

**DYNAMICS OF THE MIGRANT LABOUR SYSTEM
AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT
IN MAPHOLANENG CATCHMENT
EASTERN LESOTHO.**

By

TIISETSO EDWIN PAE

Submitted in fulfilment of the academic requirements
for the degree of Masters of Social Science in the School of
Applied Environmental Sciences: Discipline of Geography.

MARCH, 2001


UNIVERSITY OF NATAL, PIETERMARITZBURG

PREFACE

This study is entirely dedicated to three people. My late grandfather, Jeremiah Moeketsi and his second son, my fatherly uncle, Justice Ramahloko, directed my boyhood days and attention away from traditional schooling into modern education and scientific learning. This work is an advancement of their upbringing and interest in education. The third person is my wife, 'Maletebele, who shouldered all family responsibilities and hardships including our son's illness during the three years of my research and thus facilitated my completion of the study for the MSoc.Sc. Degree.

DECLARATION

Unless otherwise specified to the contrary, the author hereby declares that this study is his original work. It has not been previously submitted in any form for any degree or diploma in any institution of higher degrees globally. Any supporting information from other relevant sources has been correctly acknowledged throughout the text.

Signed  -----

University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg

March, 2001

-oo0oo

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The present study would not have been completed without the help and support of the following people, to whom I am wholeheartedly grateful and highly indebted.

- ☐ My sponsor, the Lesotho Government, provided the necessary financial support for the research.
- ☐ I am very thankful and appreciative of the untiring assistance given throughout the study by my supervisor, Professor D G B Slade, and for his social kindness and understanding, patience, constructive critical comments and guidance, all of which have contributed to my completing this study.

I also appreciate and give special gratitude to the many people of different social standings whose participation in this study has been indispensable.

- ☐ The Chiefs and people of Mapholaneng for allowing me to interact with them at the expense of their valuable time and for whom this work represents their history and future.
- ☐ The headmaster of Mapholaneng high school, Mr T.J Monare for his assistance in photocopying the questionnaire.
- ☐ My field-work assistants, Mohale Mosia and Tsooana Alotsi, for providing their knowledgeable background for Khukhune and Tiping case study villages respectively.
- ☐ Mr Sylvester Lekhooa, Mrs Jean Mitchell and Monique Zyl for their critical proof-reading of the first chapters of this study. Jenny Mitchell, for her support and encouragement and for her concern and helpful advice with regard to the illness of my son, Thuto.
- ☐ Mark Todd of the Cartographic Unit in Geography Discipline at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg for his help in scanning the photos and assistance with the maps. Maurice Mommen in the Geography Map Library for his assistance with drawing graphs, maps and tables.
- ☐ My beloved mother, Matiisetso and youngest brother Mafai for maintaining the family during my long absence at the University.

- ❑ First son and daughter, Letebele and Lefeela for being tolerant and very understanding and doing their best in their matric school work.
- ❑ My last born, Thuto, even though his frequent illness disturbed my work, he has indeed been an inspiration.
- ❑ My younger sister, 'Mambehle and daughters in law, Modiehi and Masekolo for their encouragement and dedication to the welfare of Thuto.

-oo0oo

ABSTRACT

This thesis is organised around two enquiries concerning out-migration from Mapholaneng Catchment in North Eastern Lesotho. Firstly, the social, cultural and economic impacts of the migrant labour system on the living conditions of the rural households is investigated. Secondly, possible alternative strategies are explored that could be applied to initiate and develop income-generating activities for the rural unemployed and marginalised individuals to address the on-going retrenchment of Mapholaneng migrants from South African mines. The thesis is thus a juxtaposition of historical impacts of labour migration and future considerations for what could be done to replace household's losses of income from mine retrenchments from South Africa.

The thesis addresses both positive and negative socio-economic and cultural effects and influences of the historical system of labour migration between Lesotho and the Republic of South Africa. The effects of retrenchment on villages and households in Mapholaneng are disastrous and the most affected households are those whose historical existence have largely depended on migrant labour wages and remittances. This loss of jobs in many households in Mapholaneng's villages has negatively affected the living conditions such as through reduced clothing and food-supply, schooling and medical care provisions. Moreover, the escalating rate of unemployment of many migrant worker members of households in the catchment are associated with the development of crime, robbery, theft and illegal trade in dagga and diamonds, all of which are gradually becoming the norm of life in the catchment.

The second thrust of the thesis is directed at identifying alternative sources of households existence to replace losses of income from migrant labourer retrenchments. The thesis has investigated catchment households in terms of day to day living conditions and the surrounding physical environment, so as to determine household production and consumption demands and development potentials of the catchment. For instance, available resources of the catchment as a whole are identified. Household sizes, composition and gender of members are also studied to determine dependency and labour power potential for production, employment and job-creation initiatives in the catchment.

The comparative conditions of living between migrant and non-migrant households have also been recorded to assess their general standard or quality of life. This is done by examining households historical changes in sources of income in the rural economy from livestock and crop farming practices so as to gauge future sustainability of these economic activities in the catchment. Land tenure systems, ownership and usage of fields, quality and quantity of livestock reared, cattle-posts and other rural farming issues have critically been assessed as they affect and will continue to influence rural life in Mapholaneng. Furthermore, the contributions of migrant labour wages *vis-a-vis* non migrant labour wages on the development of Mapholaneng is considered. The study has shown that labour migration to South African mines has brought both good and bad effects to the conditions of living in the catchment and labour migration has influenced social, economic and cultural practices of rural households in Mapholaneng. The destruction of family and social relations including changes to customs, beliefs and general ways of living among people in Mapholaneng has occurred. However, on the positive side, initiatives in self-employment and establishment of small business and petty trading enterprises by the ex-migrants are some of the examples identified in the study.

While the study is an examination of the development impacts of labour migration at both village and household levels, it is concluded that the long practice of labour migration to South Africa from Mapholaneng has also contributed to the regional underdevelopment of the whole catchment. Influences of negative attitudes to schooling and indoctrination in the mines among the youth of the catchment, loss of local agricultural skills, loss of households labour power due to absence, disablement and death of migrant workers and effects of land degradation are some of the negative impacts of labour migration in Mapholaneng.

Lastly, based on the losses of jobs and migrant wages by the majority of the former migrant households, future job creation and other viable alternative sources of income for the catchment are identified and recommended for the future sustainable development of Mapholaneng.

The research techniques and methodology used for the collection of data for the thesis include a review of the relevant literature, extensive field work that involved observation and participatory techniques, informal interviews with local people and a formal household questionnaire survey based on a random sample of migrant and non-migrant households in five villages in the catchment.

Data are presented in numerous tables and several maps and photographs depicting some of the physical conditions and socio-economic issues investigated in the study are included in the text.

—oo0oo---

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface

Abstract

Acknowledgements

Table of contents.....	i
List of Tables	vii
List of Figures.....	ix
List of photographs.....	x

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND.....	1
1.1 Labour migration and dependency in Mapholaneng.....	1
1.2 Aims and Objectives.....	5
1.3 Hypothesis.....	6
1.4 The phenomenon of labour migration.....	6
1.5 Models of labour migration.....	9
1.5.1 Human capital theory and classical models.....	9
1.5.2 Critique of classical growth model and dual economy sector theory	13
1.5.3 Dependency theory and neo-classical models.....	15
1.5.4 Critique of dependency and neo-classical models.....	18
1.6 The migrant -worker- peasant-controversy.....	20

CHAPTER TWO.

2. THE REVIEW OF THE MIGRANT LABOUR SYSTEM IN SOUTH AFRICA..	22
2.1. Introduction.....	22
2.2 Origin and organization of South African migrant labour.....	22

2.2.1	Reasons for labour migration into South Africa.....	23
2.2.2	The Discovery of mineral wealth.....	27
2.2.3	Reasons for labour recruitment by South African Mines.....	30
2.2.4	The changing patterns of Labour migrancy.....	32
2.2.5	South Africa and Labour retrenchment.....	33
2.2.5.1	Reasons for labour retrenchment in the 1990's.....	35
2.2.5.2	Internalization of mine labour in South Africa.....	35
2.2.5.3	Stabilization of labour power in South African mines.....	36
2.2.5.4	Mechanization of the mining industry in South Africa.....	37
2.3	Labour Migration in Lesotho: An historical perspective.....	37
2.3.1	Internal migration in Lesotho.....	38
2.3.2	Lesotho's Labour migration into South Africa.....	40
2.3.2.1	Motivations for migration into South Africa.....	42
2.3.2.2	Impacts of the migrant labour System.....	46
2.3.2.2.1	Positive socio-economic impacts.....	46
2.3.2.2.2	Negative socio-economic impacts.....	50
2.3.2.2.3	Cultural impacts on social life.....	51
2.4	The retrenchment of Lesotho migrant workers.....	54
2.4.1	The post apartheid migrant labour options for employment.....	57
2.4.1.1	The development of clandestine migration.....	57
2.4.1.2	The permanent residency option.....	58
2.4.1.3	Initiation of local self-help employment opportunities.....	58
2.4.1.4	Renewal and promotion of local traditional skills and arts.....	59

CHAPTER THREE

3	METHODOLOGY.....	61
3.1	Research design.....	61
3.2	Urban-Rural division of Mapholaneng Catchment.....	61

3.2.1	Rura areas of Mapholaneng.....	62
3.2.2	Urban areas of Mapholaneng.....	65
3.3	The selection of the case study villages.....	66
3.3.1	The selection of Urban case study village.....	67
3.3.2	The selection of Rural case study villages.....	67
3.3.3	The selection of the case study village households samples.....	68
3.4	Mapping.....	69
3.5	Questionnaire compilation.....	70
3.5.1	Self-administered	70
3.5.2	Interview.....	71
3.6	Participatory observation and rural appraisal techniques.....	71
3.7	Photograph interpretation.....	72

CHAPTER FOUR

4. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY AREA OF MAPHOLANENG

CATCHMENT.....	73
4.1 Introduction to Lesotho's relief.....	73
4.2 The position and topography of Mapholaneng.....	74
4.3 Climate.....	76
4.3.1 Temperature.....	76
4.3.2 Precipitation and winds.....	79
4.4. Natural resources of land.....	80
4.4.1 Flora and Fauna.....	80
4.4.1.1 Sweet veld grass.....	80
4.4.1.2 Woodland vegetation.....	80
4.4.1.3 Montane grass and shrubs.....	81

4.4.1.4	Wetlands.....	81
4.5	The socio-economic rural structure of agriculture.....	81
4.5.1	Introduction to the issues of land tenure.....	81
4.5.2	Land tenure changes and rural development.....	82
4.6	Major land uses in Mapholaneng.....	91
4.6.1	Crop cultivation.....	91
4.6.2	Grazing land (livestock farming).....	93
4.6.3	Residential settlement.....	95
4.7	Trends of urbanization.....	96
4.8	The problem of labour migration in Mapholaneng	100
4.9	The structure of Lesotho's economy.....	103
4.9.1	Crop cultivation.....	103
4.9.2	Livestock farming	105
4.9.3	Mining and manufacturing.....	106

CHAPTER FIVE

5	ANALYSIS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY DATA.....	107
5.1	Introduction.....	107
5.1.1	Household size.....	107
5.1.2	Urban household size	108
5.1.3	Rural household size.....	109
5.1.4	Household size in Mapholaneng Catchment.....	109
5.1.5	Implications for rural development.....	111
5.2	Age and gender relations of households	111
5.2.1	Changing patterns of household gender divisions of labour	115

5.3	Age, gender and rural production.....	119
5.3.1	Infant age group(0-5yrs).....	121
5.3.2	Young and inexperienced labour force.....	121
5.3.3	Ages of maturity and productivity.....	122
5.3.4	Old age dependency.....	123
5.3.5	Implication for rural development.....	124
5.4	Age ranges and education attainment levels.....	125
5.4.1	The development of education in Lesotho.....	126
5.4.2	Migrant and non-migrants education attainments.....	131
5.4.3	Survey findings on factors influencing education in Mapholaneng.....	133
5.5	Changes in household sources of income.....	137
5.5.1	Agriculture.....	140
5.5.2	Migrant labour wages.....	143
5.5.3	Local employment.....	144
5.5.4	The development of business enterprises.....	145
5.5.5	Rural and Urban household sources of income.....	145
5.6	Impacts of migrancy on household labour power.....	146
5.6.1	Loss through mine death.....	147
5.6.2	Loss through abandonment.....	150
5.6.4	The scourge of retrenchment.....	150
5.6.4.1	Reasons for migrant labour retrenchment.....	152
5.6.4.2	Issues of retrenchment packages.....	153
5.7	Changes in Livestock ownership.....	154
5.7.1	Cattle.....	157
5.7.2	Sheep and goats.....	167
5.7.3	Horses and donkeys.....	171

5.8. Changes in ownership of fields for cultivation.....	174
5.8.1 Farm size and yield of farm output.....	190
5.8.2 The influence of labour migration on crop yields.....	191
5.9 Accessibility to farming Technology.....	194
5.9.1 Ox spans.....	195
5.9.2 The plough.....	196
5.9.3 Crop seeds	197
5.9.4 Employment of outside household labour power.....	200
5.9.5 Community working groups (<i>matsema</i>)	201
5.9.6 Application of manure.....	202
5.9.7 Accessibility to government subsidy.....	202

CHAPTER SIX

6 CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF MAPHOLANENG ...	203
6.1 The future development of Mapholaneng Catchment.....	205
6.2 Limitations and future research.....	207
6.3 Recommendations and suggestions for rural development.....	208

REFERENCES	210
-------------------------	------------

APPENDIX.....	216
Appendix i. Household questionnaire.....	216
Appendix ii. Other social group questionnaires	231
Appendix iii. Agricultural department questionnaire	235
Appendix iv. Age and gender divisions of migrant's households.....	239
Appendix v. Mapholaneng Catchment education attainment of households.....	241

List of Tables

Chapter 2

Table 2.1	Migrant workers lay offs by different mining companies in South Africa, 1986 - 1992.....	34
Table 2.2	Basotho mine employment in different mining work categories in South Africa.....	41
Table 2.3	Basotho Mine wage employment and income from outside the country .	47
Table 2.4	Decline of Basotho employment in South African gold mines, 1986-92...	55
Table 2.5	Retrenchment of Basotho migrant workers from SouthAfrican mines, 1993 -1996.....	56

Chapter 3

Table 3.1	Mapholaneng Catchment rural-urban division of villages.....	62
Table 3.2	Total and Sample surveyed case study village households.....	69

Chapter 4

Table 4.1	Migrant and Non-migrant households in Mapholaneng.....	102
Table 4.2	Lesotho imports and domestic production of major food crops.....	104

Chapter 5

Table 5.1	Size of migrant and non-migrant households.....	107
Table 5.2	Age and gender of migrant sample households.....	112
Table 5.3	Age and gender of non-migrant sample households.....	113
Table 5.4	Mapholaneng Catchment age and gender groupings.....	114
Table 5.5	Mapholaneng age and gender divisions of labour in the 1970's.....	116
Table 5.6	Changes in age and gender division of labour in the 1990's.....	117
Table 5.7	Household dependency in Mapholaneng.....	123

Table 5.8	Schooling attainments of migrant sampled households.....	129
Table 5.9	Schooling attainments of non-migrant sampled households.....	130
Table 5.10	Urban household sources of income, 1970 - 2000.....	139
Table 5.11	Rural household sources of income, 1970 - 2000.....	140
Table 5.12	Impacts of migrancy on household labour power.....	147
Table 5.13	Changes in the ownership of livestock.....	156
Table 5.14	Lesotho mohair sold in South Africa.....	167
Table 5.15	Lesotho wool sold in South Africa.....	168
Table 5.16	Household differentiation of livestock.....	173
Table 5.17	Legal ownership of fields for cultivation.....	180
Table 5.18	Sizes of fields owned by households.....	183
Table 5.19	Household conditions of using fields.....	187
Table 5.20	Household accessibility to farming technology.....	194

List of Figures

Chapter 2

- Figure 2.1** Differences in education and mining skills between local Black South Africans and foreign migrant workers.....31
- Figure 2.2** Trends of domestic internal labour migration in Lesotho.....39

Chapter 3

- Figure 3.1** Mapholaneng Catchment map and clustered location of all households in the case study villages, with households numbered for sampling purposes of the questionnaire survey.....64

Chapter 4

- Figure 4.1** The location of Lesotho relative to South Africa's historic mining areas of migrant worker's employment from Lesotho.....75
- Figure 4.2** Position of Mapholaneng Catchment in Mokhotlong District, Eastern Lesotho.....77
- Table 4.3** Annual precipitation in Lesotho.....78

-oo0oo-

List of Photographs

Chapter 4

Photograph 4.1 West part of Tiping village.....88

Photograph 4.2 Makalieng village.....88

Photograph 4.3 East part of Tiping village.....92

Photograph 4.4 Central Tiping village.....92

Photograph 4.5 Meketeng village.....98

Chapter 5

Photograph 5.1 Part of Makalieng village.....166

Photograph 5.2 Khubelu river.....166

Photograph 5.3 Motete village.....177

Photograph 5.4 Khukhune village.....177

CHAPTER ONE

1 INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

1.1 Labour migration and dependency in Mapholaneng Catchment

Migration of Lesotho labourers across the boundaries into South Africa for employment for the past two centuries, has been of importance to both Lesotho migrants' households and to the Lesotho Government. Wages and other forms of remittances earned by migrant labourers have made a substantial contribution to the provision of basic needs for most households in Lesotho and have constituted a major component of gross national product of Lesotho for a number of years. For instance, Perry(1983) has recorded that in 1970,68% of Lesotho households had members who worked as migrant workers in the mines of South Africa. Six years later, in1976, Murray(1981) found that 70% of rural households depended on migrant labour remittances for their income for subsistence. On the one hand, Gill (1996)maintained that in 1985,more than half of Lesotho Government wealth came from outside the country and mainly from mine remittances. On the other hand, other records show that in 1987, Lesotho Government earned R48 million in the form of migrant deferred payments and this was the largest among all other sources of Lesotho Government revenue (Cobbe,1982; Kingdom of Lesotho,1987). Moreover, Rake (1999) observed that, during the 1990's, 60% of Lesotho households had their source of income from migrant labour wages. For instance, he has argued to show that by the mid 1990's, \$14 million was annually remitted to Lesotho and that, this package countered over 8% of the total Lesotho GNP and was used for closing Lesotho's trade deficit (Rake,1999:256). In addition, Mohlanga (1996:3) also noticed that during 1993, the Lesotho Government component of the gross national product occurring from labour migration (GNP) was over 35%; while according to SAMP statistics, in 1994, 40 % to 50% of Lesotho government gross product was constituted by mine remittances from the mines in South Africa (SAMP,1997).

What these references account to, is to illustrate the historical economic significance of the migrant labour system to both households and to the Government as well.

However, this system has recently faced crucial changes that have negatively impacted on the Lesotho's socio-economic lives.

Since the 1990's, Lesotho's historic labour force recruitment by South African mines, farm and service industries has decreased. This has been due to both political and socio-economic transformations that have recently taken place in South Africa as a whole including transformation of labour policies (Crush, 1995; Matlosa, 1997; Molefi, 1991).

In the past, labour retrenchment or repatriation occurred mostly as a result of ill-health, retirement, disablement or expulsion. However, since the outbreak of the major South African mine worker's strike of 1987 initiated by the National Union of Mine Workers of South Africa (NUM), the rate of retrenchment of Lesotho migrant labourers from South Africa has increased and has exceeded that of labour recruitment. The study is undertaken in Mapholaneng, a small rural catchment in eastern Lesotho where more than two thirds of households have to a large extent depended on remittances from household members who worked as migrant-workers in South Africa.

At the time of the fieldwork research during 1998-2000, only some 14 % of Mapholaneng households still had members working as migrant-labourers in South Africa, while the majority of households have retrenched migrant labourers. Most of these retrenched migrant workers are in their economically active years ranging from 30 to 50 years of age. Unfortunately, this large substantial productive labour force remains permanently unemployed in Lesotho and has no reliable source of earning regular cash income necessary for subsistence and development needs of their households. For example, in 1991, Molefi estimated that 120,000 of Lesotho youth entered the labour market every year, yet only 10% of this number was absorbed in the formal economic sectors of the country (Molefi, 1991). Not only have dependency ratios increased in households, but migrant workers have also found themselves confronted with a complexity of rural problems in Mapholaneng catchment and the country as a whole including:

- ★ declining farm yields;
- ★ drought and land degradation;
- ★ escalating theft of livestock;
- ★ high prices for basic consumer goods, health and education costs ;
- ★ increasing crime, including murders and house-breaking(Mapholaneng Police Station records,1998-2000). Based on Mapholaneng Police Records, in 1996, six shops were intruded and their merchandise either looted, stolen, damaged or both; five primary and one high school were robbed of their finance and other properties by the unknown; and by the end of 1999, up to 20 persons in the catchment had also been killed anonymously.
- ★ lack of Government funds or subsidies to enable farmers to invest in modern technology for irrigation and to implement landscape rehabilitation and land conservation programmes (Mcleod,1995);
- ★ lack of funds among farmers to initiate non-agricultural income-generating activities;
- ★ national unemployment problem (Eldrigde,1993;Van Burren,1998).

Based on these deteriorating agrarian conditions in Mapholaneng, this thesis addresses the question of the likely future for these rural households, trapped in the vicious cycle of poverty, unemployment and powerlessness.

Local trade and the development of a cash economy in rural Mapholaneng has also been based on the cash incomes from migrant labourers. For example, the knowledge that a particular household had a migrant labourer working in South-Africa was enough for a wife of a migrant to secure a cash loan or credit from the local stores and neighbours. This emphasises the significance of the migrant labour system for the growth and development of migrant households and for business enterprises in Mapholaneng. Migrant labour wages provided expanded capital and a consumer market for groceries, hardware, clothing, building-materials and other types of merchandise. A viable supply and demand market system developed in the relatively remote, rural agricultural villages in the catchment.

