learners because their fathers have not taken them to study in the urban areas where they work. The researcher is also a proud product of these less resourced village schools.

The respondents pointed out that without remittances of the migrant workers there would have been no schools in the village. The community, from their own pockets, established the old buildings of the school. Each household contributed the so-called "school building fund" to build the schools. The community was able to raise funds easily from households in the village because a source of funding was available in the form of men working as migrant labour. Most migrants are proud of the fact that they worked hard to educate their children and siblings. For example, Edward Mankge said that:

> I was able to help send my siblings to university because I earned money as a migrant worker. Not only did I succeed in sending my siblings and children to school, but I was also able to finance my own further tertiary studies.

A reasonable number of villagers also managed to send their children to tertiary institutions. Although the village is very small, it has produced experts in the medical field, information technology, engineering, government policy, education and other fields. They all succeeded in one way or another through the support of family members who worked as migrant workers.

4.9.1.4. A pillar to social activities in the community

Remittances of migrant workers also sustain various social clubs in the village. Every household is expected to contribute a monthly fee, which goes towards the burial society to cover the funeral costs in case there is death in the family or one's relative. These investments or social insurance are normally called "societies" in the village. They are very important form of social insurance in the village. As clearly indicated by one migrant:

> Part of the money which I send home every month has to go to a burial society. It costs only R40 a month but it covers all my family members in times of need. It is the responsibility of my wife at home to ensure that this amount is always contributed as required.

Other forms of social clubs, as indicated by responses, offer financial assistance for wedding ceremonies. On the question of what other benefits migration brings, the researcher uncovered that a young migrant can work and save money to buy cows for *magadi* (bridewealth) for his beloved wife. The costs for the wedding ceremony would be covered by the money from the social club he can join and invest money in.

As per the Pedi culture and tradition, every man who has been to the mountains for circumcision is ready to marry and start a family. After the circumcision school (*Koma*) he needs to follow in the footsteps of his father, brothers or uncles in the city to work for money to raise his children and build his *lapa* (household). However, given the heavy price of *magadi*, it is not always easy for a wedding to take place at the same time. If he is clever enough, he can join a club of young men teamed up to help one another to cover the costs of wedding ceremonies.

4.9.2. Negative ramifications of migration on rural development

When men leave their rural settings for work in cities, they on the other hand expose their families and the community left behind to other problems. When the respondents were asked about the negative effects of oscillating labour in the village, two main issues emerged. They are socio-economic and health problems. These problems are outlined in detail below.

4.9.2.1. Socio-economic problems

Working far from home has its own peculiar disadvantages. The social responsibility of caring and bringing children together as a man and a woman is jeopardised. Women face that responsibility alone.

The burden of work for women grows as men move to urban centers for work. Tasks that were traditionally meant for men like erecting fence and preparing land for ploughing becomes the responsibility of women as men migrate. For example one migrant's wife said:

> We are now left alone as men went to the urban areas for work. As women we were used to do hand hoeing and harvesting, but now we have to learn to also do the clearing of the field and ploughing. We have to do all these things to ensure that our fields don't lie fallow as other households cultivate theirs in the new season.

Male out migration also bring stresses to grandfathers and grandmothers remaining at home with their grandchildren and their young *bomakoti* (daughters-in-law). When men move to the cities for work, the elders often had to keep on thinking about how to keep the reproduction of the *kgoro* (family clan) going in the absence of male persons, and thereby also to feed and raise their children. When probed about what issues they had

about migration as they were growing up, Nkoko'a Lelengwa (an old woman of more than 100 years) said:

> While I was growing up, your great-great grandfather Mašikane Mankge, who was a strong traditional healer and a surgeon, was very worried when his sons went to cities for work and took time to come back. As there was no strong male labour to work in his family farms, the old man resolved to cultivate the fields of his sons by himself. Although he was very old for this work, he did it anyway in order to feed his grandchildren. Mašikane was saying if he didn't work the fields to produce food again, his grandchildren would end up invading other people's fields at night like porcupines – to steal maize for food. He didn't want that to happen to his grand children. I also lost my other two brothers from Mankhedi's *kgoro* whom had since gone to cities while I was still a young girl and never returned back home. Even now I'm still thinking about them, longing to see their children or grandchildren because it has been long. I don't think those brothers of mine are still alive. Again in your *kgoro*, that of Sekwabetlane, Hlabile Mankge who was meant to be your grandfather had also migrated and never came back. Hlabile is said to have fought in the great wars for this country. That's why Tshubelela, who was his younger brother, was requested to take charge of his family (wife – Mamphela) so that she can also bear children who belong to the Mankge *kgoro*. Hlabile is your grandfather.

Another issue raised is high travel costs. Respondents complain about the fact that they spend a lot of money on taxis when wanting to visit their families back in the rural areas. For example Tomas Makolane when asked about the challenges of working far from home, he said:

> Although I used to earn much better than working at home, the reality is that I had to spend some money on taxis to travel home. That is why it was not easy for me as a migrant worker to travel home every weekend because it is costly.

Some migrants said that it would be better if their employers were giving them traveling allowance to be able to visit their families every month.

Increasing crime levels and accidents rates have become other issues of concern for migrants. They reported that sometimes, during month ends when they go home *ditsotsi* (petty-criminals) rob them of their meager earnings while some of them become involved

in road accidents. Further, the increasing costs of accommodation in cities are also mentioned as a problem. This is exacerbated by high demands of a place to sleep by new migrants coming from rural villages in the country side and neighbouring states.

