

Household differentials and the individual decision to
migrate to South Africa: The case of Gweru City in
Zimbabwe.

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DECLARATION

Submitted in fulfilment / partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
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....., University of KwaZulu-Natal,
Durban, South Africa.

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. It is being submitted for the degree of in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Science, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

Student signature

Date

Abstract

Zimbabweans of all walks of life have crossed over to South Africa since the late 1990s for long and short periods of time, some of them even remaining there permanently. The increased amount of the migration is largely blamed on Zimbabwe's socio-economic and political instability by most scholars. However, each individual would eventually migrate because of pressure that usually comes from the household. Hence, this study was aimed at investigating household influence on an individual's decision to migrate to South Africa.

This study was carried out in the central Zimbabwean city of Gweru. A household survey was conducted and basic descriptive analyses were used to generate the findings. The results indicate that only 2% of the households in the sample did not have a migrant in another country. Also, about 43.7% of all migrants were females and among those female migrants who have children, 45.7% of them had children younger than five years staying home when they left for South Africa. Most households seem to have a strong influence on the migration decision, and as a result the majority of the migrants send remittances back home.

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I also want to acknowledge the assistance I received from my family members, that was in the form of advise, encouragement and the purpose to keep going. Finally I want to acknowledge the extraordinary motivation that I was given, often unwittingly, by Pelagia Mupfiga.

Dedication

To my parents.

This thesis would have never been possible without the love, caring and understanding that was shown to me by my father and mother throughout my studies. They saw me through all the challenges that I faced.

May the lord bless them forever.

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Chapter one: Introduction

1.1 Background

International migration within Africa has been seen to largely follow specific streams towards economically stronger countries (Adepoju, 2006). Typically, South Africa, Gabon and Cote d'Ivoire attract migrants from their neighbouring countries as a result of their relatively better economic performance (Kok, Gelderblom and Zyl, 2006). Under this process, people leave the poorer countries in the region and go to richer countries where they take up any sort of work that gives them an income, while some of them manage to get into the formal employment sector (Adepoju, 2006).

Though labour migration is more common throughout the continent, the movement of people is also fuelled by political and economic problems in the countries of origin that create asylum seekers and economic refugees for other countries (Bloch, 2008; Crush, Williams and Peberdy, 2005; Kok, Gelderblom and Zyl, 2006; Polzer, 2009). In every sub-region of the African continent there is at least one country that experiences political problems forcing its citizens to flee to neighbouring countries in large numbers (Bloch, 2008; Kok et al., 2006, Polzer, 2009), thus, forced migration is also a challenge on the African continent.

Since the nature and volume of the movement of people varies a lot, it becomes a challenge to provide a conclusive and suitable definition of 'migration'. Some simple translocations such as moving a few blocks of buildings from one's former place of residence to another can not be considered to be migration, because the distance involved is too small. Also, visiting a place for a day cannot possibly be termed migration because an apt definition of this concept should include a considerable duration of stay as well (Kpedekpo, 1983; Young, 1994). This is interesting because the length of stay of most international migrants is brief, and 53% of the visits by migrants from Zimbabwe to South Africa were previously said to last for less than a month (McDonald et al., 2000).

As a result, in Southern Africa, Kok, Gelderblom and Van Zyl (2006) identify three types of migration namely, refugee, labour and permanent change of residence, all of which can be either through legal or illegal channels. Other important components in defining migration include crossing a political boundary and staying there for more than a month (Kpedekpo, 1983). Migration is either temporary or permanent depending on the duration of stay after the

first month has been completed (Young, 1994). Hence for international migration, one has to cross a national boundary and stay in the other country for over a month, upon which they become a 'migrant'.

1.2 Migration Trends in Southern Africa

Since the beginning of the mining industry in South Africa, from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards, most labour migration between Southern African countries was driven towards that country (Crush, Williams and Peberdy, 2005). The Employment Bureau of Africa (TEBA) began to regulate migration flows in the 1920s and mining and agricultural colonies in Southern Africa, including present-day Zimbabwe, Zambia, Namibia and Tanzanian began to attract migrants (Crush et al., 2005). Most of the migrants went directly to South Africa and by the 1970s, there were over 270 000 migrants in that country coming from different parts of the continent (Crush et al., 2005).

The largest pool of migrant labour for South Africa has always come from within the sub region, with Lesotho and Mozambique being the biggest suppliers of labour since the 1920s (Crush et al., 2005; McDonald et al., 2000). Though contract migrant labour flows into South Africa's mines have reduced, they are still going on, but have been recently overshadowed by noncontract migration that grew drastically since the end of Apartheid in 1994 (McDonald et al., 2000). The number of people crossing legally from other Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries into South Africa every year was only one million in the early 1990s but by 2005 it had increased to five million (Crush et al., 2005).

Presently, the majority of migrants coming to South Africa are Africans coming from all over the continent, but especially from within the sub-region (Crush et al., 2004; McDonald et al., 2000; Polzer, 2009). Migrant flows from countries surrounding South Africa continue to increase and Zimbabwe has become one of the biggest senders of migrants since the year 2000 (Bloch, 2008; Crush et al., 2005; Polzer, 2009). As has always been the case, migration is difficult to account for precisely, and the migration of Zimbabweans is even more difficult to estimate because the numbers crossing into South Africa illegally are not known (Johnston, Bernstein and de Villiers, 2008).

1.3 Migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa

Historically, relatively few Zimbabweans migrated to South Africa for work and leisure, as compared to other countries in Southern Africa (McDonald et al., 2000). The few

Zimbabweans, who did migrate, went in search of jobs in the mines and a few other industries (Ibid, 2000). A survey under the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) found that 25% of people in Zimbabwe and Namibia had their parents working in South Africa at some point in their lives (Crush et al., 2005: 2). This is a small figure as compared to 54% Mozambicans, 83% Sotho and 41% Batswana whose parents migrated to work in South Africa at some point in their lives (Ibid, 2005). However, a series of events have caused Zimbabwe to be arguably the biggest sender of migrants to South Africa today.

Zimbabwe's attainment of independence in 1980, its recent political and economic turmoil, and the end of apartheid in South Africa all contributed to increases in the numbers migrating from the aforementioned country to the latter (Bloch, 2008; Crush et al., 2005; McDonald et al., 2000). In 1980 the majority of white people that left Zimbabwe headed for South Africa fearing violence against them by the new black-led government (Bloch, 2008; McDonald et al., 2000). Up to 20 553 people entered South Africa from Zimbabwe in 1980 alone, an increase from about 13 000 during the war in the 1970s. That figure, however, fell to 7 000 in 1985 following the improvement in the security situation within the country in then (Crush et al., 2005: 3). Again in the 1990s, the end of apartheid allowed black Zimbabweans to visit South Africa without fears of the previous discrimination against black people in the later country (Posel, 2003).

Since 2000, the number of Zimbabweans migrating legally and illegally into South Africa has been increasing steeply (Johnston et al., 2008; Polzer, 2009). In July 2007 illegal Zimbabwean migrants being deported from South Africa had reached 17 000 each month (Johnston et al., 2008). In addition to that, up to 300 000 more Zimbabweans were deported to their home country from South Africa between 2008 and 2009 (Polzer, 2009). The Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) states that, "Zimbabwean migration since 2000 has been the largest concentrated flow in South African history..." (Polzer, 2008: 4). Actual numbers of Zimbabweans currently in South Africa are not known, but recent estimates are that "there is a maximum of 1.5 million" (Polzer, 2009: 3).

Zimbabwe's outmigration is currently fuelled by the high unemployment rate in the country, the collapse of public service sectors especially health and education and outbreaks of politically motivated violence (Bloch, 2008). Since the late 1990s, the country has been spiralling into an economic disaster and this became complete in 2008, forcing the ruling ZANU (PF) Party to get into an alliance of convenience with its arch-rival the Movement for

Democratic Change (MDC) (Betts and Keytaz, 2009; Bloch, 2008). Even with this alliance, the country is still rocked by a number of challenges causing company closures, near collapse of infrastructure, outbreak of diseases and continued political violence (Bloch, 2008; Polzer 2009).

Faced by challenges that prevent earning of a decent living, and facing human rights abuses, the majority of Zimbabweans are under pressure to seek greener pastures elsewhere (Bloch, 2008: 3). Migration for the purposes of survival has been accepted by many as the remaining logical option (Betts and Kaytaz, 2009: 6). As a result of this situation, “families of all social classes have increasingly been compelled to send members abroad to ensure basic survival, escape brutal attacks or meet aspirations for accumulation and education” (McGregor, 2007: 806 quoted in Bloch, 2008).

The big concern is that most of the Zimbabweans enter South Africa illegally, and that millions are now resident in South Africa (Polzer, 2009). Earlier research has shown that most Zimbabwean migrants choose to cross into South Africa through legal channels, and rarely try to overstay their visa permits (McDonald et al., 2000). However, the complexity of the challenges facing the country have caused a steep increase in numbers entering South Africa illegally (Bloch, 2008), hence it is the popular belief that official figures are wrong and up to three million Zimbabweans could be currently living in South Africa (Polzer, 2009).

National efforts in both countries have been directly aimed at stopping the tide of migrant flows from Zimbabwe to South Africa (Landau and Wa Kabwe-Segatti, 2009). Today, it is becoming more and more evident that efforts by the South African government to stop immigration into the country continue to determine the politics, economy and society of that country (Landau and Wa Kabwe-Segatti, 2009: 1). As a result, there is a need for greater understanding of the underlying causes of migration as well as the process.

Having said that, understanding the process by which an individual member of a household eventually becomes a migrant is important for a better appreciation of how migration decisions are being made in Zimbabwe. This is because households are perceived to be “the appropriate units of analysis for migration research, not the autonomous individual” (Massey et al., 1993: 436). The new economics of migration theorists argues that the decision to migrate is often made as a means to reduce the risk of poverty in times of difficulty, when the

economy is failing and all investments are not certain to provide returns (Massey et al., 1993: 439).

Studies have also shown that demographic characteristics of household members, especially sex, education, age and marital status influence their decision to migrate (Cerrutti and Massey, 2001; Gubhaju and De Jong, 2009). These characteristics determine the role of an individual in the household, hence also influencing the decision of either migrating or not migrating. Thus, it is important to understand these household ‘differentials’ that determine the decision to migrate. The word ‘differentials’ in this paper means variations in household circumstances or other relevant factors (Oxford Dictionary, 2009).

A household is defined by the Zimbabwe Central Statistics Office (CSO, 2005) as follows;

“a person or group of related and unrelated persons who live together in the same dwelling unit(s), who acknowledge one adult male or female as head of household, who share the same housekeeping arrangements, and who are considered one unit” (CSO, 2005-06: 9).

However, this definition is not entirely suitable for this study because it involves non relatives and also it leaves out the migrants. It also leaves out “other non-resident individuals or family members (broadly termed a household’s social network) who may influence outcomes and decisions taken within the household” (Guyer, 1986 quoted in Burns and Keswell, 2006: 2).

Thus the household definition used in this research excludes non relatives that people may share a roof with and includes extended family members who may live separately from everyone else but have an influence on decisions. This definition of the word household includes the migrants themselves and those extended family members who may live apart from the nuclear family but have an influence on the decisions it makes in some way (Posel, 2003).

1.4 Statement of the Problem

Zimbabwean households continue to be confronted by tough challenges in their day to day lives. As literature shows, more and more men, women and youths spend most of their lives far from their relatives getting little earnings that do not allow them to visit home frequently (Dinat and Peberdy, 2007). Household disintegration is almost an obvious result of this kind of situation with many returning migrants probably finding disappointing changes in their households upon return.

Besides this direct household disintegration, those living in Zimbabwe are faced with serious water shortages, outbreaks of diseases, frequent disruptive power cuts and the constant fear of violence (Betts and Kaytaz, 2009; Bloch, 2008). This situation brings a lot of grief for households, forcing even more of the members to consider migration as an option even now when the political situation seems to be improving (Betts and Kaytaz, 2009). It is therefore not surprising that households are willing to have members migrating to South Africa regardless of the disintegration that may result when spouses stay apart for long period of time (McDonald, et al., 2000).

The young generation are another cause for concern, since they are being forced to grow up without parents (Dinat and Peberdy, 2007). Mothers leave behind their young in search of work because if they take them along, then the chances of getting a job are reduced, and when they do get the jobs, it is not easy for them to come home to visit their children. Working long hours as housemaids or on farms or factories, many mothers have not returned home in a long time, some even reaching a decade without seeing their families (Dinat and Peberdy, 2007).

Thus, though families are under continued pressure to send migrants to other countries, the losses are also great. The desire to get a stable income for the household requires sacrifices from Zimbabweans because, for many, there seems to be no way to make an income within the country (Bloch, 2008). In any case, the household members with the most potential would be better off living in another part of the world, hence they may leave the household with little choice but to let them migrate. For most Zimbabweans, South Africa is usually the first country of choice because of its proximity, its better economic stability and greater opportunities (Crush et al., 2009).

1.5 Rationale of the Study

Most literature writes on the socio-economic and political issues that are motivating Zimbabweans to migrate out of their country into South Africa. However, little has been done to understand the migration decision-making framework as it may help to clarify who makes it, why and when it is made. Different people may help a potential migrant in making this decision, including friends and work-mates but the household presents a good opportunity to

investigate the decision making process since households with migrants are easier to locate. Most households in Zimbabwe have a relative or friend who is living in South Africa, and this may be enough motivation for some to migrate (Zinyama, 2000). Some studies have also revealed that the household often has to sanction this decision before the migrant can move (McDonald, et al., 2000).

People of different social standing have differing intentions for migrating (Gubhaju and De Jong, 2005). In difficult circumstances, such as in Zimbabwe, wealthier groups are able to survive, importing their own food, clothes and other necessities. However, they still do migrate for various reasons that would probably differ from those pushing the poorer stratum of people. With this in mind, it is therefore surprising to realise that not much has been done to investigate the role of households in making the decision to migrate out of Zimbabwe.

This study targets households in an effort to understand the issues motivating different people into migrating. The motives for migrating would probably be influenced by the prevailing economic and political challenges that the country is facing as is agreed by most scholars, however, at the household level, demographic differences, among other reasons make some people more likely to migrate than others.

1.6 Objectives and Research Questions

The overall objective of the study is to establish the characteristics of Zimbabwean households, as well as their members and how these influence the decision of individual household members to migrate to South Africa.

The specific objectives of this study are to:

- Investigate reasons for individual migration to South Africa;
- Compare the characteristics of households with migrant members who have gone to South Africa with those without such migrant members;
- Identify the demographic characteristics of those who choose to migrate to South Africa;
- Assess the utilization of household networks by migrants;
- Establish the role played by household members in the decision to migrate.

The key questions of the research are:

- What are the individual demographic characteristics of the migrant?
- What are the characteristics of migrant households and non-migrant households?
- How much support does the household provide in the migration process?
- What factors drive migration to South Africa in the city of Gweru's different suburbs?

1.7 Theoretical Framework

This paper is premised on Oded Stark's 'New Economics of Migration Theory' (Stark 1982: 191), which proposes that "...migration decisions are not made by isolated individual actors, but by larger units of related people – typically families or households..." (Massey, et al., 1993: 436). Hence, as Stark and Bloom (1985: 174) concur, the theory brought a new interesting dimension to the study of migration decision making by suggesting that the households play a part.