The current collapse of the migrant labour system, coupled with the continual decline in farm yields and scarcity of employment opportunities in the Lesotho Government Service, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's) or self-generated employment have all contributed to putting local Mapholaneng business trading in jeopardy. For instance, Mcleod (1995) estimated the rate of unemployment above 35% in Lesotho in 1986 while 10 years later in 1996, Van Burren recorded an increased unemployment of above 50% of the Lesotho labour force (Mcleod, 1995; Van Burren, 1998).

Deterioration in business trade in Mapholaneng seems to be the result of the ebbing household's effective demands for the marketed goods in cafes, shops and stores in the catchment and its surroundings. This lack of effective demand among the people is a culmination of shortage of cash by the majority of the households, especially those which had become dependent on migrant labour remittances. These are crucial factors to be addressed in present and future socio-economic development plans for Mapholaneng catchment, if the lives of the rural disadvantaged households are to be uplifted for a better future. Increasing retrenchment of migrant labourers has had drastic socio-economic implications for the ex-migrant households, communities and on the Lesotho Government (Molefi, 1991). This has policy and ethical implications for the Lesotho Government employment creation to enable rural people to use their work skills and potentials, to earn themselves income to meet their household needs for consumption and development.

For the creation of the needed employment opportunities, the types of skills and resources available in the catchment needs to be established. Given the political and economic changes in the foreign migrant-labour importing economy of South Africa, the current situation is not entirely unexpected, as some foresighted socio-political analysts have made predictions on the future likelihood of mass retrenchment of mining labour from South Africa and the consequent impact on the neighbouring Southern African States (Cobbe, 1982; Matlosa, 1996; Santho and Sejanamane, 1990).

What the Lesotho Government has done in the meantime to provide alternative

employment and to maintain future sustainability of rural production and socio-economic development of the affected households is the question of this research. This thesis begins by examining the historical contribution of the migrant labour system to the socio-economic fabric of rural life in Mapholaneng catchment and impacts on rural development.

In order to examine the importance of migrant labour wages that have accrued to migrant labour households in the past, fieldwork and a household questionnaire survey was undertaken in five villages in the Mapholaneng catchment; two from the relatively urban and three from the more rural parts of the catchment. These five villages were investigated in respect to their migrant labour histories, household sizes, education, age sources of income and gender group relations.

An analysis of the socio-economic structures was made to understand the changing rural conditions of existence and to determine the future socio-economic potential of the catchment. Alternative sources of rural livelihood to replace the dwindling sources of income from the declining migrant labour system are investigated.

1.2 Aims and Objectives

The research focusses on the following aims and objectives:

- ✪ to examine both positive and negative socio-economic impacts of the migrant labour system on the living conditions of rural households, so as to facilitate future rural development planning;
- ✪ to identify the current and future potential rural resources available and required for the sustainable development of rural areas for initiating alternative sources of income and economic bases for rural households to compensate for the collapsing migrant labour system;
- ✪ to compare and contrast the contribution of both migrant and non-migrant household incomes to the development of individual households and the catchment as a whole;
- ✪ to recommend possible ways by which the creation of local employment could

be initiated so as to improve rural life and curb the rural-urban labour migration problem;

- ★ to derive knowledge from this study that could be useful for addressing rural problems elsewhere in Lesotho.

1.3 Hypotheses

Three general hypotheses have been formulated for testing.

- ★ The migrant labour system has been an important source of livelihood and development for many rural households for the past three decades (Mcleod,1995; Murray,1981).
- ★ The collapse of the migrant labour system has triggered negative socio-economic consequences in Mapholaneng, particularly impacting on the households that have wholly depended on migrant labour remittances for subsistence over a number of decades (Molefi,1991;Van Burren,1998).
- ★ The future development of Mapholaneng catchment will largely depend on proper care being taken of the exploitation of its resources of land and labour. This assumption tallies well with Mueller's views, where he showed that," For its future development, Lesotho will need to look carefully on its human resources, since skilled manpower is essential for development on all fronts"(Mueller,1977:80).

1.4. The labour migration phenomenon

The process of human movement across international boundaries is a global phenomenon, hence the import and export of cheap labour is not a practice of South Africa and her neighbouring states alone. Even highly developed countries such as Britain, France, Belgium, United States and Germany to name just a few, within their historical development, have depended on thousands of migrant workers from the less developed countries on their periphery (Magubane,1975). In most cases, human migrations are normally said to originate from the consequences of the unequal distribution of natural resources and disparities in socio-economic infra-structural developments within individual countries and between the developed and the

developing regions of the world (Safa, 1974).

Since the industrial revolution in Europe in the 19th century, it was generally assumed that industrialization would become the engine for economic growth and modernization in the Third World, just as had happened with the Western capitalist countries (Magubane, 1975; Forbes, 1984). Increases in industrialization through a gradual development of locally based industries, was believed to be capable of resolving pre-industrial/ pre-capitalist living conditions, along the same stages of economic growth as advanced by Rostow (1960).

Thus, it was hoped that the establishment of industrial urban centres would help absorb the so called 'surplus labour' from the rural areas, as it had done during the beginning of industrialization in the Western economies of capitalism (Safa, 1974). Nevertheless, in Third World economies, unemployment and poverty continued to grow at alarming rates along with increases in rural-urban migration (Magubane, 1975). One reason why import-substitution industrialization failed to absorb surplus labour has been the fact that such a type of industrialization was geared largely to the consumer needs of the better-off social-classes, which constituted only a limited market of the impoverished majority in the Third World (Magubane, 1975).

The emphasis that has historically been placed on the significance of industrialization in the development of the economies of the Third world countries has virtually implied total neglect of rural areas (Forbes, 1984). The neglect of rural economies through the past decades, resulted in massive exodus from impoverished, marginal and undeveloped rural areas to the relatively well catered for urban areas, into which scarce government resources are continuously poured to sustain urbanization and the provision of infrastructure (Seidman, 1985). According to Hunter (1972:47), Africa as a whole is a continent in which rural areas and agriculture contains 70% of the whole available labour force, but less than 20% of annual budgets in different African countries is relegated to agriculture or rural development. Moreover, instead of import-substitution industrialization in Third World countries working to free them from their

former colonial dependence on capital investment and technical skills, it has rather perpetuated their dependency on the rich western countries (Sunkel, 1974).

The analysis in this thesis of the development and the collapse of the migrant labour system with reference to Lesotho is an endeavour to illustrate the historical underdevelopment and neo-colonial strategies that have continued to exacerbate rural-urban migration within Lesotho and into South Africa.

It has been shown that during the British colonial period of Lesotho, the impoverishment of Lesotho was induced when Basotho people living in the rural areas began to seek wage employment in the capitalist economy of the Republic of South Africa. It is argued that labour migration into South Africa occurred at the opportunist cost of the destruction and disarticulation of Basotho's cultural socio-economic values and foundations (Cobbe, 1982; Rodney, 1974). Furthermore, since the independence of Lesotho in 1966, the growth of urban capitalist development within Lesotho has failed to transform rural agriculture into an economically dynamic sector or to provide necessary initiatives for any alternative rural income generating activities for the majority of rural dwellers.

The contemporary growth of urban commercial sectors, urban infrastructures and other urban amenities such as schools, housing and hospitals in Maseru and other district towns, has done nothing to improve rural conditions besides providing the necessary economic base for the development of a small urban indigenous bourgeoisie.

Similar to its counterparts in other Third World countries, Lesotho's bourgeoisie class is heavily dependent on international capital for finance, technology, markets and development policies. This national bourgeoisie has aligned itself with the non-development of the rural areas so as to maintain a regular flow of cheap labour for the expansion of capitalist tendencies either internally in Lesotho or across the border in South Africa. But with the decline in demand for Lesotho migrant labour from South Africa, pressure is building up in Lesotho for the creation of employment opportunities

to accommodate the growing numbers of unemployed and returning migrants.

1.5 Models of labour migration.

The literature on human migrations and its ramifications is abundant. Human migration is an historical global practice culminating from diverse socio-economic circumstances surrounding individual persons in different situations. In some circumstances, migration may be viewed as an individual psychological choice for personal gains or relief but on the one hand, external forces beyond the control of any individual have also operated, thereby initiating out-migration from one place to another either temporarily or permanently (First, 1983; Safa, 1974; Seidman, 1985).

For the purposes of this thesis, literature related to the development and socio-economic impact of labour migration was identified and its discussion was only limited to those aspects, themes and variables that have a direct bearing on the historical conditions of labour migration phenomenon which developed between South Africa and its neighbouring states, particularly Lesotho. The literature commences with the description of some of the relevant models on labour migration and where necessary, a critique of some of the models is made in reference to their application to the Third World and with particular emphasis to the conditions of labour migration in Lesotho and Southern Africa. This provides an analysis of the conditions that historically have surrounded Lesotho's labour force migration into South Africa. Both classical and neo-classical models are used in the conceptualization of human-migration to provide a theoretical platform for a comparative analysis.

1.5.1 Human capital theory and classical models of migration

Human models of migration seek to conceptualise the origin of labour migration from an individual decision making perspective. Out-migration is seen to occur as a result of an individual choice based on a full knowledge of the existing income differentials between the place of origin (agriculture in the rural area) and the place of work (destination) (Hunter, 1974; Lipton, 1977). Thus, in relation to the 19th century labour

migration in Southern Africa, the-classical models would strongly postulate that the migrant labour system came into practice as a result of individual migrant's drive to the attractions of the city or urban life (Woodis,1960; Lipton,1972). These classical economic growth models, explain the historic development of the conditions of the migrant labour system which developed between the South African economy and other countries in Southern Africa. It is historically believed that it was initially the demand for farm labour by the 1820 Settlers and then by the 19th century mineral discoveries and mining development in South Africa which prompted out-migration from the labour sending countries into SouthAfrica (Houghton,1964; Ketso in Santho and Sejanamane,1990; Matlosa,1997; Seidman,1985; Simelane,1995; Richardson and Marks,1984). Illustrating the historic significance of migrant labour to the mining industry in South Africa, Houghton pointed out that: "Kimberly and the Witwatersrand acted as magnets attracting international capital for the exploitation of the mineral deposits, and drawing labour from far and wide" (Houghton,1964:81).

- ★ A variant of this theory is the dual economic approach model which was advanced by the classical school of thought and commonly associated with A.W. Lewis. He explained the origin of out-migration from a two-sector economic system of unequal endowment of both natural and socio-economic resources.

According to the postulations of some authors (Brookfield,1975; Lewis,1954) migration originates from the existence of unequal distribution of resources between the two independent economic sectors, the traditional sector and the modern sector.

In this theory, the migrants represent the pre-capitalist or traditional societies that are beginning to integrate into the modern or capitalist mode of production. Thus, migration is understood to result from the pulling or attracting effects of the urban, industrialised and modern city life, with bright lights in form of a variety of consumer goods, services and relatively higher wages (Safa,1974).

Other proponents of economic growth models regard labour migration as an important

allocative mechanism for integrating the market forces of demand and supply of labour power over time and space (Cook,1999; Lewis,1954; Richardson& Marks,1984). Surplus labour power or unlimited labour supply may be defined as that labour power which can be transferred or taken away from traditional production such as agriculture without reducing the volume of farm output or yields. In other words, the implication of the unlimited labour supply postulation is that, in certain traditional productive structures such as in agriculture, there are times in which the employment of labour power reaches a point of diminishing returns or when marginal products of additional labour approaches zero output (Cook,1999; Hardwick, *et al*: 1989).

According to these authors, the law of the diminishing returns states that, “as additional units of a variable factor are added to a given quantity of fixed factors, with a given state of technology, the average and marginal products of the variable factor will eventually decline.” (Cook,1999:17; Hardwick, et al:1989:29). Cook investigated the relevance of the concept of the unlimited labour supply. He used a broader definition of the unlimited labour power supply which includes a new concept, which is reservation wage (W_r). The concept of ‘reservation wage’ is understood as the minimum level of compensation required to induce labour power to leave the farm and join non-agricultural sectors. It is also assumed to be greater than zero but below the wage rate (W) in the non-agricultural labour market. Thus, reservation wage equals, $0 < W_r < W$ (Cook,1999).

Accordingly, it should be expected that many rural households would be happy to transfer their labour out of agricultural production into non-agricultural sectors for higher income wages. In the absence of any transfer of labour, excess labour remaining on the farm is assumed to be contributing to the subsequent decline of farm yields. This model is understood to operate under the assumptions that the marked demand for labour is not fixed, hence it is assumed to fluctuate with economic seasons, so that there is always a maximum number of labourers who can be absorbed into the labour market (Richardson & Marks,1984).

However, on the one spectrum and in respect to the same conditions of unlimited labour supply, other authors have strongly argued to show how a situation of over-saturated labour-market may lead to fixed labour wages which in turn may be compelled to fluctuate with changes of increases in labour supply (Hardwich, et al: 1989; Legassic and De Clercq, 1984). Thus, the concept of the available excess labour power, (unlimited labour supply) from the labour sending areas (rural-traditional areas) is assumed to have led to the diminishing returns in the rural production so that out-migration became an alternative solution. In other words, a condition of unlimited labour supply is understood to imply a situation in which agricultural out-put would fall, as more and more units of household labour power are made available on the fixed resources of land. Accordingly, some authors on the same model, have conceptualized labour migration as a process that attempts to forge a socio-economic balance (equilibrium) between places of unequal wealth or uneven development (Lewis, 1954). In this case, labour migration is seen as a distributive mechanism through which economic resources such as labour power are shifted from where they are in over-supply such as in rural areas, to the regions which experience under-supply of the required resources in the urban mining and industrial work places (Ketso in Santho and Sejanamane, 1990; Richardson & Marks, 1984). For instance, the socio-economic division between regions of the world has been phrased in the following paragraph:

“The concrete geographical expressions of the relationship can be observed in great dualism: on the one hand, the division of the world between the advanced, developed, industrialised, centre states and underdeveloped, backward, poor, peripheral, dependent states; and on the other hand, the division within States, regions, social groups and activities which are modern and advanced, and regions, groups and activities which are considered backward, primitive and dependent,” (Sunkel, 1972:5-6).

Referring to the quotation above, out-migration may be understood as a compensation for lack of infra structural services in the rural, underdeveloped regions and as such, it is a normal process of society's in transition from one mode of production to another.

1.5.2 Critique of the classical growth model and dual economic sector theory

Although capital theory does provide a perspective from which some of the ramifications of labour migration may be understood, it has been criticised on several grounds including the following:

- ★ it tends to isolate each individual migrant labourer from the wider socio-economic context in which he has no control;
- ★ the theory also seems to conceptualize labour power as a given homogeneity, yet in practical real life situations, labour power has never been entirely homogeneous. In other words, this theory seems to undermine the need for labour training /education in labour skills, hence it recognises no significant productive differences between unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled forms of labour power;
- ★ this human model also seems historical by assuming that all migrants are driven away or pulled into towns by similar factors relating to personal gains in return;
- ★ it does not even say why there are spatial disparities of the natural endowments of earth resources and imbalances in economic growth between regions or countries;
- ★ the classical theory/model has also been criticized from the structural change point of view of pre-capitalist production relations which have been integrated into the capitalist mode of production. For instance the theory holds as if there were two distinctions between the pre-capitalist/rural and the modern/urban sectors, yet in modern life such distinctions are not so obvious, especially given that money-relations have pervaded all aspects of human life everywhere (Frank, 1969). For example, those who critique the dual approach of development point out that the market relations of capitalist production have almost pervaded everywhere even into the remote and isolated areas, thereby nullifying any interpretation of the existence of dual economy in the contemporary world (Brenner, 1978).

The two-dichotomy model of Lewis would tend to be pertinent and more valid only during

periods where capitalism has not yet fully dominated over the traditional, pre-capitalist social organization of production. However, it is again and contrarily maintained that, once capitalism has been established in a place, it becomes inappropriate and misleading talking about substantial existence of a pre-capitalist or traditional mode of production in that particular spatial area. Many empirical studies dealing with issues of labour policies relating to migration, especially in both Eastern and Southern Africa have tried to apply this variant of the model in their attempts to explain socio-economic implications of labour migration, but it has failed to produce long term explanations for the analysis of the nature and scope of contemporary out-migration.

In general, the classical model seems to have shown little relevance to most out-migration situations of the region. For instance, Arrighi has written at length on the nature and applicability of the economic model of development as historically tested in different labour sending countries in Southern Africa (Arrighi, 1973:7).

Massey has put it to the test in analysing out-migration in Botswana and came to the conclusion that labour migration in Botswana was a result of British colonial policies of hut-tax and other forced labour mechanisms of that time (Massey, 1981).

On the one hand, the application of the same model by Barbel in African countries such as Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Malawi has contributed profoundly to the critique and elimination of the growth model (Barbel referred in Arrighi, 1973). In most cases, its postulates do not apply anywhere in the contemporary history of labour migration in Southern Africa. For example, literature shows that in the 1970s, agriculture was still very productive in Lesotho as a result of the following conditions:

- ✱ relatively fertile soil land was still available in an unused and semi- natural condition which had potential for long term increased productivity;
- ✱ relatively low population pressure on land resources and still a rich natural biodiversity;
- ✱ rare conditions of drought and consistent levels of annual precipitation;
- ✱ relative economic homogeneity among households;

- ★ relatively rich pastures or range lands;
- ★ low standard of living in which subsistence level of production was a limiting factor to capacity of productivity of land and household labour power potential (Eldridge, 1993; Mcleod, 1995).

It is argued that these factors, did not encourage out-migration from Lesotho, but instead, ensured sufficient household productivity as the means of subsistence, as observed by Eldridge

“ Migrant labour took place in the context of a growing , thriving economy which allowed the Basotho to dictate their own terms when they provided labour and to withdraw when circumstances were unfavourable to them.”(Eldridge, 1993:43).

This was because initially out-migration was an individual psychological decision making process to venture out for personal gains but not due to conditions of hunger or famine which came to predominate the 1980s and therefore making out-migration a way of life or a life-blood needed for social basic existence of migrant households.(Massey, 1981; Mueller, 1977; Arrighi, 1973). On the one hand, these authors have postulated that the development of labour migration in Southern Africa, could only be understood fully as a manifestation of the penetration and expansion of capital from South Africa into neighbouring States during colonialism and thereafter.

1.5.3 Dependency theory and neo-classical models

The historic failure of the classical growth models in eradicating the development problems of the poor nations including the failure to halt out-migration to towns, eventually led to the formulation of the neo-classical model and articulation of the modes of production model advanced by scholars including Gunder Frank (1969) and Paul Baran (1957).

The dependency school of thought regards labour-migration as a symptom of underdevelopment, poverty and impoverishment of the labour sending countries by the

developed labour importing countries. In this case, without understanding the mechanism by which capitalism penetrated the former colonies, the plight of the poor in the former European colonies cannot be grasped fully. Forster-Carder(1978:76) has postulated that: "African underdevelopment is meaningless without reference to capitalist development in Europe and North America."

In other words, the dependency or articulation models consist of establishing relations between nations, states and between regions, sectors and social classes within each social formation(Frank,1969; Dos santos,1972). This means that in order to fully understand the contemporary underdevelopment from which labour migration is triggered in the former colonies, the socio-economic links between social classes and dependency relations need to be clearly specified.

According to scholars such as Wolpe (1972), the articulation theory or approach regards the migrant labour problem to stem from the existence of pre- capitalist social formations which were fashioned in a manner to ensure regular supply of cheap labour for the development of capitalism. Thus, labour migration is regarded as a relationship between capitalism and non-capitalist social formations that provide cheap labour. According to the latter models, out-migration has been understood as the result of the unequal penetration of capitalism into the Third World countries. This happened during colonialism, through imperialism and the contemporary neo-colonial strategies of capital expansion. As a result of this historical perspectives, labour migration in Southern Africa can be explained through the analysis of the penetration of capitalism and its effects on the poor labour sending countries that were fostered through historic times to embark on the exodus of their labour force into South African labour markets.

Furthermore, the articulation or dependency school of thought analysed underdevelopment of the Third World countries from a global historical perspective by also including the theory of class. Accordingly, developing countries are generally undergoing impoverishment or underdevelopment in relation to the development in the rich colonial powers. This was seen as the result of incipient penetration of global

capitalism into the peripheral countries (Frank, 1969; Baran, 1957). Stallings (1972: 10) postulated that the determination of social classes designates the purposeful positions held by agents of capital expansion in the social division of labour. Accordingly, such social positions are always defined in both relations of production and the relations of ideological and political domination. Thus, in the case of prevalent conditions of underdevelopment in most of the Third World, social class analysis makes it possible to specify new social divisions of labour and the social groups created by the introduction of the capitalist mode of production.

The example of this trend may be drawn from several studies carried out in Latin America, Asia and Africa which show how the introduction of capitalism, by instituting private property in agriculture, has modified traditional pre-capitalist class structure thereby creating a rural proletariat and a national bourgeoisie. The latter class is commonly expressed in political and bureaucratic as well as an economic power of the state (Chase-Dunn, 1975; Stallings, 1972; Leys, 1974).

Based on the dependency and class theory of development, several studies undertaken in most Third World countries reveal historical transformations of the Third World economies from subsistence, self-sufficient social formations into impoverished and dependent countries controlled and given direction by the external influences of foreign international capital (Safa, 1974).

The penetration of capitalist production is believed to have destroyed the traditional modes of production or traditional production organizations and replaced them by the introduction of a money economy of commodity production (Amin, 1973; Baran, 1957; Frank, 1969; Marx, 1976; Rodney, 1974;)

According to this theory of development and underdevelopment, the causes and effects of labour migration in Southern Africa need to be interpreted from the manner by which within historical times, capital accumulation has been facilitated in South Africa and with reference to the neighbouring states in its periphery and also, in relation to the historical

economic development, in terms of infrastructures in farming, mining, manufacturing and the service sectors of production in South Africa. (Matlosa,1997). Knowledge of the operational forces behind the contemporary labour migration and available literature points to a critical consideration of the African past, particularly the days of colonialism. For example, De Gaudemar quoted by Safa(1974:10) has pointed out that:

“ Migration may correctly be viewed as index of the structural position of dependency and underdevelopment culminating from the integration of African societies into the international capitalist economy, it is only one form of mobility among many which demonstrates the different specialties required of labour for its use in capitalist production”.