4.9.2.2. Health problems

Migrant workers are perceived as potential carriers of infectious diseases, which therefore pose a great danger to their families and rural community. When the researcher asked the respondents about the potential health threat posed by migration, they stated:

> Although there are no formal reports about the incidences of HIV/ AIDS in the village, speculations and suspicions are roaming around. It can be estimated that about 10% of deaths in the village are caused by HIV/ AIDS, but it is a secret. It is silent but happening. Orphans can give you a proof.

Furthermore, when the researcher probed further from the migrants themselves if there could be any possibility that they were infected with the HIV/ AIDS pandemic and how. Only two respondents said they were infected. They said:

> As migrant workers we spend much time in the cities far from our wives or girl friends. As a result it becomes easy for us to fall prey to casual sex, which is sometimes unprotected. When we get home, by virtue of working in the big cities – and perceived to having money – village girls also fall for us.

Despite the HIV/ AIDS, migrant workers also mentioned that they are exposed to other diseases such as gonorrhea and TB.

5. Conclusion

The village of Mare is exposed to many challenges as a result of a lack of industrialization nearby which leaves people socially and economically disempowered. The findings revealed that the lack of job opportunities in the village is the main push factor to rural-urban migration. For the local people to regain a sense of dignity for themselves, they had to migrate to the major city centers of the countries for jobs. It is mainly Gauteng and Mpumalanga provinces where most migrant workers found job opportunities in the mining and manufacturing sectors. Gauteng attracts 60% of migrants from the village, who mostly go to Johannesburg and the East Rand, while 30% of them go to Mpumalanga, mainly Witbank and Middleburg. It is mostly the young from teenage years and after matriculation who move to look for jobs in the big cities of the country.

Of the utmost importance to migrant workers and their dependants are remittances. The findings showed that migrants sent money to the village every month. The money they send home is important to sustain the local socio-economic activities. It emerged that with the remittances of migrant workers the villagers were able to build a school for their children. They were also able to pay school fees, invest in community social insurance schemes or clubs and marry and build houses and sustain the local agricultural productions. While the young migrated to the cities, thus causing a brain-drain, as no one is left in the village to help women in the fields, the old moved back to the village where their pension money would further help sustain the local economic activities. They bought livestock and tractors to plough the fields, while others run shops. Migrant labour appeared to be a solution to hunger and starvation in the village, but also seen as something that could pose a health risk to villagers especially through sexually transmitted diseases coming with the mobile labour. The old people hated migrant labour for withholding men in cities who never came back to support and run their families themselves.

CHAPTER 5 ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

This chapter analyses and interprets the research findings presented in the previous chapter. The chapter analyses the findings using noticeable similarities and differences and trends picked up by the researcher in the village. The analysis focuses on the purpose of the research, and the research questions, namely, to investigate the effects of rural-urban migration on rural development. It reflects and draws on the literature and theory discussed in Chapter 3, thereby also exploring key themes and issues that have emerged throughout the report and discussing how these reflect on the research questions.

The Todaro migration model, as seen in Todaro and Smith (2009), postulates that migration is primarily an economic phenomenon resulting from an individual rational decision of expected job prospects in cities despite the existence of urban unemployment. It could be argued that amongst the theories reviewed in this study, Todaro offers some of the best thoughts to answer the questions as to why people engage in migrant work. The research findings in the village support his assertion. Most people cited lack of jobs opportunities, insufficient resources and lower rural wages as the reasons why they left the rural village. These reasons suggest that peoples' movement from this village, like as theorized by Todaro and Smith, are purely economic.

More than 80% of the respondents said that unemployment is the problem in Mare village. This further confirms the Gamawela Report of 2008, which puts the level of unemployment rate in the entire Sekhukhune district at nearly 70%. The figures highlight the fact that people are worse off in the village in terms of standing a chance to find work locally as opposed to trying elsewhere. Unemployment at the local level is more than two times higher than the provincial unemployment rate of working age population (15-64 years) in Limpopo, which is nearly 30% (Labour Force Survey, 2009). This statistical evidence suggests that the deepening problem of unemployment cannot only be confined to the village, but can be seen as the social problem facing the province as a

whole. Therefore government efforts to create jobs should strive to reach out to the province as a whole.

According to the findings, 60% of the migrants from the village of Mare work in the highly industrialized sites of Gauteng, whereas the coal and platinum mines in Mpumalanga absorb 29% of the local people. While Todaro and Smith (2009) argued that people are drawn to cities despite unemployment in the urban areas, the findings in the village of Mare suggest that it is for the reason that people are able to find work in the cities quicker than at home that makes them go there. It could be argued that Gauteng province has become the center of migrant labour because of, not only its ability to offer a job market to potential job seekers but by, also offering workers better wages than anywhere else. Bozzoli and Nkotsoe (1991) indicated that one of the reasons that influenced women migrants from Phokeng to go to the City of Gold, besides their good command of English language, was because they were paid more money there.

Other case studies, elsewhere, like in Lesotho reveal similar socio-economic realities discovered in the village of Mare, despite these areas being close to 1000 kilometers apart from each other. Historically, since the mining boom, Lesotho has been the biggest exporter of workers to SA. Nearly 80% of households in Lesotho depend on remittances from the country (SAMP, 2005; Kenny and Webster 1998 and Crush, 1999). Like in the case of the Mare village, a growing number of the Basotho people continue to cross into the SA mines for work (SAMP, 2005). Currently, another country that is competing fiercely with Lesotho as a labour sending area to SA is Zimbabwe. It is clear that with the economic meltdown and political instability in that country, Zimbabwe would undoubtedly overtake Lesotho as the major exporter of labour into SA, in 2009. Various reports show that economic refugees continue to cross the border everyday into SA. Most were crossing illegally which slightly changed when the SA government waived the visa requirements to allow Zimbabweans to travel and look for temporary work in the country.

