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CHILDREN LEFT BEHIND: THE EFFECT OF TEMPORARY LABOUR MIGRATION ON CHILD CARE AND RESIDENCE PATTERNS IN RURAL SOUTH AFRICA

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A research report submitted to the Faculty of Health Sciences, University of the Witwatersrand, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Public Health

Johannesburg, South Africa 2009

DECLARATION

I, Keegan Kautzky, declare that this research report is my own work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Public Health at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at this or any other University.



22nd day of September, 2009

In memory of a good friend and a promising young researcher

Daniel Ogola

ABSTRACT

Background: The rural South African population is characterised by high and stable levels of male temporary migration and rapidly rising levels of female temporary migration, with approximately 60% of men and 20% of women between the ages of 20 and 60 years absent from the home for more than 6 months of the year. Despite the magnitude of this social phenomenon, limited research exists analysing its effect on child care and children's residence patterns.

Objectives: The purpose of this study is to examine temporary labour migration patterns as a household coping strategy in rural northeast South Africa in 2002 and 2007, describe characteristics of the children left behind, and to assess the effect of temporary migration on child care patterns, specifically analysing household variation in child care and residence by sex and refugee status of the migrant.

Methods: An analytic cross-sectional study was conducted on approximately 83,000 individuals in 14,000 households in 25 villages of the Agincourt sub-district of the Bushbuckridge region of Limpopo Province. Data was collected in a special module on temporary migration incorporated into the annual Agincourt Health and Demographic Surveillance System census update in 2002 and 2007. Secondary analysis of the data utilised descriptive statistics and Pearson Chi^2 tests of association.

Results: The proportion of temporary migrants in the population rose between 2002 and 2007 and now constitutes nearly one-fifth of the population. Nearly three-quarters – 13% of the total population – are labour migrants. A slight increase in the proportion of female and Mozambican descent migrants is observed. Today, three-quarters of temporary labour migrants are male and one-quarter female, three-quarters are South African descent and more than one-quarter are Mozambican descent. Temporary labour migrants with children constitute nearly 6% of the total population.

Temporary labour migrants overwhelmingly rely on a single care strategy. Complex care arrangements are far less common, constituting the response of only 5% of migrants. Highly complex care arrangements are rare, but do exist. Child care strategies are becoming increasingly complex over time for all migrants. Female migrants and migrants of South African descent are more likely than male and Mozambican descent migrants to rely on complex care arrangements.

The overwhelming majority of migrants keep all children in the same household, maintaining relative stability in care and residence, 10% move children with them, 2% move children elsewhere for care and less than 1% move a childcarer into the household while they are away for work. Less stable child care arrangements are increasingly utilised over time. If the migrant is male, children are more likely to remain in the same household; if the migrant is female, children are more likely to move with the migrant.

Approximately one-fifth of children in the population are effectively left behind by temporary labour migrants today, a decline from nearly one-third in 2002. There is significant variation in child care, residence and decision-making authority among relatives: mothers and stepmothers provide the majority of care in the absence of a migrant, with grandmothers a secondary and female siblings and aunts a tertiary source of child care.

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NOMENCLATURE

AHPU	Agincourt Health and Population Unit
HDSS	Health and Socio-Demographic Surveillance System

CHAPTER 1

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The introduction has three objectives: to provide background to the research, to outline the aims and objectives of the study and define the central research question, and to establish the rationale and justification for the research.

The background to this study is established through explanation of the colonial, post-colonial and apartheid era policies that influenced the historical development of the migrant labour system in South Africa; as well as discussion of modern trends in temporary labour migration.

The research question – What happens to the children when temporary labour migrants leave the household? – is couched within discussion of existing analyses. Following this statement of the problem, the aim of the study is defined and the specific research objectives are detailed.

Lastly, the rationale for this study is detailed, specifically highlighting the dearth of existing research and theory on the effects of labour migration on child care, residence and linked movement patterns, particularly in the South African context. Beyond the uniqueness of the research and its ability to critically advance existing theory and analyses, its potential to inform government policy and programming provides further justification for its undertaking.

1.1 Background

Over the course of the 20th Century, colonial, post-colonial and apartheid-era policies shaped, institutionalised and entrenched the migrant labour system in South Africa.[1] By the 1920s, dependence on migrancy had begun to dominate the rural South African economy and subsistence-based agricultural livelihoods quickly deteriorated. By the 1940s, colonial South Africa had transformed itself into a rapidly growing, industrial state with rural male labour reserves channeled into sites of capital-intense industry.[2,3] The establishment of Bantustans, command of regional development as a means of attracting and keeping Africans in the rural *homelands*, the implementation of influx controls laws and the restriction of Africans from permanent settlements in towns and urban centres, the purposeful neglect of areas of black urban settlement, implementation of mass-scale forced removals and resettlement perpetuated the severe manipulation of population movement and livelihood strategies, specifically of the black African population.[4]

Despite the end of the apartheid regime, the removal of pass and influx control laws and other legal instruments of population restriction, democratisation, the liberalisation of markets and a decade of political, economic and social transformation, the entrenched patterns of migration persist today, and temporary male migration for wage labour remains a predominant feature of the South African economy. Over the past decade in particular, temporary male migration in rural South Africa has been characterised by both high prevalence and relative stability. In rural northeast South Africa, by 2003, an estimated 60% of middle-aged adult males (aged 35 to 54 years) worked as temporary migrants, absent from their rural household for more than six months of the year in order to participate in wage labour – predominantly in mining, construction, heavy industry and security. While older adult males constitute the largest share of temporary migrants in the

population, an estimated one-third of both 15 to 34 year old males and 55 to 69 year old males are similarly absent from their rural households for a majority of the year as a result of temporary migration.[5,6]

Alongside the marked political transformation of the past decade, a major social transition has occurred in rural South Africa as women of all ages have increasingly left the household in search of employment. While the high prevalence of circular male migration has remained consistent, temporary female migration rose dramatically throughout the late 1990s and continues to increase steadily today.[7] Between 1997 and 2000, the prevalence of temporary migrant women aged 35 to 45 increased from 15% to 25% of the rural population and the proportion of 15 to 34 year old female temporary migrants in the population increased three-fold. By 2003, approximately one-quarter of older adult women and one-fifth of younger adult women were absent from their rural household for a majority of the year.[8]

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Beyond documenting the high prevalence and increasing feminisation of temporary migration in rural South Africa, existing analyses of the phenomenon have focused primarily on descriptions of who migrates, where they migrate to, where they migrate from and their reasons for migration. Furthermore, much of the existing research and analysis on migration in South and southern Africa is based on national census data, which necessarily utilises a *de facto* definition of household members – including only individual members present in the household at the time of the survey – and is fundamentally unable to disaggregate temporary from permanent migration trends. As such, limited research exists

detailing and disaggregating the nature, impact and effects of the phenomenon of temporary migration.

The Agincourt Health and Socio-Demographic Surveillance System (HDSS) utilises a *de jure* definition of the household – incorporating individual members present in the household at the time of the survey as well as individual members temporarily absent from the household, but who retain a connection with the household and are not considered to have permanently migrated. While the Agincourt HDSS has initiated significant population and household-level analysis of temporary migration to date, research in the Agincourt setting has, thus far, focused on the nature and duration of temporary migration, return patterns, migrant-household communication, remittances (entailing remittance classification and value determination and examination of household use/reliance on remittances) and the relationship between the presence of temporary migrants in the household and key outcomes, including household asset ownership and economic status and child mortality. Little research exists, at present, examining the effect of temporary migration on child care patterns in the rural South or southern African context. As such, inadequate information, research and theory currently exist to answer the question: What happens to the children when temporary migrants leave the household?

1.3 Rationale for Research

In addressing the aforementioned paucity of existing analyses, the primary rationale for this research is to develop a more meaningful understanding of the effects of temporary migration on child care, residence and movement in rural South Africa. By investigating household adaptation in response to temporary migration, the study seeks to augment our

conceptual understanding of the relationship between coping strategies, livelihoods and household transition in the rural southern African context.

Greater understanding of these dynamics and of the effects of temporary migration on household arrangements and child care patterns is particularly valuable as it will more fully inform government policy. Specific policy implications relate not only to national and regional economic and industrial development planning and management, but also to education and healthcare policy and planning, employment policy, legal rights and policies around social welfare grants and assistance, and legal rights and policies relating to child care, liability and consent, among others.

Justification for the focus on children relates not only to the intrinsic value in assessing the acute needs of, and impact on, a particularly vulnerable and important population, but also to the sheer magnitude of the phenomenon and the potential enormity of its influence on the population, and the great value to public health and wellbeing such information provides. Temporary migration affects millions of households and likely tens of millions of children in South and southern Africa. In order to understand the potential impact of this phenomenon on future generations, it is critical to understand how it affects children in South Arica, today.

1.4 Aim and Objectives

The aim of the study is to assess the effects of temporary migration on child care patterns in a rural South African population in 2002 and 2007.

Specific objectives of the research are as follows:

- To describe temporary migration and temporary labour migration patterns as a household coping strategy in the Agincourt sub-district population in 2002 and 2007.
- To describe and compare linked child moves and housing arrangements of households with a temporary labour migrant in 2002 and 2007
- To describe and compare child care patterns in households with female temporary labour migrants and households with male temporary migrants.
- To compare child care patterns in households with temporary labour migrants of South African descent and households with temporary migrants of Mozambican descent.
- To describe the characteristics and care arrangements (residence, medical decisions-making and meal provision) of children left behind by temporary labour migrants in 2007.

1.5 Definition of Terms

Specific migration and household definitions have been developed and incorporated into the Agincourt HDSS in order to capture the distinct population, household and individual movement patterns prevailing in rural South Africa.

Within the context of this study, *temporary migrants* are defined as household members who are away most of the time (i.e. more than six months of the year) but retain a significant link to a household in the surveillance area.[9] *Labour migrants* are defined as any individual migrating explicitly for work or to seek employment. Furthermore, the *residents* are defined according to the Agincourt HDSS as consisting of all individuals that

perceive the Agincourt area as "home" even if they reside in the study area for less than six months of the year.[10] Although DSS and international demographic standards traditionally define a child as below 15 years of age, this study broadens the definition of a *child* to include any individual under the age of 18 years that is deemed a "child" by the household respondent in the survey, in order to remain consistent with the Agincourt HDSS definition.

CHAPTER 2

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review provides detailed analysis and discussion of four distinct themes – theories of migration, temporary labour migration as a distinct form of migration, the known effects of labour migration and parental absence on individuals remaining behind, and existing research on child care and residence patterns in South and southern Africa.

2.1 Theories of Migration

Migration theory provides a conceptual structure within which temporary migration as a distinct phenomenon, as well as analysis of associated household transition, should be framed. Early migration theory – rooted in the *neo-classical economic tradition* – postulated a model of migration decision-making wherein the individual makes a rational choice to increase his welfare or utility by purposefully moving to another place where he expects to earn a higher income.[11] According to this theoretical approach, migration positively impacts all stakeholders as the migrants themselves benefit through employment, skills development and earned income, the source household and community benefit through the remittance of the migrant's earnings, and destination sites gain from access to the migrant's skills and labour.[12]

Dependency theorists significantly expanded migration theory during and after the 1970s with a critique of the neo-classical economic approach that argued migration decision-making is not solely dependent on the rational choice of the migrant, but largely influenced by the structural and institutionalised economic forces of a western-dominated world system. Specifically, dependency theory posits that the social, economic, political,

environmental, legal and historical context within which decision-making takes place must be understood, and structural inequalities and institutionalised systems that coerce individuals and groups to migrate must be accounted for. Furthermore, dependency theory avers that rural to urban migration fundamentally disadvantages rural areas and that the benefits of migrating accrued to the individual must be assessed against the costs and harm, as well as the benefits, incurred by the sending household and community.[13]

A recent addition to migration theory, the *new economics of labour migration* approach, conceptualises migration – specifically the temporary migration of household members who maintain dual residences in rural and urban settings – as a strategy utilised by households to maximise expected income, minimise economic risk and increase access to social resources such as education, health and welfare services.[14] Implicit in this strategy is an acknowledgment that rural and urban settings offer distinct benefits and disadvantages. As the household effectively spans both urban and rural settings, it is able to leverage its dual or multi-locality and capitalise on the specific benefits available in each setting while seeking to minimise locale-specific disadvantages.[15] The decision to migrate is not made by individuals in isolation, but often by collectives of related individuals – i.e. family members, members of the household, members of the community and/or members of the extended social network. Social relations in households, neighbourhoods, communities and other organizations are, thus, recognized as serving as a key resource in migration decision-making and existing migrant networks are understood to serve as an effective integrative device for future migrants, effectively reducing barriers to migration and perpetuating the process.[16] The approach broadly argues that migration takes place within a unique social context and that household and gender relations cannot be ignored as they directly influence migration behaviour.[17]

Analysis of the effect of temporary labour migration on child care patterns must be couched within this conceptual framework as it is theoretically based in, and will directly address, several of the key assumptions and arguments in existing theory. In particular, dependency theory proffers the need for comprehensive analysis of all effects associated with migration, rather than a sole focus on employment, income and remittances, in order to meaningfully assess its impact. By analysing the effect of temporary migration on child care at the household and individual level, this research seeks to address this obligation. Moreover, the new economics of labour migration approach frames this research in two key ways. First, the research explicitly conceptualises temporary labour migration as a household strategy in line with the new economics approach. Secondly, the research specifically seeks to disaggregate the gendered dimensions of migration as it relates to child care patterns and household behaviour.

2.2 Temporary Internal Labour Migration as a Distinct Form

Migration is a common phenomenon throughout the developed and developing world and is a key factor influencing household livelihoods and socioeconomic status, familial organisation, parental and caregiver relationships, as well as human health and wellbeing broadly. The nature of migration patterns is largely locale and region-specific and is determined by a diverse amalgam of historical, political, economic, cultural and social factors.

In general, developed countries and those that experience high rates of immigration are often primarily concerned with international migration – migration across national boundaries – and issues around the adaptation of migrants into host communities and the impact of in-migrants on host areas, economies and livelihoods. Internal migration, on the

other hand, is often the focus of research in developing countries where the primary migrant flows are from rural to urban areas and issues of urbanisation predominate.[18]

The subsequent distinction between temporary and permanent migration types is based on both the intent and the action of the individual. Operationally, a permanent migrant is defined in the Agincourt HDSS as a person that enters or leaves a household with a permanent intention.[19] Alternatively, a temporary migrant is defined as a person that leaves a household with a temporary intention and spends at least six months of a year away from home, but remains linked to the rural household.[20] Temporary migration – also referred to as circular or oscillating migration – is, thus, any form of migration that lasts for a majority of the year, but is not permanent, and where the migrant maintains a connection to the sending household despite their physical absence. As such, temporary migration includes: the transitory migration of labourers to cities, centers of industry or rural areas for work or in search of employment; seasonal migration in between productive agricultural seasons; repeated trips throughout the year to trade commodities, food products and other goods in the informal sector of towns and cities; and any impermanent absence from the household for a majority of the year for medical treatment, schooling, training, incarceration in prison, to accompany another migrant, for vacation or to visit family or friends, among other reasons.

Differentiating temporary from permanent migration tends to discriminate solitary from group forms of migration. As Collinson et al. explain,

> A temporary migrant leaves behind a viable household and aims to send back resources to the household, so the migrant is usually solitary; whereas permanent migration is more likely to happen in larger groups, as children move with adults, or whole households move, to a better place for accessing services or living in better conditions of safety and hygiene. The fact that a whole household moves reduces the need for circular migration in order for key household members to remain in contact

> and so when a household moves together it is likely to show weaker links between migrants and sending households [and communities]. Temporary migration shows stronger links in the form of repeated visits, communications and remittances between the migrant and their household.[21]

Temporary internal labour migration – the distinct form of migration analysed in this study – is, thus, by definition: 1) a non-permanent absence from the sending household lasting for a majority of the year, 2) predominantly rural-to-urban, remaining within national borders, 3) consisting of individuals whose motivation to migrate is either for work or to seek employment, and 4) primarily a solitary form of migration.

2.3 Effects of Migration & Parental Absence on Individuals Remaining Behind

Although the focus of this study is on child care, residence and movement patterns linked to the migration of a household member – and not an analysis of the impact of migration on the socioeconomic status, livelihoods or health outcomes of the household and its members *per se* – it provides the foundation for subsequent investigations of the impact of labour migration on household food security, as well as children's nutrition and growth, morbidity/mortality, and cognitive and psychosocial development more broadly. As such, it is appropriate to provide a brief overview of existing research and theory on the effects of migration, as well as parental absence, on those remaining behind.

The effects of temporary migration on migrant-sending regions have long been an area of study in the social sciences.[22] Early research emphasised the study of social networks and health, analysing the impact of modernisation on household dynamics. The principal theory was that modernisation diminished ties between parents and children, as well as between migrants and non-migrants in the household owing to increased urbanisation, education and labour market participation in the shift from traditional agrarian modes of production to modern ones.[23] The literature and research then broadened its focus to the

wider impacts of urbanisation, allowing it to incorporate analysis of rural-urban migrant networks.

Migrants have been seen to minimise consumption in order to remit higher earnings back to sending households and origin areas. Exchange between migrants and the sending household – through a range of economic and social support forms – has been found to have a measurable and usually positive effect on the economic and social well-being of those left behind. Kuhn found temporary migration to have a positive benefit for the households left behind in the rural Matlab area of Bangladesh. Households that had links with a migrant son were found to have both better health and improved survival rates, owing principally to support extended to the rural family by the temporary migrants.[24] Razzaque found in Bangladesh that father out-migration resulted in decreased child malnutrition, likely owing to increased household income.[25]

Beyond economic benefits and associated improvements to health, however, temporary migration involves significant physical dislocation and social disruption to personal and familial relationships and has been shown to have deleterious health and psychological effects. Several studies have shown that children living with both parents have improved health, education and cognitive development outcomes as compared to those living separated from a parent.[26,27,28] Furthermore, Silver found in Mexico that the migration of a close family member – particularly a spouse or children – significantly increased the occurrence of depressive symptoms and feelings of loneliness in family members remaining behind.[29] In South Africa, Argeneanu documented a positive association between time away from home and child mortality.[30] As Rafique and Rogaly argue, the absence of family members from the household often increases psychological insecurity and the health of remaining household members suffers as a result.[31]

While offering limited discussion of the findings of only a few studies, these serve to highlight the diverse effects – both positive and negative – of temporary migration and parental absence on the health and wellbeing of the children and adults that remain behind.