The economic dependence of the relatively poor countries on the rich or developed countries includes their dependence on opportunities of wage employment, gifts, donations, dependence on both consumer and capital goods, financial and technical assistance, all of which now constitute the order of the day among the developing countries such as Lesotho (Cobbe and Bardill,1984; Matlosa,1996; Santho& Sejanamane, 1990). The socio-economic scenario of development and underdevelopment that was initiated by the encroachment of capitalism into the developing regions and from which out-migration resulted was high lighted by Kohler in Magubane(1975:90) where he points out that

“ Migration is one symptom of crisis which deeply affects society. The balance previously existing between needs and resources has been destroyed by demographic pressure and the political, economic and cultural demands of the colonial power and its successors. Traditional values and beliefs have become degraded and increasingly ineffectual. Migration is not, therefore, a superficial phenomenon temporarily and harmlessly affecting the frivolous and footloose young. It has become an essential activity in society”.

1.5.4 Critique of dependency and neo-classical models

Even though the neo-classical models seem to provide a more useful explanation of the likely causes and effects of out-migration in the developing countries than the former

classical models, it has also been refuted as some of its loopholes require further clarification. The example of weaknesses that are embedded in the dependency theory or the articulation approaches include the following:

- ★ Assumptions that the future of peasants (rural producers) lies in the earnings of wage employment or the formation of a fully fledged working class. In this case, the theoretical model seems to ignore or overlooks the reality that a section of migrants do invest their migrant wages in rural production and then may cease being a migrant labourer. For example, some of the migrants have invested in agricultural production such as in the purchase of agricultural technology including ploughs, tractors, cattle for spans, other related equipment such as iron chains, improvements in livestock breeding, transport and business enterprises, all of which are examples of invested capital or acts of capital asset accumulation by the migrants, that the articulation exposition seems not to consider adequately. Thus this model does not tend to realize the possibility of ex-migrants who after withdrawing from labour migration, do establish themselves productively back in their original homes in the rural areas.
- ★ The neo-classical theory models also seem to be weak in undermining the existing pockets of traditional institutions which are still conservative and resistant to modernization. For example, the traditional institutions of chieftainship, initiation and other traditional rituals are still adhered to by many rural areas, therefore it is faulty for the articulation postulation that, in the end the rural labour force will completely be absorbed by the urban areas or that the countryside will also be absorbed by the towns or that the developing region will be absorbed by the developed regions.
- ★ In the same manner, the neo-classical theories see migrant workers as losing all their rural attributes once they get to the town or urban areas. However, in reality, migrants are found still attached to their original roots at home to their land, livestock, traditional values and customs.
- ★ Another critique raised against the applicability of the dependency and articulation approaches concerns claims of shortage of land as the historical push factor behind the historic out-migration among countries in Southern Africa.

Empirical evidence indicates that while shortage of land, perhaps as a result of colonial policies of land alienation, did force some farmers off their land based production, out-migration still occurred, even where land was in abundance. This indicates that it is not completely correct to associate reasons for labour out-migration solely on the rationalization of scarcity of arable land (Neocosmos, 1987).

1.6 The migrants-worker-peasant controversy

Are the migrant labourers peasants or workers? Or could we refer them as peasant workers? If so, what would be the implications of retrenchment? According to the dual economy discussed earlier, migrants are neither full time workers nor full time peasants. At one time they are at home helping and contributing in rural socio-economic activities of homestead and community, but while they are at work in town, they become urbanized and are part of the urban working class. Migrant workers are assumed to adjust easily to urban metropolitan life based on competition, skills, specialization and the modernising effects of urban life including exposure to mine politics, modern forms of media and also living in profit-seeking social environments.

Given these polarised socio-economic positions of migrant-workers, it seems correct that migrant workers are 'people of two worlds'. In other words, migrant workers in Southern Africa are partly proletarianized because they still have access or linkages to their primary rural basis of production and roots and as such they cannot be placed in the same bracket as urban wage working class which is divorced from its rural means of production of land resources in particular.

Thus, in respect to post-retrenchment conditions, it may be possible for those who have not been fully urbanised and who have re-invested a portion of their mine wages or collected relevant skills for rural production, to return to sustainable production in their rural home areas. On the other hand, migrants who have been absorbed fully into urban life and with relevant skills for self-employment and who have not made sustainable rural re-investment with the migrant wages, may display a relatively higher propensity for not returning to their original rural homes. In that case, they would be additions to

the already increasing numbers of people living in the urban work areas, thus contributing to both negative and positive impacts on rural areas.

—oo0oo—

CHAPTER TWO

2 THE REVIEW OF THE MIGRANT LABOUR SYSTEM IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.1. Introduction

Migrant workers are people who leave their homes periodically for the purpose of seeking employment, this movement may either be intra-national or international. Migrant workers move temporarily between their places of work and their home dwellings, the latter are usually in the rural areas where employment opportunities (besides subsistence agriculture), are always scarce. This kind of temporary and periodic movement of human labour power may sometimes be referred to as, the oscillating system of labour (Mohlabi in Church and Migrant labour, 1970).

The central focus of this chapter is to look into the origins and development of the oscillating migrant labour system which developed between South Africa and other countries in Southern African region, with particular emphasis on Lesotho as the case study nation. For the purpose of this dissertation, this chapter seeks to accomplish the following:

- ★ establish and analyse historical forces that necessitated and maintained the migrant labour system in South Africa ;
- ★ identify contemporary (1990's) socio-political and economic transformations that have and continue to bring about escalating retrenchment, especially for foreign mine workers in South African mines;
- ★ to speculate on the likely future of foreign mine worker recruitment in South Africa with specific reference to the labour force of Lesotho.

2.2 Origins and organization of the migrant labour system in South Africa.

The historical origins of the migrant labour system in South Africa are traceable as far back as the arrival of the British white settlers at the Cape in 1820 (Callinicos, 1987, Richardson and Marks, 1984). The 1820 settlers demanded labour to service both commercial and agricultural activities of early British colonialism in South Africa (Legassie and Clerecq, 1984). On the other hand, some scholars strongly argue that,

when the other English settlers arrived in the Cape Colony in 1907, they also brought capital with them for investment, but lacked the necessary work force which was then found among the indigenous population in South-Africa(Magubane,1975). In this case, a system of employing oscillating labour power started employing traditional South African people such as the Pedi, Tsonga and Southern Sotho, long before mineral discoveries between 1860's and 1886(Callinicos,1987).

For example, during the discovery of diamonds in Kimberly in 1867 and gold in Witwatersrand in 1886, additional labour was needed for mining. The subsequent development of the heavy mining industry became the core of capital accumulation from the Southern Africa region to the world- economy 1900 (Woodis,1960; Callinicos,1987). It is maintained that it was these early discoveries of minerals that increased demand for labour and that a number of strategic policies were subsequently employed by the Chamber of Mines (in collaboration with the then apartheid government) so as to ensure that the demand for labour was met. A detailed account of such labour enforcement policies is provided in the succeeding pages of this chapter.

Another important aspect of the origin of migrant labour system in Southern Africa relates to the actual recruitment of migrant-workers from their usually rural homes to the mines. According to writers such as (Callinicos,1987 and Marks & Richardson,1984)early recruitment of migrant workers was rather spontaneous and was not as structured as more recent contract organisation formations. For example, it is shown how traditional chiefs in the rural areas were brought into recruitment of their own people, firstly for farmers and secondly, for the mines in South Africa. In all cases, traditional African chiefs were enticed with cash to encourage the recruitment of their able bodied labour force to the mines.

2.2.1 Reasons for labour-migration into South Africa.

- ★ Richardson and Marks(1984) considered that the early development of migrant labour system into South Africa was mainly motivated by individual migrant

workers self-interests such as the following:

i Desire for cash-income:

Some of the early migrants were motivated by the desire to procure cash-income in order to meet personal needs such as guns and horses. The significance of these goods in social life had just begun to unfold among the rural communities (Callinicos, 1987).

ii Desire for personal freedom:

Many early labour migrations were a product of necessity either due to a shortage of arable land or due to declining farm yields which forced many people to seek alternative livelihoods. But for many others, it was instead individual psychological factors such as the desire for personal freedom which acted as the primary motivation for migration. This particular motive was particularly strong for junior male members of households. For example, their desire to be away from parental control and to earn personal cash-income for bride-price are some of the reasons that are regarded as having contributed greatly to the early exodus of migrant workers to mines and farms in South Africa (Callinicos, 1987).

★ Transformation of pre-capitalist or subsistence agriculture:

During the colonial period, commercial agriculture was introduced to the colonies, and in some cases replaced traditional subsistence agriculture (Sender and Smith, 1987). In situations where subsistence farmers could not keep up with the demands of commercial agriculture, migration in order to find urban employment in mines, industries and firms became an alternative for earning a cash income in order to supplement subsistence of households.

In addition, the establishment of plantations or estates in certain areas by colonizers for the production of labour intensive cash-crops resulted in the eviction of traditional farmers from their farms to service commercial farming interests (Sender and Smith, 1987). For example, in Kenya due to favourable farming conditions in the

Highlands Region, tea became the most essential commodity for export. However, in the countries where commercial commodity production was limited or not profitable, including Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, labour power became an alternative commodity for export particularly to satisfy employment needs for South African mining industry and the expanding economy(Murray,1981; Simelane,1997).

- ★ The influence of the former apartheid government on labour migration;
The role played by the Southern African government in inducing and enforcing black labour for mine employment locally and from the neighbouring southern African countries is well documented. Initially, it was the increased demand for labour for both mines and industry that brought about an alliance between the State and the Mining companies(represented by the Chamber of Mines in South Africa (Simelane, 1997, Crush and James, 1995). The alliance between the State and the Chamber of Mines shows itself most explicitly in the structuring of specific legislation aimed at ensuring a regular labour supply to the mines. In the South African context , labour restructuring policies ranged from the use of force to industrial paternalism.

Strategic policies were enforced as a means to drive African peasants away from subsistence livelihoods(from the1890's) to the land, to the gold, coal and diamonds(Matlosa,1997;Mohlabi,1970;Nzula,1979; Semilane,1995). Some of the major labour policies used by the South African state include: coercive taxation, land alienation(1913 Land act) and other political and economic means briefly discussed below.

i Introduction of cash-income:

During the colonial era, cash-income was introduced as a means to divorce traditional farmers from their traditional farming resources and into colonial wage-labour. For those farmers for whom cash income could not be procured from cash-crop production, working for wages became inevitable. These traditional farmers were unlikely to voluntarily leave their rural production for

wage employment, and thus colonial governments introduced policies such as hut tax aimed at forcing peasants into wage employment. Scholars such as First, 1983; Frank, 1969; Forbes, 1981; Forster-Carter, 1978; Neocosmos, 1987; Rodney, 1974) have argued that, it was this encroachment of capitalism into then pre-capitalist societies through the advent of cash-income or wages which contributed to subsequent socio- economic inequalities among rural peasants. It is from some of these colonially created social differentiations that in some cases, led to out-migration in search of cash-income for cultural, economic and social reasons by migrants since the early 19th century (Mamdani, 1987).

ii Coercive State taxation:

As mentioned above, in order to create a regular supply of labour to the mines, the British colonial State in South Africa introduced a compulsory taxation in the form of hut tax, as a means to divorce rural peasants from their traditional means of subsistence. Hut tax was a form of taxation designed by colonizers for the sole purpose of forcing male persons from the colonies to work for colonial states. This taxation was to be paid only in cash, which in turn could only be obtained by either offering wage labour or through a change from subsistence agriculture to commodity production of raw materials which were needed by colonial powers (Beirnat, 1982; Cliffe, 1977; First, 1983; Neocosmos, 1987).

iii Land alienation:

As indicated above, African colonial history displays many instances in which traditional African farmers were divorced from their basic resources of farming lands by colonizers or white settlers. Examples of this trend are common in the former African white settler communities such as in Kenya, Zimbabwe, Swaziland and within the former apartheid South Africa. It was in the latter country that the black-homelands or Bantustans were created through various mechanisms of land-alienation. Black South Africans were pushed away from their traditional farming lands into impoverished areas less suitable to agriculture by the 1913 land act. As a result, Black Africans became confined

to Bantustans and were reduced to "hewers of wood and drawers of water" (Magubane, 1975:245) "Land alienation transformed once self-supporting peasants into squatters, tenant farmers, or migrant labourers on the ill-gotten settler's farms or drove them into the mines and cities in search of work," (Hepple, 1993: 93-94).

iv Integration of the neighbouring Southern African Region:

At the same time that internal colonization was being developed through apartheid policies aimed at separate development to ensure a steady supply of black labour in South Africa, an external regional sub-system for the supply of labour was also being fashioned, aimed at bringing neighbouring countries into the provision of labour for the mines and industries in South Africa. It was the Chamber of Mines and the South African State which initially arranged for the recruitment of labour from surrounding countries such as Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and others. In most of these countries, the chamber of mines was able to establish labour recruiting agencies, such as the Witwatersrand National Labour Association (WNLA) which recruited mine labour from Mozambique and the Native Recruiting Corporation (NRC) which recruited mine labour from the Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland (Jonhstone, 1976).

2.2.2. The discovery of mineral wealth in South Africa

The discovery of minerals in Kimberly in 1860 and the Witwatersrand in 1886 is basically considered to be the most important historical factor to have attracted migrant labour from throughout South Africa and neighbouring countries. Labour was not only attracted to formal employment opportunities in the mines but also into the industrial constructions and services sectors in South Africa (Crush, 1995; Richardson and Mark 1984; Van der Host, 1971). So as to develop the mineral-rich areas, the South African government in collaboration with mine-owners resorted to both political and economic strategies to provide the required labour power.

One of the earliest of these strategies was the 19th century implementation by the South

African Milner government of introducing indentured Indian and Chinese labour to meet the needs of industry, agriculture and construction in South Africa. For example, between 1860-1866, 6,500 indentured Indians were imported to supply labour to sugar plantations in Natal, and in 1902 a further 90 000 Chinese indentured labourers were imported to the mines before the Anglo-Boer war (Magubane, 1975). But due to ever increasing demands for labour power, further importation of Asian labour become costly and unprofitable. These necessitated the eviction of the Chinese from South African work places such as from the mine and the farms. By 1910, "All Chinese had left South Africa except for a handful who had evaded the net and become petty traders and shopkeepers" (Hepple, 1968:201). It was as a consequence of the collapse of the importation of cheap Asian labour, that the chamber of mines and the South African government were forced into creating a local supply of labour- power for industry and commercial farming systems. Local recruitment of labour from within South Africa and neighbouring states became imperative (Simons and Simons, 1969; Hepple, 1968). One strategy for local recruitment was the creation of Black homelands from which a continuous supply of labour for mines could be extracted (Van der Host, 1971).

In addition, the need for cheap black labour for the mines, made it politically imperative that inter-governmental linkages were established between South African Government and the other labour sending countries outside the boundaries of South Africa. For example, in 1974, an agreement was reached between South Africa and the Government of Lesotho concerning the defer-payment issue. This issue is discussed in detail later in this dissertation.

In addition, literature shows that from the moment the Africans were pushed into reserve areas, they became totally and fully integrated into the white economy indicating that the creation of the homelands of South Africa was a practical articulation of the internal colonialism, which among others, was intended to:

- ★ prolong the life of the mining capital in the expanding mining industries of South Africa;

- ✱ effectively limit the development of the former Black African independent homelands areas, while urban areas for the whites were developed; thereby creating conditions of unequal regional development within South Africa, hence promoting rural-urban migration(Magubane,1975; Van der Horst,1971:64).

As already indicated earlier in this thesis, one of the historical South Africa strategy for overcoming mine labour shortage had been the structure of the migrant labour system. The system has historically been enforced by both, the South Africa government and the Chamber of Mines. Some of the ways by which migrant labour system of Africa labour was enforced, encouraged and maintained within South Africa and the neighbouring countries of which Lesotho is not an exception have been discussed in the preceding pages of this chapter. Furthermore, it has been a historical fact that, the migrant labour system necessitated an accumulation of capital by way of labour exploitation (Richardson and Marks,1984). Low wages paid to migrant labour have through mining history been a means for the realization of super profits by the mining industry of South Africa (Richardson and Marks,1984; Van der Horst, 1971; Wilson,1972).

Indeed, it is argued by some writers (see Luxemburg, 1965), that the mature development of capital investment in South Africa was able to survive entirely on the exploitation of non-capitalist social-organizations in its peripheral States. This process was facilitated by the 19th century integration of the traditional socio-economic structures of the pre-capitalist organisation(non-market relations) with those characterised by capitalist socio-economic structures(market-relations) with South Africa and the neighbouring States.

Referring to the specific migrant labour conditions between Industrial South Africa and the former Homelands of South Africa and also to other labour sending countries in Southern Africa, which also had to be brought under the control of the exploitative mining capital. Luxemburg(1965:395) has argued at length that:

“Since the accumulation of capital becomes impossible in all points without non-capitalist surrounding, we cannot gain a true picture of it by assuming the exclusive and absolute domination of the capitalist mode of production... Capital needs the means of production and the labour power of the whole globe for untrimmed accumulation; it cannot manage without the natural resources and the labour power which all territories provide. Seeing that the overwhelming majority of resources and the labour power are in fact still in the orbit of pre-capitalist production - this being the historical milieu of accumulation--capital must go all to obtain ascendancy over these territories and social organisations.”

2.2.3 Reasons for foreign labour recruitment by South African Mines.

- ✪ During the birth of the migrant labour system, Black South Africans still had access to their resources of farm land and livestock. As a result of it is often argued that, native South African's were reluctant to exchange their subsistence livelihoods for wage employment in urban centres. During these initial stages of labour migration (1860 -1980's), mine work was seen as risky and poorly paid.

Furthermore, both remuneration packages and the division of labour were based on racial discrimination which were not tolerated (Crush and James, 1995; Richardson and Mark, 1984).

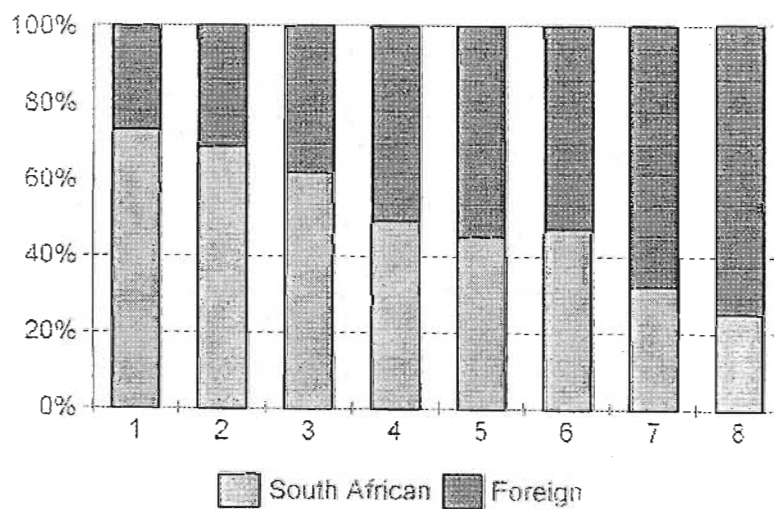
- ✪ The relatively submissive nature of foreign migrants, compared with the historic militancy associated with the indigenous Black South Africans, led to a preference for the recruitment of foreigners over locals for the purposes of mine work, in the name of increased stability and output.

As a result of these considerations, even countries outside of South Africa's borders became socially and economically integrated into the world capitalist economy. This integration was, amongst other things, involved transforming rural economies so as to meet the labour demands of mining in South Africa. As discussed earlier, this entailed divorcing farmers from their basic resources of land for wage employment (Crush and James, 1995; Semilane, 1997).

- ★ The recruitment of foreign migrants has been associated with the understanding that it created a reservoir of mining skills. The foreign mine workers, rather than the locals, constituted a collection of mining skills, experience and discipline requisites for the smooth operation of the mining industry. This factor has contributed greatly for the recruitment of foreign migrant mine workers rather than locals for the mining industry in South Africa (Crush, 1995; Guy and Thabane, 1993). Furthermore, foreign migrant workers have throughout the mining history in South Africa been better educated than their South African counterparts, hence were more suited to relatively skilled job categories than the Black South African locals (De Vletter, 1990; Golding, 1995; Moodie, 1994).

Figure 2.1 is provided to reflect the educational and skill level differences between the local South African mine workers versus foreign mine workers as the basis for the historic preference for the recruitment of foreign labour power in respect to Anglo-American Gold mines in particular.

Figure 2.1: differences in education and mining skills between the local Black South Africans and the Foreign migrant workers.



Job GRADE(1=UNSKILLED, 8=MOST SKILLED)

Source: Crush and James, 1995.

2.2.4 Changing patterns of migratory labour in South Africa

The recent dismantling of the Apartheid State and its replacement by a democratic government, has implied a number of changes in respect to the re-structuring of national labour policies, including the migrant labour system.

Some major changes that have had an impact on almost all labour sending countries included the following:

- ✧ Changes in labour power recruitment from the former temporary employment contract system, based on racial separation, to a more permanent, normalised and stabilised mine labour force;(Crush and James,1995).
- ✧ The lifting of historical apartheid labour legislation that controlled black labour movement and productivity,for example, the influx control regulations which prohibited movement and residence of black South African's in formerly designated white areas and the cancellation of the apartheid pass laws;(Crush and James,1995).
- ✧ The dismantling of former South African homelands or areas designated as labour reserves, and their incorporation into the whole political economy of South Africa as a whole.
- ✧ The recent formation of the South African National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). and its pressure on the Chamber of Mines (COM) for better wages and working conditions for all mine workers (Crush and James, 1995).
- ✧ The recent 1993 mining transformation in respect to housing conditions for mine workers and the forced changes to migrant workers residences. These changes have brought about a shift, away from the traditional single men compound system, to a more settled migrant labour family housing systems in the vicinity of the working places or mines (Moodie,1994);
- ✧ The re-structuring of the historic mine labour recruitment organization, The Employment Bureau of Africa (TEBA), from being a regional mine spatial recruiting body into being what it has been since 1994. For example, at present (1999), TEBA is no longer seen as an active recruitment agency for novice mine labour power, but instead, is engaged in transformation into a bureaucracy dealing with the following :

- i telex requests for labour outside and beyond the normal quotas;
- ii provision of mine payments to the migrant workers concerned;
- iii a liaison body between the Chamber of mines and the de facto migrant workers' families;
- iv ensuring regular contacts with disabled and injured ex-migrant workers;
- v identification and co-ordination of community projects for ex-migrant workers (Crush and James, 1995).