As witnessed in the above, a lack of local opportunities is obviously a key push factor to migration. This finding clearly substantiates the fact that peoples' movements are mostly

driven by economic reasons in favor of the regions offering better work opportunities. It could be argued that the fact that people still leave the rural village for better life in the cities confirms that even into 15 years of democracy spatial economic inequalities still exist in SA. This is inevitable, because as suggested by the World Economic Report (WDR) of 2009, the concentration of economic activities in large cities cannot be avoided and it is usually desirable for economic growth, but the large spatial disparities in welfare levels that often accompany this concentration are not. Industrial development is centered on cities like Johannesburg, Pretoria, Witbank and others, which attract labour, while the rural areas are under-developed and poor. According to Harries (1994), this skewed development under apartheid was often influenced by the desire of the colonial government to support emerging, mining and subsequently manufacturing, in building an economic base for the country through the supply of a large pool of cheap labour.

The mobility of labour towards the cities is not unique to the SA context only. The WDR (2009) indicates that across the world, an estimated three quarters of economic production takes place in cities. The more dynamic coastal regions of China produce more than half of the country's Gross Domestic Products (GDP) with less than one fifth of its land area; and Greater Tokyo accounts for 40 per cent of Japan's total output on just 4 per cent of its land area. In the developing world, this concentration has been accompanied by sizeable spatial disparities in living standards and welfare. Hence the guiding principle for designing policies and institutions that can help developing countries and regions enhance economic concentration while keeping spatial disparities reasonable is better integration of markets (WDR, 2009).

Although the country and its major cities have for many decades provided a lot job opportunities which attracted labour from all corners of the country's rural areas and overseas, one would argue that the situation is likely to change in light of the current global economic crisis which has also affected SA. The Global Crisis Monitoring Report (2009) points that the world and South Africa are in recession. Recession is defined as two consecutive quarters of economic shrinkages. According to the Business Report (May 27, 2009) shrinkages in the economy prompted National Treasury director-general,

Lesetja Kganyago, to say that SA would be lucky if the economy achieved zero growth for the year as a whole. Further, the release of the GDP data by Statistics SA also showed a contraction of 23 percent in mining and agriculture, a 15.5 percent decline in manufacturing and a 0.5 percent decline in the services sector. This raises implications of increasing job cuts for many migrants, especially for companies failing to survive the harsh economic down turn. Many families, who depend on remittances from migrant workers, as shown in the study, would obviously be negatively affected.

The findings also put the role of local municipality (Makhuduthamaga) in question especially on its support for rural development. It emerged that the municipality failed to deliver electricity to the villagers despite numerous calls from the community to do so every year. Many of the people interviewed from the village indicated that without electricity their business development initiatives are compromised. The villagers need electricity to run their small businesses. It could be argued that instead of being a catalyst for local economic development, the municipality has become a stumbling block to that. The problem within the local municipality is exacerbated by the fact that the officials don't capacitate themselves with qualified think tanks and qualified employees to do the job. They often employ their political cadres in the positions they are not qualified for. Hence they continuously fail to plan and bring strategic support tools to turn the rural areas into more attracting zones. The municipality obviously needs skilled personnel who did development studies in depth from universities to provide a strategic leadership to stimulate and support local economic activities so that it can help create jobs for the local people.

The findings suggest that migration causes rural brain drain. This is a phenomenon where the rural village loses its economically active population to the bourgeoning cities of the country. It was clear when the researcher asked who migrates that the responses pointed to mostly the youth from the ages of 18 upwards. Not even a single villager in Mare over the retirement age 65 was found to be a migrant worker. The majority of migrants from the village, as seen in table 2 of Chapter 4 of the report, are male. Given this evidence, it could be argued that this rural setting has become a retirement village for the elderly

people. It is also a place to raise the young ones to supply the urban labour demands when they grow.

With the long absence of strong labour force in the village, any attempts to revive the local economic activity would not be an easy task. The rural subsistence farming activity lacks some form of sustainability as a result of men working in places far from home. This perpetuates some skills deficit in the village. For example, it is believed in Mare village that it is men's duty to clear the fields and erect fencing, but women are left alone to do this. This increases the burden of work over women and the elderly people left alone in the village to raise the kids and work the fields alone, as the economically active population (EAP) of men have become migrant workers.

I observed that fencing around the family farms and fields is worn out and porous as there is no one to maintain it. Consequently, cattle, donkeys and goats often roam around and easily destroy the communal crops in the fields. Thus causing a decline in farm outputs.

The same results have emerged in Lesotho. As it was once the major exporter of men to the SA mines – contributing about 30% out of the 48% of unemployed respondents from the Southern African region, according to SAMP (2005) – women are left to do all the work themselves. Palmer (1985) argues that when one looks at Lesotho, complemented with the land preparation and plowing, which is men's work there will be no doubt that the absence of male family labor is the cause of a decline in small-farm output. Fathers-in-law may be too old to assist and brothers-in-law are in migratory employment.