2.4 Child Care and Residence Patterns

Beyond exploring the conceptual structure, definitions and related research framing this study, it is necessary to detail the existing literature and discuss the current understanding of child care and residence patterns in South and Southern Africa, as well as the specific effects of temporary labour migration on children's living arrangements. As aforementioned, research and analysis on child migration, care and residence is extremely scarce. A review of the literature identified only three relevant studies in South Africa. Although limited, these studies and related literature provide important information on the phenomenon and a conceptual foundation for this study.

Southern African migration literature often implies that children are less mobile than adults because they predominantly remain with rural households when adults migrate. In reality, many children in rural South Africa migrate both as a result of the same processes instigating adult migration, as well as in response to evolving living arrangements that result from adult migration. While strongly related to – and often instigated by adult migration – children are, thus, not necessarily less mobile than their adult counterparts; their migration experience simply differs from that of adults.[32]

A study of child migration in rural KwaZulu-Natal in 2000 found that approximately 5% of children migrated from one household to another over the course of the year. It found that children's migration was strongly correlated with the migration of their parents. In

particular, maternal migration was found to be more strongly related to child migration than paternal migration. The pronounced link between maternal and child migration was particularly apparent in that children whose mothers migrated were 42 times more likely to migrate themselves.[33]

The research also analysed the nature of child migration. It found the majority of children – 68% – migrated between two households within the study area, constituting short distance, internal migration. Longer distance migration was less common.[34] Of the children who in-migrated to the study area, only 15% were migrating with their household. Of the children who out-migrated from the study area, only 31% moved with their household. Thus, children were found to be significantly more likely to migrate individually or with one or two other people – i.e. parents or siblings – than as part of a complete household migration.[35]

While the movement of children between households in rural South Africa is often utilised as a coping strategy in response to adverse events, such as the death of an adult, or financial and physical care difficulties, it should be noted that children also often migrate to accompany adult labour migrants, to attend school or access specialised services, and to fulfill familial arrangements, among many other reasons.[36] Although not an exhaustive listing, several factors that affect a child's residence and care arrangements have been identified, including: age and sex of the child, child's school attendance, household access to schooling, child care costs, marital status of the mother, survival status of parents, ethnicity of the household head, and household size and membership composition.[37] How, and to what extent, these and other individual factors affect children's residence and care arrangements are highly inter-related, likely circumstantial, and household and child-specific.

Given the high prevalence of multigenerational and non-kin membership in South African households, existing analyses suggest the interaction of demographic processes, life cycle events and social phenomena have produced complex household formations and living arrangements for children, including vertical and lateral extended households and multiple household membership.[38]

In South Africa, children, at all ages, are heavily concentrated in extended households – with less than 40% of children under five years living in two-parent nuclear households and even lower percentages among older age groups. Explanation for this phenomenon often entails a parent, or both parents, leaving children in the care of extended family or kin while they work and live elsewhere. Thus, the high proportion of children living in extended households in South Africa is conceptualised predominantly as a coping strategy.[39]

A large proportion of South African children reside in households to which their parents do not belong. Studies have found that more than one-quarter of households in parts of South Africa are caring for a child in the absence of one or both parents. Furthermore, less than 50% of children in areas of rural South Africa reside in the same household as their father and less than 80% of children reside in the same household as their mother.[40]

Membership in multiple households is another commonly documented living arrangement, wherein children are considered members of both the maternal and paternal household, or of the nuclear and another household, and move freely from one household to the other in response to changing financial and familial arrangements.[41] Although the national and

regional prevalence of this living arrangement is unknown, research in two sub-districts of KwaZulu Natal found 2% of children belonged to more than one household.[42]

Extremely limited in depth and scope, these findings detail the extent of our current understanding of child migration, care and residence patterns in rural South Africa. Even more limited is our understanding of how each relates specifically to trends in temporary labour migration. This study, thus, seeks to build on the dearth of existing literature and research on children's living arrangements in rural South Africa in order to advance our understanding of the impact of temporary labour migration on child care and residence.

2.5 Summary of Literature

Although discussed as distinct themes, this literature is critically inter-related. The discussion of migration theory provides a conceptual structure within which to frame and analyse temporary labour migration and associated child movement, residence and care patterns. Definition and discussion of temporary internal labour migration as a distinct form of migration allows for explanation of the study's focus, as well as clarification of its place in migration literature more broadly. Brief discussion of the known effects of migration and parental absence on adults and children remaining behind provides a preface to subsequent research on the broader impacts of temporary labour migration beyond child care, residence and movement patterns. Lastly, a review of existing research on child care and residence patterns provides the evidential foundation for this study and a framework in which to analyse and compare these new findings with existing research and understanding. Thus, although discussed as distinct themes, these areas of literature provide the conceptual and methodological foundation for this study.

CHAPTER 3

3.0 METHODOLOGY

The methodology consists of eight sections: a description and history of the study setting; characterisation of the study population; an overview of the study design; a detailed description of data collection methods; discussion of the unit and level of analysis of the study; an overview of data management and analytic techniques used to clean, store and analyse the data; discussion of methodological issues relating to the use of HDSS data, secondary analysis of existing data, quantitative surveys and cross-sectional study designs; as well as a description of ethical issues and information pertaining to the study.

3.1 Study Setting

Fieldwork for this research was conducted in the Agincourt HDSS – the rural research site of the MRC/Wits Rural Public Health and Health Transitions Research Unit (Agincourt), a unit of the University of the Witwatersrand School of Public Health. Established in 1992, the HDSS encompasses the Agincourt sub-district of the Bohlabela (formerly Bushbuckridge) district of Mpumalanga Province in South Africa. Covering an area of 390 square kilometers, the study site is situated approximately 500km northeast of Johannesburg, bounded by the Drakensberg escarpment and commercial forestry plantations to the west, the Kruger National Park to the east, Hazyview to the south, and the Hoedspruit farming area to the north.[43]

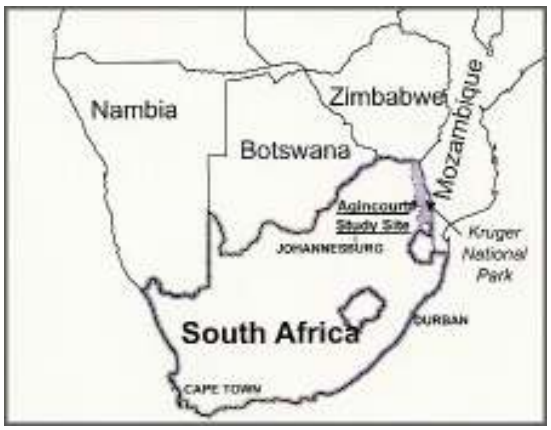


Figure 3.1 Location of Bushbuckridge district within South Africa[44]



Figure 3.2 Location of the Agincourt HDSS field site within Bushbuckridge district, Mpumalanga Province[45]

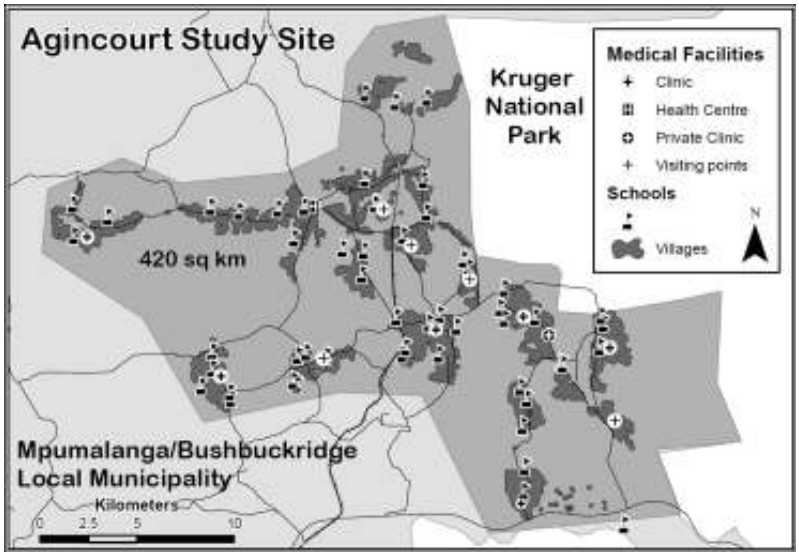


Figure 3.3 Villages in the Agincourt HDSS field site[46]

The Agincourt HDSS is 400 to 600 metres above sea level and extends between latitude 24°50' and 24°56' South latitude and 31°08' and 31°25' East longitude. For the first decade following liberation, the Agincourt sub-district was registered as being in Limpopo Province, but was officially reassigned in 2006 to the adjacent Mpumalanga Province. The study site has a moderate semi-arid savannah climate with temperatures varying from between 12°–40°C in summer and 5°–27°C in winter and low average rainfall from 700mm in the Western area to 550mm in the East.

The *Apartheid* government, in seeking to fully segregate all aspects of South African society, developed Bantustans, or so-called *ethnic homelands* in the 1970s, to which each black South African was involuntarily designated citizenship. Two adjacent *homelands* – Lebowa and Gazankulu – were established in northeast South Africa. While the Lebowa *homeland* comprised primarily Sotho-speakers, the inhabitants of Gazankulu belonged to the Shangaan-speaking Tsonga ethnic group. The Agincourt HDSS is situated in what was the Mhala District of the Gazankulu *homeland*.

The population of the area, however, is more diverse than this suggests. Approximately one-third of the Agincourt population are of Mozambican origin as a result of Mozambican immigrants fleeing from war in Gaza province throughout the mid- and late 19th century and a subsequent influx of refugees resulting from the RENAMO-FRELIMO conflict in Mozambique in the mid-1980s. Despite post-conflict voluntary repatriation programmes, many Mozambican nationals remained as *self-settled* former refugees along South Africa's northeast border. Owing to strong cultural, language and kinship ties with the South African residents of Gazankulu, the Mozambican refugees assimilated far more easily there than in the adjacent Lebowa homeland. Despite being granted group refugee status in 1993, they remain a vulnerable sub-population, generally characterised by lower socio-

economic status, as well as decreased access to labour markets, legal rights, and public and social services.

The study site reflects many of the same social, economic and political patterns as other regions of rural South Africa, particularly the former *ethnic homelands*. Despite early reliance on subsistence agriculture, the influence of the pre-colonial and colonial migrant labour system, rural development initiatives, and the imposition of Apartheid-era labour reserves eroded the agriculture-based system and reshaped the livelihoods of the region's predominantly rural population. As was common throughout other areas of rural South Africa, labour migration became the primary means of economic survival for most households and women increasingly fled to urban centers in search of employment, fundamentally reshaping regional and rural-urban demographics, economic structures and financial flows, household and familial relations and traditional cultural constructs.[47]

While subsistence agriculture persists as a survival strategy for many households in the region, few have the necessary land, livestock and resources at their disposal to fully provide for their basic needs from farming alone. The inability of subsistence agriculture to provide for the consumptive needs of most families, and persisting unemployment, thus perpetuate high levels of urbanisation and labour migration to regional industrial centres and cities throughout South Africa today.[48]

3.2 Study Population

In 2007, the Agincourt sub-district had a population of 82,813 individuals spread throughout approximately 14,000 households in 25 villages. As every household in the sub-district is enumerated, and each individual considered resident in the sub-district included in the annual census, the study site population in 2007 is 82,813 individuals.

With nearly 38% of men and 14% of women between the ages of 18 and 59 years absent from the home for more than 6 months of the year, it is estimated that 85% of the total population is permanent.[49] Approximately one-third of the population is of Mozambican origin. Children – classified as residents under the age of 18 years – constitute an estimated 36.4% of the total population and there are an estimated 31,000 children in the population at present. Highlighting the study site's comparability to the national population, children constitute approximately 40% of all household members in South Africa.[50]

For the purposes of this research, two distinct study populations are analysed: 1) temporary labour migrants with linked child dependents and 2) children affected by the movement of a temporary labour migrant. No sampling strategy was applied since all individuals in the population who met the inclusion criteria – a temporary labour migrant with linked child dependent(s) or a child affected by the movement of a temporary labour migrant – were studied.

In 2002 and 2007, a total of 4,453 and 4,808 temporary labour migrants with child dependents were identified in the population respectively. Of the 4,453 temporary labour migrants in the Agincourt population in 2002, 1,379 were female and 3,074 were male, 2,964 were of South African descent and 1,489 were of Mozambican descent. Of the 4808 temporary labour migrants with child dependents in the Agincourt population in 2007, 1,616 were female and 3,192 were male, 3,244 were of South African descent and 1,564 were of Mozambican descent.

In 2002, 10,316 children in the Agincourt population were found to have been directly affected by the movement of a temporary labour migrant. In 2007, 8,349 children in the population were directly affected by the movement of a temporary labour migrant.

3.3 Study Design

This study utilises a panel design – analytic cross-sectional studies in 2002 and 2007 – and relies on secondary data for analysis. Exposures and outcomes were assessed simultaneously among individual households in the population at the time of the survey.

3.4 Data Collection

Health and demographic surveillance sites are characterised by the continuous demographic monitoring of an entire geographically defined population. In the case of the Agincourt HDSS, this involves a multi-round, prospective community study with systematic recording recording of all birth, death, and migration events, covering the whole population of the Agincourt sub-district.[51] The annual census updates also collect household-level information on socio-economic characteristics and indicators, including analysis of physical asset ownership. Information is obtained through field worker administered interviews utilising standardised questionnaires (Appendix A).

At each annual census the residence status of all individuals in the household is updated. This involves recording the number of months an individual is physically resident in the household during the previous year. An individual is considered a temporary migrant if s/he was resident in the surveillance household for less than six months of the previous year and the respondent declares that the migrant retains strong links with the household. If

a migrant leaves with an intention of permanence, the individual is considered a permanent migrant and removed from the household roster.

Additional and specialised information is obtained through distinct research modules incorporated in the annual census. A specialised research module on temporary migration was incorporated into the 2002 and 2007 HDSS update rounds (See Appendix A), detailing the duration of migrant status, destinations, reasons for migration, return patterns, communication patterns, remittances and linked household member moves (Appendix B). The module further incorporated specific questions relating household child care patterns to temporary migration (Appendix B, Questions 24a-c, 24g, 25-29), specifically examining associated child migration, the provision of shelter and residence, authority/responsibility for child health and medical care, and responsibility for child's daily meal provision. Respondent answers to these specific questions of the 2002 and 2007 temporary migration research modules provide the analytic basis of this research.

The Agincourt HDSS hires local shangaan-speaking residents and extensively trains them as fieldworkers for the study site. Trained fieldworkers are allocated a specific enumerated area and set of households to survey within the site. Each field worker is closely monitored by a team leader/supervisor responsible for ensuring the quality of their collected data. To this end, supervisors regularly accompany fieldworkers in order to monitor household interviews. Duplicate visits are also randomly conducted by field site supervisors on 2% of the population in every census in order to verify questionnaire results and validate fieldworker findings. The field supervisors review all completed questionnaires and return any forms with inconsistencies to the fieldworker for correction.

3.5 Unit and Level of Analysis

Households left behind by migrants are a focus in both international migration and internal migration literature. Within population research it is generally understood that there is no definite conceptualisation of what constitutes a *household*.[52,53,54] As Beatrice Rogers argues, "given the varied and complex nature of human society, no definition of the household, however general, completely fits all circumstances."[55] Despite this constraint, the household remains a standard, and frequently utilised, level of measure.

Within adaptation/coping and sustainable livelihoods literature and research, the primary unit of analysis is traditionally the household. While significant intra-household variation exists, it is generally accepted that focusing analysis at the household level is easier, given the practical constraints of research, and more effective, given the diversity of social relationships and groupings, than analysing either individuals or broader population units.[56,57,58] In the Agincourt HDSS, a household is defined as "the social unit that usually eats together, plus the temporary migrants who are linked to the household." The data collection and management methods of the Agincourt HDSS allow for analysis of both individual and household units. The research module questionnaires used to gather information for this study, however, specifically focus analysis at the level of embedded units – individual labour migrants or children who are affected by the movement of labour migrants. By analysing the actions of individual household members – one form of constituent element – we are able to develop a broader understanding of the household as a holistic case. Thus, while the analysis of this research is focused on the household as a holistic case, the study derives its data and findings from analysis of its embedded units.

3.6 Data Management and Analysis

Agincourt HDSS data are managed and analysed at multiple levels – by field site and data management staff, as well as the scientists and researchers responsible for each individual study. Questionnaire checking is structured and systematic, occurring at four levels of the Agincourt HDSS field organization: 1) Each supervisor uses a checklist to track all completed questionnaires and when a questionnaire leaves the field – and passes through all quality checks – the information is entered into a software system; 2) the data are entered simultaneously on three computers connected to a network writing to a database on a server; 3) the system incorporates built-in validation checks for missing values, invalid code, inconsistencies, duplicate entries and incorrect place names; and 4) any errors are reviewed by the data manager and, if necessary, returned to the supervisor for correction.

Data are stored in a password-protected Microsoft Structured Query Language (SQL) server and exported into Microsoft access format for routine data analysis. The data are captured in a relational database model, allowing for efficient management of the sub-district population's complex longitudinal information and related datasets.