2.2.5 South African mines and labour retrenchment:

Since the mining era began in South Africa, mine owners have always been keen to substitute human-labour with machines in an effort to cut down the escalating costs of wages. This was first a result of South African Government decisions to restrict recruitment from the neighbouring States for various political and economic reasons, hence a substantial decrease in mine labour was eventually felt (Simelane, 1995).

In accordance with decisions about the curtailment of further labour recruitment, during the early 1980s, the South African mining industry launched a new labour policy of mine labour lay-offs and down scaling (Crush and James, 1995). For example, between 1989 and 1995 gold mining alone lost about 180,000 jobs, due to both down-scaling and retrenchment labour policies in the mining industry (Seidman, 1993). Tables 2.2 shows recent 1986-1992, lay-off trends from major mining companies in South Africa. The Table indicates that during the specified period, most mines were affected by the lay-offs of both foreign and domestic migrant workers.

Table 2.1 Migrant workers lay offs by different mining companies in South Africa

ANGLO AMERICAN MINES	1986	1992	job-loss	Foreign	South African	Foreign %	South African%
Elandsrand	8143	7843	-300	+173	-473	0	100
VAAL REEFS	47690	37936	-9754	-1758	-7996	18	82
WESTERN DEEP	25035	20127	-4908	-1686	-3222	34	66
FS GEDULD	28847	22588	-6259	-988	-5261	16	84
FS SAAIPLAAS	10888	10068	-820	-422	-1242	0	100
PRES BRAND	19858	13622	-6236	-1533	-4703	25	75
PRES STEYN	20940	14628	-6312	-940	-5372	15	85
W. HOLDINGS	21037	13553	-7484	-1966	-5518	26	74
SUB-TOTALS	182438	140365	-42073	-8286	-33787	20	80
GENCOR MINES							
GROOTVLEI	6349	1710	-4639	-818	-3821	18	82
WEST RAND CONS	5503	197	-5306	-1267	-4039	24	76
WINKELHAAK	10330	8527	-1803	+559	-2362	0	100
KINROSS	8975	6941	-2034	-626	-1408	31	69
MARIEVALE	1202	159	-1043	-347	-696	33	67
STILFONTEIN	11955	341	-11614	-3999	-7615	34	66
UNISEL	4022	2954	-1068	-250	-818	23	77
BEATRIX	7316	5549	-1767	-1073	-694	61	39
BUFFULSFONTEIN	14646	6856	-7790	-1477	-6313	19	81
ST HILINA	10824	7144	-3680	-733	-2947	20	80
SUB-TOTALS	81122	40378	-40744	-10031	-30713	25	75
GOLD FIELDS MINES							
LUIPAARSVLEI	440	38	-402	-75	-327	19	81
VENIERSPOST	3096	2778	-318	-160	-158	50	50
DEELKRAAL	6602	6258	-344	-197	-147	57	43
DOORNFONTEIN	10886	5263	-5233	-1552	-3681	30	70
LIBANON	8121	6041	-2080	-1053	-1027	51	49
W.DRIEFONTEIN	16096	13935	-2161	-1022	-1139	47	53
E.DRIEFONTEIN	13636	11155	2481	-2143	-338	86	14
KLOOF	16431	18785	+2354	+1453	+901	62	38
SUB-TOTALS	78908	64253	-10665	-4749	-5916	45	55

SOURCE: After Crush and James, 1995

2.2.5.1 Reasons for labour retrenchment from South African mines during the 1990's

- i Labour retrenchment has been influenced by a combination of fluctuations in the world gold price and the pressure exerted by NUM on the Chamber of Mines for higher wages and a general improvement in the working conditions of the mining industry. For instance, according to Van Burren (1998:75) " ... in December, World gold price began falling below \$300 per oz , thereby reaching an 18 year low,".
- ii The high rate of unemployment in South Africa as a whole, combined with current conditions of political transformation in South Africa, along with patriotic sentiments among civil society and interest groups seem to argue against large numbers of foreign migrant workers in view of local domestic unemployment (Crush and James,1995).
- iii Attempts to implement new labour policies on internalization, stabilization and mechanization by the Chamber of Mines in compliance with the South African national policies of the new democratic dispensation.(Matlosa,1997; Crush,1995)
- iv The closure of the marginal, smaller and unproductive mining shafts as happened during winter 1999, as a result of the decline of gold prices in the world markets.

2.2.5.2 Internalization of mine labour in South Africa

This recent shift in South African labour policy to preference domestic labour recruitment over foreigners, has meant that internalization has been one of the suggested and viable strategies advocated for addressing widespread unemployment country wide. This strategy has been enforced to replace foreign miners with local South Africans as well as being an attempt to solve the housing problem of the mine workers in the vicinity of the work places. Historically, migrant workers had been housed in the mine hostels, while better housing in the vicinity of the mines was provided for white management personnel only. However, as a result of change to a democratic dispensation in South Africa, the mining industry also to adjust its labour policies. One of this was equal provision of better housing to all mine workers regardless of race or place of origin. This change would cost Chamber of mines highly.

The alternative solution was the retrenchment of the foreign mine workers. For instance, since 1986, South Africa has increasingly been concerned with domestic levels of political unrest and rising unemployment, this is cited as another reason for the recruitment of South Africans from former homelands rather than migrant workers from neighbouring countries. This is seen as having the added benefit for South Africa of reducing dependence on neighbouring countries for labour power (Santho and Sejanamane, 1990).

In 1987, TEBA predicted that by 2002, the recruitment of foreign labour power will have been completely stopped and replaced by local South African black labour power drawn mainly from the former disadvantaged Homeland areas (Weekly Mail, 1987).

2.2.5.3 Stabilization of the labour power in South African mines:

This has been a recent South African labour policy aimed at replacing the historical oscillating labour power with a relatively more permanent, stable and skilled mine labour force. In practice this has translated primarily into the recruitment of local South African citizens for both mining and industrial sectors thus fostering both the marginalisation of peripheral domestic workers and foreign migrant workers (Crush and James, 1995).

In order to include foreign migrant workers in the post apartheid mining scenario, the Mandela government in 1994, offered permanent residency foreign mine workers.

The offer of "miners amnesty" has caused a large deal debate in former labour sending countries including in Lesotho. For example, in Lesotho, fears of permanent residence to migrant labour veterans in South Africa have centred around social economic and political issues. The major areas of concern being centred around the shrinkage of regular remittances to families, a disruption in the social structure of families, the loss of labour power to both communities and to the nation as a whole as well as losses to annual revenue for the Lesotho government (Gill, 1996; Matlosa, 1997; Samp, 1997).

2.2.5.4 Mechanization of the mining industry in South Africa.

Over the last century, there has been tremendous technological improvement and innovation in the South African mining industry. Obviously, expansion in mine technology and mechanization has led to a reduction in labour demands by mine operations, and in some cases labour power thus made redundant. Surveys conducted for the mining industry in South Africa during 1988, indicated an urgent need for increased mechanization especially in the gold -mining industries in order to boost productivity and output (COM, 1988). Accordingly a number of prerequisites were deemed necessary for the establishment and implementation of mechanization policies, amongst them the launching of a policy of retrenchment since the late 1990's (Crush and James, 1995).

2.3 Labour migration in Lesotho: An historical perspective.

The study of population distribution in Lesotho shows unequal variation in population densities between the lowland and mountain regions of the country. This difference in population density is a result of environmental, political and economic differences between the west and the east of the country. According to Mcleod (1995) shortages of grazing land in the lowland areas during the 1890's forced many livestock farmers into the mountains, thus establishing the institution of rural cattle-post settlements. This land shortage was heightened by the introduction of the South African squatters act of 1912 which compelled many Basotho who had previously settled in the Republic of South Africa to return home thus increasing competition for land, both for settlement and farming purposes. This change brought about, the historical migration of livestock farmers from the Western lowland areas into the Mountain region forming the mountain districts of Lesotho such as Qachasneck, Mokhotlong and Thaba-Tseka (Mcleod, 1995). The population of Lesotho has ever since, been mobile with people moving either temporarily or permanently between different regions or districts and or even within different parts of the same districts for a number of reasons. The subsequent culture of migration has in addition led to a number of external labour movements in search of procuring livelihoods by the people of Lesotho (Matlosa, 1997; Mcleod, 1995).

2.3.1 Internal migration in Lesotho

In Lesotho, internal migration is part of a very complex process of social mobility, ranging from daily, too seasonal and periodic movements of different categories of people. As previously highlighted career concerns primarily entice people to migrate from their home areas to other areas for the purposes of earning cash or payment in kind for household subsistence. But, inter-annual migration between districts and regions is an historical process among the Basotho people, and is not new to the advent of waged labour, as such the phenomenon of internal migration is made more complex.

Even though data on internal migration is not always readily available, the substantial growth of population in areas which are economically better off indicates a great deal of internal migration within the country. For instance, areas displaying relatively higher concentrations of economic developments such as Maseru and Maputsoe industrial estates (both of which are in the western lowlands) are where most of the developments are concentrated than in the eastern mountain areas. The latter areas are relatively less developed and therefore people move away from them to the Western developed areas for job opportunities, social and economic amenities.

Figure 2.2: depicts the major historical trends of internal migration within the country. As the arrows indicate, movements are from rural areas to major towns in the west mainly to Maseru and to other major lowland towns such as Leribe and Mafeteng.

Although a detailed analysis of the causes and effects of the implications of internal migration may form a valuable contribution to understanding the mechanisms of human migration, the focus of this dissertation is rather based on the effects and future prospects of the Lesotho's history of sending migrant labour to South Africa.

This is not to disregard the fact that most internal rural-urban migration from the rural or mountain districts of Mokhotlong (case-study district), Thaba-Tseka, and Qachasneck are in part a result of historical urban bias in regional economic development planning by the government of Lesotho since independence, four decades ago (Mcleod, 1995).

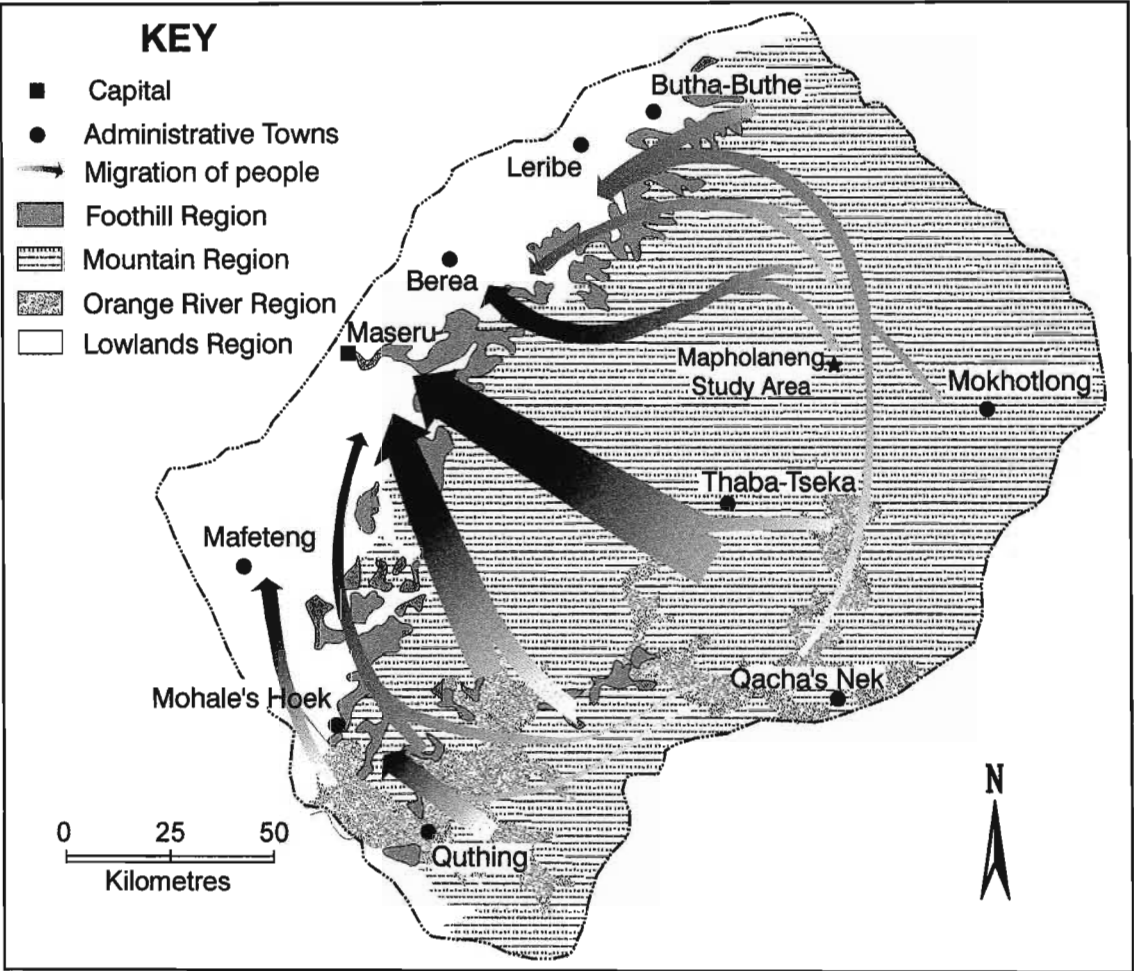


Figure 2.2: Trends of domestic internal labour migration in Lesotho (Source: After Mcleod, 1995)

2.3.2 Lesotho's labour migration into South Africa

According authors such as Molefi(1991), Matlosa(1996&1997), Gill (1996), Strom(1976), Cobbe (1982), Murray (1981), labour migration from Lesotho to South Africa dates as far back as the initial socio-economic contacts between the Basotho and the White Settlers in South Africa in the 1800's. It is maintained that at this time ,Basotho were employed in sugar plantations in Natal as well as in labour intensive constructions such as railways and domestic occupations throughout South Africa. Lesotho's dependence on South Africa for employment opportunities is thus a historical phenomenon which started long before the mineral discoveries in Kimberly and Witwatersrand (Cobbe,1982).

Furthermore, the 1970's agricultural census of Lesotho, shows that about 51.1% of a total population was outside the country working as migrant workers in South Africa, while ten years later in 1986, this number had increased to 68%(Kingdom of Lesotho,1987; Perry, 1983). Moreover, during the same year,1986, migrant labourers were estimated to have brought to Lesotho government,earnings in the region of R48 million in the form of deferred payments and R25 million as remittances sent to individual migrant households as cash or goods (Kingdom of Lesotho,1987). Other types of work aside from gold and coal mining for which migrant Basotho workers were recruited include; domestic duties, farming, construction, manufacturing and other service industries these have received wider documentation.

Table 2.2 displays the percentage of Basotho migrant workers in each of the basic mine job-categories in which they have been involved in South Africa. These include; surface work, underground supervisory, mechanical, engineering, basic and other sub-categories.

Table 2.2 Basotho mine employment categories in South Africa

Type of work	% of Employment category
Surface Work	9.9
Driver	1.5
security	1.5
clerk	1.1
cleaner	1.1
kitchen	0.9
Underground supervisory	39.9
miner	25.2
stope team leader	10.8
general team leader	2.6
gang supervisor	1.1
Underground mechanical	29.1
winch driver	15.7
locomotion driver	6.3
drill operator	2.8
Underground engineering	4.7
electrician	1.7
boiler maker	0.9
plumber	0.9
Underground basic	16.4
timber worker	5.4
mining team	5.0
spare gang	4.

Source: Migration Policy Series No.2, 1997:7

Various combinations of factors which have fostered and sustained labour migration between Lesotho and South Africa over the last century have also received both verbal and written documentation analysing both the pull and push factors behind the development of the migrant labour system to South Africa. The following section deals with some of the major historical reasons for this oscillating labour system.

2.3.2.1 Motivations for labour migration into South Africa

★ Land shortages for agricultural production:

In 1999, many people in Lesotho did not have any accessibility rights to owning any farming land mainly due to:

- i Historical sub-divisions of household's fields between members;
- ii Physical unavailability of any virgin or unclaimed arable land, resulting from the increased population growth within Lesotho as a whole. For example, during mid- 1992, the total population of Lesotho was estimated at 1.9 million while during the 1990–1996, it was again estimated to have increased annually at an average rate of 2.1% (Van Buren, 1998).
- iii The natural topography being rugged and mountainous means that 58 % , more than half the whole country is mountainous, and is hence, hostile to human attempts to manipulate agriculture. This factor is a natural impediment to crop production in that it limits the availability of arable land. Given the shortage of arable land country wide and the increased demand for arable land by the newly established families or novice households, marginal and already impoverished areas and steep slopes have been turned into fields for subsistence production. This has become a common practice, especially in the rural mountain area's hill slopes to compensate for the shortage of farming arable land. Unfortunately this option has contributed to the acceleration of the soil erosion and degradation problem facing the agricultural development of Lesotho as an agricultural economy (Mcleod, 1995); Murray, 1981).

★ Population pressure

Documentation of Lesotho's labour migration reveals that in some circumstances people migrated for employment opportunities in South Africa out of necessity as a result of low agricultural yields. Accordingly, labour migration was initially a strategy for supplementing low agricultural yields by some peasant households but in others, labour migration was basically regarded as a compensation for lack of farming land culminating from the relative increases in population (Cobbe and Bardill, 1984; Eldridge, 1993; Molefi, 1991; Murray, 1981; Strom, 1972). For instance, in 1992 Lesotho's population was estimated at 1.9 million and that the rate of population increase was an annual rate of around 21%. It was also calculated that 78% of the resident population were living in rural areas thereby worsening the problem of land shortage further (Molefi, 1991).

★ Agricultural investments:

The study of labour migration in Lesotho reveals that a section of Basotho migrated for employment in South Africa with the purpose to acquire cash with which to purchase technology for investment in agricultural production. The desire by some of the Basotho migrants to invest in agriculture seemed to have implied the following:

- i Purchases of agricultural tools such as the iron plough (Murray, 1981; Mcleod, 1995);
 - ii Related farming equipments of harrows and planters (Molefi, 1991);
 - iii Purchases of draught animals or the ox-span (Molefi, 1991);
 - iv Purchases of pesticides, insecticides and livestock disease control measures for purposes of improving agricultural production systems (Mcleod, 1989).
- Emphasising the importance of the desire by migrants to purchase a plough, Molefi has recently pointed out the significance of the plough when he said, "... Basotho could acquire agricultural implements such as plough, planter and harrow. Before then, the Basotho were using wooden implements which were not as effective as steel agricultural implements," (Molefi, 1991:75).

★ Diversification of agriculture:

Some peasants migrated to South Africa for employment with the intentions of improving their agriculture by diversifying it through the possible application of new methods. These migrant workers initially aimed at implementing the following innovations in agricultural development:

- i Purchases of a variety of commercial livestock such as dairy cows, rabbits and chickens;
- ii Venturing into new horticultural practices or other systems of commercial farming
- iii Inter-cropping and irrigation are agricultural practices aimed at restoring soil fertility and increasing crop production;
- iv Purchases of new breeds/hybrids of improved grain seed.; especially for staple food grains of maize, wheat and sorghum;
- v Improvement of livestock by either qualitative breeding or additional quantitative purchases of different types of livestock such as sheep, cattle, donkey and horses (Mcleod, 1995; Molefi, 1991; Murray, 1981).

★ Non-agricultural investment motives:

In some cases, people migrated due to the desire to invest migrant wages earned in non-agricultural income generating activities such as:

- i Petty-commodity production (pcp);
- ii Self-employment in either tailoring, repair-work, furniture, cement building block making, taxi-transport or in enhancing the education of the family members (Pae, 1992).

★ Desire for individual freedom or to procure funds for lobola rituals

This historical motive for labour migration to South Africa, has been more profound especially among the young, unmarried boys. In many cases, labour migration was regarded as a means by which individual youths could attain their freedom from strict parental control at home. For example, while in the mines, the youths could freely make their own decisions affecting their lives without any influence or intervention by parents. Thus, they could use the earned wages the way they preferred.

The need to acquire cattle for lobola had traditionally placed the youth at the mercy of parents, labour migration came to be regarded as a means for youths to procure lobola cattle on their own and therefore establish their own independent families.

★ Lack of domestic employment opportunities.

An unforgettable legacy of British colonialism of Lesotho was the total neglect of bases for the domestic creation of employment in Lesotho. Since colonial times, Lesotho has always suffered from chronic unemployment, hence its historical dependence on South Africa for the employment of her labour force.

Lack of employment opportunities, shortages of land, a depressed state of agriculture, and low wages in Lesotho's formal sector have all contributed to the historic exodus of Lesotho's labour power to South African mines over the last decades (Eldridge, 1993; VanBuren, 1998). Recently in 1997, it was estimated that in Lesotho unemployment was exceeding 35%. Although, there have been high hopes that the construction phases of the Highland water Schemes would help absorb a greater portion of the returning migrants from South Africa, unfortunately, this has not been the case (Mcleod, 1995).

★ Indirect compulsion by the State (Colonial governments mechanisms of coercion).