The study at Mare village reveals that over 70% of male migrant workers come home only once per month. This makes them absent fathers. Implications are that when kids get sick it is the wives who have to worry about getting them proper medical care. Some women live in fear as they worry about their safety every night as their men live and work in cities. The most interesting fact is that most rural farmers are women who produce and manage their farms alone in the absence of men. This on the other hand gives them power to make their own decisions in making ends meet.

In contrast to popular view emerging from some migration and development literature such as in Palmer (1985), which asserts that once men leave women alone in the village they become overworked, the findings at Mare reveal a different picture. Although one cannot deny that some women have to take over their men's work when they migrate, it has emerged that this is more prevalent on those families or households without remitting husbands or family members. What was observed from remitting migrants was that remittances become a substitute for men's work at home. The women left behind would use the money sent by their husbands to hire other retired men in the village to assist with the maize production and preparations in the fields.

According to the research results in Mare, close to 80% of migrants from the village travel home every month to see their families, and leave them money in the process. This was in contrast to the migrants from Phokeng who, as clearly shown by Bozzoli and Nkotsoe (1991), used to travel home twice per year, during Easter and Christmas. Bozzoli and Nkotsoe assert that in the 1920s and 1930s, employers were not eager to give employees leave days and week ends off, except when there was a death in the family. Since the new government took office, in 1994, much improvement had been seen in the form of worker benefits, which includes time off for workers to see their family. This was not possible in the past since the owners of the mines kept men for several months in the mining compounds without visiting home, and exploiting them in the process of making profits.

According to Harries (1994), the fact that men lived together in the mining compounds, separate from their wives for a long period of time, led to homosexuality in the mines in 1903. This could be seen as one of the challenges that come through male out migration. However in contrast to Harries, the findings in Mare did not portray homosexuality as one of the undesirable consequences of male out migration. This is because of the fact that as opposed to those migrants of the year 1900s who lived in same sex barracks, most migrants of nowadays live with their wives and children in their own houses, *mekhukhu* (informal settlements) and backrooms in the city townships. Therefore this type of family

set up presents little opportunity for migrants from the village to experience or engage in same sexual relations.

It could be argued that homosexuality gives rise to the new culture that would often be seen to clashing with the traditional domain of marriage. Hence, government should take a leading role in educating all forms of people to be more tolerant and respectful to one another, and be united in diversity.

The ultimate goal of marriage is to produce children, to grow the *kgoro* (clan). It was for this reason, as revealed by the findings in this study, that when one of Mašikane's sons went into migrant labour in the far cities and never came back, the old man spoke to his other son to take care of his brother's wife. Although the family never often spoke about these arrangements openly, this was the story that the researcher uncovered through the spiritual guidance and research with the most senior citizens in the family, Nkoko'a Lelengwa. She said:

> …Hlabile Mankge who was meant to be your grandfather had also migrated and never came back. That's why Tshubelela, who was his younger brother, was requested to take charge of his family (wife – Mamphela) so that she can also bear children who belong to the Mankge *kgoro*. Hlabile is your grandfather…

As highlighted in the above, it could be argued that historically elderly people did not like the mobility of male out labour as it is clear that it would often force them to bear the pressures of giving the young *bomakoti* they married and brought into their family a necessary support and care, and help them bear children who belong to the same *kgoro*. This would be done in the event when the husband would no longer come back home. Hence an acting husband with the same bloodline, especially the brother, of the migrant would be asked to take care of his brother's wife like it is his wife. It is very much apparent that migration was also a cause for separation between men and their wives. It turned men into absent fathers who left the care of their children in the hands of their mothers and elderly grand parents and substitute fathers.

Notwithstanding the above, as discovered in the findings those migrant workers not able to travel home by end of every month end or any time still send their money home. However sending money home is not enough. As per the African culture and tradition, a migrant worker is still obliged to visit families back home. The study shows that his ancestors are in the village because that's where they are buried. For him to get blessings he must visit the village. As he visits his village, this would be a sign that he still has the interest of his village at heart, the "land of his ancestors". Linking with the village often gives the migrant interest and opportunity to plough back into it, by improving the social-wellbeing of the family left behind or the community in the village.

The researcher observed that unlike the old migrant workers, who used to leave their wives back in the village and provide for them through remittances, there is a growing tendency amongst the new and young migrants once married who prefer to live with their wives in the cities. One has observed that this happens to those young men who have become so weak that they take orders from their wives, unlike their older generation. Another reason is that some educated women also prefer to work and help their husband to provide for their families. The problem comes when they permanently disappear in the city and adopt the street cultures of city life, hence turning their backs on their extended families and ancestral land. The consequences of their actions are often not rosy. Despite the fact that they would deprive their families and their village of the financial resources to improve and develop, they come back after many years of disappearance just to be buried. While they lived like tycoons in the cities they return back, especially men, looking like hobos – having lost everything to the city women and others. I would believe, as said by the respondents in this research, that this is a punishment for "turning your back on your ancestors. They also neglect you in your life journey".

Another unintended effect of male out migration is the deepening power relations in favour of men, especially on big and long-term plans. Women left behind in the village can only spend money sent by their husbands on short term plans like buying groceries and clothes, paying children school fees, hiring labor in the fields, and others. The findings show that a say on major capital investments like building family houses is

reserved for men. With the money they are able to substitute bonds or housing loans which subject the poor to life long debts. The Sandton-like mansions or big houses that form the beautiful village of Mare are not built from loans but hard cash earned by family members as migrant workers. The village has more than 30 such big houses, and this is normal in relation to surrounding villages. This finding supports Murray (1976) who argued that migrants bring the lump sum of their remitted earnings home with them after long period of absence from home, part of which is used to upgrade the family dwellings to a much better shape or by building the new ones.