Further data processing, cleaning and analysis for this research was performed by Keegan Kautzky using Stata version 9. The original dataset included all temporary migration cases in the study population. In order to focus solely on labour migrants, a sub-set of all temporary migrant types, all records of non-labour migrants were dropped from the dataset. Furthermore, records of labour migrants without children – dependents under the age of 18 affected by their movement – were also dropped from the dataset as the specific focus of this study is on child care and movement patterns of labour migrants in rural northeast South Africa.

Redundant and miscoded values were eliminated and the feasibility of each variable field value was validated to improve accuracy and data-agreement across records. The *reason for migrating* variable for each case was recoded based on the case's recorded values in the "Reason1," "Reason2" and "ReasonSpecified" variable fields. A new variable - *ill child caregiver relation* – was generated for each case based on the "KidHHhrelation" and "CareIll_HHHrelat" variables. A second new variable – *daily food provision relation* – was similarly generated based on unique values in the "KidHHhrelation" and "CareFood_HHHrelat" variables. As such, the relation of the child to the head of the household was analysed relative to the child's caregiver's relation to the head of the same household in order to establish the relationship between the child and their caregiver (i.e. if the child receiving care is the son of the household head and the child's caregiver is the household head's sister, the caregiver is the child's aunt). Every possible unique relationship between child and caregiver was coded in order to define caregiver relationships based on the available data and allow for quantification and analysis of this aspect of the research. Given the diversity of distinct relationships possible and the ambiguity of the data available, the exact relationship of a caregiver to a child is not always clear. Substantial effort has been made to be as exact as possible in determining this relationship; however, in ambiguous cases a subjective decision was made by the researcher to use the most likely relation in coding.

The statistical analysis focused on 1) describing temporary labour migration patterns, child care arrangements and the children left behind; and 2) describing and comparing child care and child movement patterns among labour migrant-sending households in 2002 and 2007 by year, sex of the migrant and refugee status of the migrant. The analysis included descriptive summary statistics. Categorical variables were analysed using frequency tables,

graphs and Pearson chi-square statistics to test for associations. Conclusions were based on a two sided p-value of 0.05 considered to be statistically significant. It should be noted that this study's sole use of bivariate analysis is not meant to imply that each covariate acts independently of the others (ie. an observed gender effect is unlikely to be completely independent from the effect of refugee status on child care outcomes). While multivariate analysis is feasible and would allow for the measure of net effects, it is beyond the scope of this study.

3.7 Methodological Issues

The limitations and benefits relating to the selection of specific research methodologies and designs must be fully accounted for throughout study preparation and planning, implementation, data cleaning and management, analysis and write-up. In this regard, it is not only critical to justify the selection of specific methodologies for a given study, but to properly acknowledge and account for the impact and implications of the methodology on the study findings.

3.7.1 Health and Demographic Surveillance System (HDSS) Data

Three potential limitations and sources of error relate directly to the use of a Health and Demographic Surveillance System, such as Agincourt, for data collection: under-representation of population parameters due to fieldworker haste or negligence, inter-observer variation in data collection and potentially limited generalisability due to narrowed geographic/population focus of the study site.

Under-representation of actual population parameters is a potential threat to specialised research modules incorporated into the annual HDSS surveillance as their inclusion

necessarily creates more work for field workers. In deliberate haste or by accident, field workers may not complete all forms for all cases in order to save time and finish surveying early. If this occurs, the likely effect is to reduce the number of identified cases and thereby introduce error into the study findings. As such, the actual proportion of temporary labour migrants with children and the proportion of children affected by temporary labour migration may be higher than is reported in this study. It should be noted that this threat is limited given the implementation of a series of rigorous quality checks throughout the Agincourt HDSS data collection process.

Information bias is another potential threat to the findings of this study as the use of multiple fieldworkers in the initial data collection process of the Agincourt HDSS may introduce systematic inter-observer variation. If present, this type of error is unlikely to skew findings disproportionately in any particular direction and the bias will likely be randomised as the inter-observer variation will not be systematic.

The research findings are also potentially limited in their generalisability to the broader population owing to the restricted geographic focus of the HDSS study site. While worth acknowledging, it should be noted that the Agincourt population has been shown to be representative of former *homeland* areas in South Africa and can be reliably extrapolated to this context.[59]

3.7.2 Secondary Analysis of Existing Data

The reliance of this study on a secondary analysis methodology poses unique limitations and benefits. Secondary analysis can be understood as "any further analysis of an existing dataset which presents interpretations, conclusions or knowledge additional to, or different from, those presented in the first report on the inquiry as a whole and its main results."[60]

An important methodological limitation of secondary data analysis is that the use of data derived for a different purpose likely biases subsequent analysis and findings and often introduces artifact into the secondary study. The original researcher or team established an analytic framework for the primary study that is reflected in the specification of the problem, the form and wording of the questions, the conceptualisation of variables and the interpretation of the responses. Although a researcher undertaking secondary analysis may be able to develop a completely different analytic framework, it must be acknowledged that the original framework will always substantially limit and influence the alternatives available for secondary analysis.[61]

In secondary analysis of survey-based research, subjective elements of the research (i.e. implicit assumptions behind the questions, definitions used, potential framing of questionnaire format and design to elicit evidence for a specific viewpoint, etc.) are often not readily apparent and easily overlooked. As such, data derived from surveys must be recognised by the secondary analyst as being socially produced by the original researcher and not merely collected.[62]

Inherent in this methodology is also a common inability to fully account for residual errors in measurement or subjective artifact and manipulation in primary study design, data collection and findings. In extreme cases, this may wholly or significantly undermine the validity of secondary analysis findings.[63]

In relation to this study, however, these potential threats do not constitute legitimate limitations as this secondary analysis of the Temporary Migration Module data has occurred in collaboration with the original study's creators. Furthermore, while the study

relies on an existing dataset, it is the first analysis of the existing data and does not deviate in any way from the theoretical framework, conceptualisations or intention of the original research.

While the aforementioned issues constitute common methodological limitations and disadvantages of secondary analysis, this methodology also has several important benefits of particular relevance to this study. Beyond providing significant financial and time-saving advantages to the researcher, a key practical benefit of secondary analysis is that it affords researchers and students access to large, high-quality datasets for analysis. This is a unique and important benefit of the methodology, particularly given the significant financial, time and personnel constraints to primary data collection.[64] A critical theoretical advantage of secondary analysis is that it allows for re-analysing existing data from an original or differing viewpoint and the generation of new findings from existing data using varied theoretical frameworks.[65] As Hyman avers, it "expands the types and number of observations to cover more adequately a wider array of social conditions, measurement procedures, and variables than can usually be studied by primary surveys…produc[ing] a more comprehensive and definitive empirical study of the problems the investigator formulated."[66]

3.7.3 Quantitative Surveys

Allowing for analysis of systematic variation in variables across cases, survey research can be effectively used to study causation of specific phenomena. A more basic function of survey analysis – and the primary purpose for which it was selected for use in this study – is to describe the characteristics of a set of cases.[67] Although survey research does not have a specific technique *per se* and could utilise in-depth or structured interviews, content

analysis or observation, it is most commonly associated with the use of questionnaires for data collection.[68]

As a distinct methodology, surveys are generally criticised on a range of ideological and technique-based issues, including: they are unable to determine causality as they are often unable to establish temporal order, they can only analyse specific aspects of social phenomena in isolation and lack appreciation of context and complexity, they are based on a deterministic assumption that human action is caused by external forces, they are inherently restrictive and unable to measure or provide understanding of meaningful aspects of social action, they are sterile and convert meaningful social factors into aggregate data, and they are inherently manipulative.[69] While these constitute legitimate criticisms of survey methodologies in general, not all of these are relevant to this particular study and, as in all studies, must be analysed and weighed against the unique benefits and advantages of the specific methodology. The methodological criticisms of quantitative surveys and reliance on questionnaires for data collection are discussed below and subsequent justification is provided for the methodology's use in regard to the specific criticism.

A fundamental critique of survey research – and all methodologies that attempt to quantify social phenomena – is that such approaches fragment and codify inherently complex and multifaceted social forces and factors into discrete, unitary variables. From this sociological perspective, attempts to disaggregate the constituent elements of social phenomena and to extract social forces from the context in which they are rooted, mediated and experienced are viewed as fundamentally inappropriate. In other words, necessarily complex phenomena cannot be disaggregated and simplified into simple variables without sacrificing meaningful understanding of the social phenomena and potentially introducing

bias and misrepresentation into the research findings. As this study's methodology is based on the analysis of variable-centred survey data to understand social behaviour, this critique is particularly relevant.

Questionnaire surveys utilising close-ended questions are particularly problematic in this regard as they rely on specific, standardised wordings to frame questions – thereby restricting and influencing the respondents interpretation and understanding of the issues being analysed – and allow only select responses chosen by the questionnaire's designer - limiting the respondents answers to only those options deemed relevant by the original researcher. As such, the use of close-ended questionnaire surveys in sociological analysis inherently limits and influences respondent interpretation and answers, potentially introducing error into the study and biasing subsequent findings.

However, it must also be acknowledged that quantitative methodologies are able to substantially expand the analytic capabilities of social research in important and innovative ways. By more stringently relying on probability sampling and theory to provide representative cases for inclusion and analysis, quantitative methodologies are able to incorporate an element of generalisability into sociological research. In moving sociological research beyond meaningful understanding of a specific sample's characteristics to generalisability of population parameters, quantitative methodologies, thus, significantly expand the capacity and usefulness of sociological research. As Dale et al. argue, "if research is to achieve the maximum in terms of explanation and understanding it is unlikely to depend solely upon any one method…if used appropriately, there is no reason why…the variables used in a survey cannot reflect accurately the [social] experience of life."[70] Thus, while it is important to acknowledge the inherent limitations of quantitative methodologies of sociological analysis, their value in providing alternative and

innovative ways of understanding and analysing social phenomena – as well as their critical ability to allow for extrapolation of findings to the broader population – must also be recognised. Although the questions and variables utilised in this study necessarily attempt to simplify human action and behaviour into basic codifiable elements to allow for comparative analysis and generalisability, thereby restricting their meaningful value and inherent complexity, the findings of the study should still be recognised as substantively valid and reliable, and particularly useful in providing an alternative means of analysing social behaviour that can be generalised to the broader population of rural poor in South Africa.

Another relevant criticism of survey-based data collection is that it often simplifies human behaviour and assumes individuals can be treated as autonomous, equal units. This is particularly problematic given the fact that individuals do not act in isolation and behaviour is highly influenced by interaction – both within the household and the broader environment – as well as by a range of unique and complex social inequalities and constructs impacting on the individual. As Graham explains, "In obscuring the relationships which mould…lives, the survey method masks the nature and patterns of power which derive from these social relationships."[71] Survey research is, thus, often limited in its ability to distinguish internal inequalities in individual power, position and autonomy, as well as in resource access and control – all of which directly and indirectly influence decision-making and behaviour.[72] A legitimate and persisting methodological critique of this study is that it attempts to condense and codify the complex child care behaviour and decision-making of individual labour migrants without being able to fully account for the broad range of interactions and individual and household-level factors that directly and indirectly influence such behaviour.

3.7.4 Cross-Sectional Design

Cross-sectional design is particularly well-suited for descriptive analysis, especially when used to measure and categorise population characteristics or behaviour.[73] In analysing the external validity of varying research designs, it is also apparent that cross-sectional designs are more successful than other designs in achieving representativeness and generalisability. Given the aims of this research – specifically the focus on representativeness and generalisability – and the practical and methodological limitations associated with other study types, a cross-sectional study design is particularly well-suited for this type of study.

Specific limitations of analytic cross-sectional designs – namely recall bias and issues owing to the simultaneous collection of exposure and outcome data – are largely irrelevant to this specific study. As the exposure and outcome measures being investigated – temporary labour migrant status and child care strategies utilised – are ongoing and relatively obvious, there is not a significant threat of recall bias introducing error into the study. In order to address the key disadvantage of traditional cross-sectional designs - eg. lack of temporal order and inability to infer causation – a panel design is utilized to provide a longitudinal component to the study. The use of cross-sectional surveys in a panel design, thus, builds on the design's external validity strength and removes the inability to establish temporal order. Thoughtful wording in the questionnaire design further provides the ability to establish causal inference as questions posed to study participants require that they explicitly relate the act of temporary migration and specific child movements and child care arrangements resulting from the migration. As such, both confirmation of temporal order and causal inference are guaranteed through questionnaire and study design.

3.8 Ethical Issues

The Agincourt Health and Population Unit (AHPU), whose health and demographic surveillance system has provided the secondary data for this analysis, operates with "blanket approval" ethical clearance from the University of the Witwatersrand Committee for Research on Human Subjects (Medical) – Clearance #M960720 (Appendix C). Furthermore, the University of the Witwatersrand Committee for Research on Human Subjects (Medical) provided ethical approval for this secondary data analytic study – Clearance #M071147.

Beyond ethical clearance and a long-term agreement and initial community consent from civic and traditional leaders to operate the surveillance system among the sub-district population, the Agincourt HDSS obtains informed verbal consent from all surveyed individuals and households at every census.[74] The data used in this study was anonymised and does not contain identifiers, guaranteeing information in the dataset cannot be linked to individual study participants or households. The privacy and confidentiality of individuals and households involved in the study has been strictly maintained throughout all phases of data collection, management, analysis and reporting.

Formal ethical clearance is not sufficient, however, when undertaking prospective, household-based research. The Agincourt HDSS LINC office maintains a direct and active relationship with elected Community Development Forums, covering all villages in the study site. The LINC office promotes learning, information dissemination and networking with the community. This interaction aims to increase community involvement in research governance at all stages of the research process. Routine interaction includes informing village leaders and communities of forthcoming census updates and research projects, well-prepared feedback and discussion of research findings at village meetings, and regular production of village-specific fact sheets to support local development initiatives. Ultimately, all Agincourt HDSS projects are expected to contribute to the community.[75]

CHAPTER 4

4.0 RESEARCH FINDINGS

Analysis of the research findings is divided into six sections. It begins with a descriptive analysis of temporary migration patterns in the Agincourt population from 2002 to 2007, including stratified analysis of population characteristics and examination of the distribution of reasons for migrating. It then focuses analysis on labour migration patterns as a distinct sub-set of temporary migration, providing stratified descriptive analysis of labour migrants as a proportion of the population, the distribution of labour migrants by type of work and migration destinations. The complexity of care arrangements and linked child moves are then analysed in 2002 and 2007, focusing specifically on a descriptive evaluation of the seven distinct care arrangements available to households. This is followed by a comparative analysis of child care patterns and decision-making, including an investigation of variation by year and by sex and refugee status of the migrant. Lastly, a brief analysis of the population characteristics of the children left behind by temporary labour migrants is followed by a descriptive analysis of the provision of care for these children in the absence of their labour migrant parents and caretakers based on the 2007 data.

In analysing and interpreting the study findings, it is important to remain cognisant of the aforementioned methodological limitations and how each may potentially introduce error into the study. In order to facilitate proper interpretation of the results, the exact wording of questions used in the initial household survey is explicitly included below as a preface to the tabulated findings. Where subjective determinations have been made to recode or

manipulate the data for this analysis, an explanation of the methodological process and reasoning is included for review.

4.1 Temporary Migration Patterns: 2002 - 2007

The following descriptive analysis of temporary migration patterns in the Agincourt population from 2002 to 2007 includes: temporary migration prevalence estimates stratified by sex and refugee status; stratified analysis of temporary migrant population characteristics; as well as an examination of the distribution of reasons for migrating by year, sex and refugee status.

4.1.1 Proportion of the Population that Migrates

Table 4.1 details the proportion of temporary migrants in the Agincourt population in 2002 and 2007, stratified by sex and refugee status.

Table 4.1 Proportion of Temporary Migrants in the Agincourt Population (2002 – 2007)

Proportion of Temporary Migrants in the Population

2002	Number (%)	
	Population	Temp. Migs.
Total	70109	12134 (17.3)
Female	36291	4137 (11.4)
Male	33818	7997 (23.7)
South African Descent	47552	8785 (18.5)
Mozambican Descent	22518	3349 (14.9)

2007	Population	Temp. Migs.
Total	82813	14785 (18.6)
Female	43091	5143 (11.9)
Male	39719	9642 (24.3)
South African Descent	55789	10768 (19.3)
Mozambican Descent	26896	4010 (14.9)
Missing	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)

In 2002, the study site population was 70109 individuals: two-thirds of South African descent and one-third of Mozambican descent and nearly evenly split between males and females. Temporary migrants constituted nearly one-fifth of the population: one-tenth of women, one-quarter of men, one-fifth of individuals of South African descent and one-sixth of individuals of Mozambican descent in the population were temporary migrants.

In 2007, the study site population was 82813 individuals, with comparable sex and refugee status breakdowns. Temporary migrants constituted nearly one-fifth of the population: with a 1% increase in the proportion of females and individuals of South African descent that temporarily migrate and no change in the proportion of males or individuals of Mozambican descent.

4.1.2 Distribution of Migrants by Sex and Refugee Status

Table 4.2 details the distribution of temporary migrants in the Agincourt population in 2002 and 2007, stratified by sex and refugee status.

Table 4.2 Distribution of Temporary Migrants by Sex and Refugee Status (2002 – 2007)

Distribution of Temporary Migrants by Sex and Refugee Status (2002 - 2007)		
	Number (%)	
	2002	**2007**
Female	4137 (34.1)	5143 (34.8)
Male	7997 (65.9)	9642 (65.2)
South African	8785 (72.4)	10768 (72.8)
Mozambican	3349 (27.6)	4010 (27.1)
	12134 (100.0)	14785 (100.0)
Missing	0 (0.0)	7 (0.1)

Of the 12134 and 14785 individuals temporarily migrating in the population in 2002 and 207 respectively, approximately two-thirds were male and one-third were female, while nearly three-quarters were of South African descent and one-quarter were of Mozambican descent.

4.1.3 Reason for Migrating

Table 4.3 details the distribution of reasons for which individuals in the Agincourt population temporarily migrated in 2002 and 2007.