The theory argues that the bond between a migrant and the household is kept alive by some form of 'contractual agreement' that keeps the migrant feeling indebted to the household (Massey, et al., 1993: 438). This may be done through a written or verbal agreement between a migrant and the household, with the promise to repay the household for all the assistance. However, as will be discussed in the next paragraph, some scholars argue against the authenticity of a contractual obligation pushing migrants to remit to the household.

A notable argument opposing the contractual obligation idea is that migrants maintain a close relationship with their households simply because they feel pity for the household (Posel, 2003). This pity for the household is cultivated by other communities and incentives are given to a migrant when they visit home, making the visit home a worthy holiday (Posel, 2003). A study in Thailand found that women were encouraged to migrate more than men because they proved to be more altruistic towards their households of origin, and tended to remit more than men (Gubhaju and De Jong, 2009).

The theory also argues that some migration decisions are made because households would have realised that their peers in the community are getting good remittances from migration. Hence, migration is considered the only way by which households can catch up with everyone else and they send migrants abroad so as to increase their income in relation to

people in the same reference group as theirs. This “relative” social position is important for households as it provides some satisfaction in their social lives (Massey et al., et al.,2003).

The theory also argues that migration decisions are made as a means to reduce the risk of falling into poverty if the local economy fails (Stark, 1982). Stark and Levhari (1982) argue that among farming communities in developing countries where there is no insurance against poor harvests, migration provides some form of insurance. Migration is also an endeavour to keep household income earning projects alive through remittances that may come in the form of financial and resource capital (Massey et al., 1993). Thus, some households may desire migration as a way to protect them from collapse in times of economic challenges, and the migrant’s anticipated remittances would be expected to save the household when the need arises.

Lastly, another interesting aspect that makes the household such a key player in the migration-decision is the strong utilization of relatives and other household ties by migrants. Stark and Bloom (1985: 175) argue that “...heavy reliance upon network and kinship capital is another prominent characteristic of migrant behaviour patterns”. This view is supported in other literature. According to Taylor and Barlow (2000) when a migrant has relations at the destination area, they can provide accommodation, information and psycho-social support to make their migration feasible. Therefore, in this light, it is apparent that the chances to make the decision to migrate would be increased when the household offers supportive structures and encouragement for the potential migrant.

1.8 Organisation of the Dissertation

This paper is divided into five chapters. Chapter 1 is the introduction that includes a background of the migration situation in Africa and especially Southern Africa. The chapter also looks into the current Zimbabwean situation and how it is affecting neighbouring countries, after which the objectives of the study are laid out and lastly the theoretical framework is discussed. The second chapter looks into the available literature on migration in Southern Africa with particular focus on the Zimbabwe to South Africa migration.

In the third chapter, the methodology used is discussed. This looks at the area of study, the sample used, data collection techniques and the challenges that were faced. The data is analysed in the fourth chapter bringing out the migration trends from Zimbabwe to South

Africa. Lastly, chapter five will conclude the dissertation, discussing the findings and their implications on migration as well as making some recommendations.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

As has been mentioned earlier, migration in Southern Africa has gone through various stages since the colonial times (Posel, 2003). This section will explore some of these stages and then ultimately focus on the recent migration trends in the region paying particular attention to the migration from Zimbabwe into South Africa. Examples will be drawn from literature to indicate how a migrant usually decides to migrate, and focus will be given to the influence of the household on that decision, making use of the “new economics of migration theory” (Stark and Levhari, 1982).

Literature opposing Stark’s theory will be discussed briefly, but not exhaustively, to bring out any limitations that the theory may possess. This includes the arguments that migrants are not bound to send remittances back to their households but they do it as a result of their own personal choice (Posel, 2003). Examples will be given to support these views and to validate them especially using the Zimbabwean situation that is clearly forcing people to migrate to other countries.

2.2 Migration trends in Africa

Migration in Africa is usually from poorer regions to wealthier regions, and while some of the people migrate simply to better their own lives, others will be fleeing from violence and poverty (Adepoju, 2006). Since there are various ways through which migrants leave for other countries, accounting for them is a very difficult task (Crush et al., 2005; Polzer, 2009). This includes criminal types of migrations such as sneaking through national boundaries as well as trafficking of women and children to metropolitan centres where they are forced to become sex workers and labourers (Bloch, 2008; Polzer, 2009).

2.2.1 From poorer regions to metropolitan centres

The bulk of the migration among African countries is aimed at seeking opportunities for work, education, better health and suitable economic conditions (Bloch, 2008; Collinson and

Adazu, 2002; Massey et al., 1993; Stark and Levhari, 1982). The reasons for voluntary migration are different but most, if not all, can be linked to the desire to get access to better economic conditions (Collinson and Adazu, 2002, Massey, 1993). This is because most of the migration is from poorer areas to more prosperous areas where more opportunities for work and for accessing public services are available (Collinson and Adazu, 2002).

This movement from poorer countries to wealthier ones has also come to be termed “survival migration” (Konseiga, 2005). And as it was mentioned earlier, in West Africa where people move from poor countries to Cote d’Ivoire and Gabon, while in Southern Africa, people move to South Africa (Kok et al., 2006). In these destination countries people search for jobs, medical assistance, education and some even require to settle because the countries are economically and politically more stable than theirs (Konseiga, 2005).

It has also been mentioned earlier that international migrants leave their countries to go and enter into employment that is shunned by the local communities (Kok et al., 2006; McGregor, 2007). This is true among African nurses who migrate to England where they get into care giving for the old and those with chronic illnesses, a line of work that came to be known as “Joining the BBC, British Bottom Cleaners” (McGregor, 2007; 1). These jobs are considered demeaning by the local people, but they are cherished by the migrants who would be aiming at getting an income which in most cases would be much more than what they would earn while doing better jobs back home (Bloch, 2008).

Access to basic amenities, such as good supplies of water, electricity and availability of hospitals and schools, is also an important reason for migrating from country to country (Collinson and Adazu, 2002; Bloch, 2008). In cases where these services become scarce in the home country, citizens often opt to go elsewhere in order to access the services (Collinson and Adazu, 2002; Bloch, 2008). The common strategy that is adopted in Zimbabwe is that at least one individual has to be based in a desirable country first so that whenever services are required from that country by the household, it becomes cheaper for other members to go there and access them (Collinson and Adazu, 2002).

2.2.2 From unstable regions to other parts of the continent

Occurrence of political instability and civil wars always gives rise to mass movements of people to neighbouring countries in Africa (Crush et al., 2005). In all regions of the continent, people have often been forced to move out of their countries as a result of conflict and violence (Crush et al., 2005; Kok et al., 2006). Though Africa only has about a tenth of the world's population, it contributes more than a third of the refugee stock of the world today (Kok et al., 2006). This large tide of people pours into neighbouring countries, and most of them head for those prosperous nations where there are more opportunities to start afresh (Kok et al., 2006).

The biggest senders of refugees to and within Southern Africa in the past couple of decades have been the Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe (Bloch, 2008; Crush et al., 2005; Kok et al., 2006; Polzer, 2009; Oucho, 2006). The refugees would mainly be seeking asylum to get away from unrest, but many may also seek to work or learn in a safer environment (Crush et al., 2005; Oucho, 2006). The majority of refugees would not be in possession of any documentation, hence they face challenges of integrating themselves into society which is not easy since they may not be having much proof of qualifications (Oucho, 2006).

Because refugees usually come in large numbers, they are the group most likely to experience xenophobic attacks in destination countries (Crush, 2005; Polzer, 2009). The pressure that refugees put on basic amenities because of their numbers makes the locals to start complaining and attacking the foreigners calling them names such as 'illegal aliens', or '*makwerekwere*' (McDonald et al., 2000; Oucho, 2006). As was witnessed in South Africa in 2008, these attacks may turn violent at an individual, local or national level, sometimes resulting in deaths during the clashes between locals and migrants (Polzer, 2009; Campbell, 2003; Hook and Eagle, 2002).

2.2.3 Trafficking of women and children

The trafficking of women and children is an uprising challenge in most parts of Africa where it used to not be a problem (Elford, 2009). Most people that are trafficked to other countries would be thinking that they are being helped to cross over to a better life (Elford, 2009). Trafficking is often characterised by abusive coercion to move to a destination that one does

not desire, and it also involves having to work for the trafficker as a means of repaying for the movement, and some victims may not be aware that it is happening to them (Horwood, 2009).

Many illegal migrants who make use of smugglers to help them cross the border, end up being trafficked instead (Elford, 2009; Horwood, 2009). Reports by the victims state that the smugglers rob them and force them to stay with them and work for them for some time before the initial agreement can be carried out (Elford, 2009: 20; Horwood, 2009). Female and young illegal migrants making use of “*Malaishas*” to cross from Zimbabwe to South Africa are most prone to abuse (Elford, 2009). They usually end up being dumped at places where they had not intended to go after being held against their will for long periods of time, some of them being forced to provide sexual favours to the “*Malaishas*” (Elford, 2009: 24).

Though the dangers of smuggling are well known among the illegal migrants, pressures back home force them to take the risk which may lead to their deaths. Many people who fall into the hands of traffickers end up dead after being robbed, raped and seriously beaten (Elford, 2009; Horwood, 2009). These dangers are fairly well known by Zimbabwean illegal migrants when they choose to cross through the crocodile infested Limpopo river and through bushes well known for notorious thieves or “*Magumagumas*” (Elford, 2009: 24). It is often relatives and friends in the destination area who organize for those in the home country to cross the border illegally, paying the smugglers in advance (Elford, 2009).

2.3 Current trends in migration from Zimbabwe into South Africa

Though migration towards South Africa has been discussed earlier in this paper, it is necessary to briefly bring it into perspective at this juncture. The above mentioned types of migration occurring in Africa, have also seen noticeable in-flows of migrants into South Africa, especially since the end of apartheid (Crush et al., 2005; Elford, 2009; Horwood, 2009; Polzer, 2009). This saw women also becoming more involved in the migration to South Africa with Zimbabwean women dominating cross-border trade from their country since the 1990s and now more of them get into South Africa to seek work as professionals and as domestic workers (Dinat and Peberdy, 2007).

Most Zimbabwean households had to live on remittances from a relative or friend in South Africa at some point after 2000 (Bloch, 2008). This reliance on the South African economy still continues as Zimbabwe has not yet managed to come out of the economic chaos that started over a decade ago (Bloch, 2008). Hence, households may continue to seek ways to send members to the neighbouring country in order to cushion themselves against any continued collapse of the economy.

One of the ways to avert hunger and to increase access to basic commodities in Southern Africa has been the cross-border trade largely dominated by women (Crush, 2009). From the total number of people migrating to South Africa from Zimbabwe, it was estimated that 43.6% are women (Polzer, 2009). The majority of these women focus more on cross-border trade, though a sizeable number are now opting for semi-permanent jobs, with up to 16% of the women being reported to be employed in the health services sector (Dinat and Peberdy, 2007).

It was found that the majority of migrant women in South Africa were either divorced, or widowed, or abandoned (Dinat and Peberdy, 2007; Polzer, 2008). This is especially so in Lesotho where among migrant women, 24% were found to be widowed and 26% were separated (Polzer, 2008). Among women who work as domestic workers, some 42% were either single or separated from their partners because most of them stated that they were not allowed to bring their partners (Dinat and Peberdy, 2007). Therefore, the migration of women indicates that though leaving home has its losses, it has become a necessity for most households.

Men migrating to South Africa largely focus on seeking employment and settling in that country more permanently than their female counterparts possibly because of the nature of men to have less emotional attachment to the household back home (Polzer, 2008). Male migrants from Lesotho, Mozambique and Swaziland mainly focus on working in the mines as their preferred employment option (Polzer, 2008). Of the total male migrants from those countries, Lesotho's 80% work in mines, while Swaziland has 75% and Mozambique has almost 25% (Polzer, 2008). Zimbabwe's male migrants focus on the service and professional sectors because of their higher levels of education, and all countries mentioned in the study had few men who were involved in trade (Polzer, 2008).

Thus, migration from Zimbabwe into South Africa shows some differences in types of migration by men and women, but both sexes are almost equally involved (Dinat and Peberdy, 2007; Polzer, 2008). From the total number of Zimbabweans migrating to South Africa, it is estimated that almost half (43.6%) are women (Polzer, 2008). The big difference comes in that women focus more on shorter visits into South Africa for the purposes of trade, with few getting into permanent jobs, while men tend to seek permanent job opportunities (Polzer, 2008).

2.4 The new economics of migration theory and Zimbabwe's case

A review of literature relating to the pressures in Zimbabwe that result in migration mirrors some key aspects of the “new economics of migration theory” (Stark and Bloom, 1985: 191). This, however, is not always consistent with the theory as some of the migration decisions are self serving and not intended to benefit the household (Gubhaju and De Jong, 2009; Posel, 2003). However there is evidence in the literature that most of migration decisions are made after the household gives consent (Taylor and Barlow, 2000).

Evidence in the literature shows that the role of the household in encouraging the migration decision by individual family members is predominant in Zimbabwe (Gubhaju and De Jong, 2009; Landau, 2008; Mafukidze, 2006; Taylor and Barlow, 2000; Zinyama, 2000). Taylor and Barlow's analysis of research results from Zimbabwe reflected that “...those who intend migrating feel that they are encouraged to do so by their family” (Taylor and Barlow, 2000: 162). Studies in Lesotho and Zimbabwe indicate that the household has to agree to the intention before an individual can go ahead and migrate (Zinyama, 2000). Thus, the decision to migrate is often made as a result of household pressure and usually it can only be made with initial household consent.

It is also true that the characteristics of a household are important in determining an individual's decision to migrate. The decision to migrate is made as a result of motivating factors in an individual's environment such as the amount of experience in migration that he has and the presence of relatives in destination areas (Massey et al., 1993). Among other households the fact that people in their social circle have migrated puts pressure for them to also follow suit (Massey, 1993). The composition of the household makes it imperative that some members and not others should be the ones to migrate and household members

encourage the most suitable person(s), usually males whose qualifications are above the household average (Crush and Fayne 2007; McDonald et al., 2000).

A study in Zimbabwe, Lesotho and Mozambique indicated that the presence of close associates, relatives or neighbours that have migrated to another country increases the desire to migrate (Zinyama, 2000). Some Zimbabwean participants in the study stated that besides providing links that make migrating easier, people in the Diaspora also provide a significant motivation for migrating if they are doing well (Zinyama, 2000).

2.4.1 Reasons for individual migration to South Africa

There are different theories that explain the reasons why individuals migrate to other countries (De Jong, 2000; Gubhaju and De Jong, 2005; Mafukidze, 2006; Massey et al., 1993). The new economics of migration theory stands out in the literature as one of the best theories that are suitable for explaining migration in Africa (De Jong, 2000; Gubhaju and De Jong, 2005; Mafukidze, 2006; Massey et al., 1993; McDonald et al., 2000; Stark, 2007). According to the theory, the objectives of an individual when migrating make up only part of the reasons why the household requires the individual to migrate (Mafukidze, 2006). Ultimately, the household plays an important role in influencing the migration decision.