In contrast to the case study of Lesotho, the migrant workers' wives at Mare are free to decide how much to spend on their family groceries and in the fields. This differs significantly with the case study of Pakistan as well, where Palmer (1985) contends that women are not free to decide what to use their remittances for. However the case study of Turkey reflects similarities with what was observed at Mare as women there also are given some authority to decide on how to spend the money received from their husbands as remittances. Palmer (1985) argues that the degree of women's control over remittances suggests that they have a financial capacity to maintain farm output in the absence of husbands. This confirms the findings at Mare, as most women there manage the family farms alone in the absence of their husbands. This implies that with more support from government in the form of training and financial resources and implements, these rural women would be able to turn their small scale farming activities into commercial ones.

On the other hand, the key finding from Mare village is that male-rural-urban migration presents growing net benefits to this rural community. As discussed in the above, the findings have shown that about 80% of the respondents said that migrant workers send money home every month. The capital injection or the inflow of money into the village every month is good for the local economy. Small-scale farming as the key economic activity in the village is supported by remittances sent home by men. As found in the village, small-scale farmers do not have business plans and are not prepared to use their houses or property as sureties to secure loans from the private banking institutions. Without even the support from government, they depend entirely on remittances that

provide them with easy capital injection to acquire farming inputs. The money amongst other things is used to hire tractors to plough the fields and hire seasonal labour to work in the fields. This has positive implications for local job seekers, especially women who can find jobs in the fields closer to their families.

Furthermore, capital injection coming through remittances also helps to sustain food security to feed many rural poor. For example, as revealed in the study some families in the village don't buy maize meal. They can either sell their labour power in their neighbours' fields by doing hand hoeing and get paid in cash or bags of maize meal. Most village farmers store their maize production for consumption. Migrant workers also accumulate live stock (cattle, goats and sheep) to provide their families and other villagers with milk and meat resources. This offers the villagers some means to become self-sustainable, because with their cattle they were also able to cultivate their fields.

The findings suggests that if these rural people are able to cultivate their fields with remittances to produce maize, beans, pumpkins and others, they could change their lives for better should they receive adequate support from government. Besides the national government, even the local municipality that is closer to them does not help them. For example one retired migrant worker said:

> We don't get any assistance or subsidy from government. But I manage to cultivate close to ten hectors of my own every year using my tractor.

Access to land or land ownership in Mare is not a problem, as the demand is currently low. Every household or any new family only pays less than R500 to acquire a stand, which also entitles them to a free piece of land to produce food. The findings reveal that as the results of the huge savings from migrant labour, some of the villagers were able to acquire their own bigger portions of farmland elsewhere to use as their future productive asset once they have retired. For example, some of the *Batubatse ba Mankge*, namely Sesinyi and Ntweng, bought farms from their savings to produce maize, sweet potatoes, beans, pumpkins and others that they sold for cash in the nearby markets. Bozzoli and Nkotsoe (1991) also observed the same developments with regard to the migrant workers

from Phokeng. They contend that land ownership was one of the factors that turned the Bafokeng nation into one of the richest in the world. What is unique about the case study of Phokeng is that migration was not only reserved for men. Women also went into migrant labour so that they become active agents of development in their villages. Like men they would also invest money to build a house back home in the village – thus showing some degree of independence from the traditional roles.

There are huge advantages for farming in the village. Land costs for farming amounts to zero. There is still a vast chunk of arable land that is freely available to every household that wish to invest in farming. However the soils or fields are under-utilised because it is not every household that could without support afford to spend money on them. One observed that the local municipality offers more support, in the form of training, exposure to market, access to finance and others, to white commercial farmers in the neighbouring Grobblersdal and Marble areas. Black farmers or small-scale farmers in the villages are ignored. As viewed by Lipton and Lipton (1996: 6) elsewhere, white farmers "have credit institutions, irrigation, agricultural research, electricity, education and good roads: all routinely available and often subsidised". This clearly suggests that the black rural farmers in the village should be provided with the same support given to their white counterparts in order to enable them to be productive in their farming activities. Given the support needed, there would be a decrease in the movement of people to cities as villagers would be able to create more jobs for themselves on the farms.

The key economic activity in the rural area is agriculture, as seen in the village. Agricultural productions sustain the rural livelihoods. This helps to alleviate hunger and starvation amongst the rural poor. The problem facing rural farmers is that they depend entirely on the rain for watering their crops. With the good rains their productions often happen to be bigger than those of their white counterparts in the commercial farms. Delius (1996) – a renowned writer in rural history – who studied most parts of rural areas in Sekhukhuneland, argues that during time of good rains some bumper harvests were seen and crops from the subsistence farming were also offered for sale in the 1930s. Contrary to this, since the 1980s until 2010, I have witnessed sporadic productions in the

village which became good when the rain was good. Without the good rains the village farmers do not see good returns on their crop productions. It is for this reason that many productive fields often lay fallow every year and people depend on remittances for living.

Further, remittance creates a chain of income distribution in the village. The findings show that the market for rural tuck-shops thrive as a result of remitted earnings of migrant workers. It emerged that although some migrant workers would bring some few groceries home with them, the bigger portion is acquired from local shops. All the small things they buy from the local shops play an enormous role in the local economy. Job opportunities are created in the second economy because of the huge buying power coming through the remitted earnings of the migrants, part of which is spent in the village.