In most cases, British colonial State policies were fashioned purposefully to force young and strong Basotho male's to migrate to the mines for wages in South Africa. An example being, the notorious historical concept of hut taxation. During the early days of colonialism, every married adult male was forced to pay this hut tax in cash to the colonial government. However, in order to procure the required tax, household heads had to either engage in commodity production or sell some of the household labour power in South Africa (Ambrose 1976; Cobbe, 1982; Makhanya, 1981; Matlosa, 1996; Mcleod, 1995; Pae, 1992). It may be found unreasonable of British Colonialism to have initiated and imposed taxation on her colonies without any meaningful attempts being made for the creation of domestic jobs.

Another British colonial state imposition on the Basotho which added to the exodus of Lesotho labour force into South Africa for employment concerned the economic tariffs that were placed on Lesotho's grain export to the South African mines to the comparative advantage of both Australian and USA grain export to South Africa (Murray, 1981). This historic politico-economic exchange between Lesotho and South Africa, has since then transformed and reduced Lesotho from its former, historic economic hegemony as the 'granary of South Africa' to her present and escalating economic dependence on South Africa and European hand-outs (Murray, 1981).

2.3.2.2 Impacts of the Migrant labour System

The long history of Lesotho's involvement in labour migration warrants an assessment of its effects on all aspects of rural existence. Most of the literature reviewed for this dissertation basically grouped the effects of labour migration under two interrelated categories : positive socio-economic effects and negative socio-cultural and politico-economic impacts on rural livelihoods.

2.3.2.2.1 Positive socio-economic impact.

★ Historic significance of labour migration and development of Lesotho.

Historically the earnings of migrant labour wages by a large proportion of Lesotho's labour force obviously has had impacts on the socio- economic development of Lesotho. The study of the effects of migrant wages from different work places in South Africa seems to have varied considerably depending on the length of the mining history of each individual migrant worker and the type of jobs and skills required by each individual migrant worker. As a result, attempting to analyse the ways in which different migrant workers use/d their mine wages is a critical exercise, demanding long term interaction with each individual migrant labour household. Documentation on historical changes to wages that accrued to different migrant workers show that, before 1970's, mine wages were generally low in both skilled and unskilled jobs (Colin, 1998). Any rise in migrant wages has historically been related to subsequent increases in the price of minerals,

especially to demand for gold on the world markets (Richardson and Marks,1984).

Some mining records in South Africa indicate that, in 1982 basic annual migrant wages for underground workers were raised to R500.00, but, with related bonuses and overtimes, some migrant workers became capable of earning over R2000.00 (Mcleod,1995). At the household level, migrant wages in the form of both remittances,goods send home, and the deferred payments that accrued to migrant workers seemed to have risen relatively since the 1970's and then declined thereafter, during the 1980's. Table 2.3 depicts an historical change in Lesotho's migrant labour recruitment and related changes in mine wages over the mining decade ,1974-1985. As Table 2.3 shows, there was a steady decrease in the number of Basotho miners employed since 1970 with related increases in mine wages.

Table 2.3 Mine Wage employment and Income outside Lesotho (Total Earnings, Deferred payment and mine wages payments in 000 maluti)

Year	Employment	Annual labour force recruitment	Annual payments in (000 Maluti)	Annual wage differences	Rates of wage increase
1970	87,384	-	4,438	-	-
1971	91,080	-3696	4,708	-270	-
1972	98,822	7742	4,818	-110	-160
1973	110,477	116555	8,643	-3825	37.15
1974	106,231	-4246	12,463	3820	-5
1975	112,507	6276	19,995	7532	37.12
1976	121,062	8555	26,062	6067	-1465
1977	128,941	7879	27,605	1543	-4524
1978	124,491	-4450	33,268	5663	41.20
1979	124,393	-98	38,137	4869	-794
1980	120,733	-3660	42,123	3986	-883
1981	123,539	2806	62,74	-35849	-39835
1982	117,320	-6219	127,724	-121450	-157299
1983	115,320	-2000	177,763	50039	-71411
1984	114,071	-1249	206,474	28711	-21328

Source: Lesotho agricultural Situation report,1988:(After, Santho and Sejanamane,1990).

Table 2.3 shows a temporal variation with regards to the recruitment of Lesotho's migrant labour force and related fluctuations in mine wages over the decade 1970–1984. The Table shows, a steady decrease in the number of Basotho migrant workers recruited since 1970 to 1984. It may also be learned from the Table that, historically any fall in price (mine wages) also seemed to have a more or less correspondent change in labour recruitment. An example of this trend is shown in situations where more recruitment of novice labour was made. In such cases, annual rates of wage increase have tended to fall; whereas where no noticeable recruitments were made or in conditions of labour reductions, corresponding increases in wages were assumed; even though real wages remained the same or declined (Richardson & Marks, 1984). Nevertheless, regardless of either positive or negative changes in wages paid to migrant workers, such wages have had impacts on both, individual migrant workers and their households as well as on the Lesotho Government. In addition any such change is said to have had an effect on the development of Lesotho as a whole.

Until recently, Lesotho's net-factor income from abroad has basically been accounted for by the earnings from temporary labour migration to South Africa. For example, World Bank data shows that over the period from 1965 to 1990, Lesotho's real Gross National Product (GNP) per capita grew at 4.9 per cent, at this time it was regarded as the fastest growth rate in low income Sub-Saharan Africa (Cobbe, 1982). Migrant earnings have through history become crucial in determining overall household income and facilitating subsistence among some households. In some instances, household accessibility to migrant remittances had become a historical prerequisite for any successful agricultural production. For example, through enabling the purchase of agricultural inputs and other related household's equipment such as ploughs, seeds, fertilizer, draught animals and the extension of agricultural land through renting of other peoples farmlands. Thus, wages in the form of both remittances, deferred payments or as goods such as clothing, food and other household materials either sent from the mines by migrant workers, or bought with the use of the migrant wages have obviously

contributed meaningfully to the upliftment of many households in Lesotho as in other labour reserve economies of Southern Africa.

On a national level, the long history of migrant labour to South Africa has served as an integral source of Lesotho Government revenue. For over a century migrant wages have constituted an essential source of foreign exchange and, the role of migrant wages on the general performance of the economy of Lesotho has been reflected in several ways. According to Rake (1999:256) by mid 1990's about \$14 million a year of migrant wages were remitted, this accounted for 8% of the total gross national product of Lesotho and financed a large proportion of Lesotho's massive trade deficit. Thus, up to half of Lesotho's foreign exchange payments have had their source from migrant wages. According to Van Buren (1998) in 1996, the gross remittances of migrant workers constituted about 45 % of Lesotho's GNP. This reflected a continued lack of job opportunities in the formal domestic employment sectors of Lesotho.

According to the IMF, during 1997/8 prospects for Lesotho's economic growth had deteriorated, with the GNP declining to below the gross domestic product. The reason advanced for such an unusual reduction in the GNP has been associated with the recent and current fall in world price of gold, which fell below \$300 oz in December, 1997. As a result, about 50,000 mine jobs were declared redundant in South African mines (van Buren, 1998). The use of earned migrant wages in Lesotho's domestic production has been compared and contrasted with various interpretations of classical economic models of development. For example, migrant workers are regarded as having provided employment to others at home and therefore to have contributed in raising the level of subsistence of other households in the villages. As a result of such observations, migrant wages are seen to have fostered domestic production in Lesotho through the multiplier effect of their use in the country as a whole. According to the multiplier effect model, migrant wages remitted home have historically contributed to the creation and generation of Lesotho's national economic development. It can furthermore be normatively assumed that remitted wages, have enabled public expenditure, generated domestic output in goods and services sectors such in commerce, education, industries,

transport and health; however, this still has to be assessed at the national level in Lesotho (Cobbe, 1982).

2.3.2.2.2 Negative socio-economic impact

Other socio-economic effects of the long practice of labour migration to South Africa have commonly been regarded as negative as a result of the qualitative nature of the system, being age and sex selective in its recruitment.

★ Loss of productive labour power by rural labour sending areas

Labour power as a factor of production is always and will always be an inseparable ingredient of any primary production especially in rural farming activities. In the case of migrant labour system to South Africa, the system has historically been qualitative in selecting the most valuable male labour power from the labour sending areas such as Lesotho. For instance, throughout the history of mining in South Africa, only young and middle aged male labour power, ranging from 15 to 45 years of age were recruited to work in the mines.

These age-groups by nature consist of innovative and productive labour force. In that case, the labour sending counties were bereft of their human ingenuity for planning, designing and implementing development activities. In most cases, negative effects of migrant labour have been associated or related to agricultural development which, it is often asserted, was divorced from productive labour power. The loss of young and productive labour power by the labour sending countries such as Lesotho coupled with climatic disasters such as drought and other socio-economic factors have contributed to the present conditions of unproductiveness in agriculture which is common throughout Lesotho (Murray, 1981; Mcleod, 1995).

On a more generic level Lesotho has moved away from a position of self-sufficiency in food grain production to a position of dependency (Murray, 1981). Historically, Lesotho was even referred to as "the granary of South Africa" when it was formerly capable of supplying the then embryonic South African mining towns of Kimberly and the Witwatersrand with the then needed grain-imports.

But by 1999, the country was in a condition of total impoverishment and ever continual socio-economic dependency on gifts, foreign investments, foreign donations and on imports from South Africa (Bardill and cobbe,1982; Matlosa,1997; Molefi;1991;Murray,1981). Moreover, since the1990's, agriculture in Lesotho has become unproductive due both to the absence of a labour force in the mines of South Africa and physical factors of climate and socio-economic constraints that faced farmers.

The depressed state of agriculture has forced and deepened Lesotho's dependence on imports from South Africa for both food grain crops and even for the staple vegetables such as cabbage and potatoes(Matlosa,1997; Santho and Sejanamane'1990).

2.3.2.2.3 Cultural impacts on community social life

The integration of traditional communities into capitalist relations of production has contributed to the disruption of traditional family ties and community structures. For example, the historical fact that migrant labour system was based on the separation of family members or separation of migrant workers from their primary context of material production and reproduction (home area) has had negative effects on the agnatic and kinship basis of social cohesion of peasants in the rural areas(Banghart, in Church and Migrant labour,1970). Examples of these migrant labour changes in social relations are identifiable through studying existing relations between parents and their migrant sons, between wives and their husbands and between migrant workers and chieftaincy(Moodie and Ndatsane,1994; Banghart in Church and Migrant labour,1970). The system of migrant labour, instead of being seen to have perpetuated harmonious traditional social bounds based on kinship terms among people or on ancestral ,ethnic relations as it was prior to the encroachment of capitalism, has promoted money or market relations based on the relative accessibility to the factors of production (Mohlabi,1970). In other words, the long absence of men, husbands or fathers from home to the mines in South Africa, has had the effect of depriving children of fatherly contributions in the up-bringing and socialization of the society's youths(Moodie and Ndatsane,1994).

In addition, the opportunity of earning individual wages by the household's sons, has also meant the undermining of the fathers' or elders' control over their sons' lives and proceeds of their labour power. Thus, old people lost their cultural and traditional seniority obligations due to pervaded earnings of cash incomes. As a result, the social implications of these new changes have meant strained relations between the affected social groups (Mohlabi, 1970). In addition, the earning of remittances send home by married sons have also commonly led to internal family conflicts between the remaining members of households. For example, in some cases, migrant wage remittances became a "bone of contention" between mothers-in-law vis-a-vis their daughters-in-law over the use of remitted migrant wages (Moodie and Ndatsane, 1994). Furthermore, it is maintained that the long absence of husbands from their wives in the mines has also been a cause of strained marital relationships in terms of divorce and separations among some migrant households. Another negative social effect of labour migration on community life in Lesotho has been a rise in the average age for marriage, resulting from the early accessibility to cash income by young males at 15 -45 years of age. These early marriages have most often contributed to increased population in the villages (Murray, 1981; Moodie and Ndatsane, 1994). It is also pointed out that the system of long separation of married couples due to labour migration has also contributed to the increased rates of unfaithfulness and the birth of illegitimate children. Illustrating how the system of migrant labour has facilitated the development of disciplinary problems among different migrant household resident members in the labour sending areas in Southern Africa and referring to the behaviour of remaining migrant wives at home, Mohlabi has asserted that:

"These women are sexually hungry and need the necessary attention because they are left with old men and children. That is why their morals are at such a low ebb, when they happen to meet young men who spasmodically visit the reserves in the absence of their husbands on such occasion, the need is so great that she even forget that she has growing children around her, who will, as time goes on, imitate her. They are in sore need of their husbands," (Mohlabi in Church and Migrant labour, 1970:54).

Moreover, remaining migrant wives are also said to display their need for their absent husbands in different ways including play songs such as in the following one:

“ Sebenza ubunye, sebenza ubuye(work and come back, work and come back)
se ndilanlalangesaka, sebenza ubuye,”(my beloved, work and come
back)(Mohlabi,1970:58).

In addition, Mohlabi (1970) argues that, Southern African or Bantu girls in all practical purposes imitate their mothers in all respects. This assertion implied that the long absence of men, especially of husbands in the mines has necessitated unfaithfulness among wives remaining at home with children. It is alleged that while the mother is engaged in illicit sexual intercourse in the house, the daughter would in return rush out to do the same practice. In this case, the long absence of fathers has culminated in conjectural disciplinary problems among the migrant -households:

- ★ the earnings of migrant wages by communities' youth (young men) transformed the pre-migrant labour socio-economic relations between the chieftaincy and their subjects.

All in all, the process of labour migration as a system of the expansion of capitalism has eroded the social bonds of solidarity among people and replaced them by money or capitalist relations of social production which have then promoted the principles of individualism among different households. As a result, these changes are assumed to have led to disorganization and disruptions of the traditional mode of socio-economic occupations. It is also the long absence of migrant workers away from their homes, that has meant their non-participation in traditional and home routine tasks of community life) (Schapera quoted by Banghart in Church and Migrant labour,1970). The historical involvement of households in labour migration has also been held responsible for the changing traditional beliefs among the migrants, and a subsequent dramatic decline in ancestor-worship. This has contributed to the weakening of social cohesion between people of the same origin, as well as, among different people, thereby allowing forces of individualism to gradually replace communal forms of social existence.

The need for money (cash-income) has historically been pervaded by the migrant labour system. There are disparities in getting access to it. Thus, unequal relations to property have continued to culminate in poverty among different households, which in turn has led to social unrest, crime, theft, house-breaking, robbery and other related socio-economic ills caused by the development of the wealth differentiation among the different social classes of people.

★ Political awareness

The long period of involvement of migrant workers in mine politics or issues pertaining to the working conditions in the mines, has had an awakening impact on the migrant workers themselves. Participation in group conflicts and their related resolutions in the mines has influenced problem identification and decision making skills among the migrants. As a result, such exposure has enabled the migrants to participate more productively in various socio-political developments in their home countries. Evidence of these changes among the migrants are reflected back home in village development debates and at party politics at a national levels. This awareness has thus become a positive impact of the migrant labour system on the development of villages from which the migrants came (Moodie and Ndatsane, 1994; Crush and James, 1995).

2.4 The retrenchment of Lesotho migrant workers

Since the 1980's, the South African mines have embarked on a process of reducing their migrant labour force. This course of action by the Chamber of Mines (COM) came as a result of internal South African pressure for socio-economic transformation and to stabilize and internalise the recruitment of mine labour power. According to Matlosa (1996) in 1974, the foreign component of the labour employment in South Africa was 78 % yet ten years later, in 1984 this figure had dropped to 42%, thereby confirming a steady decline in the employment of Lesotho's labour force in South African mines.

For instance, during 1990-91, about 10,000 Basotho migrant workers were dismissed from the South African mines owing to the decline in international price of gold and due to the exerted pressure on Chamber of Mines to contribute in addressing the domestic unemployment problem within South Africa.

In addition, currently in1998-99, a similar situation erupted again when the international gold price continued to decline even below the former 1990-91 levels(Van Buren,1998). It was to these changes that Molefi (1991:75) commented that, " political and economic change in South Africa is reducing the migration of labour from Lesotho." Thus, according to Molefi's assertion(1991:74), " the declining gold price in the World market and the high inflation in South Africa, are set to detonate the unemployment time bomb for Lesotho." The intention of Table 2.4 is to depict the historical decline on Basotho employment in the Gold mines of South Africa between 1986 and 1992.

Table2.4, The Decline of employment of Lesotho labour on the Gold mines of South Africa , 1986–92.

Year	Average number of Basotho employed in gold mines	Employment decline
1986	103, 742	100
1987	105, 506	102
1988	100,951	97
1989	100,529	97
1990	98, 200	95
1991	88, 281	85
1992	83, 877	81

Source: After Crush and James, 1995 .

As the above table shows, during early 1990's, Lesotho's migrant labour force working in the mines of South Africa, just like other foreign workers, were badly affected by the then increasing mine lay-offs or labour retrenchment. With fewer or no alternative employment opportunities in Lesotho, the impact-implications of the retrenchments are likely to be severe on Lesotho's rural population. For instance, it is undisputable that losses of regular wages or salaries by any worker is a very detrimental drawback on one's social, cultural, economic and political conditions of life.

Thus, the return of migrant workers back to Lesotho, would obviously mean that, the traditional source of household’s income (migrant wages) is no longer available to many families. As a result, unemployment should therefore be expected to rise further. Moreover, poverty in all related aspects of starvation and lack of clothing, lack of medical care, illiteracy and other financial constraints would also increase among the people as a whole.

Finally, the decline in Lesotho’s labour force recruitment into South Africa may generally imply a catastrophic change in the Mountain kingdom’s social life. Table 2.5, shows 1993–1996 retrenchment of Lesotho’s labour force From South Africa.

Table 2.5 Retrenchment of Basotho migrant workers from South African mines, 1993–1996.

Year	Number of Basotho recruited for the mines
1993	100,376
1994	102,479
1995	100, 840
1996	96,618

Source: Author’s creation based SAMP information, 1997.

As SAMP observed , there has been a steady reduction in Basotho recruitment into South African mines between 1993 and 1996. Moreover, Mhlanga (1996) although using relatively higher figures, has indicated that the number of Basotho who were still employed in South African mines between 1993 and 1994 were still showing a declining trend. For example, according to him in 1994, the number of Basotho employed in South African mines were 116,100 in 1993 and 111,000 in 1994. (Mhlanga, 1996:7).

The retrenchment of Basotho from South African mines is a heavy blow to Lesotho’s Government and her people. This may be because since 1980’s up to the end of the

20th century, the on going retrenchment of Lesotho's migrant workers from South Africa means many rural households lack wage income and therefore are likely to face starvation, lack of schooling, lack of clothing and medical care. These socio-economic constraints will further be exacerbated as the source of migrant household income and the migrant labour system continues collapsing. For example, from their study in rural Lesotho, Cobbe and Bardill (1984) found that only a few migrant households still had rural productive assets such as farming land and herds of livestock to sustain household consumption needs for limited months without mine remittances.

Moreover, given the continued depressed state of agriculture in Lesotho, culminating from drought, land-degradation and lack of finance and technical know-how by most of the rural farmers, it is highly inevitable that the retrenchment of migrant workers, including the curtailment or halt to recruitment of any Lesotho's novice labour force will be a continued disaster to the rural household's conditions of livelihood.

According to Molefi (1991) in every year, about 120,000 of Lesotho youth enters the labour market, yet domestic employment potential of Lesotho could only absorb 10% . This indicates that 90% of the Lesotho's new, novice and able bodied future labour power is redundant, hence discouraging them from realizing its contribution in rural development. In other words, the continuing retrenchment of Lesotho labour force from South Africa and coupled with the Lesotho's current incapability to create employment opportunities locally is of great economic catastrophe to the livelihood of many Basotho who have no sustainable and alternative rural basis for survival.

2.4.1 The post apartheid migrant labourers options for employment

The government of Lesotho and its people need to address the unemployment problem seriously. Although several strategies have been attempted in the past to create and initiate domestic employment with the purpose of reducing dependence on South Africa, the effectiveness of such attempts still remain questionable.

2.4.1.1 The development of clandestine labour-migration

The process of traditional labour migration into South Africa has been just a way of life for many Basotho people for a number of generations. As a result, it is not surprising that, with the current collapsing system or total reduction of employment of the Lesotho labour force in South Africa, illegal immigration has been secretly on-going, and is likely to escalate. Moreover, increased unemployment of the young, capable and innovative/initiative labour force, coupled with a dwindling agricultural base, is most likely to exacerbate different levels of poverty among households and thereby push more and more Basotho illegally across the borders into South African work places. This is because, people have more confidence for opportunities of self-employment and income-generation in South African townships than in Lesotho (SAMP, 1997).

2.4.1.2 The Permanent residency option.

During 1996, the first democratic government of South Africa, proclaimed its offer of permanent residence to long served foreign migrant workers. As a consequence, about 400,000 miners from the neighbouring states who were already entitled to, applied for South African citizenship (The Natal Witness; 1999; Gill, 1996). Although, this initial number seemed small, it is however, an issue for current and future research to find out how sustainable this response to the offer of permanent residence would be to the conditions of the qualifying migrant households. The issue of permanent residence is a crucial one. On the one hand, if more of migrant workers, ex-migrants and retrenched migrant workers take the offer, this may be a relief to the unemployed retrenched workers with no sources of income in Lesotho, while on the other hand, it may be a loss to Lesotho of its labour force requirement for development activities.

Nevertheless, the present increasing decline in traditional agriculture, coupled with prolonged droughts, impoverished soils and high costs of living in present capitalist societies, may work to push for the procurement of permanent residence in South Africa rather than the household facing hunger and other socio-economic problems due to a lack of alternative income sources in Lesotho.

2.4.1.3 Initiation of local self-help employment opportunities

Since large-scale migrant labour retrenchment in 1987, NUM with its branches in Lesotho as well as elsewhere in migrant labour sending areas, has had to embark on policies and programmes relating to the creation of self-employment opportunities and income generating socio-economic development projects so as to assist retrenched migrant workers from the mines of South Africa. These employment and income generating activities initiated by NUM have historically emphasized labour intensive programmes and development projects. For example, they include small-scale cement-block manufacture, horticulture and poultry. These institutions are either run on a private individual or a co-operatives basis.