The new economics of migration theory argues that the migration decision is made by the household and the interests of the family are important determinants of the decision (Gubhaju and De Jong, 2005; Stark and Bloom, 1982; Massey et al., 1993). Studies have also shown that this theory applies differently for different people, depending on their demographic variables like sex, age, marital status, parenthood and education levels (De Jong, 2000; Massey, 1993; McDonald et al., 2000; Zinyama, 2000). As a result, an individual is selected to migrate for the household's benefit after their demographic characteristics are identified to be the most suitable for migrating.

Again the study done in Zimbabwe, Lesotho and Mozambique provides evidence of the influence that the household has on an individual's decision (Zinyama, 2000). Though in other countries the decision to migrate was not linked very much to any household influence, most participants from Zimbabwe stressed that it would be difficult for them to make the move without getting some kind of acceptance from the household (Zinyama, 2000). Even though the head of the household may hold the last say, they also require household support before they can actually execute a move to another country (Zinyama, 2000).

In a study carried out in South Africa by Gubhaju and De Jong (2005) two thirds of the South African respondents indicated that they would decide to migrate out of the country on the basis of their own interests as individuals. This is in opposition to the views of the new economics of migration theory which emphasises that a decision to migrate is made by a household (Stark and Levhari, 1983). It was also evident in the study that adult males and females whose decisions to migrate were meant to benefit their “own future” had greater intentions to migrate than those who intended to do it for the household’s benefit (Gubhaju and De Jong, 2005: 6). Therefore, individual decisions to migrate are portrayed in this study to be influenced by selfish intentions rather than for the benefit of the household.

Migration for health purposes seems to be far less common than other reasons for migration from Zimbabwe and South Africa, but there is no doubt that it has increased (Zinyama, 2000). The collapse of Zimbabwe’s health sector because of low medical supplies and emigration of medical professionals forces most Zimbabweans to seek medical attention in South Africa and other countries (Loewenson and Thompson, 2003). Though most people with health problems prefer to stay at home, few others choose to stay for long periods of time in countries where suitable emergency services can be provided for their health problems (Loewenson and Thompson, 2003).

However when socio-economic circumstances in a country are as difficult as in the Zimbabwean case, there is more pressure on household members to seek more suitable incomes for the household (Bloch, 2008). The intention to migrate for individuals who want to do so for the benefit of the household is greater in Zimbabwe because of the difficulties in earning enough to support the entire household. As a result of this, more and more married people, household heads and house owners are reported to be migrating from Zimbabwe into South Africa for both long and short periods of time (McDonald et al., 2000).

2.4.2 Household risk management versus migrant altruism

As has been mentioned, most Zimbabwean migrants feel that their decision to migrate is largely influenced by their households that would be seeking to cushion themselves from risk (Taylor and Barlow, 2000). This is expected among Zimbabwean households, considering the difficulties that the country is facing economically with unemployment standing at around

80% and with political instability retarding agricultural and industrial gains (Bloch, 2008). Households are under pressure to devise strategies for survival, and since availability of basic commodities and services has shrunk within the country, it is necessary to look beyond the borders (Bloch, 2008, Taylor and Barlow, 2000).

Spreading risk is a form of insurance in developing countries where insurance is not easily accessible to people in the lower levels of society (Massey et al., 1993; Stark and Bloom, 1985). The migration of a member of the household provides the household with an alternative in the event of a crisis such as drought or business failure (Massey et al., 1993: 437). Thus the household and the individual get into some form of 'contractual agreement' binding the migrant to remit back to the household when they are able to do so (Massey et al., 1993, Stark 1982).

However, some literature questions this view, suggesting that an individual may choose to default from any contract held with the household, pointing out that abiding by the agreement is a result of feelings of altruism towards the household, or is motivated by self-serving intentions (Posel, 2003). Since the migrant is usually not bound by anything that is tangible so that they stick to an agreement with the household, it is likely that they may default from the 'contract' if they want (Posel, 2003). This explains why families in Thailand were found to prefer sending females as migrants because the women's feelings of altruism towards the household tended to be stronger than those of men (DeJong, 2000).

Risk management is also closely linked to survival migration of individuals in developing country contexts, and it is true for the Zimbabwean context (Konseiga, 2005; McGregor, 2007). A study in Burkina Faso revealed that the migration of people from that country going to the Cote d'Ivoire is a means of survival for people who are faced by serious shortages of resources (Konseiga, 2005). This trend is noted by McGregor (2007) in his study of the migration of Zimbabweans, mentioning that households are under economic and political pressure to send members out of the country to get an income and to get them away from violence and collapsing educational, health and other social services.

The desire to avert the risk that a household faces in times of economic crisis is reported to also differ between men and women of all ages (Gubhaju and De Jong 2005). According to Gubhaju and De Jong (2005) their study in South Africa indicated that there were greater odds for young unmarried people and for males of all ages to migrate, than for married women. Divorced and widowed women also indicated a greater likelihood to migrate for long

periods of time than married women. Hence, age, gender and marital status differences have a huge influence on the decision to migrate as a means of reducing household risk in times of crisis (Gubhaju and De Jong 2005).

It is also likely that when viewing a household's risk management from the 'survival migration' perspective, it becomes more meaningful. That a household may urge a member to migrate so as to provide future support to the household is a realistic response to crisis even though the migrant may choose to default from the agreement eventually (Konseiga, 2005; Massey et al., 1993; McGregor, 2007). In Zimbabwe, households have resorted to migrant-sending as they try to grapple with the every day challenges of living in an economically and politically unstable environment (Bloch, 2008; Polzer, 2009).

2.4.3 Utilization of Household networks

The existence of household links in the destination country is a strong determinant of individual migration behaviour (Massey et al., 1993; Taylor and Barlow, 2000; Stark and Bloom, 1985). Research shows that, "for respondents from Zimbabwe, friends in South Africa and family encouragement raises the intention to migrate noticeably, and those who lack support have little intention to migrate" (Taylor and Barlow, 2000: 166). The social networks provide accommodation, security, reassurance of opportunities, and also encouragement for those individuals that intend to migrate (Taylor and Barlow, 2000), making them more prone to make the decision to migrate than their counterparts who do not have such links.

In turn, every new migrant is also obliged to reciprocate to another member of the household who also desires to migrate (Massey, 1993; Stark and Bloom, 1985). The desire to migrate may more easily be turned into action when there is a means to do so, and having a friend or relative at the destination provides such a means (Zinyama, 2000). By providing this link, the household determines not only the decision to migrate but also the destination of the migrant because there will be a provision for free accommodation during the time that a migrant is settling down (Zinyama, 2000). This may work in strengthening the desire of the migrant to abide by any contractual agreement to pay back the household (Stark and Bloom, 1985).

Thus, the decision to migrate is often influenced by the household or even sometimes the individual is put under pressure to accept this decision (Taylor and Barlow, 2000). This may be driven by the desire to increase a household's access to basic needs including a steady income, health services, education and to reduce uncertainty (Stark and Levhari, 1982;

Collinson and Adazu, 2002). This also means that the most suitable migrant differs for every household depending on the desired outcome such as better education for the migrant or a better income for the household.

Network links are also important because they “reduce the costs and risks of movement and increase the expected net returns to migration” (Massey et al., 1993: 448). For Zimbabwean migrants travelling to South Africa, the risks of migration range from robbery, violence, gender based violence, separation of children from their parents and even death (Elford, 2009: 3). This is especially the case for those migrants that do not have proper documentation to cross the border and are pressured to cross into South Africa illegally (Elford, 2009). They are then exposed to various types of abuse by “*Malaishas* and *Mgumagumas*” who assist illegal border jumpers to cross over (Elford, 2009: 3). The availability of a reliable friend or relative at the destination may reduce such risks significantly and at the same time increase the desire to migrate.

Household social networks are also crucial in determining the destination for most migrants and possibly the timing of their migration. Since the migrant is moving to a new territory where they have no place to stay nor would they have a job, then they are most likely to go where relatives or friends reside (Stark and Bloom, 1985; Zinyama, 2000). Timing would probably also be determined by the destination because the people at the destination would be required to get ready for an additional person and also they may be required to find opportunities for the new-comer before the arrival.

2.5 Critics of the New Economics of Migration Theory and Zimbabwe’s case

The theory by Stark and Levhari (1982) has been questioned on some aspects from different scholars, and their views are also worth noting here. The most notable views have suggested that migrants act on altruistic motivations for remitting to the household of origin (De Jong, 2000; Posel, 2003; Vawney, 2004). However, these critics also suggest that migration behaviour cannot be simply contractual or altruistic but would be more dependent on circumstances and sometimes even the preferences of the migrant.

Posel (2003) suggests that a migrant cannot be expected to feel altruistic towards every household member and neither can they be expected to abide by a non-binding contract. She

argues that in the past, African migrants in South Africa were insecure in the urban setting and their employment was not long term hence they needed to keep ties with their rural families (Posel, 2003). However, with the end of Apartheid, urban jobs have become more secure for Africans making it less important for many of them to maintain close relations with the people they leave back home.

As a result of the increased volumes of migration, a number of communities are reported to have started developing “internal moral sanctions” to keep the migrants’ ties with their families strong (Posel, 2003). This strategy is reported by Posel (2003) to have been adopted by the Xhosa who tried to compound the feeling that relatives are important, the ancestors should be feared and home is the best place to be. Also, migrants were given incentives for visiting home so that they felt that visiting home was a time for relaxing, visiting friends, and not taking part in any work at home (Posel, 2003). Therefore, migrants were lured into feeling obliged to support the household.

Female migrants are largely considered to have stronger altruistic links with their households, especially when they are still single as compared to males (De Jong, 2000; Vawney, 2004). This view is not shared by the new economics of migration theory which views remittance sending as contractual. Studies in Thailand indicated that the migration of unmarried women was motivated by the desire to repay their parents for bringing them up, and women were trained on virtues of “gratitude and obedience” (De Jong, 2000). As a result, unmarried female migrants are preferred by households over their male counterparts in other communities.

Gender is also seen to play a crucial role in some studies of Zimbabwe’s current migration experience (Zinyama, 2000). As will be noted later in this chapter when reviewing literature on the demographics of the migrants moving from Zimbabwe to South Africa, female migrants’ numbers have increased significantly since the early 1990s. The role of mothers and sisters to provide care for the household has forced them to seek the financial resources to ensure that the household’s needs are catered for (Zinyama, 2000). This is unlike in the Thai society where married women are far less likely to migrate (De Jong, 2000).

Therefore, the new economics of migration theory faces some criticism on some aspects, but there is agreement that it remains as an important theory when it comes to migration decision making for households in developing contexts (Vawney, 2004). The central argument by the theory is that households respond to changes in economic circumstances by sending members

to other countries or locations as a means to ensure against risk (Massey et al., 1993), and it remains realistic.

2.6 Migrant and non-migrant households in Zimbabwe

Though this study is not well suited for analysis of income differences between households, evidence exists that households with and without migrants have differing levels of income (Bloch, 2008). This may influence further migration as a result of feelings of relative deprivation among non-migrant households (Massey et al., 1993). In Zimbabwean communities, the income differences brought about by migration are often evident and all those involved in any form of migration tend to be financially better off than those not involved in migration activities (Ranga, 2003; DeJong, 2000). In Thailand, “low household income was a determinant of (household survival strategy) temporary migration” (DeJong, 2000). As a result, households urge members to get involved in migration as a means of increasing household income, sometimes with the intention to raise the income to the levels of neighbouring households.

In communities that have migration occurring at a large scale, household members between the ages of 15 and 49 who are mostly men are the migrants (McDonald et al., 2000; Posel, 2003; Ranga, 2003). Migration may cause labour shortages for the migrant households’ food production, and at the same time this may be compensated for by handouts from the migrants making the households dependent on remittances (Ranga, 2003). Because the men are usually the household heads, they usually select themselves to migrate, hence leaving behind women and children (McDonald et al., 2000; Posel, 2003; Ranga, 2003). Other demographics included are average income, education levels, and household location. These may also determine migration or non-migration or even determine the types of migration in a household (Bloch, 2008).

The education levels in a household may determine the migration or non-migration of household members (McDonald et al., 2000). In a study in Southern African countries, it was found that one third of the people who migrate into South Africa have at least high school education (Ibid, 2000). These are the most marketable members of a household and may usually be the household heads themselves (Ibid, 2000). However, with the socio-economic and political crisis in Zimbabwe, evidence from literature shows that it is no longer the case

that educational qualifications clearly determine migration decisions (Bloch, 2008; Polzer, 2008; McGregor, 2007).

The location of households geographically has been proven to determine migration in Zimbabwe as border areas have more migrants than in-land areas (Ranga, 2003). However, it is also a reality that households in one city but located in different suburbs have different migration patterns, which is evidenced by the fact that the most poor households are not able to send members to other countries (DeJong, 2000). Hence it should be expected that there is more migration that occurs among the middle to upper class citizens than among the poor class citizens in any city. However, according to some scholars, this may be irrelevant in the highly migrant Zimbabwean communities (Bloch, 2008; Lee, 1996).

This is because in negative or difficult circumstances, the poorer households and individuals choose to migrate as a means of searching for better lives (Lee, 1996; Konseiga, 2005). In times of widespread hardship, Lee (1996) suggests that “it is more likely to be the uneducated or the disturbed who are forced to migrate” (Lee, 1996: 56). This can be understood in the Zimbabwean situation where political, social and economic instability have made life unbearable for the poor communities, because they are the ones who are hit the hardest by such a crisis (Bloch, 2008; McGregor, 2007). Hence, it can also be expected that even those households whose members do not have suitable resources to migrate would still have migrants.

Among households that rely on agricultural production as a means of survival, migration often results in a labour shortage (Ranga, 2003). This has to be compensated for in order for the household to survive. Historically, migrant Zimbabwean communities started relying more on remittances from their migrant relatives than the food they produced from their agricultural activities (Ranga, 2003). In some communities in the Matabeleland province where migration is mostly prevalent, non-migrants are given names to mock them, such as “*invila*” (lazy ones) and those that do migrate and become successful are given honorary labels like “*injivha*” (rich man), thereby putting pressure on non-migrants to migrate (Ranga, 2003).

The gender characterization of migrant households usually indicate that male members including household heads may be absent from home for long periods of time (McDonald et

al., 2000; Ranga, 2003). While women are more engaged in the short term cross-border trade, men take part in the longer term migration in search of jobs (Zinyama, 2000). As a result a migrant household may be reflected by absenteeism of household members for long periods of time, and women and children are usually left behind while the men go in search of higher incomes in other countries (Ranga, 2003).

2.7 Demographics of Zimbabwean migrants.

Crush and Fayne (2007) argue that migrants are usually not among the desperate or helpless in the society that they come from. “They are usually the most innovative, independent and resourceful members of a household, community or society” (Crush and Fayne, 2007: 14). This view about migrants is shared by various scholars (McDonald et al., 2000; Zinyama, 2000), and this also explains why countries that have high out-migration complain about brain drain.