According to Delius (1996) migrants built substantial herds to produce milk and meat, which they can sell to generate income. As viewed by Delius, the livestock acquired by migrant workers plays a major role in supporting income generation in the village. For the villagers, owning cattle is a sign of wealth because they could be sold for a higher price. For example, currently one cow amounts to approximately R10 000. A cattle farming is big business in the village since most are used for slaughtering during weddings and for *lobola*, funerals and any other ceremony like *dialogane* (graduations from circumcision schools). In addition one observed that some families still prefer to do their farming 'strictly organic', although they themselves call it a traditional way of farming. In their fields they don't utilize any mechanization in the form of a tractor or pesticides or fertilizers. They use their oxen for ploughing and their kraal manure to add more nutrients into their soil. This suggests that migrant work offers men some financial resources to diversify their rural livelihood.

Male out migration should not only be seen as a brain-drain, but a brain-gain too. This could clearly be seen through the returning migrant workers. All the migrant workers interviewed in the study said that they would return back home when they retire from their firms in the cities. Most, if not all, migrant workers retire back in the village armed

with different skills from the cities. Some continue their trade to be hired as builders, mechanics, and drivers and in other areas by villagers back in the locality. For example, Rev. Mohubi Mankge returned from Witbank armed with a variety of skills to start his own enterprises.

The findings further show that most newly retired migrants have bought tractors to cultivate their fields. Others have established small businesses, witnessed by the shops available in the village. For instance, one of the ex-migrant workers, Mr Makolane, said that after retirement he decided to do something with his pension money. He became a fulltime small-scale farmer and an entrepreneur. He bought a tractor to plough his own fields, which he also rents out to other villagers. Mr Makolane also keeps livestock to sell and produce milk. He also gives free milk to his neighbours to help feed their families. Despite the fact that he runs a small business, he still finds other means to invest in socio-economic development like fighting hunger in the village.

Some studies in the village of the North West province also corroborate the findings in Mare. Francis (1999) while studying the effects of migration on the Ditsobotla village asserts that the fundamental role played by earnings of returned migrant workers on building the farming enterprises can not be underestimated. She states that Mr Bodibe who was a migrant worker returned back home and continued working as a carpenter and a grain grader. The former migrant worker bought second hand farm implements and leased 12ha from the tribal authority. He also owned shops that typify the diversified livelihood strategies of rural accumulators (Francis, 1999).

In addition, even the rich migrants who could still afford to have houses in the city where they work still go back to the village. For example, Mr Tim Tebeila who is reportedly Limpopo's wealthiest man (the multibillionaire who owns several mines) said:

> I am based in Johannesburg so that I can meet investors and source new business. I shuttle to Limpopo like a migrant worker because of work but my heart will always be in Limpopo, with the province's people (Sowetan, July 13 2009).

As shown by the findings in this study, this Sekhukhune born multibillionaire, who also grew up in poverty, wants to fight poverty in the villages he grew in. He often takes time off from his hectic schedule to travel back to the villages to assist the poor and needy with food parcels, blankets and other resources. As part of his social responsibility involvement, Mr Tebeila established the Tim Tebeila foundation which helps feed the needy, including pensioners, the disabled and the youth in Limpopo. He sponsors a number of students from disadvantaged communities in Limpopo to further their studies in various institutions of higher learning at the universities of Limpopo, Wits and Medunsa and in London.

In light of the above, it could be argued that migrant work offers the rural people unique skills and experience which, without moving to cities, they would never have acquired. It is through the skill they have that they are often employable when they come back home or when job opportunities become available locally. The findings show that with the new mining boom in the Greater Sekhukhune District Municipality, especially around the Burgersfort area, there is also a growing number of city migrants who are returning back home to take jobs in the mines, closer to their families. Many have become preferred labourers because of their many years of relevant work experience. It is through the skills of the migrant workers that a "reverse migration"[9] could occur.

[9] I mean a phenomenon whereby people moving to cities (regions traditionally known to offer better job opportunities) for work now return back closer to their villages or rural areas (areas also known traditionally to have little, if not zero, job opportunities) to take new available job opportunities there. In the process they also come with the city people who are also in search of work.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter concludes the study by looking at the purpose and objective of the research. It makes recommendations to support rural development and oppose their current sole dependence on migrant work. Finally, the chapter makes suggestions for future research.

6.1. CONCLUSIONS

The study investigated the effects of urban-rural migration on rural development, by focusing on a village of Mare in the Greater Sekhukhune District Municipality in Limpopo. This is one of the villages in the district which sends a large number of its economically active population to the major cities of the country for work. Through interviews with various participants, including migrants themselves and their dependents, and the review of relevant body of literature on the topic, interesting stories have emerged why people migrate and the manner in which they benefit from this form of work. A striking point is that the benefits do not only accrue to the family of the migrant itself, but trickles down to the community as a whole in various forms.

Historically people were forced to migrate to cities because of the past laws to meet labour demands in the mining and other industrial sectors, which built the economy of this country. In addition, others, as in the case of the Sekhukhune kingdom also migrated to cities to work for money to be able to buy guns to protect their kingdom against invasion by any tribe or colonial rulers. Currently, the study has revealed that people are pulled to cities because of available job opportunities in those areas. Rural people also need to maintain a better socio-economic well being, which they find difficult to meet since there are not enough jobs available locally where they live. Hence they migrate.