Table 4.3 Reason for Temporary Migration by Year (2002 – 2007)

Reason for Temporary Migration by Year (2002 - 2007)		
	Number (%)	
	2002	**2007**
Employment	8009 (66.6)	9996 (68.1)
School/Studies	1432 (11.9)	1745 (11.9)
Looking for Work	813 (6.8)	854 (5.8)
Live with Other Spouse or Partner	255 (2.1)	578 (3.9)
Accompany Migrant	883 (7.3)	577 (3.9)
Visit Family	522 (4.3)	487 (3.3)
Other/Unspecified	32 (0.3)	304 (2.1)
Prison	44 (0.4)	45 (0.3)
Disability or Child Care	8 (0.1)	22 (0.2)
Escaping Bad Situation	4 (0.0)	17 (0.1)
Visit Friends	4 (0.0)	14 (0.1)
Medical Treatment	3 (0.0)	13 (0.1)
Treatment at Sangoma/Faith Healer	16 (0.1)	13 (0.1)
Sangoma Training	8 (0.1)	7 (0.1)
Holiday	0 (0.0)	5 (0.0)
	12134 (100.0)	14785 (100.0)
Missing	101 (0.8)	108 (0.7)

In 2002 and 2007, three-quarters of temporary migrants migrated specifically for work or in search of employment and one-tenth migrated for schooling. Approximately one-tenth of the population migrated to accompany a migrant, to visit family or to live with another spouse or partner. Reason for migrating records were missing for less than 1% of temporary migrants in 2002.

Table 4.4 details the distribution of reasons for which individuals in the Agincourt population temporarily migrated in 2002, stratified by sex and refugee status.

Table 4.4 Reason for Migrating by Sex and Refugee Status of the Migrant (2002)

Reason for Migrating by Migrant's Sex and Refugee Status (2002)				
	Number (%)			
	Male	**Female**	**South African**	**Mozambican**
Employment	5905 (74.6)	2104 (51.1)	5562 (63.9)	2447 (73.5)
School/Studies	708 (8.9)	724 (17.6)	1235 (14.2)	197 (5.9)
Looking for Work	628 (7.9)	185 (4.5)	637 (7.3)	176 (5.3)
Live with Other Partner	36 (0.5)	219 (5.3)	171 (2.0)	84 (2.5)
Accompany Migrant	318 (4.0)	565 (13.7)	640 (7.4)	243 (7.3)
Visit Family	251 (3.1)	271 (6.5)	376 (4.3)	146 (4.4)
Other/Unspecified	14 (0.2)	18 (0.4)	26 (0.3)	6 (0.2)
Prison	43 (0.5)	1 (0.0)	32 (0.4)	12 (0.4)
Disability or Child Care	3 (0.0)	5 (0.1)	4 (0.1)	4 (0.1)
Escaping Bad Situation	1 (0.0)	3 (0.1)	2 (0.0)	2 (0.1)
Visit Friends	2 (0.0)	2 (0.1)	3 (0.0)	1 (0.0)
Medical Treatment	2 (0.0)	1 (0.0)	3 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Treatment at Sangoma/FH	5 (0.1)	11 (0.3)	10 (0.1)	6 (0.2)
Sangoma Training	1 (0.0)	7 (0.2)	1 (0.0)	7 (0.2)
Holiday	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
	7997 (100.0)	4137 (100.0)	8785 (100.0)	3349 (100.0)
Missing	80 (1.0)	21 (0.5)	83 (0.9)	18 (0.5)

In 2002, over four-fifths of male migrants migrated either for work or in search of employment and less than one-tenth migrated for schooling, whereas less than three-fifths of female migrants migrated for work or in search of employment and nearly one-fifth migrated for schooling. Only 4% of males travelled in order to accompany another migrant and less than 1% migrated temporarily to live with another spouse or partner, while 14% of females travelled in order to accompany another migrant and 5% migrated temporarily to live with another spouse or partner. Reason for migrating records were missing for less than 1% of male and female temporary migrants in 2002.

In 2002, nearly three-quarters of temporary migrants of South African descent migrated for work or in search of employment and nearly one-sixth migrated for schooling, whereas four-fifths of temporary migrants of Mozambican descent migrated for work or in search of employment and only one-twentieth migrated for schooling. South African and Mozambican descent temporary migrants were similarly likely to travel in order to accompany another migrant or to migrate temporarily to live with another spouse or partner. Reason for migrating records were missing for less than 1% of temporary migrants of South African or Mozambican descent in 2002.

Table 4.5 details the distribution of reasons for which individuals in the Agincourt population temporarily migrated in 2007, stratified by sex and refugee status.

Table 4.5 Reason for Migrating by Sex and Refugee Status of the Migrant (2007)

Reason for Migrating by Migrant's Sex and Refugee Status (2007)				
	Number (%)			
	Male	**Female**	**South African**	**Mozambican**
Employment	7366 (77.0)	2630 (51.5)	7118 (66.5)	2875 (72.6)
School/Studies	848 (8.9)	897 (17.6)	1440 (13.5)	305 (7.7)
Looking for Work	607 (6.3)	247 (4.8)	665 (6.2)	188 (4.8)
Live with Other Partner	40 (0.4)	538 (10.5)	438 (4.1)	140 (3.5)
Accompany Migrant	270 (2.8)	307 (6.0)	415 (3.9)	160 (4.0)
Visit Family	211 (2.2)	276 (5.4)	324 (3.0)	163 (4.1)
Other/Unspecified	137 (1.4)	167 (3.3)	207 (1.9)	97 (2.5)
Prison	44 (0.5)	1 (0.0)	35 (0.3)	10 (0.3)
Disability or Child Care	11 (0.1)	11 (0.2)	20 (0.2)	2 (0.1)
Escaping Bad Situation	10 (0.1)	7 (0.1)	17 (0.2)	0 (0.0)
Visit Friends	3 (0.0)	11 (0.2)	5 (0.1)	9 (0.2)
Medical Treatment	8 (0.1)	5 (0.1)	10 (0.1)	2 (0.1)
Treatment at Sangoma/FH	6 (0.1)	7 (0.1)	8 (0.1)	5 (0.1)
Sangoma Training	3 (0.0)	4 (0.1)	2 (0.0)	5 (0.1)
Holiday	3 (0.0)	2 (0.0)	4 (0.0)	1 (0.0)
	9642 (100.0)	5143 (100.0)	10768 (100.0)	4010 (100.0)
Missing	75 (0.8)	33 (0.6)	60 (0.6)	48 (1.2)

Migrants' reason for migrating remained consistent between 2002 and 2007. Comparable to the findings for 2002, over four-fifths of male migrants migrated either for work or in search of employment and less than one-tenth migrated for schooling in 2007, whereas less than three-fifths of female migrants migrated specifically for work or in search of employment and one-fifth migrated for schooling. Less than 3% of male migrants travelled in order to accompany another migrant and less than 1% migrated temporarily to live with another spouse or partner, while one-twentieth of female migrants travellin in order to accompany another migrant and one-tenth migrated temporarily to live with another spouse or partner. Reason for migrating records were missing for less than 1% of male and female temporary migrants in 2007.

Similarly, nearly three-quarters of temporary migrants of South African descent migrated for work or in search of employment and nearly one-sixth migrated for schooling in 2007, whereas four-fifths of temporary migrants of Mozambican descent migrated for work or in search of employment and only one-twentieth migrated for schooling. As in 2002, South African and Mozambican descent temporary migrants were similarly likely to travel in order to accompany another migrant or to migrate temporarily to live with another spouse or partner as they were. Reason for migrating records were missing for less than 1% of temporary migrants of South African and Mozambican descent in 2007.

4.2 Temporary Labour Migration Patterns: 2002 - 2007

The following descriptive analysis of temporary labour migration patterns in the Agincourt population from 2002 to 2007, includes: temporary labour migration prevalence estimates stratified by sex and refugee status; stratified analysis of temporary labour migrant population characteristics; analysis of the distribution of temporary labour migrant

destinations; examination of the distribution of labour migrants' type of work; as well as estimates of the prevalence of temporary labour migrants with children, stratified by sex and refugee status.

4.2.1 Proportion of the Population that Temporarily Migrates for Labour

Table 4.6 details the proportion of temporary labour migrants in the Agincourt population in 2002 and 2007, stratified by sex and refugee status.

Table 4.6 Proportion of Temporary Labour Migrants in the Population (2002 – 2007)

Proportion of Temporary Labour Migrants in the Population

	Number (%)	
2002	**Population**	**Temp. Lab. Migs.**
Total	70109	8822 (12.6)
Female	36291	2289 (6.3)
Male	33818	6533 (19.3)
South African Descent	47552	6199 (13.0)
Mozambican Descent	22518	2623 (11.7)
2007	**Population**	**Temp. Lab. Migs.**
Total	82813	10850 (13.1)
Female	43091	2877 (6.7)
Male	39719	7973 (20.1)
South African Descent	55789	7783 (14.0)
Mozambican Descent	26896	3063 (11.4)
Missing	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)

From 2002 to 2007, there was minimal variation in the proportion of temporary labour migrants in the population, remaining a consistent one-eighth of the population over the five-year period. Approximately one-twentieth of the female, one-fifth of the male, one-

eighth of the South African descent and one-ninth of the Mozambican descent population are temporary labour migrants.

4.2.2 Population Characteristics of Temporary Labour Migrants

Table 4.7 details the distribution of temporary labour migrants in the Agincourt population in 2002 and 2007, stratified by sex and refugee status.

Table 4.7 Distribution of Temporary Labour Migrants by Sex and Refugee Status (2002 – 2007)

Distribution of Temporary Labour Migrants by Sex and Refugee Status (2002 - 2007)

	Number (%)	
	2002	**2007**
Female	2289 (26.0)	2877 (26.5)
Male	6533 (74.1)	7973 (73.5)
South African	6199 (70.3)	7783 (71.7)
Mozambican	2623 (29.7)	3063 (28.2)
	8822 (100.0)	10850 (100.0)
Missing	0 (0.0)	4 (0.0)

From 2002 to 2007, there was minimal variation in the distribution of temporary labour migrants by sex or refugee status. Approximately three-quarters of temporary labour migrants are male and one-quarter are female, while seven-tenths are of South African descent and three-tenths are of Mozambican descent.

4.2.3 Destination of Temporary Labour Migrants

Table 4.8 details the distribution of migration destinations of temporary labour migrants from the Agincourt population in 2002 and 2007.

Table 4.8 Destination of Temporary Labour Migrants by Year (2002 – 2007)

Destination of Temporary Labour Migrants by Year (2002 – 2007)

	Number (%)	
	2002	**2007**
Mpumalanga Province	3812 (43.3)	4708 (43.7)
Gauteng Province	3674 (41.7)	4718 (43.7)
Limpopo Province	878 (10.0)	759 (7.0)
Northwest Province	341 (3.9)	441 (4.1)
Free State Province	63 (0.7)	59 (0.6)
Eastern Cape Province	13 (0.2)	26 (0.2)
KwaZulu-Natal Province	11 (0.1)	36 (0.3)
Western Cape Province	7 (0.1)	35 (0.3)
Northern Cape Province	4 (0.1)	5 (0.1)
	8822 (100.0)	10850 (100.0)
Missing	19 (0.2)	63 (0.6)

In 2002, 85% of temporary labour migrants from Agincourt travelled to either Mpumalanga or Gauteng Province to work, 10% to the adjacent Limpopo Province and 4% to Northwest Province. Less than 1% of destination records were missing for temporary labour migrants in 2002.

In 2007, over 87% of temporary labour migrants from Agincourt travelled to either Mpumalanga or Gauteng Province to work, 7% to Limpopo Province and 4% to Northwest Province. Less than 1% of destination records were missing for temporary labour migrants in 2007.

4.2.4 Temporary Labour Migrants by Work Type

Table 4.9 details the distribution of temporary labour migrants' type of work in 2002 and 2007.

Table 4.9 Distribution of Temporary Labour Migrants' Type of Work by Year (2002 – 2007)

Distribution of Labour Migrants' Type of Work (2002 - 2007)

	Number (%)	
	2002	**2007**
Construction	581 (6.6)	836 (7.7)
Mining	691 (7.8)	752 (6.9)
Skilled Work	797 (9.0)	747 (6.9)
Farm Labour	806 (9.1)	720 (6.6)
Unskilled Worker	215 (2.4)	530 (4.9)
Driver	407 (4.6)	486 (4.5)
Security	349 (4.0)	475 (4.4)
Cleaning	362 (4.1)	349 (3.2)
Cook/Chef/Caterer	198 (2.2)	300 (2.8)
Game Farm	146 (1.7)	263 (2.4)
Informal Selling	200 (2.3)	249 (2.3)
Domestic Work	222 (2.5)	234 (2.2)
Small Business Owner	342 (3.9)	231 (2.1)
Senior Admin./Manager/Professional	241 (2.7)	193 (1.8)
Health Sector (formal)	33 (0.4)	187 (1.7)
Small Business Assistant	209 (2.4)	187 (1.7)
Clerical/Office Work	119 (1.4)	185 (1.7)
Police/Soldier/Fireman	120 (1.4)	181 (1.7)
Waiter/Barman	124 (1.4)	160 (1.5)
Timber/Sawmill/Poles	87 (1.0)	148 (1.4)
Teacher	67 (0.8)	92 (0.9)
Gardening Services	35 (0.4)	80 (0.7)
Traditional Healer	160 (1.8)	50 (0.5)
Sewing/Hair/Baker/Brewing	21 (0.2)	46 (0.4)
Fieldworker – NGO	36 (0.4)	43 (0.4)
Art/Craft/Photography/Fashion	37 (0.4)	43 (0.4)
Petrol Attendant	48 (0.5)	40 (0.4)
Artisan	8 (0.1)	35 (0.3)
Priest	4 (0.1)	4 (0.0)
Cattle Herder	4 (0.1)	2 (0.0)
Looking for Work	650 (7.4)	787 (7.3)
Unknown	1503 (17.0)	2215 (20.4)
	8822 (100.0)	10850 (100.0)

Between 2002 and 2007, the type of work temporary labour migrants were employed in remained relatively consisten. 7% to 9% of temporary labour migrants worked in each of the four most common fields: construction, mining, skilled work and farm labourer. Approximately 2% to 5% of temporary labour migrants worked as unskilled labourers, drivers, security guards, cleaners, cooks, game farms labourers; small business assistants, domestic workers, small business owners and informal salesmen and women, respectively. Approximately 7% of temporary labour migrants were unemployed and actively looking for work. A minor increase in construction work, security jobs, unskilled labour, cooking and game farm labour over the five year period occurred alongside a deline in skilled work, farm labour, mining, cleaning and domestic work and small business ownership. Records for the type of work were missing for one-sixth of temporary labour migrants in 2002 and one-fifth of temporary labour migrants in 2007.

4.2.5 Proportion of Temporary Labour Migrants with Children

Table 4.10 details the proportion of temporary labour migrants with children under 18 years in the Agincourt population in 2002 and 2007, stratified by sex and refugee status.

Table 4.10 Proportion of Temporary Labour Migrants with Children Less than 18 Years in the Population (2002 – 2007)

Proportion of Temporary Labour Migrants with Children in the Population (2002 - 2007)

	Number (%)	
2002	**Population**	**Temp. Lab. Migs.**
Total	70109	4453 (6.4)
Female	36291	1379 (3.8)
Male	33818	3074 (9.1)
South African Descent	47552	2964 (6.2)
Mozambican Descent	22518	1489 (6.6)

2007	**Population**	**Temp. Lab. Migs.**
Total	82813	4808 (5.8)
Female	43091	1616 (3.8)
Male	39719	3192 (8.0)
South African Descent	55789	3244 (5.8)
Mozambican Descent	26896	1564 (5.8)
Missing	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)

In 2002, temporary labour migrants with children constituted one-sixteenth of the total population. Less than one-twentieth of females, one-tenth of males, and one-sixteenth of the South African and Mozambican descent populations were temporary labour migrants with children.

In 2007, the proportion of temporary labour migrants with children declined to one-seventeenth of the total population. The proportion of female temporary labour migrants with children remained consistent, but the proportion of male temporary labour migrants with children declined slightly to one-twelfth of the total male population and the proportions of South African and Mozambican descent temporary labour migrants with children declined slightly to one-seventeenth of their respective populations.

4.3 Complexity of Migrant-Linked Care Arrangements and Child Moves

The following section provides a descriptive examination of migrant-linked care arrangements and child moves utilised by temporary labour migrants from the Agincourt population in 2002 and 2007.

To determine the effect of labour migration on child care arrangements and the movement of children the study questions were purposefully worded in a way that unequivocally relates the absence of the migrant and the subsequent movement of children. In this way, child movements and specific care arrangements linked to the movement of a labour migrant can be explicitly drawn out and analysed in isolation.

In order to detail and delineate the complexity of child movements and household care arrangements directly linked to the movement of temporary labour migrants in the population, three distinct questions were asked of every migrant (Appendix B):

> As a result of this person moving, is/are there children who move to another place?
> As a result of this person moving, is/are there children who move with the migrant?
> As a result of this person moving, is/are there children who stay in this household?

The responses to these three questions allow us to describe the movements of children in and out of households as a result of temporary labour migration. More broadly, it provides a more detailed understanding of the unique complexity of child care decision-making as it relates to labour migration and the absence of migrant parents and caregivers in the South African context. It must be noted that the data does not allow us to quantify and analyse the movement of every child in the population, but rather details the household response to every migrant move.