A variety of people are on record for migrating from Zimbabwe to South Africa (Bloch, 2008; Crush and Fayne, 2007; Polzer, 2008; McGregor, 2007). The list includes female and male traders, young students, asylum seekers, political and economic refugees, among others (Bloch, 2008; Polzer, 2008; McGregor, 2007). However gender is also an important determinant of migration in most migrant communities with women participating less than men (DeJong, 2000; McGregor et al., 2000), though the numbers of migrant women are increasing (Posel, 2008).

Larger numbers of Zimbabwean women are migrating to South Africa for a number of reasons (McDonald et al., 2000; Pasura, 2006; Zinyama, 2000). More and more women have been migrating to South Africa from other SADC countries in the past 15 years (Crush, 2009). The reasons for these women’s migration range from brief temporary travel for cross-border trade to long-term movement in search of work (McDonald et al., 2000; Zinyama, 2000). As has been stressed earlier women are more focused on informal opportunities in South Africa than their male counterparts who seek jobs in the formal sector more (McDonald et al, 2000).

The past few years in Zimbabwe have also seen people moving to South Africa for more desperate motives as asylum seekers and refugees (Bloch, 2008). As a result of the political, social and economic instability that rocked Zimbabwe since the late 1990s, large numbers of

Zimbabweans have flocked to South Africa in search of salvation (Elford, 2009). This supports Everett Lee's earlier mentioned ideas that in difficult times, the poorer and harder hit communities tend to respond by migrating to other locations for solutions to their problems (Lee, 1966).

This makes it more difficult for literature to provide a clear answer of specific characteristic of the type of individual that has been migrating from Zimbabwe to South Africa. Because many different types of Zimbabweans have chosen to migrate to South Africa for one reason or the other, it may become hard to believe that it is "the most innovative" (Crush and Fayne, 2007: 14), or the highest earning members of society that manage to migrate to South Africa. It is sometimes alleged that many migrants working on farms accept working longer hours and for lower salaries than their colleagues doing the same job, usually because they would not be in possession of the paperwork that allows them to work in South Africa (AFP report, 22 November 2009).

2.8 The household's role in migration decision.

The migration decision of a household member is often made by the migrant together with household members or at least it has to be agreed upon (Posel, 2003; Stark and Bloom, 1985; Taylor and Barlow, 2000). The influence of the household on the migration decision depends also on demographic characteristics of an individual, for men, the household has less control over the decision whereas for women, it may have more control (De Jong, 2000). This is especially highlighted by the habit to remit back earnings to the household, a thing which women are said to be more likely to do than men (De Jong, 2000).

The migration decision may be made by an individual to select themselves if their position in the household gives them the power to do so (Posel, 2003). Men often select themselves to go if migrating means more gains for the migrant than it does for remaining household members (Posel, 2003: 3). This suggests that some decisions to migrate are complex and may be a one man or one woman choice that requires only an approval from other household members (Zinyama, 2000).

For females, the approval for a migration decision may be more difficult to obtain than for their male counterparts (De Jong, 2000). Particularly for married women, the decision to migrate is not likely among Thai women as their expected role is to care for the family at

home as the man searches for the household income (De Jong, 2000: 308). This has also been historically the case in African countries where “chiefs, husbands and fathers had the ability to restrict the mobility of women” and this kind of control over women’s migration decision is still in existence (Posel, 2003: 3).

Younger and single women are more likely to be selected to migrate than married women and also more than younger and single men (De Jong, 2000; Posel, 2003). However, it is also interesting to note that because women have more sympathy for the household, young and single women are more preferred as migrants because they are more likely to send back remittances than their male counterparts (De Jong, 2000: 309). De Jong states that, “for many young Thai women, migration is motivated by the desire to repay their parents for raising them” (De Jong, 2000: 309). Hence the household may influence these women to migrate expecting them to send remittances back to them.

In a study in Zimbabwe, most potential migrants stated that they would require household consent before they can make the move to migrate (Zinyama, 2000). This is common for both men and women, though it is more likely for women (Zinyama, 2000). The amount of control that the household has on a woman’s decision to migrate makes women’s migration to be for shorter periods of time hence making them more likely to be involved in cross-border trading (McDonald et al., 2000). However, some women are also getting involved in longer term migration even with their children (Landau, 2008).

The household’s control over a migrant’s decision can also be entrenched by using its network links to determine the destination of the migrant (Zinyama, 2000). Since network ties allow a migrant to be more versatile in job or trade seeking, the migrant is forced to make use of these links, hence feeling indebted to the household (Taylor and Barlow, 2000; Zinyama, 2000). The household may also determine the choices of a migrant in selecting a job or school by using the same links to encourage and direct a migrant’s intentions (Zinyama, 2000).

2.9 Conclusion

The new economics of migration theory makes some interesting conclusions that match some causes of migration in Zimbabwe as shown in available literature. However, the literature on migration does not look at the Zimbabwean household characteristics that are also playing a

part in the making of migration decisions. Though many other factors, including social, economic and political, are considered when making a migration decision, it is within the household that the decision is actually made or sanctioned (Taylor and Barlow, 2000; Zinyama, 2000). Therefore this is an area that requires further exploration.

The characteristics of households and migrants are important in explaining migration decisions. In a situation where fewer people are compelled to migrate for their own and their households' survival, it could have been easier to identify a set of characteristics that the households with migrants have. However, amid Zimbabwe's crisis, most people are anxious to leave and they are actually doing so (Polzer, 2009). Thus, this makes it more difficult to identify a uniform set of characteristics for the migrants or migrant households.

The available literature does a good job in identifying characteristics of migrants but not those of the households they come from. This makes it difficult to appreciate the possible reasons why households urge potential migrants to actually carry out the migration process. For example, though many Zimbabwean youths are leaving to study in South Africa at the moment, this does not mean that the parents afford it, but it could be a strategy of investing for the future (Polzer, 2009). Hence, it is important to understand Zimbabwean households' characteristics in order to help explain the real determinants of migration at present.

Gender dynamics in migration decision making are also an important element as more and more Zimbabwean women are getting involved in long-term migration. However, it is also important to realize the sacrifices that are made by women who migrate, such as leaving their young children behind in order to fend for the family (Dinat and Peberdy, 2007). Such a decision by women is an indication of desperation to find a lease of life for the household during difficult times.

The available literature also clearly acknowledges the importance of household networks in Zimbabwean migration, and the decision-making (McDonald et al., 2000; Zinyama, 2000). Social networks at the destination help to make migration more feasible hence this makes people desire to migrate. Details on the types of links that a household can provide to its members when they migrate would support the idea that households influence the migration decision by assuring the migrant some form of security upon arrival at the destination.

Therefore, the available literature does a good job in explaining migration in general, but it does not do very well in explaining the role of the household in migration decision-making in

Zimbabwe. The support and encouragement provided by a household, to a migrant, are important determinants of a migration decision, hence these need to be understood.

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

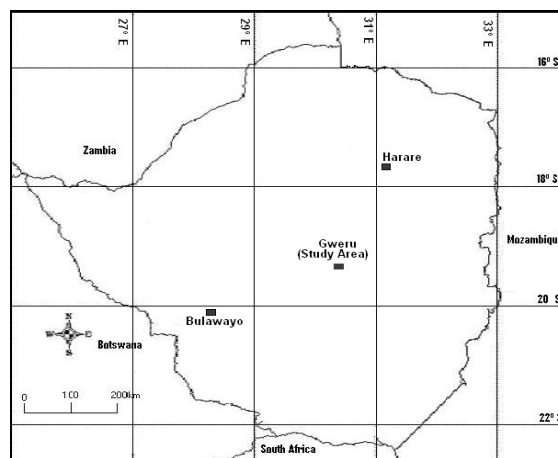
3.1 Introduction

Migration trends from Zimbabwe to South Africa have been discussed thus far, indicating a gradual increase since the end of apartheid. Literature places more focus on the process and impact of migration, and little is placed on how the decision to migrate is made. The study was done in the city of Gweru in Zimbabwe's Midlands Province. A quantitative methodology in the form of a household survey was employed to collect and analyze the data. The following chapter will elaborate on the methodology that was used, discussing its appropriateness for this type of study.

3.2 The Study area and population

Gweru was selected because of its central location in Zimbabwe, and this is important in the country because there are two major ethnic groups, both of whom are represented in the city (Mangizvo and Dzikiti, 2009). Gweru is located in the Midlands Province which is at the heart of Zimbabwe. It was founded by Dr Leander Starr Jameson in 1894 as a gold mining village, later obtaining city status in 1971 (CSO, 2004). The city's total population was estimated at 140 806 in the year 2004 (CSO, 2004). It is predominantly Shona speaking (70%), with about 30% of the people speaking the Ndebele language, a direct relation of the Zulu language in South Africa (Mangizvo and Dzikiti, 2009). Gweru has 18 suburbs categorized as low, medium and high in density (CSO, 2004). The map below, Figure 3.1, indicates the centrality of the city of Gweru in Zimbabwe.

Figure 3.1: Location of City of Gweru on Map of Zimbabwe



Source: Mangizvo RV and Dzikiti S (2009)

Gweru was made the capital city of the Midlands province in 1971 because of its centrality and it soon boasted processing industries for most minerals and other raw materials from the province (CSO, 2004). The city enjoyed rapid growth in its population size as well as its geographic area soon after independence in the 1980s (Mangizvo and Dzikiti, 2009). However, the growth slowed down in the 1990s and eventually stopped at the turn of the millennium because of the economic and political crisis that gripped the country (CSO, 2004; Mangizvo and Dzikiti, 2009).

Though Zimbabwe's economic and political situation was not very stable in the 1980s, it became more unstable from the early 1990s through the turn of the century (Bloch, 2008; Vigneswaran, Polzer and Vearey, 2009). At its peak in November 2008, Zimbabwe's inflation was calculated to be around 98% a day, meaning that prices almost doubled every day (Hanke and Kwok, 2009). Keeping money in the bank quickly became a big liability such that people and companies stopped using the local currency on November 14, 2008 (Hanke and Kwok, 2009). At that time however, the situation had already caused the near-collapse of health systems, education, infrastructure and so on (Vigneswaran, Polzer and Vearey, 2009).

On the political front, widespread allegations of targeted violence, killings, maiming and disappearances were reported (Amnesty International, 2008). It is alleged that the biggest challenge that makes all crime and violence difficult to resolve is that supporters of Zanu PF continue to abuse people with impunity (Amnesty International, 2008: 2). The impunity is alleged to prevail in all sections of society leading to theft of people's assets and companies with no action being taken by relevant authorities (Amnesty International, 2008: 2). Thus nation-wide company closures and declines in business outputs resulted from fear of losing investments amid the country's uncontrolled crime (Makumbe, 2008).

As a result of this political and economic crisis, Zimbabwe's formal employment sector began to shrink (Mangizvo and Dzikiti, 2009). This was also the experience in Gweru as the country's unemployment rate reached about 80% by the year 2008, forcing the majority of people to seriously consider migration for survival (Vagneswaran, Polzer and Vearey, 2009). Many companies began to close or to scale down because the environment was no longer conducive for profit making and this made basic commodities to become scarce hence forcing many urbanites to start relying on migrant remittances (Makumbe, 2008).

This crisis hit Gweru very hard especially because one of the biggest employers in the city, Bata Shoe company, came very close to closing down and laid off over 60% of its employees (Mangizvo and Dzikiti, 2009). This slowed down revenue generation for the city's municipality, making it hard to finance essential projects such as water reticulation, health and education (Mangizvo and Dzikiti, 2009). Like other cities in the country, Gweru experienced periodic disease outbreaks, school closures, and malfunctioning of public amenities (Bloch, 2008; Mangizvo and Dzikiti, 2009). Hence, migration began to be treated as a means of bringing income for some and a means for survival for others (Bloch, 2008)

3.3 The methods and data source

The study was carried out using the quantitative paradigm. By doing so, the researcher was able to collect data from many more households than would have been the case if a qualitative approach had been adopted (Denscombe, 1998). Also, the whole range of issues that the researcher required to investigate was catered for in the questionnaire and there was little room for digressing from the main issues. However, the use of the quantitative method also meant that important issues that the researcher may have overlooked in the questionnaire would not have a chance to come out in the research (Denscombe, 1998).

3.1.1 Quantitative paradigm versus Qualitative paradigm

The basis for using the quantitative paradigm can only be acknowledged if it is compared to the qualitative paradigm. The two paradigms differ in strategy, as well as in purpose when they are implemented (Cresswell, 1994). While the quantitative method is precise, time saving and strict, the qualitative paradigm is more general, time consuming and tolerant (Cresswell, 1994; Denscombe, 1998). These differences were considered by the researcher prior to carrying out the study, and the quantitative method was selected as a most suitable option.

The quantitative method is very useful in opinion surveys because of its ability to focus on the desired topic, and obtain a range of people's views on the topic (Cresswell, 1994). On the other hand, the qualitative method is more useful when investigating a new area that has not been studied before, hence the need to be 'investigative' and exploratory (Cresswell, 1994). The quantitative research paradigm is suitable for looking at the "cause and effect"

(Cresswell, 1994) relationships, which is essential here because this study aims to identify how households influence migration decision-making. This would take longer to establish if one were to use the qualitative approach because it allows respondents to digress and to be ambiguous (Denscombe, 1998). Hence, for these reasons the quantitative paradigm was selected as a more suitable means to obtain the most suitable results for the study, taking into consideration the time that was available and also the fact that some studies have been done on this topic before.

Hence, the quantitative pre-coded questionnaire (see Appendix 1), was administered by the researcher in the respondents' language and efforts were made to make the respondents understand the questions they were asked (Cresswell, 1994). The respondents were visited in their households in order to allow them to comfortably accept to participate in the research. The researcher also sought to make the participants to realize that the study was not a personal interrogation by the researcher but an impersonal data collection process, which is essential in the quantitative research approach (Cresswell, 1994). Interviewees were largely comfortable though some were hesitant to provide information on 'household income'.

However, as has been mentioned earlier, some issues that could have been explored if a qualitative method of analysis would have been used may have been missed during the study. This is because the quantitative method only allows respondents to respond to issues that the researcher would have pre-meditated, hence making it difficult for respondents to bring in issues that are not in the questionnaire (Denscombe, 1998). In this sense, the research paradigm selected could have limited the potential of the study.

3.4 The sampling method

The systematic random sampling method was used to select respondents for the research. This method chooses respondents at random from a group of potential respondents on a list by using a sampling interval (K) that is calculated from the total population (Denscombe, 1998). In order to be able to use this method, a database of suburbs in the city and the number of houses within them was sought from the municipality. This proved to be somewhat difficult because some procedures had to be followed, and also some of the suburbs were said to not possess such data.

After three weeks of negotiating with the municipality's department of statistics, data for only seven suburbs could be obtained and it indicated the number of houses in each suburb. The exception was Mkoba suburb, the largest high density suburb, where only a small part of the suburb, about a quarter, was accounted for in the data. As a result of this delay in the schedule, it was decided to reduce the size of the sample in order to be able to cover it in the time remaining.