However the sustainability of any plans aimed at addressing the unemployment onslaught is highly debatable in Lesotho, given Lesotho's weak economy and social superstructure to direct the economy and subsidize ex-migrants with funds for assistance, in the purchase of related materials, equipment and the establishment of the required markets.

2.4.1.4 Renewal and promotion of local traditional skills and arts.

This strategy depends on the fruitful use of local resources consisting of stones which could be shaped into artistic work on buildings, sculpture, tombstones and related artifacts based on the available knowhow; goods made of natural clay including pots, mugs and wooden materials could be made out of scarce tress in some of the catchment valleys.

Even though rangelands are currently devoid of any suitable grass for grass work in traditional hats and mats, with effective control and management of the reserved mountain grasslands, the degraded mountain areas could be rehabilitated, thereby promoting the re-generating of traditional raw materials for grass work and other local Lesotho raw materials. Nevertheless, this option would depend on the willingness and capacity of the Government structures to institute relevant legislation and its effective implementation to protect the reserved areas or the '*maboella*' institution.

However, the success of such programme would also need to be coordinated and

collaborated with all relevant rural social groups, including: the chieftainship together with the current village development committees (VDC); livestock-farmers and the herders.

This Chapter has examined the history of the migrant labour system in South Africa in respect to reasons for labour recruitment, retrenchment and what is likely to prevail in the new post apartheid dispensation and with particular reference to Lesotho's labour force.

—oo0oo—

CHAPTER THREE

3 METHODOLOGY

3.1. Research design

In order to gather data needed for this thesis, both qualitative and quantitative research methods were employed, including a review of relevant literature on migration (Chapter two). Observation and assessment in the field together with a questionnaire survey of randomly selected households in five selected villages, was undertaken. Fieldwork further included mapping and participatory rural appraisal techniques (PRA).

The purpose of this chapter is to identify the methods, techniques and the procedures that were employed for the collection of data needed for this thesis, including both theoretical and empirical methodological foundations of the research carried out in Mapholaneng Catchment, Lesotho. The chapter starts by identifying different topographical areas of the catchment and the distribution of households and villages. This is followed by the description of the characteristics of these households as migrant and non-migrants households. In addition, the sampling methods found appropriate and selected for this thesis are outlined.

3.2. Urban-Rural division of Mapholaneng Catchment.

Mapholaneng Catchment may be divided into two distinct geographical Rural and Urban areas, based on both natural and socio-economic differences. Both areas contain a number of village settlements as listed in Table 3.1 and shown in Figure 3.1

Table 3.1: Mapholaneng Catchment rural-urban division of villages:

Rural area villages	Urban area villages
Khukhune	Mafikalisu
Makalieng	Majakaneng
Malothoaneng	Meketeng
Matsoiring	Motete
Teu	Polomiti
Tiping	
Tsieng	

Source: Fieldwork 1998 -99

3.2.1 Rural area of Mapholaneng Catchment

The seven villages that constitute the Rural area of the catchment are contained in Table 3.1 and also shown on Figure 3.1. These villages are scattered along the upper Mabunyaneng River and along the small tributary streams that drain from the sources in the Maliphoofo and Thaba-Telle Mountains in the north west of the catchment to its confluence with Khubelu River in the South of the catchment. In these villages most of the homesteads lie on hill slopes, along the mountain foothills and along ridges as typical Basotho rural village communities, noted for their traditional homesteads composed of grass thatched roofs and stone walled huts. Almost all the rural homesteads are located in relation to the availability of and accessibility to the major rural resources of pastures, water sources, firewood and arable land for cultivation purposes.

The rural area is socio-economically tied to the surrounding natural resources for community requirements such as the following:

- ⊕ Natural bushes, shrubs and trees are relied upon for the provision of household firewood for cooking and provision of warmth especially during the winter

season. It is the responsibility of every household member, especially women, to ensure that enough firewood has been collected for household use. Firewood has historically been gathered from the surrounding valleys and hills within the catchment. But in most rural villages, the local source of fire wood was depleted by 1998 and it now has to be fetched from places that are as far as 10 km to 15 km outside the catchment where firewood is still relatively available. The current 1998 depletion of firewood in the catchment and surrounding hill slopes and valleys, has become a major problem for most of the households that cannot afford buying the modern fuel alternatives of paraffin, gas and candles.

- ✱ Cow dung, which in the history of the catchment has been in abundance and everywhere available as a result of large herds of cattle reared in the past, has also been used as an important source of fuel. However, by 1998, the number of cattle reared in the catchment as a whole had decreased and this has also contributed to the shortage of household fuel materials for fires.
- ✱ Water for household domestic uses is obtained from the wells, natural springs and from stream sources of water in different parts of the villages.
- ✱ The main economic activity of the households in this rural area is dry-land crop farming coupled with animal husbandry. However, during the pilot survey visits to the catchment in 1998, it was found that the sale of livestock and the rate of stock theft in recent years has been so high that some households were already without any livestock. As a result, some households' members had started looking for job opportunities almost anywhere and in most cases such attempts had become futile.

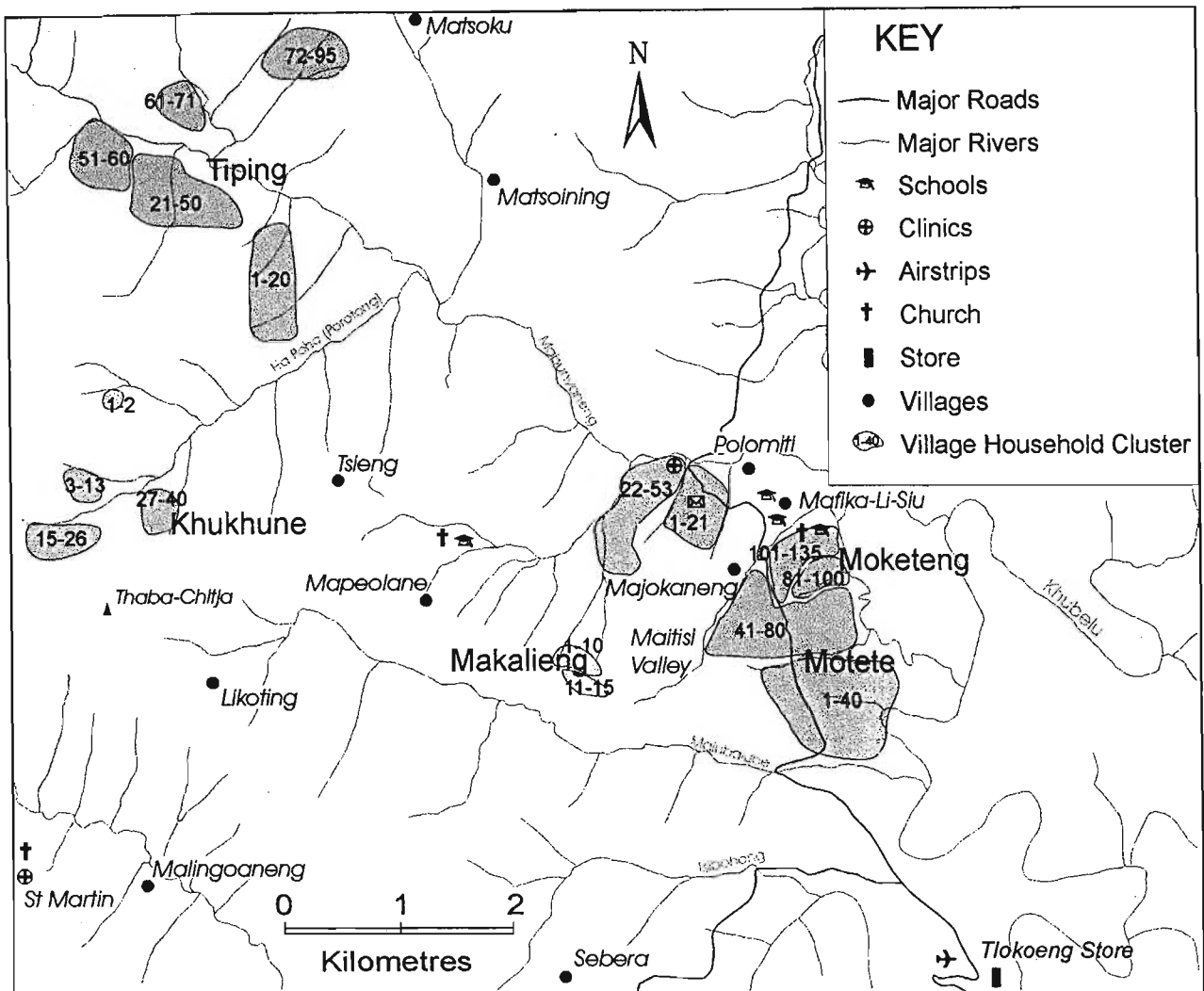


Figure 3.1 : Clustered locations of all households in the case study villages, with households numbered for sampling purposes of the questionnaire survey.

Since the Rural area is still largely controlled by cultural, traditional customs such as the traditional initiation of both boys and girls, the surrounding rugged terrain of the rural area provides a physical environment conducive to the practice of these rituals. For example, the isolated mountain valleys provide good sites for the establishment of the initiation schools as the hill slopes provide bushes and tall grasses required for the privacy of the operation and the initiation ritual.

3.2.2 Urban area of Mapholaneng Catchment

The urban area of the catchment is composed of four village settlements, namely: Mafikalisiu, Meketeng, Motete and Polomiti which are in transition from rural to a more urban character. Homesteads in these villages are located along the roads, especially on both sides of the main tarred road which was tarred during the period, 1993–1997. These homesteads also form nucleated patterns, particularly where the land is flat, such as over the Mapholaneng plateau in Motete village (Figure 3.1). Many residents in these urban villages work in various business trades owned by both local and distant or foreign businessmen. For instance, there are general stores and cafes owned by both locals, Chinese and South African companies which sell food, clothing, hardware, farming requirements and household goods. As a result of the development of trade, people from places outside the catchment come to do their shopping in the Mapholaneng urban villages. For example, people from places such as Matsoku and Senqu (Orange River) both beyond 200 km away from the catchment also do their shopping in Mapholaneng. In addition, this urban area also has the provision of socio-economic services provided both by national government and non-government organizations, including the government's bank agency, post office, police station, local court and agricultural extension service department.

As a result of these services, this urban area has historically been regarded as the commercial shopping centre of the catchment and other outlying places. Furthermore, the improvement by tarring the major road that passes through this urban area on its way to the Mokhotlong Town, 35 km on the east of the catchment has made this urban area a transport centre for the whole Tlokoeng constituency.

Small roads to the major outlying villages and other adjacent places radiate from this urban area, an example of this being the road connecting Mapholaneng with places such as Malingoaneng and St. Martin Mission about 20 km and 60 km away, respectively, from the catchment and the road connecting Mapholaneng with places about 70 km outside the catchment in upper Khubelu river (Figure 3.1).

The urban area is also distinguishable from the rural villages by its relatively larger population, which has grown from the new immigrants from other villages outside the catchment who came to stay permanently in Mapholaneng for a number of reasons. Some wanted to be closer to transport facilities for commuting and communication between home and work in the South African mines. Other households have moved into Mapholaneng so as to enable the purchase of modern household goods such as bedding, kitchen goods and modern building materials which are more easily obtained when the household is located close to road transport.

3.3 The selection of case study villages

Since the Mapholaneng catchment contains several rural and urban villages, the time duration available to the author and the limited funds at his disposal for this study made it necessary to select some villages as case studies rather than investigating the whole catchment. In choosing villages for case study purposes, precautions were taken to avoid introducing biases by ensuring the inclusion of both rural and urban villages in the sample. This inclusion of both areas would help in the analysis of conditions existing in households from different areas and to identify the socio-economic relationships between both the rural and the urban areas. For example, what resources are shared between the two areas and what arrangements exist for the exploitation of any connections between the areas?

The study of the relationships between the areas is intended to reveal whether the urban area exploits the rural area in terms of raw-materials and labour power and secondly, to show whether the remoteness or isolation of rural villages such as the case of Khukhune and some households in Tiping, negatively influences their

involvement in market practices or means their non-integration into a capitalist economy, as purported by some schools of thought (Wolpe, 1972).

3.3.1. The selection of urban case study villages.

From the list of urban areas shown in Table 3.1 Meketeng and Motete villages were selected to represent the urban area of the catchment. They were chosen basically due to their rapidly urbanizing character which is reflected by the increasing development of informal, petty commodity trade in both of them. The haphazard arrangement of small cafes and hawker shops or stalls along the main road is an example of this recent development in petty trade in the catchment and the sources of capital formation behind the development of these small business enterprises is later investigated in this study. Their selection was done in order to highlight the historical background of households' involvement with business enterprises in the catchment, to establish whether they are indigenous to the urban area or whether they belong to immigrants from somewhere else, or whether the owners of businesses are the former migrant households or non-migrants? Provision of this information is regarded as fundamental for answering this thesis's question of which group the migrant households or the non-migrant household has invested more productively in the catchment.

3.3.2 The selection of rural case study villages.

Khukhune, Makalieng and Tiping villages were chosen to represent the Rural area. In choosing these rural villages, considerations of spatial location, accessibility to the main tarred road and the different altitudes of different villages were considered. For example, Makalieng is about 2 km from the main road and lies at a relatively low altitude of 2200 m compared to the other rural villages.

Tiping is about 5 to 7 km from the main road at 2790m altitude. On the other hand, Khukhune village was chosen due to its remoteness and isolation, positioned on the foothills of the Thaba-Chitja Mountain. The village is cut off from the present societal developments such as socio-economic infrastructure of roads, improved water supply, schools and shops. It was also considered worthwhile investigating the historical role

played by the migrant labour system in changing living conditions of households in this very remote village. It was decided to investigate and to determine whether there is any correlation between the spatial location of a village and the quality of life conditions of the households or the socio-economic level of village development

3.3.3 The selection of the case study villages household's samples.

Once the villages for case studies were chosen, the next stage was to select sample households for questionnaire survey. A proportional number of the total households in each rural and urban village were selected to provide a balanced representation of both areas. This was decided upon so as to avoid area biases, which in the end, might influence the interpretation of the findings of the study. Table 3.2, shows both the total households and the sample surveyed migrant and non-migrant households in the selected urban and rural villages of Mapholaneng Catchment. All households in the case study villages were numbered after plotting their location on a sketch map during fieldwork (Figure:3.1).

Random sampling was employed to select households for answering the questionnaire survey to give a representative sample of the characteristic households in the selected case study villages. Catchment village sample sizes of households varied depending on the living characteristics of households. Where living conditions of the households were found homogeneous or leading relatively similar life styles, 20% to 30% sample sizes were drawn while where households were considered more differentiated or heterogeneous, a 50% household sample was drawn.

Table 3.2: Total and sample surveyed case study village households in Mapholaneng catchment.

Urban villages	Total migrant h/holds	Total non-migrant h/holds	Number of migrant sampled h/holds	Number of non-migrant sampled h/holds	Total village sampled h/holds	Total village h/holds
Meketeng	37	16	19	8	27	53
Motete	92	43	18	9	27	135
Urban total	129	59	37	17	54	188
Rural villages						
khukhune	15	25	8	13	21	40
Makalieng	10	5	5	3	8	15
Tiping	34	61	12	7	19	95
Rural total	59	91	25	23	48	150
Catchment total	188	150	62	40	102	338

Source: Fieldwork data gathered from the village headmen (April-June,1998)

The division of the household sample into migrant and non-migrant households is done to compare and contrast these household groups in respect to differential criteria, including analysis of the household's relations to property and productive investments so as to answer the question whether the migrant or the non-migrant households have invested more productively in the catchment.

3.4 Mapping

On the catchment map (Figure 3.1) all households in five case study villages were each numbered in relation to their physical locations in the catchment. In order to enable sampling procedures, all households in each study village and in all locations were grouped in specific household clusters. Each cluster consisted of several consecutive or neighbouring households. For example, village households numbered from one to

twenty (1–20) formed a cluster. The household clusters differed in size depending on the total households in each village. It was from these groupings or household clusters that samples for detailed study were drawn.

3.5 Questionnaire compilation and administration

A comprehensive questionnaire was constructed for the household survey. Both closed and open -ended questions were asked, with the latter requiring discussion, description and explanation at length from the informants. The questionnaire was organized around the following themes of the study:

- ✧ household size and age-structure of members;
- ✧ educational levels attained by household members;
- ✧ historical changes in households sources of income;
- ✧ major household sources of subsistence through migration, farming and trading;
- ✧ historical changes in property relations and capital formation;
- ✧ historical changes in the extent and degree of land degradation in the catchment;
- ✧ effects of current labour policies, retrenchment, death, disablement, retirement and other methods by which migrant labours have been laid-off from jobs in South Africa;
- ✧ Possible grass roots strategies to overcome rural problems and enhance rural development.

3.5.1 Self-administered questionnaire

Where households in the sample were found to be literate and able to understand and interpret the requirements of the questionnaire, it was handed to them after explaining the purpose and expectations of the questionnaire to respondents so as to facilitate and encourage their responses. The questionnaire was left for three weeks with the respondents to study and fill in at their leisure. The researcher made several visits for check-ups with the respondents to facilitate their answering by providing frequent assistance, elaboration, and clarification where necessary. These frequent visits to the respondents ensured maximum response. This approach was mainly used in Motete and Meketeng villages where a larger sector of population was found to be literate.

3.5.2 Interview

Interviewing and administering the questionnaire to the illiterate respondents was done by the researcher himself. This procedure involved the researcher moving from one household homestead to another and spending some time with the respondents to interpret question by question and to fill in the respondent's responses. This approach was basically used in Khukhune, Makalieng and Tiping sub-villages in which the majority of the people are illiterate. Other informal interviews were held with the village people such as chiefs, headmen and some old-aged members of the communities. In these cases, unstructured questions were raised and answers to them recorded as part of the information required.

3.6 Participatory observation and Rural appraisal techniques

A participatory approach to the data collecting procedure applied in this study involved the researcher taking part in some of the socio-economic activities of the households, so as to learn closely some of the living conditions of the people. In some cases the researcher accompanied the respondents to household fields and helped in performing related rural farming activities such as hoeing and accumulating soil for the newly grown maize seedlings. Fieldwork data collection was done at the peak of agricultural activities in late spring and into summer from October 1998 to February 1999.

The participatory involvement of the researcher in the household socio-cultural activities and the several visits to the homesteads of respondents enabled him to gather first-hand information on the themes of the study. For instance, the researcher was able to observe different households' conditions of current available factors of production such as land used for cultivation, the size of land holdings, soil type and an introduction to farming equipment used. In addition, the participatory rural appraisal approach was also employed with the different socio-political bodies or members of civil society in the catchment. The approach was used with village development committees, theft-associations, schools and government agricultural extension department personnel stationed in the catchment. More structured questions were asked to allow formal

discussions between the researcher and the members of the bodies concerned. Specific questionnaires for the different social groups are attached as Appendix i, ii, and iii.

Furthermore, frequent travels by the researcher over past years between the different sub-villages made it easier to compare and contrast similarities and differences in respect of some issues of this study, for example, the degree and extent of land degradation and the levels of economic infrastructure within sub-villages.

3.7 Photograph interpretation

Photographs depicting some of the investigated socio-economic changes in the catchment were taken showing current land uses for open-grazing, conservation problems, conditions of cultivated fields and residential settlement. In addition, a 1982 aerial photograph of the catchment area was studied to compare with the present 1998-99 socio-physical conditions of the catchment, including changes relating to increases in the number of homesteads and residential extent of population densities, development of roads between different sub-villages in the catchment and extent of land degradation.

—oo0oo—

CHAPTER FOUR

4 PHYSICAL BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY AREA OF MAPHOLANENG CATCHMENT

4.1 Introduction to Lesotho's physical relief

Lesotho is geographically located between 28 and 31 degrees south and between 27 and 30 degrees east; thus lying outside the south tropical zone. This situation has a great influence on Lesotho's climate, with related negative impacts on the agricultural base of the country. With a physical area of 30,350 square kilometres it is one of the smallest countries in Southern Africa. This small size greatly affects the quantity of the available natural resources of the land.

Lesotho forms an enclave in South Africa, bordered in all directions by four of the Provinces of South Africa: Orange Free State on the West and North, Qwaqwa and Natal on the East and Cape Province and Transkei on the South. (Figure 4.1) This landlocked position has historically placed Lesotho at the inevitable socio-economic mercy and political whims of her giant neighbour, the Republic of South Africa.

Being situated in the highest part of the Drakensberg escarpment and on the eastern rim of the Southern African Plateau, Lesotho is the only country globally which has all of its land surface more than 1000 metres above sea level. Lesotho has the highest mountain peaks in Southern Africa such as Thabana-Ntlenyana in the eastern Drakensberg escarpment with an altitude of 3482 metres. However, this position of the country at a high altitude has negatively contributed to the extremes of climate, limited size of the available arable land and has caused uneven distribution of population and unbalanced socio-economic development between the highland and lowland regions of the country.

Lesotho is divided into four physical regions based on the differences in land surface elevations, landforms, climatic conditions and socio-economic infrastructures available,

such as the tarred roads, improved water supply, sanitation and communication networks. These physical regions are: The Maluti mountains or Highlands, the Western Lowlands, the Senqu/ Orange River valley and the Foothills. However, in regard to the thesis, the two most important regions are the Western Lowlands and the Maluti Mountains (Figure 2.2).

- i As the name implies, the Lowland region that forms the western part of the country, is a relatively low lying region. It is relatively well developed and consists of the major towns including the capital, Maseru. Other administrative towns arranged from North to south, are Butha-Buthe, Leribe, Berea and Mafeteng, Mhaleshoek and Quthing on the far southern boundary of the country with the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa.
- ii The Maluti mountain region consists of the north-eastern districts of Mokhotlong (in which the study area of Mapholaneng Catchment is located), Thaba-Tseka and Qachasneck. Figure 4.1 shows the enclave position of Lesotho in Southern Africa and the study area of Mapholaneng in the eastern part of Lesotho.