The three distinct child movement options – child(ren) move to another place, child(ren) move with the migrant and child(ren) stay in the household – create seven possible child care arrangements available to every migrant:

1. all children remain in the household
2. all children move with the migrant
3. all children move elsewhere
4. some children remain in the household and some children move with the migrant
5. some children move with the migrant and some children move elsewhere
6. some children move elsewhere and some children remain in the household
7. some children remain in the household, some children move with migrant and some children move elsewhere

4.3.1 Complexity of Care Arrangements and Child Moves in 2002

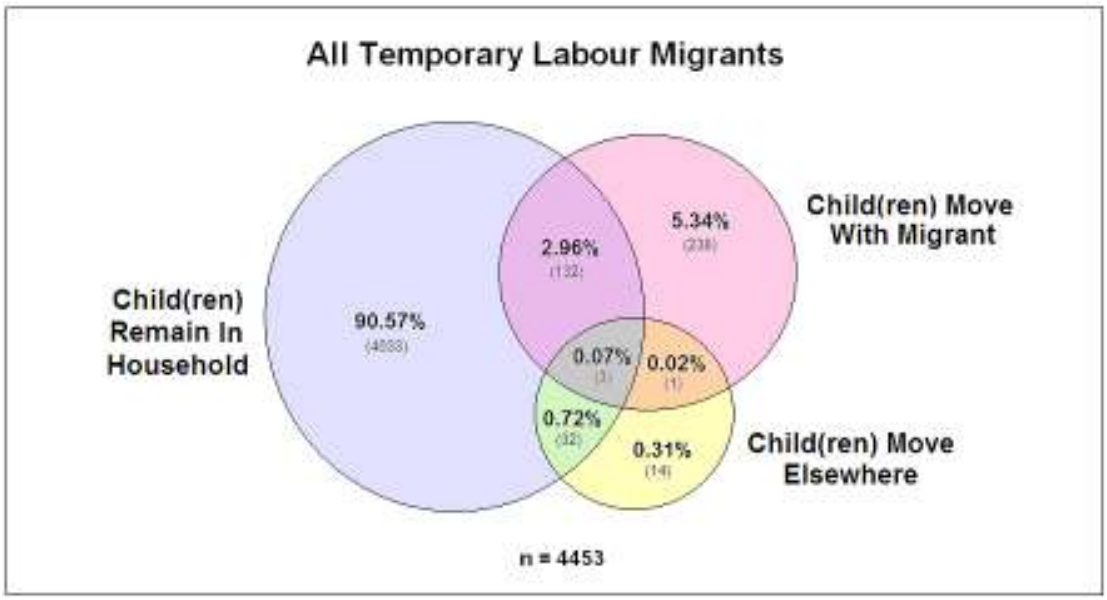


Figure 4.1 Migration-Linked Child Moves and Care Arrangements of All Temporary Labour Migrants in Agincourt in 2002

In 2002, more than nine-tenths of temporary labour migrants with children kept all of their children in the same household when they left for work. More than 5% of temporary labour migrants moved all of their children with them when they migrated and less than 1% moved all children to another household. Less than 3% of migrants kept some children in the same household and moved some children with them when they migrated, less than 1% kept some children in the same household and moved some children to another household

for care. Only a few temporary migrants moved some children with them when they migrated and moved some children to another household for care. Similarly, only a few migrants kept some children in the same household, moved some children with the migrant and moved some children to another household for care.

As such, the overwhelming majority of temporary labour migrants relied on a single care strategy in 2002 – keeping all children together when they migrated – with less than one-twentieth of migrants relying on more complex care arrangements – separating and disbursing their children through a variety of arrangements.

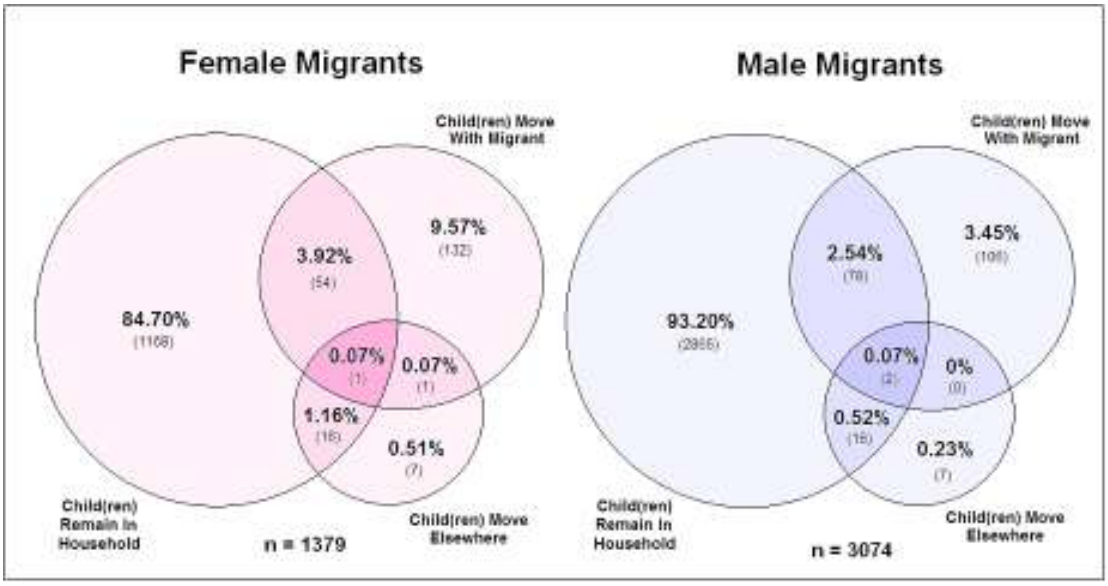


Figure 4.2 Migration-Linked Child Moves and Care Arrangements of Female and Male Temporary Labour Migrants in Agincourt in 2002

In 2002, approximately four-fifths of female temporary labour migrants kept all of their children in the same household when they left for work, while nine-tenths of male temporary labour migrants did the same. Nearly one-tenth of females moved all children with them when they migrated whereas less than one-twentieth of males moved their children with them when they depart. Approximately 5% of female migrants and 3% of

male migrants utilised complex care arrangements. Female temporary labour migrants were, thus, more likely than male migrants to rely on complex care strategies in 2002.

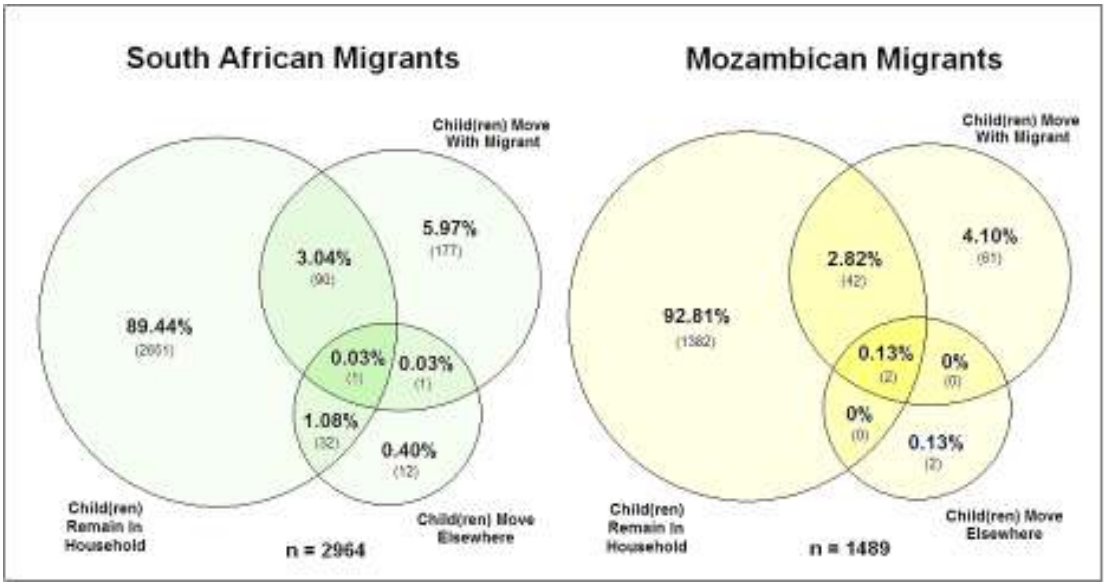


Figure 4.3 Migration-Linked Child Moves and Care Arrangements of Temporary Labour Migrants of South African and Mozambican descent in Agincourt in 2002

In 2002, approximately nine-tenths of both South African and Mozambican descent temporary labour migrants kept all of their children in the same household when they left for work and approximately one-twentieth of each population moved all children with them when they migrated. More than 4% of South African migrants and 3% of Mozambican descent migrants utilised complex care strategies. South African descent temporary labour migrants were, thus, more likely than Mozambican descent migrants to rely on complex care strategies in 2002.

4.3.2 Complexity of Care Arrangements and Child Moves in 2007

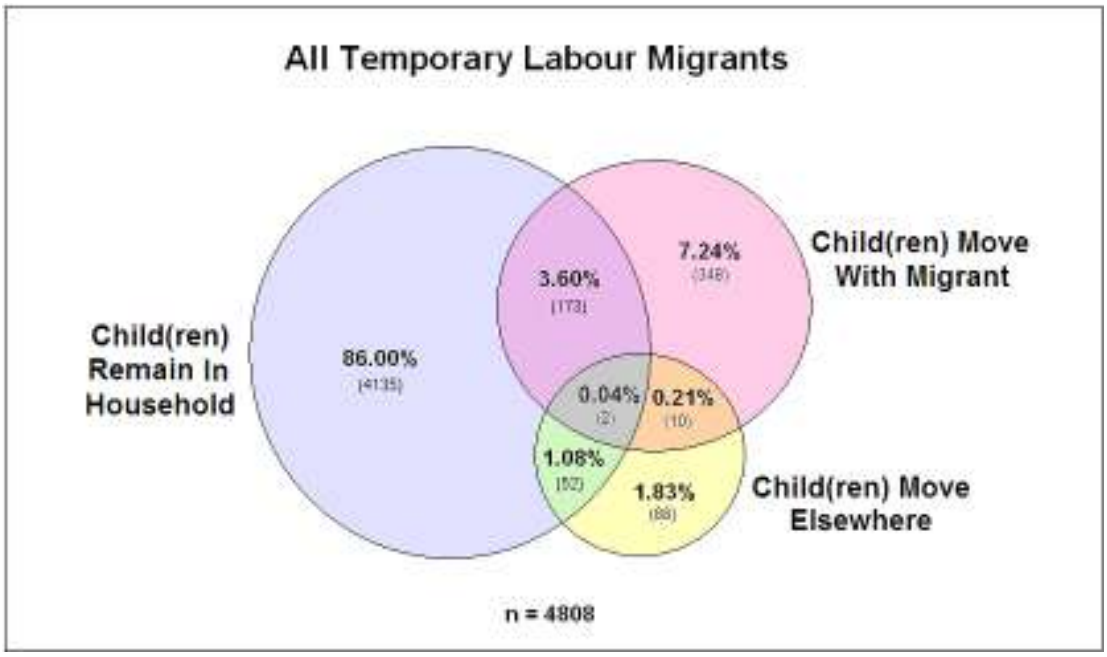


Figure 4.4 Migration-Linked Child Moves and Care Arrangements of All Temporary Labour Migrants in Agincourt in 2007

In 2007, fewer temporary labour migrants kept all of their children in the same household when they left for work, more migrants moved all children with them when they migrated and more migrants moved all children to another household as compared to 2002. Keeping children in the household when the migrant leaves remained the predominant care strategy for nearly nine-tenths of the population and moving children with the migrant remained the secondary strategy. The proportion of temporary labour migrants relying on a complex child care arrangement in 2007 remains low, but has increased from 3% to 5% over the five year period.

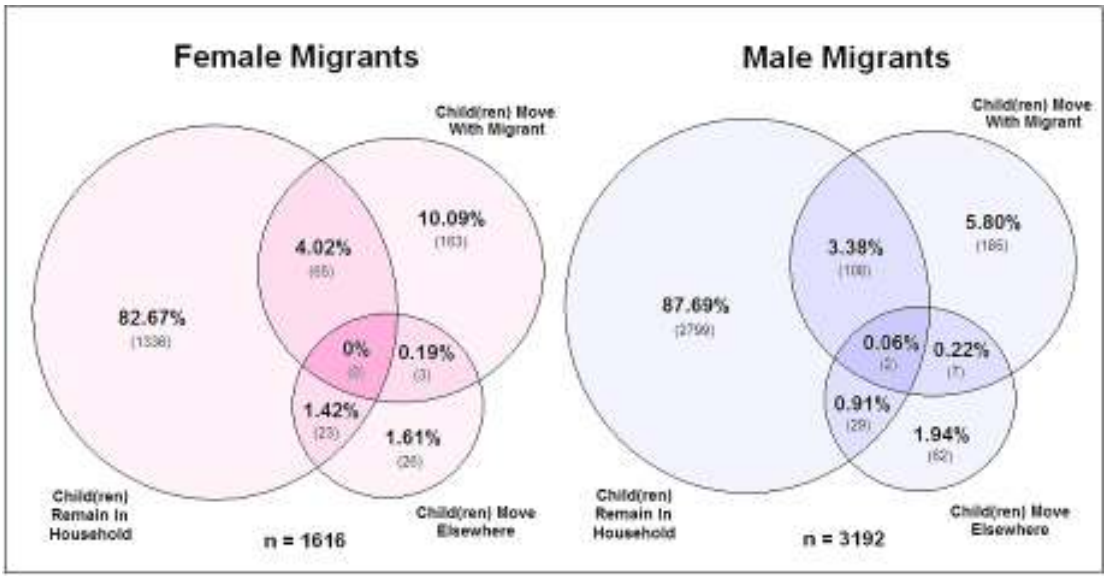


Figure 4.5 Migration-Linked Child Moves and Care Arrangements of Female and Male Temporary Labour Migrants in Agincourt in 2007

As in 2002, female migrants remained significantly more likely to move children with them when they leave the household, as well as minimally less likely than male migrants to keep the children in the same household when they depart. While reliance on complex care arrangements increased over the five-year period among both female and male temporary migrants, female temporary labour migrants remain more likely than male migrants to rely on complex child care arrangements.

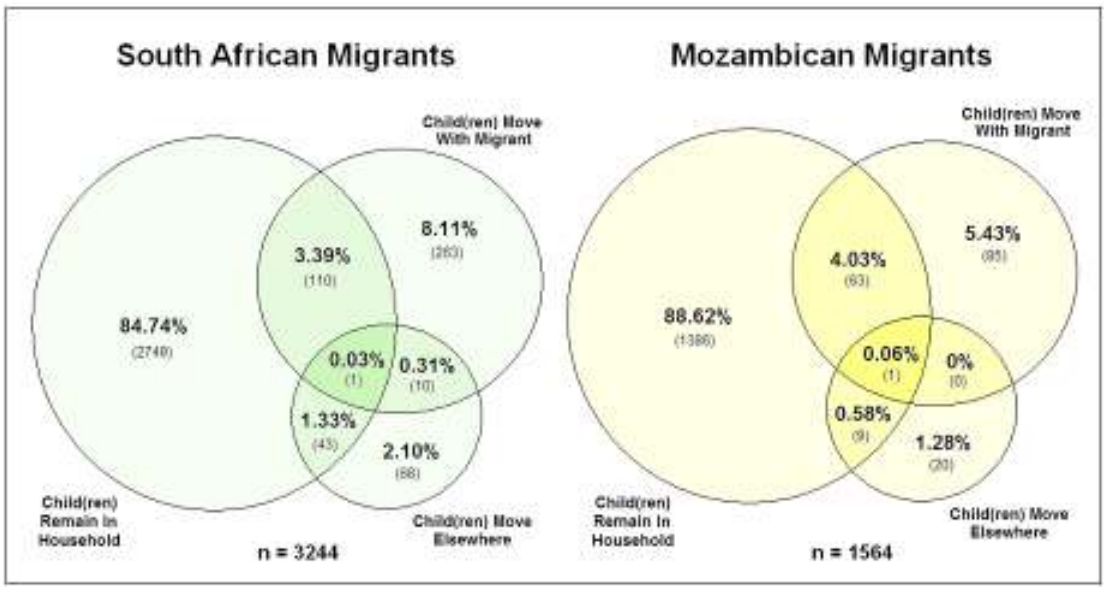


Figure 4.6 Migration-Linked Child Moves and Care Arrangements of Temporary Labour Migrants of South African and Mozambican descent in Agincourt in 2007

While the proportion of both South African and Mozambican descent migrants that move children with the migrant increased from 2002 to 2007, keeping children in the same household remained the predominant child care arrangement for nine-tenths of each population. Reliance on complex care arrangements also increased over the five-year period among both South African and Mozambican descent migrants, but South African descent temporary labour migrants remain more likely than Mozambican descent migrants to rely on complex care arrangements.

4.4 Residence Stability and Variation in Child Care Arrangements

The following descriptive and analytic examination of residence stability and variation in child care arrangements in 2002 and 2007 includes comparative analyses of child care arrangements by year, sex and refugee status.

4.4.1 Variation in Child Care Arrangements by Year

In order to describe and compare the frequency of migration-related household child care decisions over time and by sex and refugee status of the migrant, it is necessary to recategorise the complex care arrangements previously analysed in section 4.3. To this end, the following analysis necessarily collapses the seven child care arrangements into four care arrangement categories: 1) households that keep children in the same home, 2) households that move child(ren) with the migrant, 3) households that move child(ren) elsewhere and 4) households that move a childcarer into the home. As such, any temporary labour migrant-sending household that moves a childcarer into the home in response to the migration is enumerated in the fourth category, regardless of whether it utilises other care arrangements. If the same household also moves a child with the migrant, it will also be enumerated in the second category. The focus is, thus, on the frequency individual care strategies are utilised by migrant-sending households in the population.

Table 4.11 details variation in child care arrangements of temporary labour migrants in the Agincourt population in 2002 and 2007, stratified by sex and refugee status.