Eventually, seven suburbs were included in the sample selection including three from the high density suburbs, two medium density suburbs and two low density suburbs. The high density suburbs selected were Senga, Mkoba, and Mambo, the medium density were Irvine and Athlone and lastly the low density suburbs were Daylesford and Gweru East. The researcher chose to use a sample of 150 households because of the time constraints, then the sampling interval K was calculated as follows:

Since: Sample size (n) = population size (N)/ K

It follows therefore that: Interval (K) = Population size (N)/Sample size (n)

$K = 6930 / 150$

Therefore, $K = 46.2$

Since some suburbs were bigger than others, all of them were arranged in one list to allow every household an equal chance to be included in the sample. It has to be mentioned that the small size of the sample was not desirable because it reduced the number of views that the researcher could obtain. This also meant that the researcher had to cover long distances to get interviewees because the small number of respondents was dispersed among the seven suburbs. On over twenty occasions, houses were found empty or adults were absent, therefore the researcher had to move another 46.2 houses in search of another respondent. This was possible because the sample calculated was not exhausting the city's total household population. In the end, a number of households that had not been in the initial sample were therefore included.

3.5 Fieldwork

The people involved in the research were urban adult men and women from high, medium and low density suburbs in the city of Gweru. Efforts were made to try and locate the head of the household to respond to the questions, and a return trip was made when they were not found. However, because the field work was carried out during the festive season, some heads of households had travelled for long journeys and could not be found even after the second attempt. In such cases, if there was any other adult person, aged 18 and above, then that person would become the respondent. In cases where a person over 18 was not found, then the researcher skipped another 46 houses to find a next respondent.

The data collection was done over a period of seven weeks from December 2009 to January 2010. The routine was that when the researcher arrived at a household that had been selected randomly, a respondent had to be identified in the form of the household head. After this was established, the researcher informed them of the purpose of the study and also, explained the importance of the study. When they agreed to participate in the study, the researcher then read the consent form to them explaining the meaning of the contents and obtained their agreement to participate in the study.

Respondents were always made to understand that participation was voluntary and no rewards or benefits could be derived from participation. This was done to avoid raising the participant's expectations and also to abide to the ethical regulations of research. All interviews were carried out at the respondents' households after discussing the nature of the research. Hence, privacy and confidentiality of the discussion was made possible by this agreement. The researcher would then go through the questions as the respondent provided answers.

3.6 Entering and Analysing Data

The data collected was entered into an excel spread sheet on a daily basis after collection, which was later converted into a Stata data sheet. The files were then merged into a single Stata data sheet and this program was used to analyse the data. Basic descriptive data analysis was used to fulfil the objectives of the study. This comprised of simple tabulations, cross-tabulations and 'what if' analyses.

Data entry procedures followed aimed at making sure that the data was safely entered and stored. The template for the data was first designed before the data was collected, making sure that each variable would be easy to recognize and use during analysis. Three copies of the template were prepared, one in Excel, and two in Stata. The excel template was used daily in entering data because it allowed more flexibility, then the data was transferred to a Stata file every two days. Finally, the Stata files were merged into a single main data file. All the data was backed up on a flash disk to ensure that data was not lost.

In the data analysis, descriptive statistics were the main outputs required in order to describe the characteristics of the sample, and to indicate the relations that existed between the variables. The same descriptive statistics also proved very key in cleaning the data, aiding the identification of errors and omissions. Each objective was explored and responded to during the analysis and the outputs are described in the chapter four.

3.7 Challenges and Ethical issues

Carrying out the data collection during the festive season had some advantages for the researcher, but it also brought some challenges. The first challenge was in getting the information about the city's suburbs from the city council. This information was important to allow the researcher to randomly select households and also to carry out a study that is more representative of the whole city. Among the selected houses, some were deserted as residents had gone visiting or only children under 18 years of age would be present. This forced the researcher to move on to another household.

Non-response was not a big problem, but the researcher did face challenges with two potential respondents who refused to participate in the research. Fear of victimization was the main reason for refusing to participate in the research as the potential respondents stated that the migrants from the household had left because of fear of violence. Another challenge faced was that households often had two or more members that had migrated to South Africa, and they chose to discuss the less sensitive cases of those who had migrated legally and were more successful. Hence, this means that the research was not able to capture the complete picture of migration experiences since most negative stories were censored.

Misrepresentation of facts by respondents was sometimes suspected during the data collection. This was especially so when respondents were asked about their incomes. The tendency was that it was very rare for those people in the lowest category to quickly disclose their incomes, and there is a fear that they inflated their incomes when they finally disclosed. The opposite was also true for the high income earners who seemed to deflate their incomes in their reporting.

3.8 Ethical Issues

Ethical clearance for this study was obtained from the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal's Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Sciences. The sensitive issues mentioned above that limited households from providing information were treated with utmost respect. These issues included the purpose of migrants' decision to migrate and the way with which they carried out the migration exercise. Where a household representative was unwilling to discuss them, then the less sensitive cases were discussed. However, every respondent was assured that their names would not be tied to the findings of the research and for that reason they were encouraged to use an alias. This therefore helped information like household earnings and migration purpose to be disclosed with less trouble.

Some respondents indicated desperation to get assistance, requesting contacts of the researcher for use in migrating to South Africa. This was usually solved by informing the participants that the researcher was only a student, finalizing his studies hence he will also be staying in Zimbabwe soon. Others requested the researcher to contact their friends or relatives when they return to South Africa to explain their desperate situation, indicating a reliance on migrant remittances. All these issues were treated with respect and the researcher did not lead respondents to believe that he will assist them in any way.

3.9 Summary

The sample was drawn randomly from the city of Gweru's suburbs, hence all households (within the database provided by the city council) had an equal probability of falling into the sample. All ethical issues were followed, and respondents were fully informed of the nature of the research that they were participating in. Where respondents were unwilling to participate in the study, they were not forced to do so, and no incentives were provided for

participation. However, the study faced some challenges especially during the data collection phase when data for the city's households was sought from the city council.

Chapter Four: Data Analysis

4.1 Introduction

The migration decision among most Africans has been widely agreed by many scholars to be a complex one that involves a number of people (Massey, Arango et al., 1993; Stark and Bloom, 1985; Taylor and Barlow, 2000). These are usually household members who are involved in giving encouragement, approval, and providing the means to make migration feasible (Zinyama, 2000). It has also been discussed in literature that the selection of a migrant is done after considering a number of factors that include age, sex, skills and migration experience (De Jong, 2000). This study set out to investigate the involvement of household members in the decision-making process of migrants in Gweru. Of paramount importance in the data analysis is the influence of the household in the making of the decision to migrate.

4.2 Demographic characteristics

Literature historically portrayed the typical migrant as a man in his youth, well educated, without commitments and very marketable in the job market (Crush and Fayne, 2007). However, as has been discussed earlier, the general demographics of migrants from Zimbabwe to South Africa are more complex than this “typical migrant” and a larger variety of people are on the move to other countries for different reasons beyond just seeking employment (Bloch, 2008).

It has also been highlighted earlier in this paper that the characteristics of the households from where the migrants come are barely discussed in most literature. Yet, if the new economics of migration theory is anything to go by, the household should have an influence on the migration decision (Stark and Bloom, 1985). This makes it important to understand households that have migrants. As a result, this data analysis will start by looking at the characteristics of the households that were involved in the research and then go on to look at those of the migrants.

4.2.1 Household Demographics

From the seven suburbs included in the sample, 150 households were selected from a composite list. As a result of the sizes of the populations in each area, 76% of the sample of households were from the high density areas, see table 4.2. The biggest household was reported to have 10 members, while the smallest was reported to have 2 members. The households had a higher average number of women than that of men. As was expected, the average number of those over the age of 18 per household was generally higher than that of those under 18 years.

Surprisingly, the average number of people in formal employment (at 1.16 people per household) was slightly smaller as compared to the average of people in informal employment (at 1.27 people per household). This would be surprising because of the poor performance of the formal employment sector in Zimbabwe. However, this is because a number of the people reported to be in formal employment are working in other countries' formal sector. The respondents had to be prompted to include such people so that the actual household income could be captured.

Variables per household	Mean	Min	Max
Household sizes	6.19	2	10
Number of men	2.88	1	6
Number of women	3.27	1	7
Number under 18	1.99	0	5
Number over 18	4.18	2	9
Number formally employed	1.16	0	5
Number informally employed	1.27	0	4
Number in school	1.99	0	5
Number of rooms in house*	6.44	2	10+

**Note that some house sizes exceed ten rooms as indicated by the (+).*

Source: Own calculations from data collected in Gweru.

However, the evidence in Table 4.1, clearly shows that the informal sector, which includes cross-border trade, is being used to boost incomes in households since the country's formal sector has shrunk (Bloch, 2008; Mangizvo and Dzikiti, 2009). For some households in the sample, the informal sector was the main income earner, with 26.7% of the households in the sample relying solely on earnings from informal employment. Another significant factor is

that 78.7% of the households in the sample had at least one member involved in the informal employment sector. Hence it is clear that informal employment has become a key income earner for households in Zimbabwe.

A look at the challenges facing households in Zimbabwe indicates some valid reasons for the need to migrate out of the country. Water shortages are one of the challenges that could be pushing people out of Zimbabwe (Bloch, 2008). According to Table 4.2, up to 87.3% of the sample stated that they only have water supplies “sometimes” and one household stated that they do not have a water source within their household at all. This is not surprising especially because of water shortages caused by rampant pipe bursts and also due to reduced water supplying capacity by the national water utility ZINWA (Mangizvo, 2009). The water shortages are considered to be the main cause of the outbreak of the cholera epidemic that has hit parts of the country since 2008 (Mangizvo and Dzikiti, 2009). Hence some households now take the initiative to treat their water before using it to avoid cholera, and one of the common ways is to use chlorine tablets, most of which are sent home by migrants in other countries (Mangizvo, 2009).

Table 4.2: Households' living conditions (N=150), 2010		
	Frequency	Percentage
Types of Suburbs in the sample		
High	114	76%
Medium	30	20%
Low	6	4%
Availability of running water in house		
Never	1	0.7%
At all times	18	12%
Sometimes	131	87.3%
Type of fuel used for cooking		
Electricity	6	4%
Firewood	2	1.3%
Electricity or firewood*	123	82%
Electricity or Gas*	19	12.7%

Source: Own calculations from data collected in Gweru.

**The two parts with asterisks mean that an option is used when there are power cuts.*

Table 4.2 also reveals that most Zimbabwean households surveyed no longer rely on electricity for cooking as a result of the rampant power outages that have affected the whole country. Up to 82% of the sample stated that they often have to use firewood for cooking as a result of the rampant power cuts. Some respondents confessed that they no longer attempted

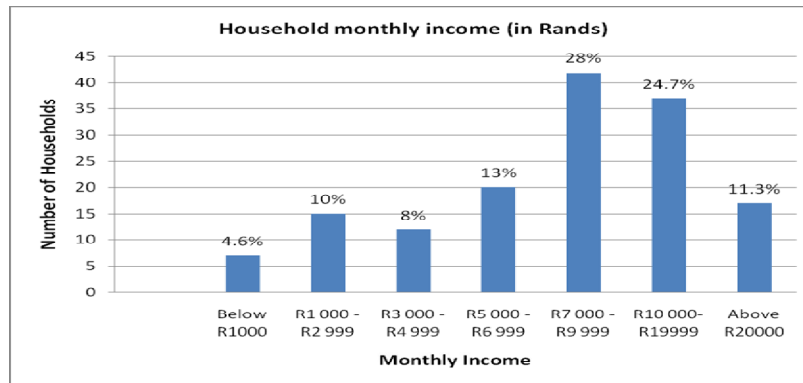
to use their electric stoves to cook meals such as dinner because they know that the power cuts would obviously disturb them. Therefore, these numbers indicate that the supply of electricity is at crisis levels and it makes people's lives difficult especially when firewood proves to be difficult to access, as is the case in most urban centres of Zimbabwe today (Mangizvo and Dzikiti, 2009).

The use of alternative fuels such as liquid propane gas is also on the increase as a result of the rampant power outages (Mangizvo, 2009). A challenge in this front is that the common suppliers of liquid propane gas, namely the service stations, also could not provide the services as a result of the country's economic situation. Hence, new types of stoves especially the Gel stove became common alternatives, notably because the fuel for these stoves is imported by migrants and small business people in the country (Mangizvo, 2009). Thus, migration is proving to be beneficial in all fronts for those households that have migrants.

Household Income

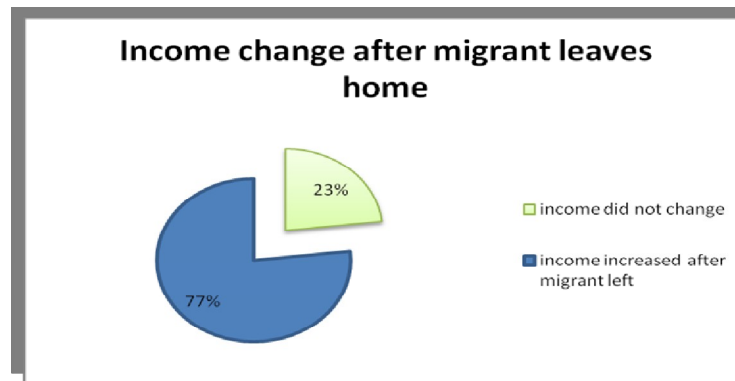
A number of households in the Zimbabwe are faced with enormous financial challenges and opportunities for earning an income within Zimbabwe are very slim under the current political and economic climate (Bloch, 2008; Mangizvo, 2009; Polzer, 2009). Migration has come out as a significant income earner for many households. Though Figure 4.1 suggests that the households in the sample had generally high incomes, figure 4.2 then shows that 77% of these households had their incomes increasing because of migrant remittances. This indicates that not only have remittances come as survival method but some migrants are managing to sustain their households.

The total monthly incomes of the households in the sample, shown in Figure 4.1, indicate that most households have a fair income. This is shown by 36% of the households having a monthly income of over R10 000, with another 28% of the whole sample earn between R7 000 and R10 000, hence 64% of the households have a total income that is above R7 000. However, as was also noted in a study by Bracking and Sachikonye (2006), it is interesting to note that households with higher incomes are not concentrated in the lower density suburbs, but their distributed in all suburbs.

Figure 4.1: Categories of Households' total monthly Incomes (N=150), 2010

The household monthly incomes also suggest that if migrants are the ones sending remittances back home to an extent that they manage to change the family incomes so well, then it is very likely that they intend to return home in future. This is supported by the fact that 92.9% of the migrants in the sample have decided not to cut ties with the household and they were reported to be sending remittances back home. Therefore results of remittance sending are positive for the households even though as Posel (2002) argues, the sending of remittances may be intended, by the migrants, to further personal interests such as investment for the future.

An interesting feature in figure 4.2 was that the 23% of households whose incomes did not change after the migrant left were either high income households or the migrants were students. The fact that some high income households did not show an increase in their incomes after a migrant left concurs with the view that the migrant's purpose for migrating could have been to enrich oneself and not the household (Posel, 2002).

Figure 4.2: Household income change due to migrant remittances (N=117), 2010

In the cases where the migrants were students, it has been noted in most literature that this does not mean the households are rich, but they are trying to cushion themselves for the future when the migrant eventually gets a job (Bloch, 2008; Mangizvo, 2009). This view means that the migrant then has to pay back for the assistance provided by household members and in this study, some household respondents pointed out that they expected the migrant to pay back or that the migrant had promised that they will pay back. These two responses came from 36.8% of the households with migrants in the sample, showing that there is an expectation from a significant number of households that migrants should repay the assistance that they receive from the household.