4.2 The position and topography of Mapholaneng Study Area

Mapholaneng Catchment is found in the north west of the Mokhotlong District in the eastern Maluti mountains. The geological formation of the catchment is basaltic lava, forming part of the Drakensberg escarpment (Figure 4.2). The Drakensberg escarpment rises above 1000 meters and therefore delineates the whole eastern boundary of Mokhotlong district with KwaZulu-Natal, hence making access into Lesotho very difficult from this region.

The physical shape of Mokhotlong district in which Mapholaneng is located is largely defined by the drainage of the fast flowing rivers such as the Orange, Mokhotlong and Khubelu that have their sources within Mokhotlong district. These rivers have produced steep-sided, V-shaped, narrow valleys in which settlements and farms are established.

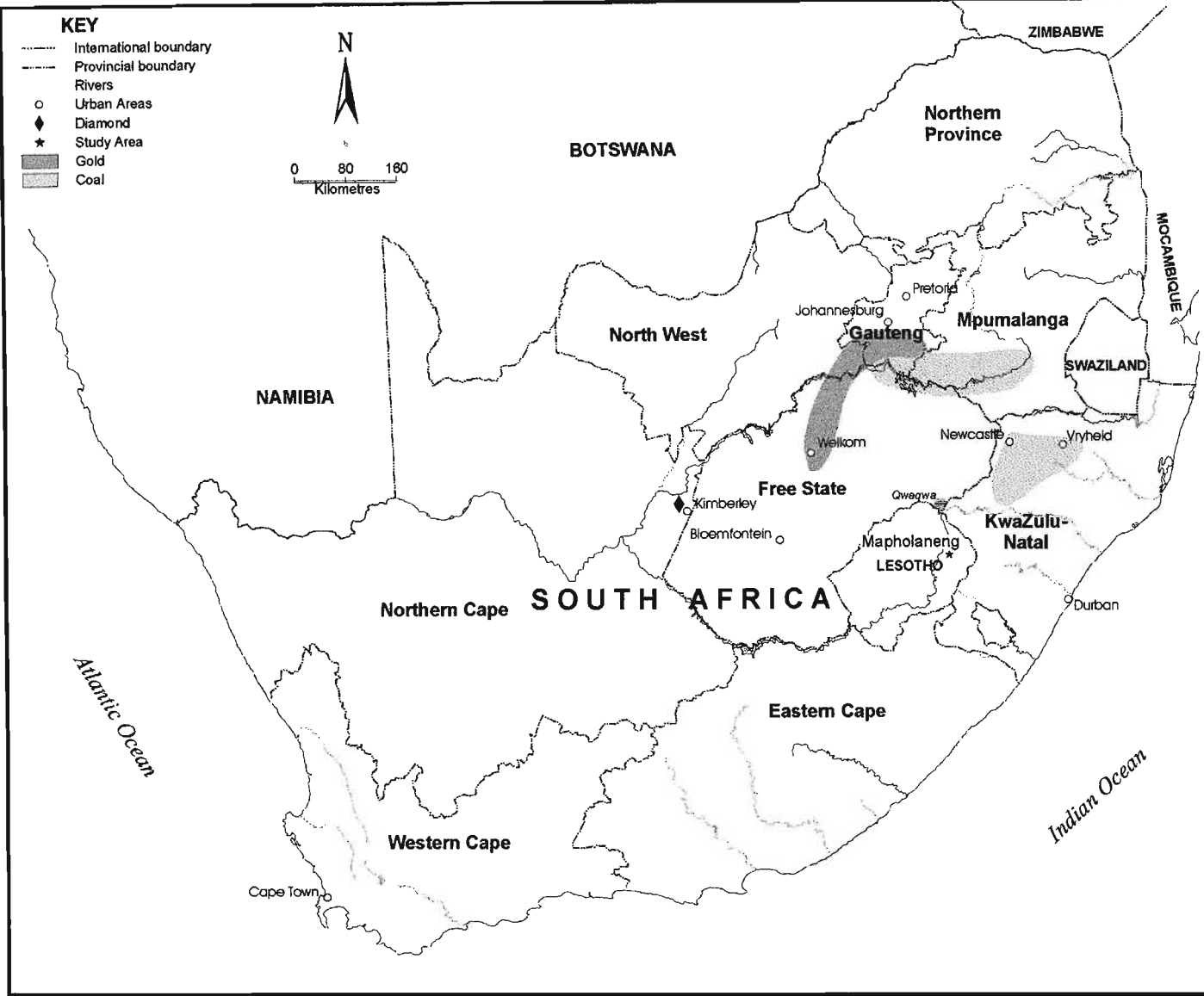


Figure 4.1: The position of Lesotho in Southern Africa relative to South Africa's Historic mining areas of migrant labour employment from Lesotho (Source: After Crush and James, 1995)

Moreover, the Malimatso river on which the conspicuous Lesotho Highland water Scheme is built also has its source on the boarder of Mokhotlong with KwaZulu-Natal. In addition, Mount Aux Source (3282m) and the highest mountain range in Southern Africa, the Thabana-Ntlenyana Mountains(3482m), are also located along the eastern escarpment in Mokhotlong district. These mountains also serve as sources for other rivers that flow into South Africa, including the Wilge River which flows into the Orange Free State through Qwa-Qwa and Tugela River which flows into KwaZulu-Natal.

The small rural village of Mapholaneng lies in the north west of the Mokhotlong district in eastern Lesotho. The village consists of a few hundred homesteads which extend over the Mapholaneng valley and over the low hills between Mapholaneng, Mabunyaneng and the Malube-lube Rivers (Figure 3.1). The latter river forms a boundary with Sebera village in the South of Mapholaneng up to the hills surrounding Khukhune villages. Also running parallel from the confluence of the Khubelu and Malube-lube rivers up to the sources of the latter river in Thaba-chitja uplands is the Maitisi ridge which runs along the south-western boundary of the catchment. The landscape in Mapholaneng is a part of the eastern region which is volcanic in origin and consists of basaltic surfaces. The landscape in Lower Mapholaneng, particularly in the villages of Motete, Meketeng, Polomiti and Makalieng is undulating and consists of the low-level Mapholaneng Plateau between the Malube-lube and Khubelu rivers in the north and Mabunyaneng in the south-west (Figure 3.1).

4.3 Climate

4.3.1 Temperature

The climate of Lesotho is basically influenced by factors of latitude, altitude, winds and the aspect of land. For example, in the Western Lowlands, the mean temperature varies from 21 degrees Celsius in summer to 7 degrees Celsius in winter, while the Eastern Region has a bleak climate of low temperatures and precipitation, depending on the nature of the mountain shape and slope. Figure 4.3 shows the varying conditions of precipitations from the west to the east of the country in summer and in winter, influenced by altitude and position of the Lowlands and the Highland.

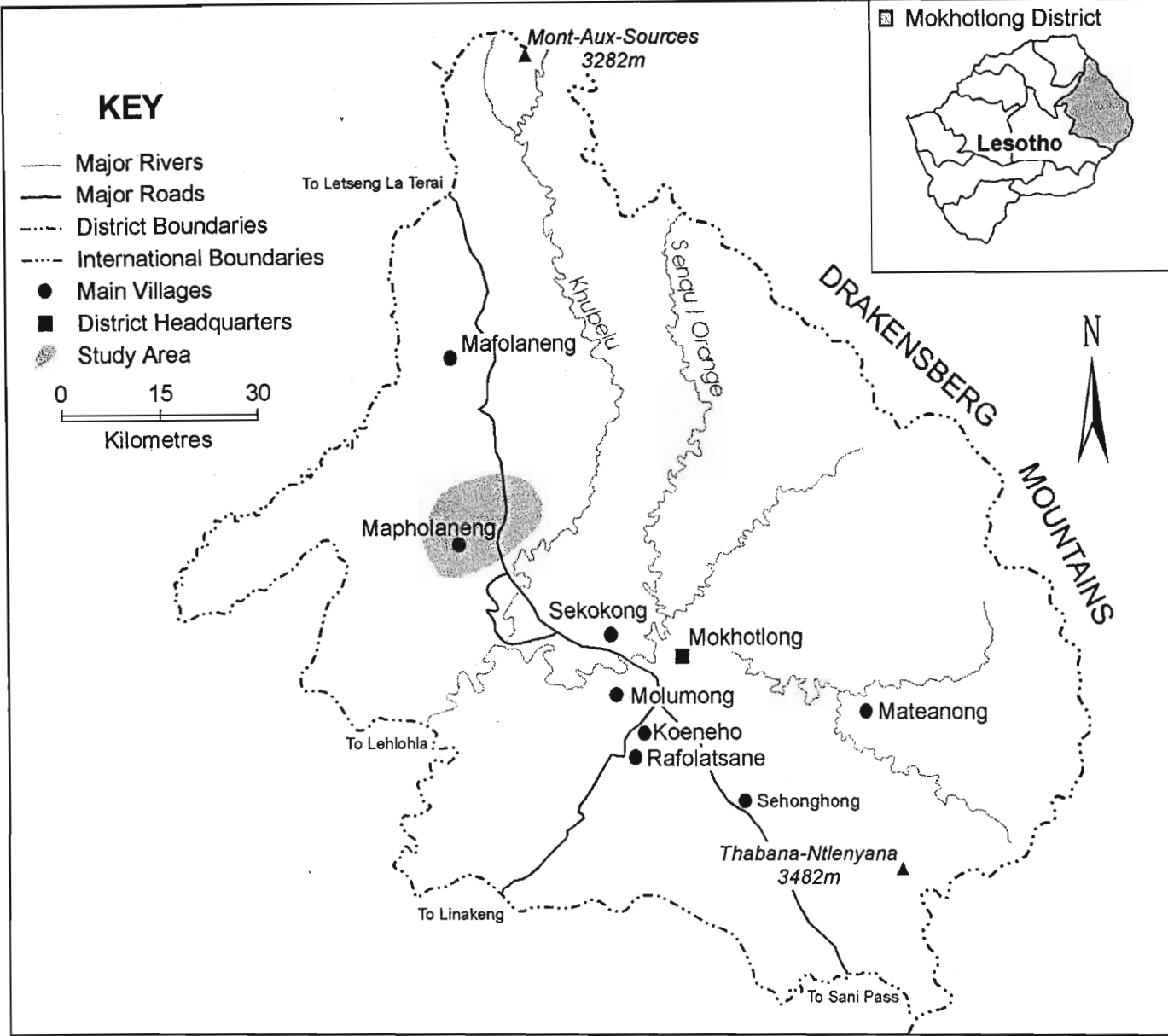


Figure 4.2: Position of Mapholaneng Catchment in Mokhotlong District
(Source: After S. Kabi, 1998; Mokhotlong Agric Office)

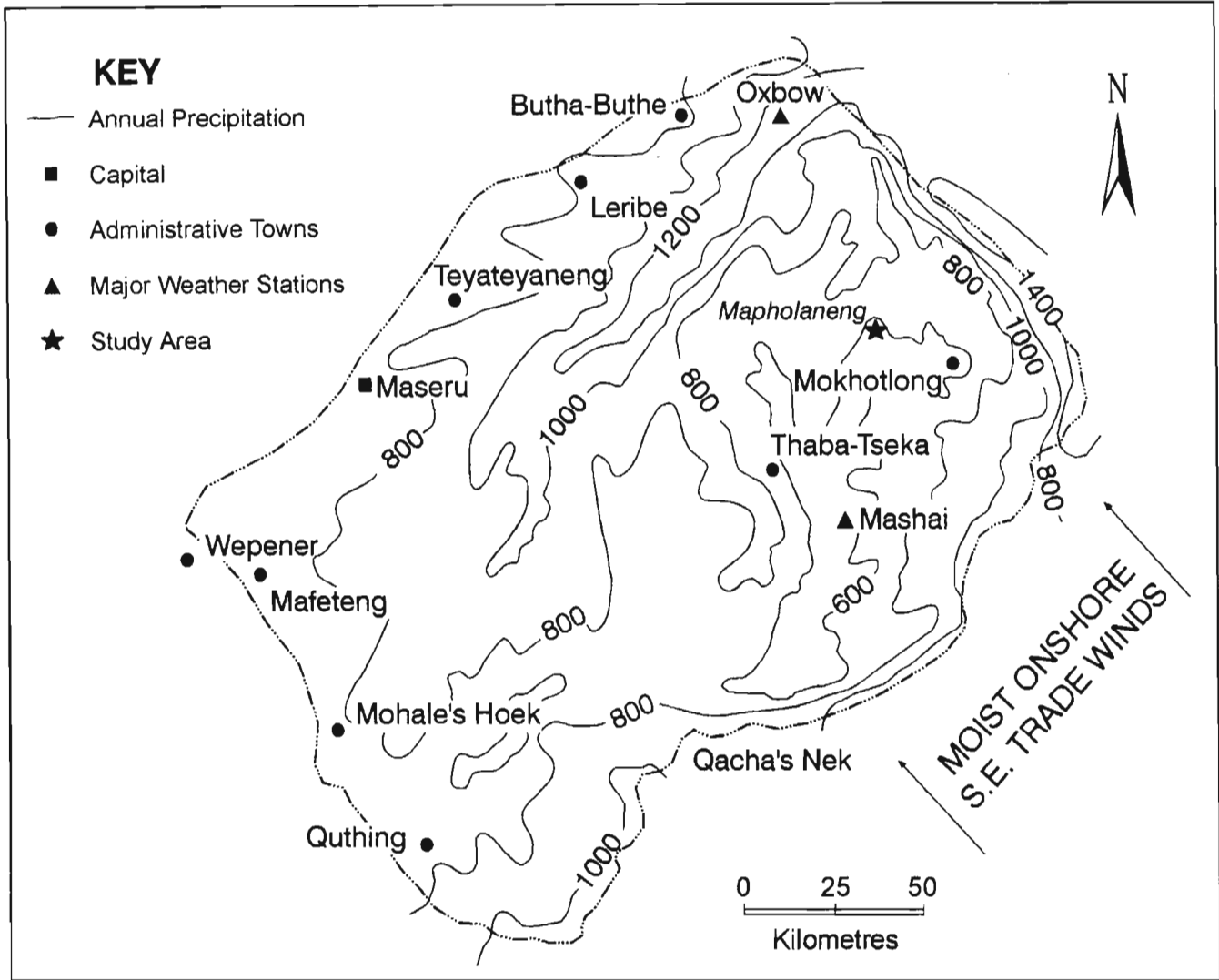


Figure 4.3: Annual precipitation in Lesotho (Source: After Mcleod, 1995)

The micro-climatic conditions of Mapholaneng are more or less the same extremes experienced in the mountainous region of the country. Summers are relatively cool and warm while winters can be very cold. Mapholaneng, being positioned only 10 kilometres away from Letseng la trae (3050m), has very cold weather conditions. For example, due to its relatively high altitude, Letseng la trae has a mean of 7.1⁰c in July while temperatures for the summer season in December are never above 15.5⁰c (Mcleod,1995). According to Ambrose (1976) during winter months, Letseng la trae often experiences night temperatures that are below -10⁰ c, thereby implying an area with extremes of cold which prevent any growing of cultivated crops.

4.3.2 Precipitation and winds

Mapholaneng, just like the Mokhotlong District as a whole, lies in the rainshadow area of moist rain-bearing winds which cross the Drakensberg escarpment from Natal in South Africa (Figure 4 .3). Lying in the deep mountain valleys, Mapholaneng receives less than 600mm of rainfall per annum, while in the high altitude areas along the Eastern Drakensberg escarpment, places may receive from 1000mm to over 1500mm. In this region there are times when weather conditions become very disastrous to both human, crop and animal life alike due to associated hail storms, thunder and rare torrential rain that cause river floods. For example, in 1976, torrential rains damaged maize and wheat crops, while between 1969 and 1970, severe drought gripped the whole country (Perry,1983). More than ten years ago in 1987, heavy snow fell during late October and killed large herds of cattle and flocks of peasant small stock in sheep and goats. However, even though the fall of snow is always associated with destructive impacts on social life, its annual melt is of significant contribution to the flow of Lesotho rivers such as Malima-matso (black-water) Makhaleng and Orange Rivers. The fall of snow is also important as it facilitates ploughing activity and the modern development of eco-tourism for skiing and fishing. Nevertheless, weather hazards of hail storm, floods, severe cold, destructive westerly winds in early spring (August-October), frost and drought in general, have historically constituted a dominant threat to agriculture especially in the mountain areas of Mapholaneng (Ambrose,1976).

4.4 Natural resources of land

4.4.1 Flora and Fauna

Due to its location in the Temperate zone, Lesotho is obviously a natural grass covered country. Historically, four types of natural vegetation were easy to identify. Variety and type of vegetation was mainly a result of natural processes of climate and ecological conditions in each of the relief regions of the country. However by 1999, most of these vegetation types have reached a point of extinction due to factors pertaining to:

- ⊛ the frequent occurrence of severe droughts, and
- ⊛ the coincidence of drought with the land degrading practices of man in respect to overgrazing and the non-conserving traditional methods by which most of the rural agricultural production is done

4.4.1.1 Sweet veld grassland (*seboku*):

This type of grass is naturally suited to warmer lowland and Orange river valleys, at relatively low altitudes between 1800 and 2400 metres. It is a tall grass, that grows reddish mature leaves which are very palatable to the livestock. If this grass could be protected and well maintained, it could be used sustainably for both summer and winter feeding of the livestock (Mcleod, 1995). However, due to increased population pressure in the western lowlands, most of the landforms on which sweet grass veld thrives well, have been either cultivated to resolve the shortage of farming land, especially among the newly married (novice) households, or turned into sites for both commercial and residential purposes.

4.4.1.2 Woodland vegetation:

It is also of historic occurrence and significance along the river valleys and the rocky areas below 1800 metres in altitude and where relatively warmer conditions prevailed. The examples are the olive tree (*mohloare*) and dogwood (*mofifi*) and species of aloe-ferrox (*lekhalana*), *cheche* (*lecosoidea*) and rhus-pyroides (*kolitsane*) all of which are drought resistant. However, by 1999, the availability of most of these species was endangered by overgrazing, persistent drought and negligence by farmers.

4.4.1.3 Montane grass and shrubs:

This is a rather mixed combination of montane grass and shrubs historically found in the high mountains, above 2400 metres altitude. These grasses include *festuca caprina* (*letsiri* grass) and sour veld species. The latter are shorter and less nutritious for cattle than the sweet grasses. Shrub vegetation includes a variety of small wooden species such as the historically common “*sehala-hala*” which is basically used as a source material for rural households firewood. However, present observation in most parts of the country show the current non-existence of most of these varieties of historical vegetation, hence, an urgent need for the rehabilitation of Lesotho’s physical landscape is a must.

4.4.1.4 Wetlands:

In regards to the Lesotho landscape, Wetlands occur in the waterlogged mountain areas or along streams and rivers. Historically, *mermuellera - macowanii* (*moseha*) grass thrived well in some of these mountain wetlands. This grass has been of great importance to the rural communities, because its growth and availability are culturally intertwined to some of the major cultural functions such as the traditional thatching for house-roofing purposes, ropes for firewood gathering, but mainly for use in the culturally valued *lebollo* initiation institution.

However, at present, most of this vegetation has become extinct, resulting from the communal tendencies of rural farming associated with overstocking, drought and the frequency of veld burning practices by herd boys. Lesotho does not have any varieties of wildlife anymore, except the few that are being bred at the recently (1980's) established wildlife conservation centre in Sehlabathebe National park in the eastern region in Qachas'neck district.

4.5 The socio-economic rural structure of agriculture

4.5.1 Introduction to the issue of land tenure

According to Johnson, et al: (1994: 314) “Land tenure refers to the system of ownership of land and title to its use, generally in agriculture.” Since basic rural subsistence is based on land resources, the changing agrarian conditions of agriculture in

Mapholaneng have been investigated. In order to understand rural conditions of production among different peasant households, analysis of both traditional and modern forms of land tenure are critically looked into. This is because the study of land tenure is essential for highlighting ownership rights and access to land, the latter being a prerequisite for the following:

- ✳ to facilitate socio-economic planning for rural development, including the need for agrarian reforms to address problems of landlessness, unprofitable use of arable land and unequal access to land usage within the catchment;
- ✳ to help determine the potentially available land and assess the productivity of land in the catchment as a whole so as to enable tentative strategies for future changes in the control and use of land. In other words, rural agricultural development may not be meaningful without accessibility to the resources of land both for crop-cultivation and animal husbandry. It is the ownership rights and the manner in which land is put to productive use that influences rural development (White,D; in Hinly, 1982);
- ✳ to identify historical changes in land tenure and assess their impacts on the land use among the different households in the catchment.

4.5.2 Land tenure changes and rural development in Mapholaneng.

For the purposes of this thesis, issues of chieftainship and land tenure are found inter-linked and inseparable and as such they are studied because of their significance on the impacts of the long history of the migrant labour system in the catchment. For example, chiefs in all rural communities in the country have contributed to labour migration of their subjects to South Africa in many ways and some of these include:

- ✳ actual recruitment of the people under their territorial jurisdiction for employment in the mines;
- ✳ through bribery, by taking migrant's wages, some migrants have obtained rights of ownership and the use of relatively more arable land than the non-migrant households in the catchment.

Before the migrant labour system was formally institutionalized, the chiefs still had power and control over the labour power of all people under their rule. However, labour migration became a means through which individual migrant labourers could become independent of the chiefs both in attaining land through either share-cropping or by means of renting it without any mediation by chiefs.

- ✱ In addition, the long period of absence of the migrants in the mines took away the powers of the chiefs for using the migrant labour power in the community or for the village's development, social and cultural functions and for duties such as in farming activities. In Lesotho, chieftainship is one of the major historical rural superstructures for the local administration of villages. The history of chieftainship has its origins during the times of the founding of the Nation around the 1930's. During its inception by Moshoeshoe I, the founder of the Basotho Nation, the institution of chieftainship was established as a means by which political power was shared among the people.