Table 4.11 Change Over Time in Child Care Arrangements of Temporary Labour Migrants in the Agincourt Population, 2002 to 2007

Variation in Child Care Arrangements by Year					
	2002	**2007**	**Difference**	**Pearson X^2**	**P-value**
Keep Child(ren) in Home					
All Migrants**	4200 (94.3%)	4362 (90.7%)	- 3.6%	42.81	**0.000**
Female Migrant	1263 (90.0%)	1424 (88.1%)	- 1.9%	2.78	0.096
Male Migrant**	2937 (96.3%)	2938 (92.0%)	- 4.3%	50.97	**0.000**
South African Migrant**	2774 (93.6%)	2903 (89.5%)	- 4.1%	33.31	**0.000**
Mozambican Migrant**	1426 (95.8%)	1459 (93.3%)	- 2.5%	9.04	**0.003**
Move Child(ren) With Migrant					
All Migrants**	374 (8.4%)	539 (11.2%)	+ 2.8%	20.39	**0.000**
Female Migrant	212 (15.1%)	232 (14.4%)	- 0.8%	0.35	0.555
Male Migrant**	162 (5.3%)	307 (9.6%)	+ 4.3%	41.39	**0.000**
South African Migrant**	269 (9.1%)	389 (12.0%)	+ 2.9%	13.74	**0.000**
Mozambican Migrant*	105 (7.1%)	150 (9.6%)	+ 2.5%	6.40	**0.011**
Move Child(ren) Elsewhere					
All Migrants**	50 (1.1%)	152 (3.2%)	+ 2.0%	44.91	**0.000**
Female Migrant*	25 (1.8%)	52 (3.2%)	+ 1.4%	6.22	**0.013**
Male Migrant**	25 (0.8%)	100 (3.1%)	+ 2.3%	42.41	**0.000**
South African Migrant**	46 (1.6%)	122 (3.8%)	+ 2.2%	28.59	**0.000**
Mozambican Migrant**	4 (0.3%)	30 (1.9%)	+ 1.7%	18.83	**0.000**
Move Childcarer Into Home					
All Migrants*	18 (0.4%)	38 (0.79%)	+ 0.4%	5.71	**0.017**
Female Migrant	9 (0.6%)	15 (0.93%)	+ 0.3%	0.81	0.369
Male Migrant*	9 (0.3%)	23 (0.72%)	+ 0.4%	5.53	**0.019**
South African Migrant	15 (0.5%)	30 (0.92%)	+ 0.4%	3.75	0.053
Mozambican Migrant	3 (0.2%)	8 (0.51%)	+ 0.3%	2.05	0.152
	4453 (100.0%)	4808 (100.0%)			

*** Statistically Significant (95% Confidence)** **** Statistically Significant (99% Confidence)**

Between 2002 and 2007, there has been a significant decrease over time in the proportion of households that keep children in the same home when a temporary labour migrant leaves (p=0.000), a significant increase in the movement of children with the migrant (p=0.000) and a significant increase in the movement of children elsewhere (p=0.000). There has also been a significant increase in the proportion of households that bring a

childcarer into the home to provide supplementary care in the absence of a migrant (p=0.017).

There has been a decrease over time in the proportion of households that keep children in the same home when a female labour migrant leaves (p=0.096) and a decline in the movement of children with a female migrant (p=0.555), but neither is significant. There has been, however, a significant increase in the movement of children elsewhere (p=0.013). There has also been an increase in the proportion of households that bring a childcarer into the home to provide supplementary care in the absence of a female migrant (p=0.369), but it is not significant.

There has been a significant decrease over time in the proportion of households that keep children in the same home when a male temporary labour migrant leaves (p=0.000), a significant increase in the movement of children with the migrant (p=0.000), and a significant increase in the movement of children elsewhere (p=0.000). There has also been a significant increase in the proportion of households that bring a childcarer into the home to provide supplementary care in the absence of a male migrant (p=0.019).

There has been a significant decrease over time in the proportion of households that keep children in the same home when a South African descent labour migrant leaves (p=0.000), a significant increase in the movement of children with the migrant (p=0.000) and a significant increase in the movement of children elsewhere (p=0.000). There has also been an increase in the proportion of households that bring a childcarer into the home to provide supplementary care in the absence of South African descent migrants (p=0.053), but it is not significant.

There has been a significant decrease over time in the proportion of households that keep children in the same home when a labour migrant of Mozambican descent leaves (p=0.003), a significant increase in the movement of children with the migrant (p=0.011) and a significant increase in the movement of children elsewhere (p=0.000). There has also been an increase in the proportion of households that bring a childcarer into the home to provide supplementary care in the absence of Mozambican descent migrants (p=0.152), but it is not significant.

4.4.2 Variation in Child Care Arrangements by Sex

Table 4.12 details variation in child care arrangements of temporary labour migrants in the Agincourt population by sex of the migrant, stratified by year.

Table 4.12 Variation by Sex in Child Care Arrangements of Temporary Labour Migrants in the Agincourt Population in 2002 and 2007

Variation in Child Care Arrangements by Sex					
	Male	**Female**	**Difference**	**Pearson X^2**	**P-value**
Remain in Home					
2007	2938 (92.0%)	1424 (88.1%)	- 3.9%	19.63	**0.000****
2002	2937 (96.3%)	1263 (90.0%)	- 6.3%	70.58	**0.000****
Move With Migrant					
2007	307 (9.6%)	232 (14.4%)	+ 4.8%	24.31	**0.000****
2002	162 (5.3%)	212 (15.1%)	+ 9.8%	119.94	**0.000****
Move Elsewhere					
2007	100 (3.1%)	52 (3.2%)	+ 0.1%	0.03	0.869
2002	25 (0.8%)	25 (1.8%)	+ 1.0%	8.01	**0.005****
Childcarer Moves In					
2007	23 (0.7%)	15 (0.9%)	+ 0.2%	0.59	0.441
2002	9 (0.3%)	9 (0.6%)	+ 0.3%	2.86	0.091
	3050 (100.0%)	1403 (100.0%)			

*** Statistically Significant (95% Confidence) ** Statistically Significant (99% Confidence)**

In both 2002 and 2007, children were significantly less likely to remain in the same household if the labour migrant is female (p=0.000 and p=0.000 respectively). Children are also significantly more likely to move with the migrant if the labour migrant is female (p=0.000 in 2002 and p=0.000 in 2007). While children were found to be significantly more likely to move elsewhere if the labour migrant was female in 2002 (p=0.005), no significant difference in the likelihood of a child moving elsewhere based on the sex of the migrant was evident in 2007 (p=0.869). Similarly, there is not a significant difference in the likelihood of a childcarer moving into the household based on the sex of the migrant (p=0.091 in 2002 and p=0.441 in 2007).

4.4.3 Variation in Child Care Arrangements by Refugee Status

Table 4.13 details variation in child care arrangements of temporary labour migrants in the Agincourt population by refugee status of the migrant, stratified by year.

Table 4.13 Variation by Refugee Status in Child Care Arrangements of Temporary Labour Migrants in the Agincourt Population in 2002 and 2007

Variation in Child Care Arrangements by Refugee Status					
	South African	**Mozambican**	**Difference**	**Pearson X^2**	**P-value**
Remain in Home					
2007	2903 (89.5%)	1459 (93.3%)	+ 3.8%	18.09	**0.000****
2002	2774 (93.6%)	1426 (95.8%)	+ 2.2%	8.78	**0.003****
Move With Migrant					
2007	389 (12.0%)	150 (9.6%)	- 2.4%	6.06	**0.014***
2002	269 (9.1%)	105 (7.1%)	- 2.0%	5.28	**0.022***
Move Elsewhere					
2007	122 (3.8%)	30 (1.9%)	- 1.8%	11.67	**0.001****
2002	46 (1.6%)	4 (0.3%)	- 1.3%	14.70	**0.000****
Childcarer Moves In					
2007	30 (0.9%)	8 (0.5%)	- 0.4%	2.29	0.130
2002	15 (0.5%)	3 (0.2%)	- 0.3%	2.28	0.131
	2964 (100.0)	1489 (100.0)			

*** Statistically Significant (95% Confidence)** **** Statistically Significant (99% Confidence)**

In both 2002 and 2007, children were found to be significantly more likely to remain in the same household if the labour migrant is of Mozambican descent (p=0.003 and p=0.000 respectively). Similarly, children are significantly more likely to move with the migrant if the labour migrant is of South African descent (p=0.022 in 2002 and p=0.014 in 2007). Children are also significantly more likely to move elsewhere if the labour migrant is South African (p=0.000 in 2002 and p=0.001 in 2007). However, there is not a significant difference in the likelihood of a childcarer moving into the household based on the refugee status of the migrant (p=0.131 in 2002 and p=0.130 in 2007).

4.5 The Children Left Behind

The following descriptive analysis of the children left behind by temporary labour migrants in the Agincourt population in 2002 and 2007 includes both prevalence estimates and stratified analysis of population characteristics of the children left behind.

In 2002, 10,316 children in the Agincourt population were found to have been *left behind* by labour migrants during their absence from the home. In 2007, there were 8,349 of these children identified in the population. Directly affected by the movement of a temporary labour migrant, these are the children that did not move with the migrant, but rather remained behind in the household, were moved elsewhere to a live with a relative or neighbour or were sent to a boarding school as a result of the migrant's departure. In effect, these are the children *left behind* by temporary labour migrants.

Out of an estimated 32,672 children in the Agincourt population in 2002, this constitutes 32% of the child population. Of the estimated 39,052 children in the Agincourt population in 2007, this constitutes 21% of the child population. It can, thus, be concluded that more

than 20% of children in rural South Africa are *left behind* as a result of temporary labour migration today.

Table 4.14 details population characteristics – age grouping, sex and refugee status – of the children left behind in Agincourt by temporary labour migrants, stratified by year.

Table 4.14 Characteristics of the Children Left Behind

Characteristics of the Children Left Behind		
	2002	**2007**
Infant (<1 year)	286 (2.8%)	234 (2.8%)
Preschool (1-4 years)	1899 (18.4%)	1475 (17.7%)
Early Childhood (5-9 years)	3046 (29.5%)	2300 (27.6%)
Pre-Adolescent (10-13 years)	2748 (26.6%)	2011 (24.1%)
Adolescent (14-18 years)	2337 (22.7%)	2329 (27.9%)
Male	5216 (50.6%)	4246 (51.0%)
Female	5100 (49.4%)	4083 (49.0%)
South African descent	6076 (58.9%)	5004 (60.0%)
Mozambican descent	4240 (41.1%)	3342 (40.0%)
	10316 (100.0%)	8349 (100.0%)
Missing	0 (0.0%)	20 (0.2%)

There are no apparent differences in the age, sex or refugee status characteristics of the children left behind, comparing 2002 and 2007. The children were evenly distributed by gender. Two-fifths of the children left behind were of Mozambican descent and three-fifths were of South African descent. Less than 3% of the children left behind were infants, one-fifth were of preschool age, one-third in early childhood, one-quarter were pre-adolescent and one-quarter were adolescent.

4.6 The Provision of Care of Children Left Behind

The following descriptive analysis of the provision of care for the children left behind by temporary labour migrants in the Agincourt population in 2007, includes: analysis of the children left behind's residence patterns, stratified by sex of the migrant and sex and refugee status of the child; examination of the child care authority for medical treatment decision-making and daily meal provision of children left behind that remain in their household; as well as examination of childrens' residence and child care authority for medical treatment decision-making and daily meal provision of children left behind that stay with relatives. As such, three specific aspects of child care are explicitly analysed in the context of migrants leaving the household: residence, health care and medical treatment decision-making, and the provision of daily meals. Data on the provision of care of children left behind in 2002 was not available for inclusion, so the subsequent analysis of the provision of care will focus exclusively on data from 2007.

While section 4.4 focused analysis on the movement of individual migrants and the child care arrangements and child moves specifically linked to their absence from the household, section 4.6 examines the collective movements of all children in migrant-sending households in the enumerated population.

4.6.1 Where Do Children Left Behind Stay When Migrants Are Away?

In the absence of migrant parents and caregivers, an important aspect to establish is children's residence. For every child in the population that does not move with a migrant (i.e. is left behind), their household was asked: "Where does the child stay when the migrant is away?" Table 4.15 details the residence of children left behind by temporary labour migrants in the Agincourt population in 2007, stratified by sex of the migrant.

Table 4.15 Residence of Children Left Behind (Total and by Sex of the Migrant)

Where do the children left behind by temporary labour migrants stay when the migrant is away?

	Total	Male Migrant	Female Migrant
Household	8245 (98.9%)	6254 (99.1%)	1991 (98.1%)
Relative	80 (1.0%)	46 (0.7%)	34 (1.7%)
Neighbour	5 (0.1%)	3 (0.1%)	2 (0.1%)
Boarding School	11 (0.1%)	8 (0.1%)	3 (0.2%)
Missing	8 (0.1%)	8 (0.1%)	0 (0.0%)

n = 8349

99% of all children left behind remained in the same household and less than 1% moved in with a relative, and only one-tenth of 1% of the children left behind moved in with a neighbour or moved to a boarding school. One-tenth of 1% of the children moved in with a neighbour or moved to a boarding school. Minor variation by sex of the migrant is evident, but does not appear to be significant.

Table 4.16 details the residence of children left behind by temporary labour migrants in the Agincourt population in 2007, stratified by sex and refugee status of the child.

Table 4.16 Residence of Children Left Behind (by Sex and Refugee Status of the Child)

Where do the children left behind by a temporary labour migrant stay when the migrant is away?

	Male Child	Female Child	South African Child	Mozambican Child
Household	4196 (98.9%)	4031 (98.9%)	4929 (98.6%)	3313 (99.3%)
Relative	43 (1.0%)	35 (0.9%)	58 (1.2%)	22 (0.7%)
Neighbour	2 (0.1%)	3 (0.1%)	3 (0.1%)	2 (0.1%)
Boarding School	2 (0.1%)	9 (0.2%)	10 (0.2%)	1 (0.0%)
Missing	13 (0.3%)	15 (0.4%)	6 (0.1%)	5 (0.2%)

n = 8349

When analysed by sex of the child, there is very little variation. Slightly greater variation is observed when analysed by refugee status of the child, but it is still likely not significant.

4.6.2 Children That Remain in the Household

In 2007, there were 8349 children in the Agincourt population affected by temporary labour migration that did not move with a migrant. Of these children, 8257 – 99% – remained in the same household (i.e. did not move elsewhere) when the temporary labour migrant left.

4.6.2.1 Who Makes the Child's Medical Decisions?

In the absence of migrant parents and caregivers, it is critical to determine who assumes primary responsibility in assessing children's health care needs and making medical treatment decisions. For every child in the population that remains in their household (i.e. does not move with the migrant or to another household) when a labour migrant leaves,

their household was asked: "If the child is ill, who decides to take him/her to get treatment?" Table 4.17 details the distribution of authority for medical treatment decisions in 2007 for children left behind by temporary labour migrants that remain in the same household when the migrant leaves.

Table 4.17 Medical Treatment Decision-Making for Children Left Behind in the Migrant-Sending Household in Agincourt, South Africa in 2007

For the 99% of children that remain in the household, who provides medical treatment decision-making?		
	Number	**%**
Mother	5136	62.2
Grandparent	1115	13.5
Sibling	908	11.0
Aunt/Uncle	248	3.0
Father	66	0.8
Cousin	33	0.4
Missing	751	9.1
	8257	100.0

In nearly two-thirds of cases, a child's mother (or stepmother) is responsible for medical treatment decision-making, with grandparents and siblings primarily responsible in the other one-third of cases. Response data for this question was missing for 9% of children remaining in the household.

4.6.2.2 Who Provides the Child's Daily Meals?

The provision of the child's daily meals in the absence of migrant parents and caregivers is another critical aspect of care. For every child in the population that remains in their household (i.e. does not move with the migrant or to another household) when a labour

migrant leaves, their household was asked: "On a daily basis, who prepares food for the child?" Table 4.18 details the distribution of authority for daily meal provision in 2007 for children left behind by temporary labour migrants that remain in the same household when the migrant leaves.

Table 4.18 Daily Meal Provision for Children Left Behind in the Migrant-Sending Household in Agincourt, South Africa in 2007

For the 99% of children that remain in the household, who provides the child's daily meals?

	Number	%
Mother	5097	61.7
Grandparent	1161	14.1
Sibling	1111	13.5
Aunt/Uncle	278	3.4
Father	61	0.7
Cousin	38	0.5
Missing	511	6.2
	8257	100.0

The same pattern is observed in both health care decision-making and daily meal provision as, in nearly two-thirds of cases, a child's mother (or stepmother) is responsible for the child's daily meal provision, with grandparents and siblings primarily responsible in the other one-third of cases. Response data for this question was missing for 6% of children remaining in the household.

4.6.3 Children that Stay With Relatives

As detailed in Table 4.15, 1% of children left behind by a migrant stay with a relative. While this entails 80 distinct cases, the following findings are potentially biased as a

significant portion of the records – 22 cases – are missing from this subset of the child population.

4.6.3.1 Where Does the Child Stay?

In order to determine the relationship of the child and their primary caregiver, each household was asked: "Where does the child stay when the migrant is away?" This question is, thus, designed to detail the relationship of the child and the primary caregiver responsible for providing the child's primary residence in the absence of a labour migrant. Table 4.19 details the distribution of residence of children left behind with relatives by temporary labour migrants in the Agincourt population in 2007.

Table 4.19 Residence of Children Left Behind with Relatives in Agincourt, South Africa in 2007

For the 1% of children that stay with a relative, who provides the child's residence?		
	Number	**%**
Grandparent	39	67.2
Sibling	10	17.2
Aunt/Uncle	7	12.1
Father	2	3.5
Mother	0	0.0
	58	100.0
Missing	22	27.5
n = 80		

Of the 1% of children that move in with a relative when the migrant leaves the household, two-thirds stay with a grandparent, one-sixth stay with a sibling, one-eighth stay with an aunt or uncle, and less than one-twentieth stay with their father in a separate household. Response data for this question was missing for 28% of children that stay with a relative.

4.6.3.2 Who Makes the Child's Medical Decisions?

For every child in the population that stays with a relative when a labour migrant leaves, their household was asked: "If the child is ill, who decides to take him/her to get treatment?" Table 4.20 details the distribution of authority for medical treatment decisions of children left behind with relatives by temporary labour migrants in the Agincourt population in 2007.