Ultimately, migrant remittances were evidently the biggest income earner for most households in the sample. Among all households, those that reported no migration at all had significantly lower incomes than other households, and this is shown by all of them earning less than R10 000 a month. On the other hand, 41% of households that had a migrant in any country other than South Africa were earning a monthly income above R10 000, and the same was true for almost 37% of households with migrants in South Africa. Therefore, though some of the households with migrants reported that they do not receive remittances, it is undisputable that remittances have had a huge effect on households' incomes and this is very likely to influence other individuals into migrating.

4.2.2 Demographic characteristics of the migrants.

The characteristics of migrants that were found in this study are very similar to those found in other studies (Crush, Williams and Peberdy 2005; Zinyama, 2000). The findings show that there are various types of people migrating from Zimbabwe to South Africa and their decision to migrate is also influenced by a variety of reasons. In other words, migrants range from people with just primary school education to those with post-graduate degrees. And, though the majority (69.1%) migrated for job-seeking, others went to trade (13.5%), or for schooling (13.5%), or to escape the political violence (1.6%), among other reasons.

The ages of the migrants in the sample ranged from 15 to 59. Almost 78% of them fell between the age groups of 20 and 40, confirming the assertion by Crush and Fayne (2007) that migrants are usually in their youth. On the other hand, migration is becoming more common in both males and females with 56.4% male migrants and 43.7% female migrants respectively, defying the traditional view about a migrant being a male. An analysis of the marital status of migrants surprisingly indicates that the majority of migrants, 66.7%, are married. Only 26.2% had never been married and just above 7% were divorced or widowed. This finding suggests that migration is now determined more by the necessity to fend for the household than for personal gain since the bread-winners are the ones migrating.

The sample indicated that most migrants possess a good set of skills that can allow them to get jobs. Over 90% of the migrants within the sample had at least secondary school education and 6.4% had postgraduate degrees. What was striking is that, 49.2% of the sample were reported to have a tertiary qualification. This supports the idea that households select the most capable individuals to migrate in a quest to generate a more lucrative income abroad (Crush, Williams and Peberdy, 2005).

A significant number of migrants were reported to be employed, 47.6% and another 42% were reported to be 'sometimes employed'. This is a very high rate of employment among the migrants indicating very positive gains for households with migrants. The positive returns to migration are more defined by the fact that 52.6% of the migrants that had initially left with the purpose of 'schooling' were reported to be 'sometimes employed' and an additional 10.5% of them were reported to be 'employed'. Therefore, 63.1% of people who migrate for the purpose of schooling end up finding a job, some of them being employed during their years of schooling.

As a result of the greater employment opportunities, almost all categories of migrants were in a position to remit some earnings back home. Of the 17 migrants that had left home for schooling, 15 were reported to be sending remittances back home. This meant that some of the migrants had finished school and managed to find a job. However, it was also reported that some of these people were still doing their studies but managed to find some part time work and they were sending remittances back home. This draws a very positive picture in the minds of the non-migrants back home about the employment opportunities in South Africa and puts pressure on them to find some way to also migrate.

Of all the professions that migrants seek to get into in South Africa, teaching, domestic work and nursing are the most common with 19.2%, 10.8% and 10% of the migrants being in the three fields respectively. Other professions that were also significantly represented were cooks or waiters (8.3%), technicians (5%), then mechanics and accountants who each took up 3.3% of the sample. As a result of the wide variety of enterprises that migrants take up, most of which were unknown to the respondents, 30% of the migrant jobs were categorised as '*other*'.

When asked to compare a migrant's current job to their former job in Zimbabwe, respondents gave some interesting responses. Only 24% were reported to be doing jobs that are similar to the ones they were doing in Zimbabwe. Another 24.7% were reported to be doing jobs that were better than the ones they did in Zimbabwe. This is significantly higher than the only 6% who were reported to be doing jobs that are worse than the ones they were doing back home. However, the fact that such a number of migrants chose to do lower earning jobs as compared to their former occupations indicates a great need to earn an income among Zimbabwean migrants.

Gender and Migration

Among the 126 households that had members who had migrated, 79.4% stated that the migrants had children. It was interesting to note that almost half of these migrants with children were females. Moreover, among these 46 female migrants, 21 (45.7%) had children below the ages of 5 years that they had to leave behind for some periods of time. For 17.4% of these women who worked as domestic workers, coming home was not very frequent,

probably because they do not get much time off and also they earn very little as was noted in a study by Dinat and Peberdy (2007).

Table 4.3 indicates some issues of concern as a result of migration by mothers. According to the Table, three of the migrants had children aged less than a year. To add to that the responses given stated that two of the mothers visited home only once every month and one visited once every three months. In another case, a migrant mother had left her 3 year old child more than two years prior to the study and did not get a chance to return since then. These few cases indicate some of the difficult situations that households have to bear while the breadwinners try to fend for their families.

Frequency of migrant's visits home	Age of migrant's youngest child				
	Below 1 year	1-4 years	5-9 years	10-14 years	15-19 years
Visits home monthly	2*	8	13	4	0
Visits quarterly	1*	7	1	2	1
Visits half yearly	0	2	2	1	0
Visits once in two years	0	0	1	0	0
Last came more than two years ago	0	1*	0	0	0

**Numbers with an asterisk are the main talking points.*

Source: Own calculations from data collected in Gweru.

When asked about the employment status of migrants in South Africa, most respondents indicated that a sizeable number of the migrants are employed at least 'sometimes' and at most 'all the times'. Of the 126 migrants, 60 were reported to be 'employed' and 54 were reported to be 'sometimes employed'. This means that 90.5% of the migrants in the sample were earning an income sometimes. For the people remaining at home, this is an incentive for migrating considering that unemployment in Zimbabwe is still hovering somewhere around 80% (Vagneswaran, Polzer and Vearey, 2009). Hence, the pressure to migrate cannot be removed from Zimbabweans especially if such crucial issues as unemployment are not resolved, neither can migrants decide to return home seeing that even more people are trying to also leave home.

Marriage is a demographic characteristic that has been reported to have an influence on migration decision making (Dinat and Peberdy, 2007). According to table 4.4, among the migrants reported in this study, 66.7% of them were married. This indicates the greater need among married people to earn an income in an effort to provide for their families. What is more interesting are the gender differences between the married migrants. Among the male migrants, 77.5% were married and among the female migrants 52.7% were married. This agrees with the view that men tend to take up the role of breadwinner, but it also indicates an increasing involvement of married women in migration.

However, the effect of gender differences on migration decisions is clearer when we look at the involvement in migration by those who are in other nuptial categories. Historically, literature argued that women who are not in marriage are more likely to migrate than those within marriages (Dinat and Peberdy, 2007). It has been stated that among all female migrants, married women were the majority comprising 52.7%. Table 4.4 shows that among the 'never married', the fraction of female migrants was slightly more than that of male migrants at 30.9% and 22.5% respectively. Among those migrants who had either divorced or were widowed, there were no male migrants, while 16.4% of the female migrants fell in these categories. Therefore, women who are not in marriage are shown here to be more likely to chose to migrate than their male counterparts.

	Frequency	Percentage
Never married	33	26.2%
Married	84	66.7%
Divorced	2	1.6%
Widowed	7	5.6%
Total	126	100%
Never married	16	22.5%
Married	55	77.5%
Total	71	100%
Never married	17	30.9%
Married	29	52.7%
Divorced	2	3.6%
Widowed	7	12.7%
Total	55	100%

Data source: Own calculations from data collected in Gweru

Table 4.4 brings out an interesting fact that married people in Zimbabwe, including women are more migratory than unmarried people. Among all migrants, there is an increase in the number of migrants from 26.2% among never married people to 66.7% among married people. This increase is shared among both sexes, though it is more pronounced among men who clearly migrate more when they are married possibly because women often take responsibility for the care of the children. As a result, while 77.5% of the male migrants were married, 52.7% of the female migrants were married. Another 16.3% of the female migrants were either widowed or divorced.

4.3 Household influence in migration decision-making

The household is in a good position to influence the decision of a potential migrant to eventually migrate by offering and providing various types of support for migration. Respondents were asked if the household had helped the migrant in any way, and 94.4% agreed that they had helped the migrant to get through the process of migrating in one way or the other. The types of assistance provided to a migrant included financial, information, sourcing accommodation, networking the migrant with people at the destination and providing encouragement.

Table 4.5 shows a breakdown of the types of assistance that 119 households said they had provided to migrants. The other seven households that had migrants but are excluded here, pointed out that they did not help the migrant in any way. The provision of encouragement is by far the most common among the households, with 34.5% stating that they had provided the migrant some encouragement, and another 31.9% had provided migrants encouragement together with other forms of assistance. With a total of 66.4% of households reporting to have encouraged their migrants to leave, this component of psychosocial support stands out as the most common form of assistance provided to a migrant.

As indicated in table 4.5, the second most common assistance provided by households is financial in nature. Up to 10.9% of households provided only financial assistance to the migrants. Another 47.9% again gave financial assistance together with another form of assistance to their migrants. This means that, in total, 58.8% of households provided some financial assistance to the migrant in order to help them to migrate. Though the financial

assistance could have been given after the migrant had decided to move, it is obvious that this provision makes migrating more feasible.

Table 4.5: Assistance provided to migrants by their households, (N=119), 2010

Type of help provided		Frequency	Percent
1	Financial	13	10.9%
2	Information	5	4.2%
3	Accommodation	1	0.8%
4	links with people	2	1.6%
5	Encouragement	41	34.4%
6	Financial and information	19	15.9%
7	Financial, information, accommodation & encouragement	16	13.5%
8	Financial, information, links & encouragement	6	5%
9	Financial, information & encouragement	9	7.6%
10	Financial, information, accommodation, links & encouragement	7	5.9%
Total		119	100%

Source: Own calculations from data collected in Gweru.

Providing a migrant with information about the destination is also important because it reduces potential Challenges in accessing desired resources (Zinyama, 2000). Migrants get this kind of help from the household members back home when they leave, as well as from other household members in the destination country, during their stay. Among the households providing assistance to migrants 4.6% stated that they only provided information. Another 47.9% stated that they provided information together with other forms of assistance. Thus households try to assists migrants by providing them with information to make their movement smoother.

Since households are mainly based in the country of origin, they are less likely to ensure that the migrant gets essential networks with people and also accesses accommodation at the destination. However, where households were in a position to do this, they did provide this assistance. From all households providing assistance to migrants, 12.6% and 20.2% reported that they provided links and accommodation respectively to the migrant at the destination. These figures are supported by the fact that 46.03% out of 126 households had provided links to friends, relatives and even job providers. Therefore, such households have a big influence on the decision to migrate, as well as the destination of the migrant.

Remittance benefits for households

Zimbabwean households evidently have a lot to gain from sending some skilled members to other countries in search of jobs that would bring the households much needed incomes (Bloch, 2008; Bracking and Sachikonye, 2006). This study also found that remittances from migrants are an important source of income for many households in all suburbs in the city of Gweru as is shown in Table 4.6 From the 117 households that reported they were receiving remittances, 26.5% stated that this income makes up over 75% of the total household income. Hence, this indicates that households are heavily reliant on remittances.

Table 4.6: Contribution of remittances to Household income (N=117), 2010		
Percentage remittance contribution	Frequency	Percentage
Below 20	26	22.2
20 to 25	11	9.4
26 to 50	27	23.1
50 to 75	22	18.8
75 to 100	31	26.5
Total	117	100

Source: Own calculations from data collected in Gweru

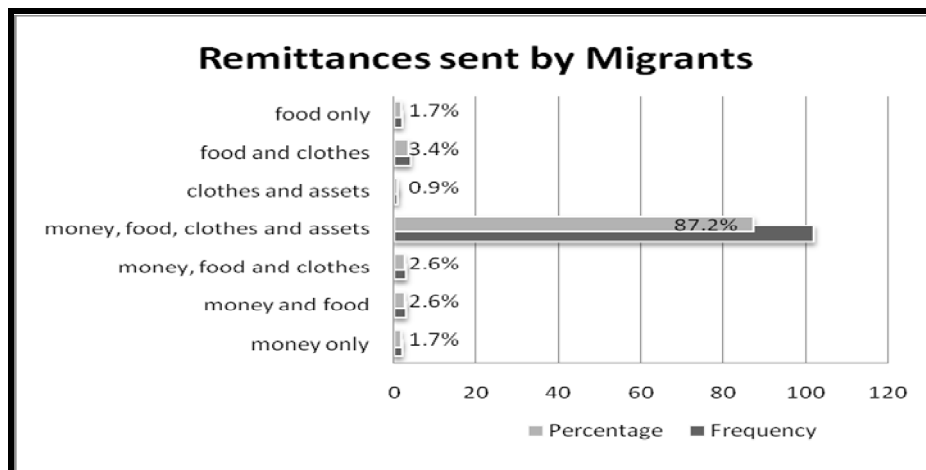
To add on to the heavy reliance on remittances indicated in Table 4.6, the study provides evidence that most of households' purchases for their various needs are done by migrants outside Zimbabwe. This has been a common occurrence since the near collapse of the country's economy made prices for all commodities unreasonably high and also most necessary commodities became scarce. Hence, as is shown in Figure 4.3, remittances from migrants come in all forms, with 87.2% of households with migrants stating that the remittances sent by migrants include money, food, clothes and assets.

A very significant proportion (94.1%) of the households with migrants indicated that money was usually part of the package of remittances that they received. This is not very surprising because the need for an income is one of the main reasons why households in developing countries urge their members to migrate (Stark, 2007). Though all suburbs had some households with migrants that either sent very little or did not send at all, it was interesting to note that the wealthier households seemed to have the most number of non-remitting

migrants. This probably implied that these households were not really in need of a supplementary income, and even the purpose of migration by the migrants was largely for the migrant's personal benefit.

To illustrate the above, 38.5% of the migrants from wealthy households did not send any remittances back home. This agrees with the other findings that migrants from wealthier suburbs aimed at getting access to better education, retirement locations, tourism and fear of political violence which made up 3.8% of migration purposes. However, it has to be noted that another 30.8% of these households in richer suburbs received more than 75% of their income from migrants, suggesting that the migrant would have moved the households to its current place of residence. This is a trend in present day Gweru and more about it will be discussed in the conclusion.

Figure 4.3: Types of Remittances sent to Households by Migrants (N=117), 2010



Source: Own calculations from data collected in Gweru.

4.4 Utilization of household networks by migrants

Households have been reported in other literature to network migrants with people living in the destination country (Zinyama, 2000). This study found that 46% of the households in the sample provided their migrants with helpful networks at the destination. According to Table 4.7, the most common type of links provided to a migrant by the household are links to relatives who stay in the destination country, comprising of 26.9% networks to family friends are less prominent with about 14.2% reporting to have provided these. The least prominent type of links provided are links to job providers which were reported by only 4.7% of the households in the sample.