The study suggests that as long as government is not doing enough to create jobs for the poor, rural dwellers people will continue to flock to the cities for work. The sprawling informal settlements around the major cities of the country, which makes it difficult for the Department of Human Settlement to meet its goals and targets for decent housing, are

direct results of government's failure to address historical spatial imbalances or inequalities. The findings have shown that people, especially men in the village are attracted to the cities by its ability to provide better jobs and better pay. This leaves the village women with more physical work in the fields which was traditionally men's work.

The fundamental role of rural-urban migration that underpins the rural development efforts can never be down played. The focus on the findings and other literature (international case studies and some theories) all backs the fact that without migration there would be little progress in terms of poverty alleviation and creation of sustainable rural economy. Key to migration is remittances that serve as a support base for sustainable rural diversified livelihoods and development outcomes for poor communities. Black small-scale farmers use remittances to subsidies their farming activities. Some have acquired productive lands or farms for themselves in order to expand their productive means. Despite the lack of agricultural support from government, small scale farmers are able to realize good produce, which can be doubled, should the support from government be extended to them as well.

The potential of human mobility (migration and development) is also important for improving education and social welfare of the people left behind, as children are able to pay school fees and buy school uniforms. More local jobs in the fields and shops and other services are created, as remittance are available to spin that local economic activity. The benefits of rural-urban migration trickle down to the whole community to uplift their living standards.

The improved rural infrastructure in the form of high quality houses and the improving socio-economic status in village are also direct results of migrant work. The system also provides the young people who left the village without any skill to come back with very good skills and experience, which they are able to use locally. This proves that migration cannot only be criticized as an unwanted system that causes brain drain, because on the other side of it there is a brain gain. The benefits are numerous for ones family and the community as a whole. As seen from the cases in Lesotho, Zimbabwe, India, Pakistan,

Turkey, Phokeng and others, migration is clearly a world phenomenon. There is no country in the world without migrant workers. The challenge is that when migrants move from villages to cities and back they also transmit diseases, like HIV/ AIDS, to their sexual partners in the process. This would be a major threat to migrant work and the source of rural economy.

6.2. RECOMMENDATIONS

This section suggests recommendations as to the ways and means that government and policy makers can use to enhance development in the rural areas. The solutions proposed are not meant to provide an end to migration, as the findings have clearly shown that migration provides resources to uplift the socio-economic status of the families and the community left behind. As the study exposed the real causes of oscillating labour, suggestions are made as to how rural people can continue to live a better life and develop themselves without being forced to depend entirely on migrant work.

The main social problem facing rural villagers is a lack of better job opportunities. Analysis of the findings yields that this is the major push spearheading the exodus of active population out of the village. According to Concern (2001), provision of resources by local government could play a crucial role in building effective capacity to support local people in their businesses. It was clear from the findings that local people would prefer to live and work closer to their families if job opportunities became available. Given that agriculture is the dominant economic activity in the village and the abundance of land available, cooperatives could be recommended.

As seen in other municipalities in Limpopo, like in the Mopani district, co-operatives offer people improved work opportunities and the means to generate incomes closer to where they live. The Moshupa-Tsela Agricultural Cooperative in Mopani was hailed by the locals as their best bet in their fight against poverty and unemployment (Sowetan, July 15 2009). The cooperative gives young and aspirant farmers a chance to produce dried fruits, jam, atchar, fruit juice and wine. Since it is mainly the youth who make up a

high number of the unemployed in Mare village, it would be appropriate for the local government to encourage these young people to form cooperatives. This business area has an advantage of attracting more youth given that it offers them real ownership of their means of production or assets and alternative employment. There is enough land in the village, which is freely available to those who would want to use it productively. The Greater-Sekhukhune Municipality and its local municipality need to learn from other municipalities around the province and elsewhere and lend its full support to local people.

In most areas where government structures fail to deliver public goods as expected funding is cited as a problem. As revealed in this study, the local Makhuduthamaga Municipality also blamed financial constraints and "still struggling with institutional capacity" as the reason why it could not offer the people of Mare and other villages the services they prioritized in their needs list (Makhuduthamaga Municipality Integrated Development Plan Report, 2008/09). It is clear that the municipality lacks adequate skills in terms of people qualified to deliver the services to the local people. To address these challenges, partnerships with other metropolitan municipalities locally and internationally would be a way to go for them to share skills and resources. The local municipality also needs to make efforts to fill the existing posts with qualified people to attract investment in the area. With the land available and potential for cheap rentals, farm-processing factories could also be established in the area. This could offer the locals the job opportunities they need closer to their families.

With the booming mining industry in the Greater Sekhukhune Municipality, especially around Burgersfort, Tubatse and elsewhere, government should make efforts to establish minerals processing plants closer to the mines, which would help create more jobs for rural people. In his State of the Nations Address, President Zuma mentioned rural development amongst his top priorities. The newly formed Department of Rural Development and Land Reform would clearly help address the problems of underdevelopment facing the rural areas. However more efforts are needed from government to re-direct new investments into the rural areas. The constraint of lack of access to finance remains a key impediment to the growth and development of the Small

Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMMEs), and decisively addressing it must be one of our leading priorities (The Department of Trade and Industry Budget Vote Address by Dr Rob Davis, Minister of Trade and Industry, 30 June 2009). Improved access to start ups and development finance to the rural business would mean less people on the queue of "looking for a job" in cities. This would help reverse the influx of migrants in cities, hence the many social ills affecting the cities such as unmanageable population growth, unemployment, spreading informal settlements and the attacks on foreigners by locals as fighting for scarce resources would be controlled.