Table 4.20 Medical Treatment Decision-Making for Children Left Behind with Relatives in Agincourt, South Africa in 2007

For the 1% of children that stay with a relative, who makes child's medical treatment decisions?

	Number	%
Grandparent	45	77.6
Sibling	9	15.5
Mother	3	5.2
Aunt/Uncle	1	1.7
Father	0	0.0
	58	100.0
Missing	22	27.5
n = 80		

Of the 1% of children that move in with a relative when the migrant leaves the household, grandparents are responsible for making medical treatment decisions for three-quarters of the children. Siblings are the primary decision-maker in one-seventh of cases, and the child's mother is primarily responsible in one-twentieth of cases. Response data for this question was missing for 28% of children that stay with a relative.

4.6.3.3 Who Provides the Child's Daily Meals?

For every child in the population that stays with a relative when a labour migrant leaves, their household was asked: "On a daily basis, who prepares food for the child?" Table 4.21 details the distribution of authority for daily meal provision of children left behind with relatives by temporary labour migrants in the Agincourt population in 2007.

Table 4.21 Daily Meal Provision for Children Left Behind with Relatives in Agincourt, South Africa in 2007

For the 1% of children that stay with a relative, who provides the child's daily meals?

	Number	%
Grandparent	39	73.6
Sibling	7	13.2
Aunt/Uncle	4	7.6
Mother	3	5.7
Father	0	0.0
	53	100.0
Missing	27	33.8
n = 80		

Grandparents are responsible for providing the daily meals for three-quarters of the children, while siblings are an important secondary provider and aunts/uncles and the child's mother a tertiary meal provider. Of the 80 children in the population sent to live with relatives when a migrant left, 27 records for this variable – 34% – are missing. In all three domains – residence, medical treatment and meal provision – grandparents assume responsibility in nearly three-quarters of cases, followed by an older sibling and then an aunt or uncle.

CHAPTER 5

5.0 DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

This study sets out to examine the effects of temporary labour migration on child care patterns in a rural South African population in 2002 and 2007. At present, few studies exist analysing child care and residence patterns in South or Southern Africa. Only one study explicitly attempts to examine the relationship between adult and child migration, and no research exists specifically investigating child care patterns of temporary labour migrants. This study utilises an analytic cross-sectional design and descriptive summary statistics and Pearson chi-square tests of association to describe and compare temporary labour migration patterns, characteristics of the child population left behind and the child care and child residence patterns of temporary labour migrants in rural South Africa. Data used in this study was extracted from the Agincourt HDSS, enumerating a population of nearly 83,000 individuals spread throughout 14,000 households in 25 villages of rural northeast South Africa on the Mozambique border.

5.1 Temporary Labour Migration Patterns

Between 2002 and 2007, the proportion of temporary migrants in the Agincourt population rose from 17.3% to 18.6%. Nearly three-quarters were labour migrants, temporarily migrating for work or in search of employment. In 2002, this equated to 12.6% of the population absent from their household for more than six months of the year for work. By 2007, the proportion had risen slightly to 13.1%. Over the five-year period, the distribution of temporary labour migrants by sex and refugee status remained relatively constant, with a slight increase in the proportion of female migrants and migrants of Mozambican descent. From 2002 to 2007, three-quarters of temporary labour migrants from Agincourt sub-

district were male and one-quarter were female, while nearly three-quarters were of South African descent and more than one-quarter were of Mozambican descent.

These findings suggest a slowing down of the feminisation of migration in South Africa documented by Posel and others throughout the 1990s. Between 2002 and 2007, the proportion of the female population temporarily migrating rose only slightly from 11.4% to 11.9%. The proportion of females in the temporary migrant population increased from 34.1% to 34.8% over the five year period. Similarly, between 2002 and 2007, the proportion of the female population temporarily migrating for work increased only slightly from 6.3% to 6.7%. Concurrently, the proportion of females in the temporary labour migrant population only increased from 26.0% to 26.5%. Thus, while there is a documented increase in female participation in temporary migration and temporary labour migration between 2002 and 2007, it is not a substantial increase and does not constitute a significant transition in the sex distribution of temporary migrants nor a major increase in female participation in temporary labour migration. It should be noted that while these population proportion estimates include all females, including female children, in the denominators, effectively reducing the estimates as compared to proportions including only adult females in the denominator, this should not affect the sex distribution estimates. The increase in female participation observed from 2002 to 2007, thus, remains minimal when accounting for this methodological decision, and the study findings seem to justify re-evaluating existing assumptions of the increasing feminisation of temporary migration and temporary labour migration. While the findings of this study should not be considered in isolation and are not adequate, in and of themselves, to undermine existing assumptions on the feminization of migration in South Africa – particularly given that data for this study was collected at only two distinct points in 2002 and 2007 and the findings relate only to one rural South African setting – the magnitude and rigour of the study, the *de jure*

definition utilized by the AHDSS, and the survey's unique differentiation of temporary migration types likely makes it one of the more accurate means of measuring this phenomenon to date and warrants further analysis of this trend..

The destinations of temporary labour migrants remained consistent from 2002 to 2007. The overwhelming majority – approximately 85% to 90% – of migrants from Agincourt travelled to either Mpumalanga or Gauteng Province for work. 7% to 10% of temporary labour migrants travelled from Agincourt to Limpopo Province and approximately 4% travelled to Northwest Province for work. The remaining 1% to 2% of labour migrants travelled to the Free State, Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, Western Cape and Northern Cape Provinces for work. These migration patterns are expected given the dispersion of industrial and economic centres of activity in South Africa and established patterns of labour migration.

A common strategy in labour migration is proximal preference: migrants seek to travel the shortest distance necessary to maximise their access to available jobs. As such, the predominance of Mpumalanga Province as a labour destination for Agincourt migrants owes largely to 1) its close proximity to the migrant-sending area and 2) the increased availability of farm and agricultural employment in Mpumalanga as compared to Limpopo Province, a destination region of comparable distance. The predominance of Gauteng Province as a migrant-destination area owes overwhelmingly to its status as the industrial and economic hub of the country. While nearly five hundred kilometers from Agincourt, the cities of Johannesburg and Pretoria offer the overwhelming majority of available jobs in the country – largely in construction, unskilled and skilled labour, security, domestic work and cleaning, driving and transportation, mining, informal selling and trade, and a

myriad of service sector jobs. Thus, despite its distance from Agincourt, Gauteng Province remains a key labour migrant destination owing to its relative abundance of available jobs.

The type of work temporary labour migrants are employed in has also remained relatively consistent from 2002 to 2007. Construction, mining, skilled work and farm labour remained the four most common professions of temporary labour migrants throughout the five-year period, with approximately 7% to 9% of the labour migrant population employed in each work type. Between 2002 and 2007, there was a slight decline in the relative importance of skilled work, farm labour, mining, cleaning and domestic work, as well as small business ownership alongside a modest increase in the relative importance of construction work, security jobs, unskilled work, cooking, and work on game farms. Throughout the period, approximately 7% of temporary labour migrants were unemployed, but actively looking for work.

As a proportion of the total population, temporary labour migrants with children constituted nearly 6.4% of the population in 2002 and 5.8% of the population in 2007. From 2002 to 2007, a consistent 3.8% of the female population were temporary labour migrants with children. The proportion of temporary labour migrants with children in the male population declined from 9.1% in 2002 to 8.0% in 2007. Similarly, the proportion of temporary labour migrants with children in the South African and Mozambican descent populations declined from 6.2% and 6.6% respectively in 2002 to 5.8% in 2007. It must be acknowledged that these estimates are calculated as a proportion of the total population, and not the adult population alone, thus providing a lower relative proportion than would be expected owing to the fact that children are included in the denominator.

5.2 Complexity of Migrant-Linked Child Care Strategies

Over 96% of all temporary labour migrants relied on a single care strategy in 2002 – keeping all children together when they migrated – while less than 4% relied on more complex care arrangements – separating and disbursing their children through a variety of arrangements. While care strategies became more complex over the five-year period, with an estimated 5% of all temporary labour migrants utilising more complex care arrangements by 2007, the overwhelming majority of migrants continue to rely on a single child care strategy in their absence.

From 2002 to 2007, the proportion of female and male migrants utilising complex care arrangements increased from 5.2% to 5.6% and 3.4% to 4.6%, respectively. Similarly, the proportion of labour migrants of South African and Mozambican descent increased from 4.2% to 5.1% and 3.0% to 4.7%, respectively. As such, reliance on complex care arrangements increased over time for both male and female migrants, as well as migrants of South African and Mozambican descent, underlying the observed trends in the total population.

When analysed by sex of the migrant, variation is observed in the complexity of linked child care arrangements. While an estimated 3.4% of male migrants utilised complex care arrangements in 2002, 5.2% of female migrants did the same. While the variation decreased over time, 4.6% of male migrants and 5.6% of female migrants utilised complex care arrangements by 2007. Female temporary labour migrants are, thus, more likely than male migrants to rely on complex child care arrangements – separating and disbursing their children to maintain adequate care in their absence.

Similarly, variation in the complexity of child care arrangements is observed when analysing the refugee status of the migrant. An estimated 4.2% of South African descent migrants and 3.0% of Mozambican descent migrants relied on complex care arrangements in 2002. While the variation decreased substantially over time, 5.1% of South African descent migrants and 4.7% of Mozambican descent migrants utilised complex care arrangements by 2007. Temporary labour migrants of South African descent are, thus, more likely than migrants of Mozambican descent to rely on complex child care arrangements.

Highly complex child care arrangements were utilised by only three temporary labour migrants – less than 0.1% of the population – in 2002. This declined to two migrants – or less than 0.05% – by 2007. As such, highly complex child care arrangements – wherein at least one child remains in the household, at least one child moves with the migrant and at least one child moves elsewhere in response to the migrant's absence – are rare, but do exist.

From the preceding analysis, a hierarchy of child care strategies is evident. Temporary labour migrants overwhelmingly prefer a single care strategy. More complex care arrangements – wherein some children are separated for care in the absence of the migrant – are far less common, but still constitute the response of nearly 5% of migrants, a significant proportion of the population. Highly complex care arrangements – the separation and dispersion of children among three or more care settings – are rare, but do exist. Hypothetically, the established preference for a single care strategy may be explained as an attempt to keep children together and maintain the integrity of the family unit in the migrant's absence. Reliance on more complex care arrangements may only occur when practical limitations for care (i.e. the cost of care, lack of appropriate caregiver,

differentiated age- and ability-specific needs of children, etc.) supersede the desire to maintain the established social grouping.

It can be hypothesised that the increased reliance of male migrants on a single care strategy relates to their increased ability to leave children with a wife or the child's mother remaining behind in the rural household. Given the increased prevalence of male labour migration in the South African context, female migrants are likely unable to similarly rely on a husband or the child's father to remain behind in the household and provide care. Variation in care arrangements may, thus, be understood to be at least partially a product of the gendered dimensions of employment and labour migration, as well as familial organisation and obligation. This may explain why female migrants are more likely to rely on more complex care arrangements – separating their children and disbursing them to extended family members or moving the child with them when they migrate in order to maintain adequate care.

It should not be assumed that utilizing a complex care arrangement is necessarily a choice. The ability to adopt a single care strategy is conditional on a range of factors, including importantly household membership, the structure of the family, and the number, ages and abilities or needs of the children. The increasing complexity of child care strategies between 2002 and 2007 may, thus, be affected by other population-level transitions and significant changes in family structure, such as those precipidated by the HIV/AIDS pandemic in recent decades.

5.3 Residence Stability and Variation in Child Care Arrangements

A hierarchy of child care arrangements is apparent. The overwhelming majority of temporary labour migrants – over nine-tenths – keep all of their children in the same household, maintaining relative stability in their absence. Nearly one-tenth of migrants move their children with them when they travel for work. Some migrants – approximately 1% to 3% – move their children elsewhere for care in their absence. Very few – less than 1% of migrants – move a childcarer into the household to supplement care while they are away for work. As previously identified in analysis of the complexity of child care strategies, household stability and maintaining the integrity of the family unit appear to be key priorities in migration-related child care decision-making.

These findings confirm the general hypothesis in Southern African migration literature that children predominantly remain in rural households when adults migrate, but it does not support the common assumption that this implies children are less mobile than adults. Although not explicitly discussed in this study, analysis of the temporary migration data for this study found substantial child migration occurs both in response to adult migration (as evinced in this study) and as well as independent of adult migration.

Although unable to specifically confirm Hosegood and Ford's finding in KwaZulu-Natal Province – that children who out-migrate are significantly more likely to migrate individually or with one or two other people, such as parents or siblings, rather than as part of a complete household migration – the high prevalence of temporary labour migration in the Agincourt setting and the frequency of associated child migration observed in the study provides strong support for their results.

Significant variations in the child care arrangements of temporary labour migrants were observed between 2002 and 2007. While it remained the predominant child care strategy of over 90% of migrants, children were significantly less likely to be kept in their household in the absence of the migrant by 2007. Simultaneously, it became significantly more likely for children to move with the migrant or move elsewhere for care over time. Although occurring in less than 1% of households, there was also a significant increase in the likelihood of a childcarer being moved into the home in the absence of a migrant. These trends were generally observed among both male and female migrants, as well as South African and Mozambican descent migrants, highlighting significant declines in the stability of child care arrangements observed over time.

It should be noted that no statistically significant variation in child care arrangements was observed among female migrants with the exception of an increased likelihood over time of moving children elsewhere for care. While no immediate explanation of the relative consistency of female migrant care strategies is apparent, it warrants further investigation when another five years of temporary labour migrant child care data is available in 2012.

In comparing child care arrangements by sex of the migrant, several significant distinctions are evident. Children are significantly more likely to remain in the same household and not move in the absence of a migrant if the migrant is male. Children are also significantly more likely to move with the migrant if the migrant is female. It should be noted that in 2002, female migrants were three times more likely to move their children with them when they traveled for work. In 2007, female migrants remained nearly twice as likely to move their children with them when they migrate. While the respective methodologies vary and this study focuses on the subset of temporary labour migrants, rather than all migrant types broadly, these findings support Hosegood and Ford's research in KwaZulu-Natal,

identifying a correlation between child and parental migration and providing evidence that maternal migration is more strongly related to child migration than paternal migration.

When analysed by sex of the migrant, no significant difference in the likelihood of a child moving elsewhere for care was observed. Neither was a significant difference in the likelihood of a childcarer moving into the household to supplement care evident.

Significant variations are also apparent when comparing child care arrangements by the refugee status of temporary labour migrants. Children are significantly more likely to remain in the same household and not move in the absence of a migrant if the migrant is of Mozambican descent. Children are significantly more likely to move with the migrant if the migrant is of South African descent. Additionally, children are more likely to move elsewhere for care in the absence of a migrant if the migrant is South African. It should be noted that in 2002, South African descent migrants were nearly six times more likely to move their children elsewhere for care when they traveled as compared to Mozambican descent migrants. In 2007, South African descent migrants remained nearly twice as likely to move their children elsewhere when they migrate. There is no significant difference, however, in the likelihood of a childcarer moving into the household to supplement care, based on the refugee status of the migrant.

5.4 Authority, Residence and Care of the Children Left Behind

The study found that more than 20% of children in the Agincourt population are effectively left behind by labour migrants: remaining behind in the household, moving elsewhere to live with a relative or neighbour or being sent to a boarding school as a result of the migrant's departure.

In 2007, nearly 99% of all children left behind by temporary labour migrants resided in the same household and did not move in the migrant's absence. Slightly less than 1% of the children moved in with a relative. Approximately 0.1% of the children moved to a boarding school and less than 0.1% moved in with a neighbour. As such, residence is highly stable for the vast majority of children remaining behind when temporary labour migrants are absent. Furthermore, migration-linked care movements are rare among the children left behind.

These findings confirm aspects of Sibanda's research on ethnic variations in the living arrangements of children in South Africa, but also question some of his interpretations. The common presence of (and provision of child care by) grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins in migrant-sending households confirms the existence of lateral and vertical households and other complex household formations Sibanda suggests are prevalent in South African society. Furthermore, this study's findings on temporary labour migration trends and related child care patterns supports Sibanda's conclusion that the concentration of South African children in extended households should be conceptualised as a coping strategy and can be understood, in many cases, to be the result of one or both parents leaving children in the care of extended family or kin while working and living elsewhere to provide for themselves and their household.

Yet, while Sibanda's conceptualisation is in line with the new economics of labour migration theory, his subsequent findings and interpretation fails to acknowledge an inherent limitation of national census data and a fundamental assumption of the new economics approach. Census data necessarily utilises a de facto definition of households and, as such, is unable to differentiate temporary migration from household absence, likely skewing findings and exaggerating the apparent absence of parents in South African society. Furthermore, implicit in the new economics conceptualisation of temporary labour migration as a coping strategy is the acknowledgement that the household effectively spans both urban and rural settings, thereby allowing it to leverage its dual or multi-locality. In analysing national census data, Sibanda found that less than 50% of children in areas of rural South Africa reside in the same household as their father and less than 80% of children reside in the same household as their mother. While not questioning the validity of these and other findings per se, their interpretation should acknowledge that it likely exaggerates parental absence in the South African context given the high prevalence of temporary migration and its unique nature as a social phenomenon, particularly the strong communication, return and remittance patterns that effectively maintain the connection between a migrant and their household during their temporary absence.

When analysing the sex of the migrant, as well as the sex and refugee status of the child left behind, minor variations in where children reside in the absence of temporary labour migrants are evident. Children left behind by female migrants are twice as likely to stay with a relative as children left behind by male migrants. Female children left behind are four times more likely to be sent to a boarding school than their male counterparts. Similarly, South African descent children left behind are more than six times as likely to be sent to a boarding school as compared to Mozambican descent children. Beyond these minor distinctions, however, there exists little variation in children's residence patterns.