Links provided	Migrant reported employment status				
	Unemployed	Employed	Sometimes	Don't know	Total
No Networks provide	6	30	32	0	68 (53.9%)
Friends	0	11	5	2	18 (14.2%)
Relatives	2	16	14	2	34 (26.9%)
Job providers	0	3	3	0	6 (4.7%)
Total (Percentage)	8 (6.4%)	60 (47.6%)	54 (42.9%)	4 (3.2%)	126 (100%)

Source: Own calculations from data collected in Gweru.

Though the provision of links is not very prevalent, it can be seen that Zimbabwean households have developed useful connections in South Africa. With 4.7% of households stating that they provided the migrants with links to job providers, this shows a rise in household networks into essential sectors in the destination country. Those migrants that are reported to have been provided links to job providers, are either “employed” or they are “sometimes employed”. Hence, this proves the provision of links to job providers by households to be effective in securing jobs for the migrants.

Among all migrants that were provided with some form of links by their households, only two were reported to be unemployed. Hence it would seem that the household links that the migrants are furnished with, prove to be useful. However, it has to be noted that a large number of migrants were not provided any links, up to 53.9%, and from this group, only six of them were reported to be unemployed.

Household member migrated to South Africa?	Household member migrated to any other country?		
	No	Yes	Total
No	5*	19	24
Yes	38	88	126
Total	43	107	150

*The 5 households with an asterisk make up 2% of the sample
Data Source: Own Calculations from data collected in Gweru

The provision of links by the household also influences a migrant's feelings of altruism and increases their likelihood to send remittances back home. This is because a migrant would have to leave for an area where other household members or friends take care of them and they end up feeling that they owe the household. Evidence from this research shows that among the 46% of migrants that were provided links, all those that were employed and have been provided links at the destination by their households were sending remittances back home. On the other hand, 6.5% of the migrants that did not get links from their households were not sending remittances back home. Therefore, this comparison shows that the provision of links makes migrants to feel indebted to their households and influences them into sending remittances.

4.5 Conclusion

The data analysis has revealed a number of interesting issues about the sample, all of which will be discussed in the findings. It sought to bring out the main issues in the study especially the issues that indicate household influence on migrants' decisions. A basic description of the sample was carried out using the data in order to identify the characteristics of the households as well as those of the migrants in the sample. Some of these characteristics are also similar to those identified by other studies on migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa.

Evidence from this study shows that a huge majority of households in Gweru have at least one member, or close relative who has migrated to another country. Though this study was not suited for describing this precisely, Table 4.8 above shows that only 2% (the 5 households shown by the asterisk) of all the households indicated that no one has ever migrated to another country. This very interesting evidence hints that the magnitude of out-migration from Gweru today is very high. As a result, migration has become a very important part of people's lives providing income, clothing, assets and other necessities.

In the sample, 126 households, making up 84% of the sample stated that they have at least one member who has migrated to South Africa. This figure was unexpectedly higher than those who have migrated to any other country other than South Africa, where only 106 households or 71.1% were included. These figures do not only show that there is a great degree of outmigration happening from Zimbabwe, but also the fact that South Africa is

receiving very large numbers of the migrants. However, because of the small size of this survey, it is obviously incorrect, to try and project the nationwide migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa basing on these figures.

In Gweru suburbs, responses to the questionnaire make it difficult to distinguish between suburbs because some households in the high density areas have bigger houses and some earn higher incomes than those living in low density areas. Some of this may be a result of benefits that households derive from migration whereby a migrant's remittances boost the household income significantly (Bracking and Sachikonye, 2006). This scenario was evident in the sample with 2.63% of households staying in high density areas reporting earnings above R20 000, and 5.26% of them living in houses with nine rooms. These characteristics were way above the total sample's averages and they surpass the standards for a significant number of households in medium and low density suburbs in the sample.

This data analysis has identified some issues that are consistent with findings from other studies, but it has also brought out some surprises of its own. The evidence presented in the tables and graphs will be used in the next chapter to draw conclusions on the sample and to shed light on the relations between various variables. Therefore, this data analysis has laid a platform on which the following discussion is going to be based.

Chapter 5: Findings and Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

Though a few specifications can be made about the nature of Zimbabwean migrants that leave for South Africa, data from this study does not clearly identify typical migrant characteristics. This is largely because the socio-economic and political situation in Zimbabwe has forced a wide variety of people to migrate for one reason or the other (Bloch, 2008). It seems as if the natural thing to do now for most households with migrants is to rely on remittance income and consider locally earned income a bonus. Hence it seems as if a better description can be found for a typical non-migrant household than for the opposite since it is now far less common to find a household without a migrant of some sort in Zimbabwe.

This study found that up to 84% of the households surveyed reported that they had a migrant living in South Africa, while only 71.3% of the same set of households had migrants living in other countries. Thus it is evident here as well as in other literature that South Africa is receiving most of the migrants that come from Zimbabwe, though exact figures are not known (Bracking and Sachikonye, 2006; Crush et al., 2009; Polzer, 2009). This is also supported by the fact that most households have been reported in other studies to favour migration to South Africa more than to other countries (Zinyama, 2000). Hence, migration to South Africa has become very common and this makes it difficult to pick out unique characteristics among the migrants.

Therefore, the findings here can be used to pave way for more detailed studies on Zimbabwean households and migration. Though this is possible, it would not be wise to generalize these findings to the greater populace of the city of Gweru, let alone the whole of Zimbabwe, because the sample used here is very small. This chapter will present the findings by responding to the objectives that the study set out to achieve, describing migrant households and the migrants, elaborating on the nature of the inter-dependency between them.

The study set out to address the following overall objective; To establish the characteristics of Zimbabwean households, as well as their members and how these influence the decision of

individual household members to migrate to South Africa. Since the specific objectives of the study were developed from this overall objective, this discussion is going to focus on them (specific objectives), so that the aim can be covered in detail. Thus, the following sections will be organized in the same sequence as the specific objectives in the first chapter.

5.2 Not the ideal migrants portrayed in literature

The views found in most African migration literature are that migrants are usually the single and educated males and females (De Jong, 2000). This view portrays youthful people who are well educated as being the migrants while older and married people do not intend to migrate, probably because they have a role to care for the family. Younger females are also viewed as being more reliable migrants more likely to send remittances back home unlike their male counterparts (De Jong, 2000). However, the findings in this study do not bring out Zimbabwean migrants to South Africa in this way.

The findings indicate that large numbers of married people are involved in migration from the city of Gweru to South Africa. Up to 66.7% of the migrants reported in this study are married, which is unlike the views in most literature where married people are portrayed to be less migratory. This is obviously a result of Zimbabwe's very bad socio-economic and political situation that is forcing households to search for alternative sources of income. These findings echo the views of Zinyama (2000) who states that increasing numbers of married people are opting to migrate from Zimbabwe into South Africa, often after being encouraged by the household.

The importance of an income for the household is also indicated by the desperate migratory behaviour by Zimbabwean mothers. One woman with a child that was under 5 years of age had not visited home for over two years, but she was still frequently sending remittances back home. This suggests that the job she was doing did not give her enough time to be able to visit home, in spite of the fact that she had not seen her child for such a long time. Dinat and Peberdy (2008) found that most women who work as domestic workers in Johannesburg do not get much time off and they earn too little to frequently make the trip home so they prefer to only send remittances. Hence, such is the importance of earning an income for the household.

For the children who are left by their mothers in the care of grandparents or other household members (who may sometimes be children themselves), growing up is likely to be a difficult task. Many of them take up small jobs in order to add on to the household income, and these jobs may reduce their time in school. In one of the city's high density suburbs where a university campus is located, such children capitalize on the arrival days of university students and offer a service of ferrying luggage using wheelbarrows even during school hours. Therefore, it is apparent that these children skip school in order to wait for customers at the bus stops.

The study also indicated that 16.3% of the female migrants were either widowed or divorced but none of the male migrants were categorised as such. This highlights an interesting view by Gregson, Zaba and Hunter (2002) that Zimbabwean females who lose their husbands usually find it difficult to remarry because of the stereotype that women who get out of marriages may be infected with HIV. This stereotype is not shared by divorced and widowed men who usually find it easier to remarry. Therefore, because most of the women would be dependent on their husbands' incomes, some of them are then forced to migrate in search of jobs or trade opportunities when they lose their husbands.

Therefore, studies on migration in Africa do not always clearly reflect the situation that Zimbabweans face. As a result of the harsh economic environment and the very high unemployment rates in the country, households often have to make the difficult decision of sending someone or some people to search for work in another country. The household head is often the most realistic option because of more work experience which makes them more competent in the job market. Some migrants are fortunate enough to take their families with them, and in this study 21.4% of the married migrants were reported to be living together with their spouses in South Africa.

5.3 The migrant households

The characteristics of Zimbabwean households that have migrants coming from them to South Africa are not clearly distinct. This is because all households in the country are faced with difficult circumstances within the country that force them to seek earning an income from other countries. As a result, this study found that Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa come from different backgrounds. However, some differences are found in the reasons for

their migration with wealthier households sending migrants for schooling and leisure while poorer households do so in search of an income.

As has been mentioned earlier, it is easier to describe households that do not have migrants because in Zimbabwe, there are fewer of them than those that have migrants. This is especially true in this study where 84% of the households in the sample had migrants. Of the households without migrants residing in South Africa, only 12.5% had incomes below R5000.00 per month. This shows that most of those non-migrant households have relatively good sources of income either locally or from migrants in other countries other than South Africa.

Those households with migrants who leave for South Africa with the intention to get an education vary widely. Though 82.4% of households sending migrants for the purposes of education were earning more than R7000.00 per month, the other 17.6% came from households earning less. This indicates that households with little income are putting most of their earnings for the purpose of getting good education for their children, maybe with the hope for getting returns.

It is interesting however that the poorer households that sent family members to South Africa for schooling tended to state that they did not require repayment of costs from the migrants while the opposite was true for wealthier households. A total of 70.6% of the households with migrants that left for schooling either stated that the migrants promised to reimburse the costs incurred by the household or they expected the migrant to refund them. All of these households earned over R7000.00 per month. On the other hand, among the 29.4% of the households that did not require any such repayment, only one of them earned above R7000.00 per month. Therefore this is contrary to what one would expect that poorer households would seek to get financial returns from educating their children.

Among those households that had migrants leaving for the purpose of seeking work, 62.1% stated that their incomes were above R7000.00. This high income is significant because 87.4% of the households whose migrants left in search for work stated that their incomes increased after the departure of the migrant. Hence, households tend to benefit financially from labour migration by their members, and this would inevitably influence the perpetuation of the movement of prospective workers from Zimbabwe into South Africa.

5.3.1 Migrant Households and New Economics of Migration Theory

Interestingly, this situation of Zimbabwean households is in line with the views of Stark and Levhari (1982) in the new economics of migration theory. The central argument of the theory suggests that when there are market failures, and increased risks for a household such as drought and poor incomes then households send one member to another location to earn an income as a means of risk reduction (Massey et al., 1993). This is in line with the situation faced by households in Zimbabwe where economic crisis has caused distress and has increased risks of starvation for many households.

The fact that 46% of the households in this survey were able to provide links at the destination to the migrant also concurs with the theory. This is one way by which the household makes sure that the migrant will feel more obliged to send remittances back home, though this can hardly be regarded as a contract. The migrants also have the responsibility of providing the same help that they were given when they first migrated to other household members who migrate in future. Thus, the findings agree with the theory again in this aspect.

Remittance sending is another key aspect of the theory, and the migrant sends them as a means of repaying the family's assistance. There is a strong suggestion of this in the findings of this study as 92.9% of the sample reported that they were sending some form of remittances back to their households. As a result, whether the migrant does it either to fulfil a contract or to further their own needs or because they feel pity for the household, it is clear that the households have effectively reduced their risks in Zimbabwe's economic woes.

It is also unquestionable that many households in Zimbabwe are faced by many risks including hunger, disease, and even death (Bloch, 2008). The government hospitals and clinics are usually ill-stocked with medical supplies and only the expensive private hospitals are reliable (Ibid, 2008). The cholera epidemic continues to infect people because of dilapidating water and sewerage reticulation systems (Mangizvo and Dzikiti, 2009). The agriculture sector, crippled by a never ending and chaotic land reform exercise fails to feed any significant proportion of the country (Mangizvo, 2009). Hence, households seek medical attention, water purification supplies and food from the neighbouring countries especially South Africa.

As a result, the migration from Zimbabwe is unique in that it has no clear selection of households that participate in it, its occurrence agrees with the new economics of migration theory that households seek to reduce risks. With this in mind, it is clear that in a time of crisis such as in Zimbabwe, all classes of society will seek to participate in migration as a response. As a result the migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa can more clearly be understood as survival migration.

5.4 The migration decision

The decision to migrate was investigated indirectly in this study. This was done through the use of questions that sought to find out the migrant's demographic characteristics especially age, sex and education attainment. However, a more direct question on the purpose of migration was asked in order to clearly inform the motivation for migration. The choice of the destination is sometimes also informed by other household members, which often determines the timing of migration. Therefore, the decision to migrate is made after a number of variables about the migrant are considered, and the household may inform the decision by providing links at the destination.

Migrants have always been considered to be youthful people, and their ages in this study reflect this. About 78% of the migrants in this study were aged between 20 and 49 years, indicating that they are mostly the working categories that are leaving the country. Though the young and the old also tag along in some instances, this is not widespread, suggesting that the migration is not intended to be permanent. Mostly the working class take part in the migration, an indication that the migration intention is to seek employment or other money making ventures.

The selection of a migrant seems to be largely in favour of heads of households. The majority of individuals that were selected to be migrants were heads of households. According to Table 4.4, 77.5% of the males and 52.7% of the females in the study were married. This is in agreement with the views of McDonald et al. (2000) that most household heads in Zimbabwe select themselves to migrate, probably because they feel obliged to provide for the family. Therefore, since they have the last say in household decisions, household heads tend to select themselves to migrate.

Among unmarried youths, females were found to be more likely to be selected by the household to migrate than males. According to Table 4.4, 30.9% of the female migrants and 22.5% of the male migrants were reported as “never married”. This suggests a shift from migration historically being dominated by unmarried men, when the girls’ place was at home. It also agrees with the findings by Gubhaju and De Jong (2005) that households in Thailand trust never married females in remittance sending and they encourage them to migrate more than males. Therefore, it seems as if females are no longer confined to the domestic arena and they are active participants in seeking incomes for Zimbabwean households.

However, it seems as if the migration decision is sometimes a desperate one because people in unsuitable situations, such as women who leave infant children behind, also tend to migrate. Women with children under one year of age take part in migration with two of them coming home once a month, and a third visiting home only once every three months. This suggests that the circumstances for their families would be very difficult, and they have little choice but to take part in migration, leaving behind their highly dependent babies.

The migrants identified through this study had high educational qualifications. With the exception of one migrant, the rest were reported to have at least secondary school education. Also, 27.8% of the migrants had at least a University Degree and at most a post graduate qualification. This indicates high levels of education among the migrants, which suggests that they were expected to be more likely to secure jobs in South Africa as compared to less educated individuals in the household.