It is clear that more jobs needs to be created locally to reverse the pro city movement by the rural people. This calls for active state intervention by establishing financial support mechanisms right where people live, in the local municipality, to assist the small medium enterprises, as well promoting the implementation of Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (B-BBEE). B-BBEE is an integrated and coherent socio-economic process that directly contributes to the transformation of the SA economy and brings about significant increases in the numbers of black people that manage, own and control the country's economy, as well as significant decreases in income inequalities (The B-BBEE Codes of Good Practice, 2007). With the growing mining industry in the surrounding villages of the Greater Sekhukhune municipality, this would translate to other business opportunities for the local people. I would further recommend that the government uses Section 10 of the B-BBEE Act No 53 of 2003 to force the mines to give local communities reasonable stakes in the mine for them to share in the wealth of their land.

Furthermore, procurement opportunities from the mines should also be made available to the local businesses, also in the form of enterprise development for local business. As viewed by Jack and Harries (2007), the enterprise development element of the broad-based BEE becomes a tool that helps business start-ups triumph over the "valley of death". Enterprise development enables the start-up enterprises to receive operational and financial support to make it more sustainable" (Jack and Harries, 2007: 1).

It could be argued that with B-BBEE, which seeks to create jobs and transform the economic set up of the country, the spatial development that was historically in favour of the cities would be reversed. More jobs and development opportunities would be created right in the villages; hence there would be fewer reasons for the local people to migrate to cities. People would choose to live and work in the areas they love most – closer to their families – which is where they were born and bred.

The government should seek to plan with the rural people and honour those plans by employing and training the very same people to deliver programmes to alleviate the plights of the poor. Those approaches and methods which seek to enable rural people to share, enhance and analyse their knowledge of life condition, to plan and act, the so called Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) as seen in Chambers (1994: 953) are essential and appropriate for use in this area. It should be a real goal for government and policy makers to plan and provide such services as enough water for small scale farming irrigation, electricity, and better-tarred roads essential to underpin developmental efforts in the rural area.

However, despite all the efforts to provide jobs locally, there would still be those who migrate to other regions for better opportunities, as migration is itself a global phenomenon. It is like a wind. For every migrant worker, government should send a message of safety in terms of engaging in sexual acts and others so as to not jeopardize the very important benefits that come through migrant labour to the families and communities left behind. It is obvious that in the long term the remitted earnings of migrants would help to alleviate people's dependence on the state in terms of social responsibility. For each migrant worker, some family members are able to survive and improve their lives further, including those of their communities.

6.3. SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The research provided some insights into the effects of migration on rural development, which provided resources to sustain rural socio-economic activities. Future research could conduct an in depth study in capacitating these migrant workers to start sustainable businesses in the rural areas in line with the local government development strategies.

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ANNEXTURES

Interview guide (questionnaire) for the respondents in the study

ANNEXTURE A

QUESTIONNAIRE ON THE EFFECTS OF MIGRATION ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT

A: Background details

1. Designation of the respondent to the questionnaire (please tick)
    - migrant worker
    - dependents of migrant worker/s
    - local municipal officials
    - village ntona/ indona (headman)
    - Teachers
    - Others…….

2. Describe the environment within which the village is located. Explain in relation to the issues below and say why:

    - unemployment levels_____
    - educational levels_____
    - support structures_____
    - incidences of HIV/ AIDS_____
    - family status of the migrant workers_____

B: Community leadership and development issues

1. Who provides leadership in the community

_____

2. Provide details of any community development projects available, if any.

_____

3. Does the community often hold meetings? If yes, how often and what issues are discussed?

_____

4. What are the community's development priorities/ needs?

_____

5. Is the community satisfied with the services they receive. If not why?

_____

C: Employment

1. Are you a migrant worker? If yes, where do you go for work?

_____

2. If the answer in 1 is no, who is a migrant worker in your family (please tick)
    - my father
    - my brother
    - my sister
    - my husband
    - my mother
    - my wife
    - my cousin
    - other……

3. If the answer in 2 is yes, please explain how you did or they become a migrant worker? And where (please provide province and a city)

_____

4. What or who influenced your decision to move to the place you mentioned for work?

_____

5. What kind of work are you doing?

_____

6. How long does it take to find employment?

_____

7. How many years are you or were you a migrant worker

_____

8. Where do you live in the city (please tick)

    - hostel
    - backroom in the township
    - own house
    - mekhukhung (shack house in the informal settlement)

9. If it's a shared accommodation, who do you live with and why?

_____

10. Do you still visit back home? If yes why?

_____

11. How often do you visit home per month or year and why?

_____

D: Benefits of your migrant labour

1. What do you gain out of your migrant work

_____

2. Do you send money home? If yes how often? (please tick)
    - every fortnight
    - every month

- after every two months
- other…….

3. How much money do you send home, roughly?

_____

4. Who receives your money and who decides what to do with it

_____

5. What are the things you also bring home from the city?

_____

6. What are the disadvantages of working far away from home?

_____

7. Since becoming the migrant worker do still help in the family farms? If yes how?

_____

8. How do you think your household is affected by your absence as a result of your work?

_____

9. Do you or your family buy from the local shops and why?

_____

10. Is your ability to pay for your children's education and take care of other things increased since taking a job in cities or not?

_____

11. What is the difference regarding migrant work now as opposed to the past apartheid times?

_____

12. Are there any additional comments you wish to make to help us understand the challenges and the key benefits coming through the migrant work?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR PARTICIPATING IN THE STUDY.

YOUR VOICE WOULD MAKE A DIFFERENCE IN THE VILLAGE AND ITS FUTURE DEVELOPMENTAL NEEDS.