For the nearly 99% of children left behind that remain in the same household and do not move, food preparation, medical treatment decision-making and daily care is largely provided by the child's mother or stepmother, grandparent or older sibling. The child's mother or stepmother is primarily responsible for assessing their health and making medical treatment decisions when the child is ill in approximately two-thirds of cases. Grandparents and older siblings are primarily responsible in the other one-third of cases. A mere 3% of children have an aunt or uncle who takes primary responsibility for the child's health-related decisions and a father or cousin is responsible in less than 1% of cases, respectively. The same is observed for daily meal provision. Nearly two-thirds of children left behind that remain in the household have their daily meals provided by their mother or stepmother. Grandparents and older siblings provide the daily meals for the remaining one-third and approximately 3% are provided for by an aunt or uncle and less than 1% of children have their meals provided by their father or a cousin.

Of the 1% of children left behind that move in with relatives when a migrant departs, more than two-thirds reside with a grandparent, nearly one-third reside with either an older sibling or their aunt or uncle, and less than 4% move in with their father or stepfather in a separate household. Nearly three-quarters of the children staying with a relative have their daily meals provided by a grandparent, 13% rely on an older sibling and nearly 8% are fed by an aunt or uncle, while the child's mother or stepmother is primarily responsible for providing the child's daily meals in 6% of cases. Similarly, more than three-quarters of the children staying with a relative have their medical treatment decisions made by a grandparent, 15% have an older sibling providing their medical decision-making and 5% have a mother or stepmother who is responsible for their health. Aunts and uncles, however, play a significantly smaller role in medical treatment decision-making as less than 2% of the children rely on an aunt or uncle for health-related matters.

The study findings indicate that grandparents play an increased role in medical treatment decision-making and daily meal provision relative to their role in providing the children left behind with shelter and residence. Concurrently, older siblings, aunts and uncles play a heightened role in providing the children left behind with residence, but have a diminished role in medical decision-making and the provision of daily meals. One potential explanation is that older siblings, aunts and uncles may be able to provide shelter for the children, but are more likely to be economically active, employed or work away from the household as compared to grandparents. As such, a grandparent may be more readily available to provide daily care and supervision of children – accounting for the heightened role of grandparents in medical decision-making and daily meal provision – but children continue to live in the sibling, aunt or uncle's household.

Not unexpectedly, maternal relatives were found to provide the overwhelming majority of child care in the absence of temporary labour migrants, regardless of the sex or refugee status of the migrant. Mothers and stepmothers provide the majority of child care; grandmothers (predominantly maternal grandmothers) are a substantial secondary source of care; and older female siblings and aunts provide a significant tertiary source of child care in the absence of temporary labour migrants.

Significant variations in child care arrangements by sex and refugee status were observed in the study, confirming the arguments of both dependency theory and the new economics of labour migration approach. These findings confirm that migration occurs within a unique social context and household and gender relations, as well as historical, economic and political precedence and individual-community interaction directly influence migration behaviour. Furthermore, comprehensive analysis of all effects associated with migration –

rather than a singular focus on employment, income and remittances – is necessary in order to meaningfully assess its full impact on the community, the household and the individual.

CHAPTER 6

6.0 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Conclusion

The proportion of temporary migrants in the Agincourt population rose slightly between 2002 and 2007 and temporary migrants now constitute nearly one-fifth of the population. Nearly three-quarters – approximately 13% of the total population – are labour migrants. Over the five-year period, the distribution of temporary labour migrants by sex and refugee status has remained relatively constant, with a slight increase in the proportion of female migrants and migrants of Mozambican descent. Approximately three-quarters of temporary labour migrants from Agincourt sub-district were male and one-quarter were female, while three-quarters were of South African descent and more than one-quarter were of Mozambican descent. Temporary labour migrants with children constitute nearly 6% of the total population.

A hierarchy of child care strategies is evident. Temporary labour migrants in South Africa overwhelmingly prefer and rely on a single care strategy. More complex care arrangements – wherein some children are separated for care in the absence of the migrant – are far less common, but still constitute the response of nearly 5% of migrants. Highly complex care arrangements – the separation and dispersion of children among three or more care settings – are rare, but do exist.

Child care strategies became increasingly complex over time for all temporary labour migrants types – male and female migrants, as well as migrants of South African and Mozambican descent. Female temporary labour migrants are, however, more likely than male migrants to rely on complex child care arrangements and migrants of South African

descent are more likely than migrants of Mozambican descent to rely on complex care arrangements – separating and disbursing their children to maintain adequate care in their absence.

A hierarchy of child care arrangements utilised by South African temporary labour migrants is apparent. The overwhelming majority of migrants – over nine-tenths – keep all of their children in the same household, maintaining relative stability in their absence and nearly one-tenth of migrants move their children with them when they travel for work. Some migrants – approximately 1% to 3% – move their children elsewhere for care in their absence and very few – less than 1% of migrants – move a childcarer into the household to supplement care while they are away for work.

Significant shifts in child care arrangements occurred between 2002 and 2007. Over the five year period, it became significantly less likely for a child to remain in the same household and not move for care in the absence of a migrant, significantly more likely for a child to move with a migrant when they traveled for work, significantly more likely for a child to move elsewhere for care and significantly more likely for a childcarer being moved into the home to supplement care. These findings underscore significant declines in the stability of child care arrangements occurring over time.

Children are significantly more likely to remain in the same household and not move in the absence of a migrant if the migrant is male. Children are also significantly more likely to move with the migrant if the migrant is female. Children are significantly more likely to remain in the same household and not move in the absence of a migrant if the migrant is of Mozambican descent. Children are also significantly more likely to move with the migrant or move elsewhere for care if the migrant is of South African descent.

Approximately one-fifth of children in the Agincourt population are effectively left behind by labour migrants – remaining behind in the household, moving elsewhere to live with a relative or neighbour or being sent to a boarding school as a result of the migrant's departure.

Almost all children – nearly 99% – left behind by temporary labour migrants reside in the same household and do not move in the migrant's absence. Slightly less than 1% of the children move in with a relative. Approximately 0.1% of children move to a boarding school and less than 0.1% move in with a neighbour. Residence is highly stable for the vast majority of children remaining behind when temporary labour migrants are absent and migration-linked care movements are rare among the children left behind.

For the nearly 99% of children left behind that remain in the same household, food preparation, medical treatment decision-making and daily care is largely provided by the child's mother or stepmother, grandparent or older sibling. The child's mother or stepmother is primarily responsible for assessing their health and making medical treatment decisions when the child is ill in approximately two-thirds of cases. Grandparents and older siblings are primarily responsible in the other one-third of cases. Nearly two-thirds of children left behind that remain in the household have their daily meals provided by their mother or stepmother. Grandparents and older siblings provide the daily meals for the remaining one-third.

Of the 1% of children left behind that move in with relatives when a migrant departs, more than two-thirds reside with a grandparent and nearly one-third reside with either an older sibling or their aunt or uncle. Nearly three-quarters of the children staying with a relative

have their daily meals provided by a grandparent, 13% rely on an older sibling and nearly 8% are fed by an aunt or uncle, while the child's mother or stepmother is primarily responsible for providing the child's daily meals in 6% of cases. Similarly, more than three-quarters of the children staying with a relative have their medical treatment decisions made by a grandparent, 15% have an older sibling providing their medical decision-making and 5% have a mother or stepmother who is responsible for their health.

Maternal relatives provide the overwhelming majority of child care in the absence of temporary labour migrants, regardless of the sex or refugee status of the migrant. Mothers and stepmothers provide the majority of child care; grandmothers (predominantly maternal grandmothers) are a substantial secondary source of care; and older female siblings and aunts provide a significant tertiary source of child care in the absence of temporary labour migrants.

6.2 Recommendations for Subsequent Research

In order to provide a more exhaustive analysis of the factors affecting child care arrangements and migration decision-making, future studies (specifically the AHDSS 2012 temporary migration survey module) should include measures of the following factors: age of the child(ren), sex of the child(ren), child(ren)'s school attendance, household access to schooling, child care costs, marital status of the mother, survival status of parents, household size and membership composition.

Given the relatively high proportion of migrants moving children with them when they temporarily migrate for work, subsequent research should investigate the impact on and experiences of these children. Specifically, subsequent research should analyse children's

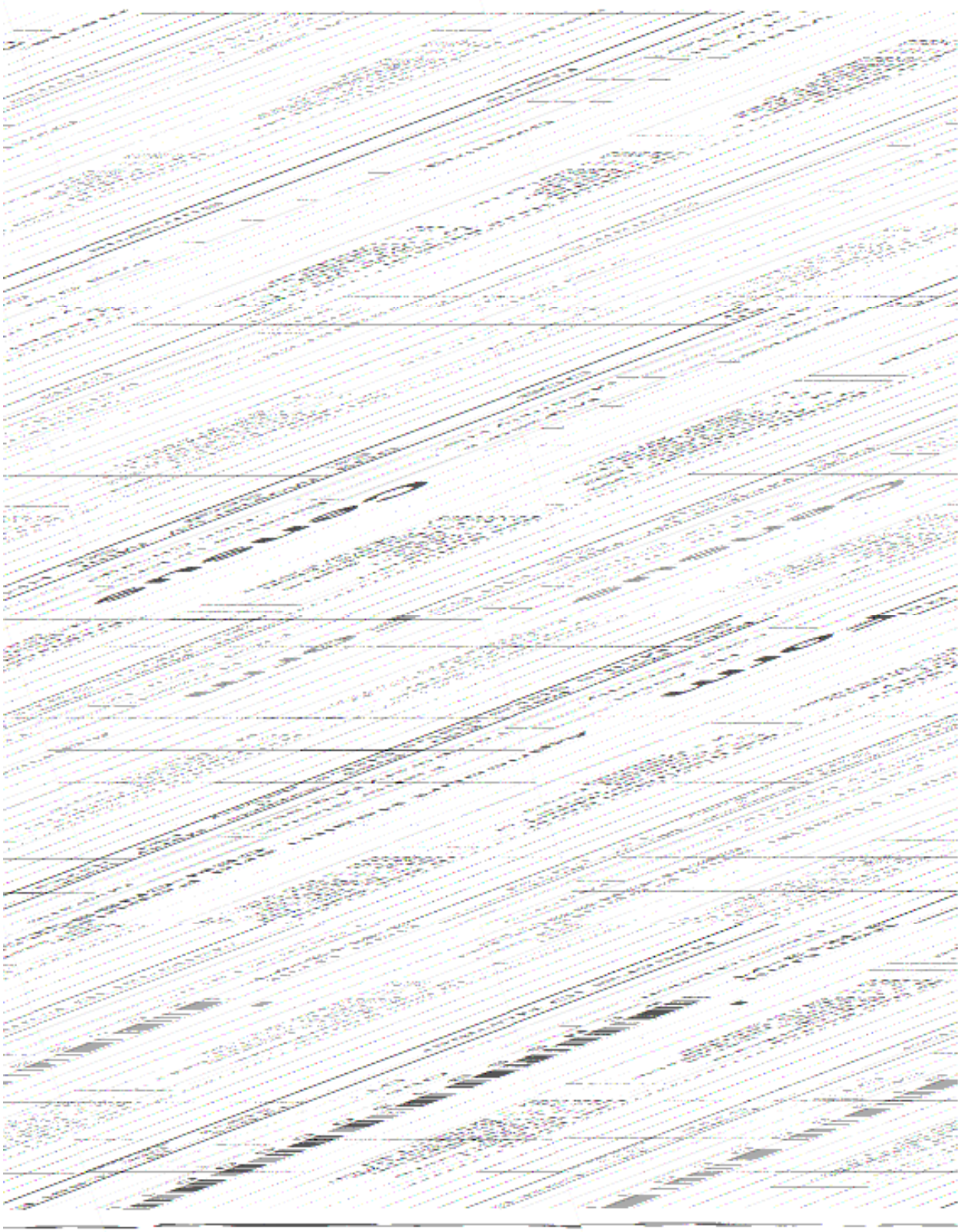
schooling and labour patterns throughout the temporary migration experience; health, psychosocial and educational outcomes of the children, as well as transitory migrant household organisation, roles and obligations, specifically as they relate to the migrant accompanying children.

The observed variation in the roles of caregiver relatives – in providing residence, medical decision-making and daily meal provision for children left behind – warrants further investigation. Specifically, the disproportionate role of grandparents in medical treatment decision-making and daily meal provision relative to their role in providing the children left behind with shelter and residence, alongside the diminished involvement of older siblings, aunts and uncles relative to their role in providing the children left behind with residence, should be explicitly analysed.

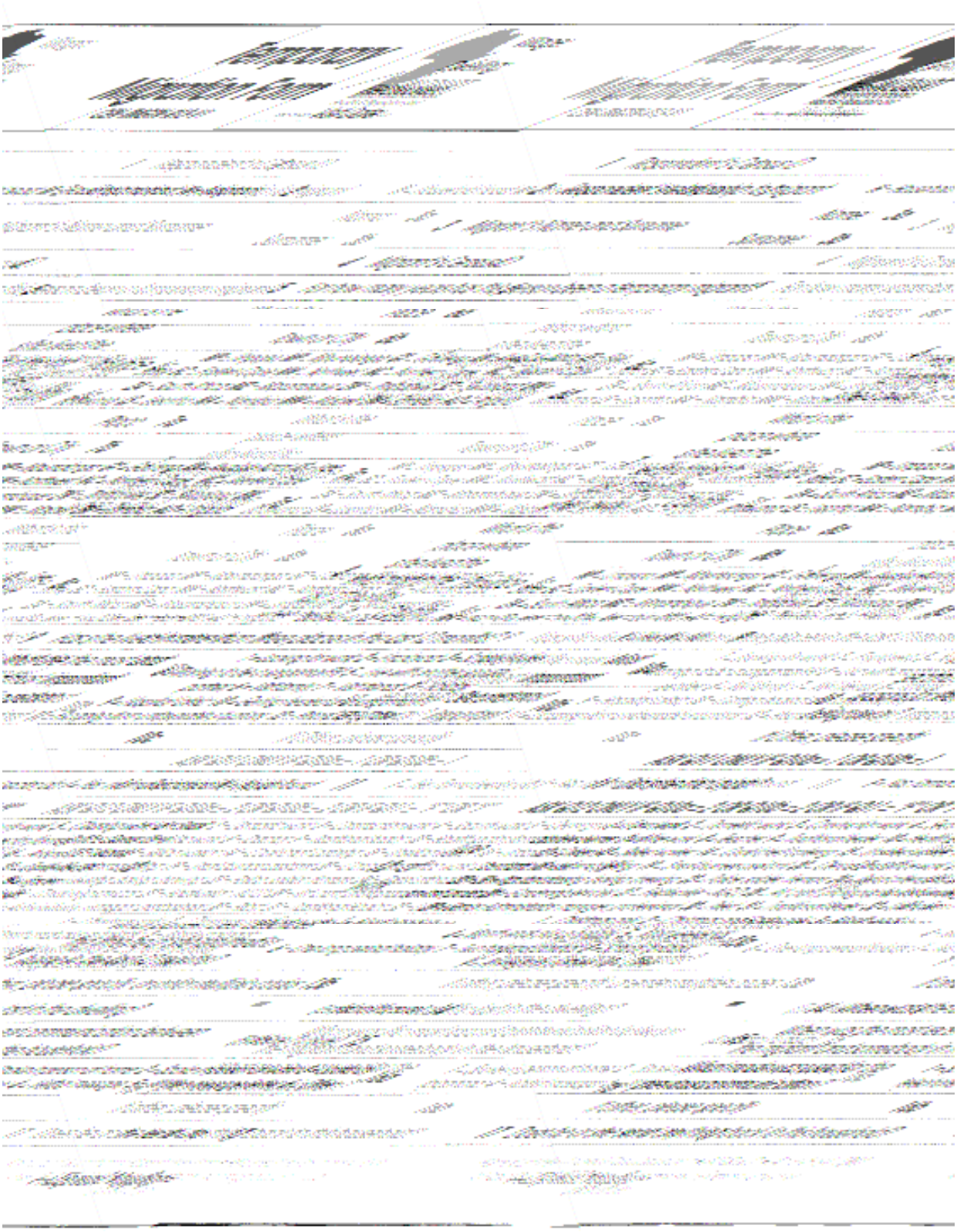
This research on temporary migration patterns and the effect of temporary labour migration on child care, residence and child movement patterns provides an effective foundation for subsequent research investigating the broader impacts of labour migration on household income, socioeconomic status, food security and consumption, as well as children's nutrition and growth, morbidity/mortality, and cognitive and psychosocial development broadly. Investment in an array of new studies examining these issues would serve to both rectify the gross deficiencies of the limited existing research and allow us to more appropriately develop our conceptual understanding of the relationship between coping strategies, livelihoods and household transition in the rural South and Southern African context in the 21st century.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Household Census Questionnaire



Appendix B: Temporary Migration Module Questionnaire





Appendix C: Agincourt Health and Population Unit (AHPU) Ethics Clearance Certificate

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

Division of the Deputy Registrar (Research)

COMMITTEE FOR RESEARCH ON HUMAN SUBJECTS (MEDICAL)
Ref: R14/49 Tollman

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE — PROTOCOL NUMBER M 960720

PROJECT	Investigating and responding to changes in the health and population dynamics of rural South Africans
INVESTIGATORS	Dr S Tollman
DEPARTMENT	HSDU/Community Health, Acornhoek
DATE CONSIDERED	970725
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE *	Approved unconditionally Generic Protocol - "Blanket approval"
DATE	970731

CHAIRMAN. .....(Professor P E Cleaton-Jones)

c c Supervisor: Dr S Tollman
Dept of Community Health, Medical School

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and ONE COPY returned to the Secretary at Room 10001, 10th Floor, Senate House, University.

I/we fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee.

DATE 7/8/96 SIGNATURE .....

The University's United States Federal Wide Assurance Number is: SF,IORG0000862,IRB00001223

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