5.4.1 Utilizing Migrant Networks

A sizeable number of the migrants received some initial assistance from people at the destination to whom they were referred by their households. Up to 46% of the migrants had assistance from some form of household links at the destination. Though the person that a migrant is referred to may not always be very helpful, the assistance that they give makes it possible for the migrant to settle down. Among the people to whom migrants were referred, about 29%, were relatives to the migrant. They would provide shelter, food and advice among other things until the migrant gets a job or another opportunity.

As a result of these social networks, most migrants may end up living and working in areas where a number of their relatives are present. This is an advantage for the household because when their migrants are closer to each other, they would be in a better position to send assistance back home. This is because whenever one person plans to visit home, then all other migrants can send remittances through that person.

Coherently, sending remittances through relatives was one of the most common means of remitting found in this study with about 24% of the migrants using this method suggesting that such people will be living close to each other. This also influences future migration decisions, sometimes making more and more household members to move. This is because, according Massey et al. (1993), the costs of migrating would have been lowered by the presence of relatives at the destination.

As a result most migration decisions are influenced by the household. The migrant's destination, and sometimes the type of job that a migrant takes up are dependent on where the household's social networks are located. This is especially so if the migrant is female because households tend to be more protective towards them, and they are also easier to control for the household hence making it easier to tell them where to go than it is to tell male migrants where to go.

5.5 Altruistic and Contractual remittance sending

The remittance behaviour of the migrants is important in understanding how the decision to migrate was made. Some households may feel that a migrant has an obligation to send remittances back home, suggesting that the household played a role in the migration process and the migrant owes them. However, this may also be because the household expects the migrant to feel altruistic towards them. Questions were asked to differentiate between the two feelings by the household.

Some of the households in the survey indicated a desire to have the migrant repaying them for the financial assistance that they provided. Up to 36.5% of the households stated that they desired the migrant to refund them, either because they expect it, or because the migrant promised to do so. The 15% of these households who stated that they expected repayment, seemed to be sure of their position as deserving recipients of remittances from the migrants. This suggests that some form of agreement was reached with the migrant assuring the

household of remittance sending. This is therefore a strong suggestion of a contractual agreement.

On the other hand, the 21.4% of households that state that the migrant promised to send remittances, still suggest a contractual agreement though it is weaker. The household may feel that the migrant owes them, but they accept that they do not have much power to influence such a decision and they depend on the migrant's love for them. This therefore suggests that the household does not only appeal to a contractual agreement, but also they hope for the migrant to feel altruistic towards them.

The larger group of households, about 65%, stated that there was no need for the migrant to repay them for their help. The interesting thing was that, the majority (95%) of the households in this group still received remittances from the migrant. This is a significant sign of altruistic remittance sending by the migrants from these households since the household members do not expect them to be sending anything. Therefore, the majority of remittance sending by migrants seems to be done out of love by the migrants, and with the knowledge that their households need the assistance.

Thus, though remittance sending is widespread, most of it seems to be done because of feelings of altruism by the migrants towards their households. Because the migrants understand the difficult circumstances under which their households are living back home, they tend to send remittances to assist them. However, some households expect remittances to be sent to them indicating the presence of some form of agreement between the migrant and the household.

5.6 Conclusion

This study suggests a large number of migrants from Zimbabwean households to other countries, with a significant number of migrants heading for South Africa. Considering the assistance that the migrants receive from their households, and the remittances that they send back to the same there is a strong suggestion that households have a big influence on the migration decision. While migration has obviously become the main source of income for many households, most of the remittances are sent by the migrants as a result of altruistic motivations.

The decision to migrate from Zimbabwe into South Africa is clearly made for the benefit of the household by most migrants. This is supported by the fact that most of the migrants are household heads, with their children and families remaining behind. Also, though some migrants fail to visit home themselves, they continue to send remittances to their households suggesting that their stay in the Diaspora is intended to improve the situation of their households. Therefore the migration decision largely seems to be for the benefit of the household.

The participation of the household in the migration act itself makes the process of migration feasible a lot of the times. Households provide migrants with people that can assist them at their destination, and in a few cases these people may be job providers. This makes the migrant's task easier, as well as enabling the migrant to quickly get employment. As a result of this, migrants tend to feel indebted to the household which in turn influences them into sending remittances.

Ultimately, it is apparent that the continued migration of Zimbabweans into South Africa is a result of the attractiveness of the option over all others. South Africa has the biggest economy in the region, hence it provides a lot more opportunities to migrants as compared to other destination countries. However, because a number of people have been migrating to that country since the early 20th Century, there are more social networks in that country for Zimbabweans, hence they tend to favour it as a destination.

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Appendix 1: Research Questionnaire

A. RESPONDENT AND HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS	
INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS	
A1. Respondent Name and SEX _____	
A2. Respondent's Age _____	
A3. Position in the Household _____	
HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS	
A4. Number of people in the household	[] []
A5. Number of people under 18 years of age	[] []
A6. Number of men in the household	[] []
A7. Number of women in the household	[] []
A8. Number in School	[] []
A9. Number in formal employment	[] []
A10. Number in informal employment	[] []
A11. Number over the age of 18	[] []

B. HOUSING	
B1. Do you own this House?	a) YES (1)..... [] b) NO (0)..... [] c) STILL PAYING FOR IT (2)..... [] d) RENTING (3)..... []
B2. How many rooms does this house have?	2 [] 3..... [] 4..... [] 5..... [] 6..... [] 7..... [] 8..... [] 9..... [] Over 9 rooms..... []
B3. Does this house have a functional toilet inside it?	YES(1) [] NO(0) []
B4. What type of toilet is it?	Flush (1)..... [] Pit (2)..... [] Bucket (3) [] Composting (4)..... []
B5. Do you have running water inside this house?	Yes at all times (1) [] Never (0) [] Sometimes (2) []
B6. Do you have electricity in this house?	Yes (1) [] No (0)..... []
B7. What type of fuel do you use for cooking?	Electricity (1) [] Firewood (2)..... [] Charcoal (3)..... [] Biogas (4)..... [] Liquid Propane Gas (5)..... []
B8. Do you own a bicycle in this household?	YES (1) [] NO (0) [] MORE THAN ONE (2)..... []

B9. As a household, do you own a motorcycle?	YES (1)..... <input type="checkbox"/>
	NO (0)..... <input type="checkbox"/>
	MORE THAN ONE (2)..... <input type="checkbox"/>
B10. As a household, do you own a vehicle?	YES (1)..... <input type="checkbox"/>
	NO (0)..... <input type="checkbox"/>
	MORE THAN ONE (2)..... <input type="checkbox"/>

C. THE MIGRANT	
C1. Is there anyone from this household who has ever migrated to South Africa?	YES (1) <input type="checkbox"/> NO (0) <input type="checkbox"/>
<i>(If NO, ask C2 and go to E7 and E8)</i>	
C2. Is there anyone from this household who has ever migrated to any country other than South Africa?	YES (1)..... <input type="checkbox"/> NO (0) <input type="checkbox"/>
	IF YES, WHERE?
C3. What is the sex of the migrant?	Male(1) <input type="checkbox"/> Female(2) <input type="checkbox"/>
C4. What is the migrant's marital status?	Never married (1)..... <input type="checkbox"/> Married (2)..... <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced (3) <input type="checkbox"/> Widowed (4) <input type="checkbox"/>
C5. If married, where is the migrant's spouse?	HERE AT HOME (1)..... <input type="checkbox"/> THEY ARE THERE TOGETHER (2)..... <input type="checkbox"/> THEY LIVE APART IN DIASPORA (3)..... <input type="checkbox"/>
C6. How old is the migrant?	AGE <input type="checkbox"/>
C7. What are the educational qualifications of the migrant?	No education (1)..... <input type="checkbox"/> Primary School (2)..... <input type="checkbox"/> Secondary school (3)..... <input type="checkbox"/> High School (4)..... <input type="checkbox"/> Certificate (5)..... <input type="checkbox"/> Diploma (6)..... <input type="checkbox"/> Under graduate degree (7)..... <input type="checkbox"/> Graduate Degree (8)..... <input type="checkbox"/>
C8. What was the purpose for the migration?	Schooling (1)..... <input type="checkbox"/> Job seeking(2)..... <input type="checkbox"/> Cross border trade(3)..... <input type="checkbox"/> Business(4)..... <input type="checkbox"/> Following a spouse (5)..... <input type="checkbox"/> Going to stay with relatives (6)..... <input type="checkbox"/> Fear of violence (7)..... <input type="checkbox"/> Visiting (8)..... <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) (9)..... <input type="checkbox"/>
C9. Is the migrant working?	YES (1)..... <input type="checkbox"/> NO (0)..... <input type="checkbox"/> SOMETIMES (2)..... <input type="checkbox"/> DON'T KNOW (3) <input type="checkbox"/>
C10. What job was/ is the migrant doing in South Africa?	CRAFTS MAN (1)..... <input type="checkbox"/> CLERICAL (2)..... <input type="checkbox"/> TEACHER (3)..... <input type="checkbox"/> HEALTH PROFESSIONALS (4)..... <input type="checkbox"/> ENGINEER (5)..... <input type="checkbox"/> CONSTRUCTION WORKER (6)..... <input type="checkbox"/> LECTURER (7)..... <input type="checkbox"/> MECHANIC (8)..... <input type="checkbox"/> TECHNICIAN (9)..... <input type="checkbox"/> COOK (10)..... <input type="checkbox"/> ACCOUNTANT (11)..... <input type="checkbox"/> WAITER (12)..... <input type="checkbox"/> SURVEYOR (13)..... <input type="checkbox"/>

	OTHER (SPECIFY) (14) <input type="checkbox"/>
C11. Was this the same job that the migrant was doing before leaving for South Africa?	YES (1) <input type="checkbox"/> PREVIOUS ONE WAS BETTER(2)..... <input type="checkbox"/> PREVIOUS ONE WAS WORSE(3) <input type="checkbox"/> THEY NEVER WORKED BEFORE(4) <input type="checkbox"/> HAD BEEN UNEMPLOYED FOR LONG(5) <input type="checkbox"/>
C12. Does the migrant have children?	YES (1)..... <input type="checkbox"/> NO (2)..... <input type="checkbox"/>
C13. If they do, how old is the migrant's youngest child?	BELOW 1 YEAR (1)..... <input type="checkbox"/> 1 – 4 YEARS (2)..... <input type="checkbox"/> 5 – 9 YEARS (3)..... <input type="checkbox"/> 10 – 15 YEARS (4)..... <input type="checkbox"/> 15 – 19 YEARS (5)..... <input type="checkbox"/> 20 YEARS AND ABOVE (6)..... <input type="checkbox"/>
C14. Does the migrant ever come back home?	YES (1)..... <input type="checkbox"/> NO (0)..... <input type="checkbox"/>
C15. When did the migrant first leave for South Africa?	LESS THAN 6 MONTHS AGO (1) <input type="checkbox"/> 6 – 12 MONTHS AGO (2)..... <input type="checkbox"/> 1 – 2 YEARS AGO (3)..... <input type="checkbox"/> 2 – 5 YEARS AGO (4)..... <input type="checkbox"/> OVER 5 YEARS AGO (5)..... <input type="checkbox"/>
C16. How often does the migrant come back home?	Monthly (1) <input type="checkbox"/> Quarterly (2) <input type="checkbox"/> Half Yearly (3) <input type="checkbox"/> Annually (4) <input type="checkbox"/> Once in two years (5) <input type="checkbox"/> Lasts came more than two years ago (6) <input type="checkbox"/>
C17. Does the migrant send remittances back home?	YES(1) <input type="checkbox"/> NO(0)..... <input type="checkbox"/>
C18. How often does the migrant send remittances?	Monthly (1)..... <input type="checkbox"/> Quarterly (2) <input type="checkbox"/> Half yearly (3)..... <input type="checkbox"/> Yearly (4)..... <input type="checkbox"/> When we request (5)..... <input type="checkbox"/> Once in a long while (6)..... <input type="checkbox"/>
C19. How are the remittances sent back to this household?	Bank Transfer (1) <input type="checkbox"/> Malaicha / Messenger (2)..... <input type="checkbox"/> Through relatives (3)..... <input type="checkbox"/> Bus drivers and conductors (4) <input type="checkbox"/> Migrant brings them (5)..... <input type="checkbox"/> Other (6) <input type="checkbox"/>
C20. What type of remittances does the migrant send?	Money only (1)..... <input type="checkbox"/> Money and food (2)..... <input type="checkbox"/> Money, food and clothes(3)..... <input type="checkbox"/> Money, food, clothes and assets(4)..... <input type="checkbox"/> Other (5)..... <input type="checkbox"/>
C21. Relative to this household's income, how big are the remittances sent?	Below 20% (1)..... <input type="checkbox"/> 20% – 25% (2)..... <input type="checkbox"/> 26% - 50% (3)..... <input type="checkbox"/> 50% - 75% (4)..... <input type="checkbox"/> 75% - 100% (5)..... <input type="checkbox"/>

D. HOUSEHOLD CONTRIBUTION TO MIGRATION

D1. Did any member of the family help in the migration process?	YES (1)..... <input type="checkbox"/> NO (0)..... <input type="checkbox"/>
D2. What help was given to the migrant?	Financial (1) <input type="checkbox"/> Information (2) <input type="checkbox"/> Accommodation (3) <input type="checkbox"/> Links with people (4) <input type="checkbox"/> Encouragement (5) <input type="checkbox"/>
D3. If financial help was given, how much would you say the migrant was given up to now?	Below 1000 rand (1)..... <input type="checkbox"/> 1000 – 3000 rand (2)..... <input type="checkbox"/> 5000 – 10000 rand (3)..... <input type="checkbox"/> Above 10000 rand (4)..... <input type="checkbox"/>

D4. If information was given, what kind of information was given?	General (1) <input type="checkbox"/> Directions to get where one is going (2).... <input type="checkbox"/> How to get what one is looking for (3)..... <input type="checkbox"/> Encouragements (4) <input type="checkbox"/> Other (5) <input type="checkbox"/>
D5. If useful links were provided, what kind were they?	Links to friends (1) <input type="checkbox"/> Links to relatives (2)..... <input type="checkbox"/> Links to job providers (3)..... <input type="checkbox"/>
D6. Is the migrant obliged to pay back or they pay back at their own discretion?	YES (1)..... <input type="checkbox"/> NO (0)..... <input type="checkbox"/> HE/ SHE SAID THEY WILL PAY (3) <input type="checkbox"/>
D7. How much would you say you earn as a household per month in US dollars? (besides the remittances from migrants) <i>(For both migrant and non-migrant households)</i>	Below 100 (1) <input type="checkbox"/> 100 – 300 (2) <input type="checkbox"/> 301 – 500 (3) <input type="checkbox"/> 501 – 700 (4) <input type="checkbox"/> 701 – 1000 (5) <input type="checkbox"/> 1001- 2000 (6) <input type="checkbox"/> 2001 upwards (7) <input type="checkbox"/>
D8. Did this household earn the same amount before the migrant left? <i>(For both migrant and non-migrant households)</i>	YES (1) <input type="checkbox"/> NO (0) <input type="checkbox"/> IT WAS LESS (2) <input type="checkbox"/> IT WAS MORE (3) <input type="checkbox"/>

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