Unfortunately, the chieftainship of Lesotho has been characterised by its appearance and practice as a lineage structure, inheritable within one clan and not based on any charismatic features of individuals. According to Quinlan (1989), the practice of rural chieftainship was founded on a rapidly changing and dynamic socio-economic transformation brought about by the penetration of capitalism during and after British colonialism of Lesotho. Although the traditional land tenure system of Lesotho was aimed at ensuring 'equity and subsistence' among all the Basotho people, in practice it failed to promote agricultural development in Mapholaneng as elsewhere in rural Lesotho (Ashton, 1952; Cowen, 1967; Jones, 1951; Murray, 1981; Palmer and Poulter, 1972; Sheddick, 1954).

An example of this practice is that the traditional land tenure system of Lesotho has, through historic times, failed to address or meet the demands for both arable and dwelling lands for the increasing population of the country as a whole. As a result of the increased population, arable land had to be fragmented into small patches in order to ensure accessibility to all households.

Fragmentation of holdings (fields) is a Basotho traditional doctrine based on the principles of subsistence and equity, and the realization that the chances of total crop loss from natural forces would be reduced by the geographical dispersal of one's holding. "In fact, Basotho farms are not composed of a single parcel of land, but are made up of several pieces of land scattered over the village area. Even the chief's lands are separated"(Hudson and Ballinger, 1931:20).

- ★ The physical fragmentation or separation of individual farmer's fields has meant extra costs in terms of travel time and security and transportation of farming equipment from one field to another both during the ploughing season and during the harvesting periods. For example, in Mapholaneng some households have to travel for distances ranging between 5 and 7 kilometres, to and from home and their fields. This factor has been a discouragement instead of giving incentive to the farming practices in the catchment.

The issue of relatively distant fields from home has made it difficult for farmers to carry their heavy equipment such as the plough and kraal manure from their homes to these distant holdings without costs for additional labour and transport being incurred. However using migrant wages, most migrant households bought cattle or donkeys as draught animals to ease household transport demands. The purchase of these animals has also led to the over grazed patterns currently characterising the surrounding pastures in Mapholaneng. As a result of the recent physical and socio-economic changes such as poor pastures, drought, the depressed state of agriculture, the escalating livestock sale and theft which are common throughout the country, the number of livestock -owners and the number of livestock possessed by each livestock-owning household have both declined dramatically.

In addition, fragmentation of fields belonging to many different households has created excessive numbers of independent, decision-making landholders. This practice has had the effect of making it impossible to reach any consensus on issues pertaining to land consolidation or land-rehabilitation in conservation programmes. For instance, the

programmes relating to combatting of soil erosion, creation of community or village agricultural development structures or co-operation in agricultural activities such as in irrigation and mechanised ploughing, have significantly been hindered by the traditional nature of fragmented, sub-divided individual land holdings. Along the Mabunyaneng valley, for example, small blocks of hillside cultivated land is owned between different landholders or households each possessing 1 or 2 acres at the different altitudes. In such cases, issues of soil erosion are the concerns of those farmers whose fields are situated above all others. Hence, in situations whereby the latter does not take any preventive or reduction measures against soil erosion, all other relatively low lying fields will be negatively affected, and the whole community sometimes suffers the consequences of soil erosion caused in this manner. Furthermore, one of the stipulations which have had a negative impact on the development of commercial crop farming was the traditional distribution of fragmented field or blocks of lands according to their suitability for the three major food-crops; maize, wheat and sorghum. In that case, any initiative to towards specialization in any commercial crop was greatly impeded.

The fact that land could not be owned nor used privately as an individual property has been an impediment to agricultural development in Mapholaneng, as elsewhere throughout the country. For example, ownership of land did not grant any security rights to the farmer either to transfer, sell, mortgage or bequeath any arable land or fields owned, unless through hereditary inheritance. Thus, land owned traditionally, could not be used as a security against the land owner's financial problems. If landowners in Mapholaneng failed, they could not use their land holdings for paying schooling fees for their children's education, medical care or to procure bank credits or loans for investment either in agriculture or other non-agricultural income-generating initiatives in the catchment.

- ✱ The fact that traditionally, land could not be bought, hindered the use of migrant labour wages for investment into long term agricultural development such as the purchases of land from other peasants. Even though land holdings already

owned by individual households could only be passed to the on-coming family generations through inheritance; this practise could not address all land shortage problems. For example, in Mapholaneng this traditional land problem seems to have led to many disputes between households or family sons over family fields sub-divisions or re-distribution issues. In most cases such family conflicts have culminated to court cases and sometimes in deaths among the same household sons and other antagonistic members.

- ★ In many circumstances in Mapholaneng, the traditional tenure system has been responsible for the increase of boundaries and buffer zones between each fragmented individual block of land, which is not put to any productive uses. Cases in which these buffer zones have become a bone of contention or hatred between different households are common in Mapholaneng catchment. In fact, the most common court cases recorded from Mapholaneng local court are those dealing with land disputes or related issues.

Similarly, by Lesotho tradition, grazing land is never allocated to any individual privately. This has had the effect that all surrounding lands and pastures have historically been used communally. However, there have also been periodic times during which alternating grazing lands would be excluded from grazing(the *leboella* institution). This is a practice of reserving certain grazing areas from grazing for an unspecified length of time so as to give grazing areas opportunity to rejuvenate itself. Even though the practice was initially meant to be effective in serving its intended purposes, national or governmental measures to enforce the concerned legislation were never seriously implemented to achieve long term goals of land management systems.

In Mahpholaneng , the long historical communal use of the grazing or open surrounding areas is no longer significant. Instead, communal gazing has led to the current increasing incidences of land degradation, which has recently become prevalent through out the Mapholaneng catchment. Photographs 4.1 and 4.2 depict scenes of sheet, rill & gully erosional forms in the catchment. For example, there is the case of

the surrounding hills in Makalieng village where the land has turned into stony ground with top soil washed away and carried down the hill slopes to the southward running Makalieng stream below the village. Moreover, the investment of migrant wages in the purchase of quantities of livestock in sheep, goats, cattle, horses and donkeys during the hay days of labour migration into South Africa, have also contributed to the overgrazing tendencies in the catchment and therefore to the subsequent deterioration in land resources for agriculture.

From similar studies conducted in rural Lesotho, Eckert (1982) has shown that in some rural locations, earnings from migrant labour have resulted in conditions of reduced agricultural value among some households.

“ migrant labour earnings have resulted in a sharp decline in planted areas, worse husbandry practices and a general stagnation of agriculture: coinciding with the mine wage-increases, planted acreage dropped 38% to the lowest levels ever recorded ”(Eckert, 1982:2).

What the above assertion illuminates, is the historic practice that the traditional tenure system failed to stimulate both migrant and non-migrant wages towards investments in agricultural development. For example, the tenure system failed to initiate and implement land rehabilitation or land conservation programmes for the soil. On the other hand, the communal land tenure of Lesotho has been an obstacle to other life-long agricultural development initiatives including the planting of trees in the open and unsettled areas.



Photograph:4.1 West Tiping

Soil erosion caused by people and livestock is shown on the main foot paths between the homesteads. No anti-erosion measures are being implemented. Differentiation of farmers on the basis of wealth is reflected by modern houses but there is no spatial differentiation in terms of those that have relative wealth or those who are poor with respect to their situation in the landscape. Homesteads are located adjacent to the fields and communal grazing lands. At the foreground, 'A' represents the kraal set aside for traditional circumcision initiates. Trees stabilizing the stream passing on the left side of the village can also be seen, but are threatened by the need for firewood, particularly as required by the initiates kraal.



Photograph 4.2 Makalieng village

Communal grazing and movement of people and livestock up and down steep slopes leads to serious erosion as seen on the photograph where rill and gully erosion have developed.

This latter practice was thus considered an infringement upon communal grazing rights, hence fencing of any land was never allowed due to the related fears of:

- i the likelihood of complicated claims of damages to fences by livestock, hence within the catchment, the historical absence of fencing has been one of the major problematic constraints for livestock breeding improvement;
- ii the inhibiting of free movement of livestock in compliance with the system of transhumance;
- iii the likelihood of claims for individual title to the land or claims for farmer's relative independence from the jurisdictions of the concerned chiefs (Hudson & Balliger, 1931).

Since the formulation and historical practice of traditional land tenure in Lesotho, several modifications of land reforms aimed at ensuring subsistence and equity were made, but it seemed in vain. Landlessness and unproductiveness from arable land have still continued despite the first five year plan of Lesotho (1970--75) which introduced leasehold tenure as the first attempt at land reform and which came into practice in the form of the administrative land act of 1973. The act was initially meant to regulate land distribution in the urban areas of the country. As a result of this land reform, 90 year State Lease or Government Grants were introduced. These were freely transferable and at the same time could be sub-leased, mortgaged or inherited (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1987). However, literature shows that most of these modifications to Lesotho's land tenure failed to eradicate the agricultural development obstacles that have historically been inherent in the traditional land tenure system of Lesotho.

On a national scale, the Lesotho Government passed the 1979 land act to replace and compliment the former traditional land tenure system, thus granting greater security of tenure to the individual land holders and for the purposes of promoting rural development through providing incentives for long term investment in land (White, 1982).

In other words, the 1979 land act was destined to address the historical legacy of tenure by:

- i facilitating the transformation of the traditional land tenure from subsistence orientation towards a more income-generating commercial farming practice;
- ii facilitating a change of ownership from those who owned arable land but could not use it profitably to those who had the means to put land to maximum productivity, thus allowing land to be bought and sold;
- iii facilitating a shift of rural power structure of land administration from the hegemonic control by chiefs to a democratic administration of land through the establishment of contemporary rural power structures, hence the institutionalization of current village development committees in all rural communities in Lesotho;
- iv making it easy for individual fencing of land and as a result enhanced scattered patches of land conservation practices by some households;
- v facilitating the development of new social equalities based on accessibility to land holdings.

Those with enough money capital, such as some of the households with migrant wages to purchase land from the relatively poorer categories, have become better off, while on the other hand, landlessness also increased among the poor (Cobbe & Bardill, 1985). Nevertheless, everything remaining equal, the effectiveness of the 1979 land act in attempting to address some of the historical obstacles behind the traditional tenure system still needs to be critically analysed. Moreover, according to the 1987 Lesotho Government documentation, the implementation of the new land tenure had already been clouded with inherent problems including: shortage of suitable manpower, lack of relevant equipment, funds and both direct and indirect defiance of the legislation by the farmers.

4.6 Major land uses in Mapholaneng Catchment

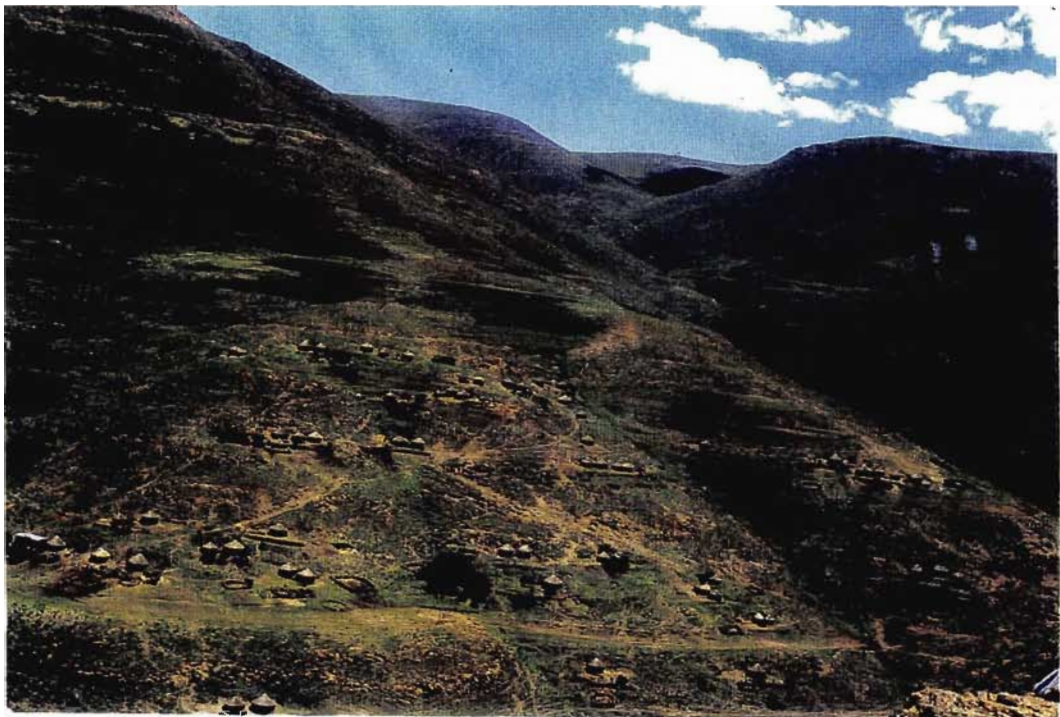
4.6.1 Crop-cultivation

In Mapholaneng catchment, crop farming provides a livelihood to about 85 % of the households. However, productivity is extremely low. There is wide spread soil erosion. All farming is dry-land, without irrigation and highly dependent on weather conditions, even though the local rivers: Khubelu and Mabunyaneng are perennial. Moreover, adequate credit and marketing facilities are also lacking while the use of fertiliser may not be known to most farmers. Most households use unskilled family labour for all agricultural activities. In fact, in general, there seems to be a general lack of incentives to motivate farmers to devote adequate attention to the condition of the soil. Crop cultivation is basically of subsistence type and is practised on the individual households fields. These fields are located within the vicinity of the settlements or in some cases up to 7 kilometres away from the homesteads. Those fields that are relatively far way from the settlements (5-10km) cause great concern among the affected households in relation to the security and the transportation of both farm inputs during the ploughing season and of outputs after harvest in winter. Photographs, 4.3 and 4.4) show different locations of catchment fields in relation to settlements and homesteads in Tipping case study village of the catchment. It may also be learned from these photos that in both Khukhune and Tipping villages, settlements and fields are established on the remote and mountain landforms unsuitable for productive crop farming activity.



Photograph 4.3 East Tiping village

Generally, the slopes are too steep for any meaningful crop-cultivation and arable land is very limited, so people try to put any available and relatively flat land to cultivation, ultimately even on the slopes which are too steep and rugged. Soil erosion caused by people and animals is noticeable along the footpaths leading to the fields. Even though Mabunyaneng river passes below the village, due to farmers poverty and ignorance, they are unable to utilize this water during periods of drought.



Photograph 4.4 Central Tiping village

The presence of foot-path erosion within the village is visible. Location of fields on the steep slopes, which makes them liable for erosion, is also identifiable. The remote nature of the village is indicated by lack of modern buildings and the steep terrain makes modern transport and communication impossible.

Fields are developed on the slope land which makes the use of farming machinery such as the common plough impossible, and also contributes to the initiation of downslope run-off erosion. Major crops grown are the food crops: maize, sorghum and wheat followed in importance by the pulses: peas and beans and then potatoes and pumpkin. The crops are grown in relation to the type of soil at the disposal of each farmer. Maize, potatoes and sorghum are grown and mostly suited to black-loam soils along the Mabunyaneng and its tributaries to its confluence with Seate and Khubelu rivers in Lower Mapholaneng. In Motete village, maize is produced better than in other areas in the catchment. Sorghum and beans are grown in relatively sandy soils, while wheat does best in black mountain soil. As a result, upper Mapholaneng villages of Khukhune and Tiping are always associated with the best production of peas and wheat while maize, potatoes and sorghum thrive best in low-lying fields along the river valleys around Motete and Meketeng villages. Pumpkin and potatoes are not, as a tradition, grown alone, but are inter-cropped with maize production. It is therefore not surprising that in every maize field, either potatoes or pumpkin will also be grown and in some circumstances all three are produced on the same piece of land at the same time. A limited amount of barley and oats are sometimes grown by some farmers or households as fodder crops. Most households have gardens around the vicinity of the home. In such gardens, domestic vegetables are produced. For example, cabbage, carrots, spinach and raddish.

Although production is basically aimed at household consumption purposes, as with major food crops, a portion of output is occasionally sold to earn cash needed for households requirements. Cow-dung is now not used for enriching the soil but instead is burned as a source of household fuel, thus contributing to poor yields.

4.6.2 Grazing land (livestock-farming)

At present 1999, to some rural households in Mapholaneng animal husbandry still represents a principal source of income. The catchment is suited to livestock farming more than to the cultivation of crops. Although the physical environment of the catchment has tended to be more suitable for the production of livestock, during the

1990's , livestock has become far from productive. Traditionally personal savings were invested in livestock. This traditional practice has, however, culminated in overgrazing, and together with inadequate livestock control and poor feeding methods, have contributed to and continues to diminish the quality of animals reared by individual households. For instance, among most households in Mapholaneng, some farmers still adhere to the traditional quantitative approach to livestock, instead of implementing modern qualitative methods of commercial livestock farming. This is due to cultural background for the procurement of social status and social recognition and for the ceremonial and factional purposes of the households.

For example, some livestock have through historic times been needed as items for transport and for ploughing purposes. However, this traditional quantitative approach to livestock farming has had disastrous impacts on the local physical landscape. For example, it resulted in excessive livestock populations which were beyond the carrying capacity of the land and which, in turn, has led to the present continuing land degradation taking place within the catchment. At present in 1999, only a few households still keep large herds of livestock as most households have had their livestock reduced by a complexity of rural factors over the past years.

★ Climatic conditions:

Extreme weather conditions such as torrential rains, hail-storms and heavy snowfalls during the winter season are often experienced. In October 1987, heavy snowfall killed a substantial number of livestock in the catchment and farmers lost sheep, goats, horses, cattle and donkeys.

★ Stock-theft and sale:

Poverty among the communities has aggravated incidences of stock-theft and the increasing sales of live livestock over the past ten years. For example , since 1993, when the main mountain road connecting Butha-Buthe district in the lowlands region with Mokhotlong was tarred, transportation of livestock from Mapholaneng for sale in the lowland was made easier than before. This has also opened new avenues for rural production. It has facilitated the

transportation of live animals to the relatively better livestock markets in the lowland towns such as in Butha-Buthe, Leribe and Maputsoe. The road has also brought about other livestock production initiatives such as local butchery enterprises in the catchment. The availability of livestock markets has in turn increased the sale price for livestock the catchment thereby giving livestock farmers an incentive in the industry. However, this trend has also led to livestock theft for the same purpose of selling them. In fact, stock theft has currently become one of the major rural problems facing the livestock owners in the catchment and the surrounding villages.

4.6.3 Residential settlements.

Rural settlements, of which Mapholaneng is a part, are those whose inhabitants are mainly engaged in primary farming for their subsistence materials. In Mapholaneng catchment there are basically two forms of residential settlements: the homesteads and the cattle-posts. The location of residential settlements in Mapholaneng is a combination of a complex of related factors ranging from ecological, cultural and economic advantages. In this case, settlements tend to be established in relation to the accessibility to sources of water, grazing pastures, arable land, defensive sites, transport and social services for health care, schools and markets.

For example, Makalieng village is located where it is, due to accessibility to a perennial natural spring in the middle of the village. It is also positioned in a relatively open land suitable for grazing purposes, but away from land suitable for crop cultivation.

Similarly, Khukhune and Tiping villages were historically positioned where they are, due to the relative warm conditions in sheltered upper river valleys away from strong winter and spring westerly winds and for both accessibility to water and grazing land. For cultural reasons the land is used for performing the secretive ritual of traditional circumcision. Homesteads in these villages are found consisting of nucleated patches on the hill slopes and along the upper Mabunyaneng river valleys and streams(Photographs 4.1,4.4 and 5.4).

On the other hand, homesteads in Lower Mapholaneng, especially in Motete and Meketeng, are arranged in clusters on the Mapholaneng plateau, along the main road and below the small hills facing the Mabunyaneng river that passes below the village on its way to Khubelu river. Homesteads in lower Mapholaneng consist of both traditional stone walled, grass-thatched huts and houses with modern corrugated iron roofs and cement-block walls. In most cases, the type of material used in building household houses is a reflection of relative wealth or the socio-economic status of the household concerned.

Most traditional households are characterized by the presence of a stone built animal kraal within the homestead yard. However, at present in 1999, most kraals have fallen, or remain empty as a result of the decline of livestock husbandry. The second type of residential settlement in rural Mapholaneng catchment is the traditional institution of a cattle-post which is a residential settlement associated with livestock farmers. A cattle-post is a stone and grass hut built at a distance of about 30 kilometres away from home in the far-away mountains. It is a second home for the rural livestock farmers and it was established in order to facilitate the rural livestock process of transhumance.

Transhumance is a livestock-farming process that concerns seasonal movement of livestock and rotational exploitation of range lands or pastures. In summer, or during the ploughing season, livestock accompanied by shepherds or herd boys are moved 20 to 100 km away from the home pastures to the far away cattle-posts. This is done with the motive to avoid crop-damage by livestock and also to give home pastures time to regenerate and rehabilitate until, after harvest when livestock would again be moved towards home pastures and so avoid the extreme winter cold and snow commonly associated with the higher altitudes in the far away cattle- posts.

4.7 Trends of urbanization.

Even though there is a lack of actual statistics to show how the population of lower Mapholaneng's urban villages are growing, the number of new immigrant households and the increased extent of the build-up area indicate the recent population growth in Mapholaneng.

Mapholaneng is said to be a second town in Mokhotlong district. In 1986, when the first signs of urbanization were being noticed in the catchment, Quinlan asserted that: 'Mapholaneng is on the threshold of being recognized officially as an urban development' (Quinlan, 1989:47). This catchment has recently developed a sprawl of villages arranged in clusters on the Mapholaneng or Motete-Meketeng plateau. Most households are located along both sides of the recently constructed (1993 to 1997) tarred road passing through the catchment. It connects Mokhotlong with the Lowland district of Butha-Buthe.

Mapholaneng catchment offers both governmental and non-government socio-economic services. At present, 1999, there is a police-station, post-office, bank-agency, a livestock veterinary department, Red-Cross-Clinic, two pre-schools, one Primary and a High school (photograph:4.5). The number of shops and cafes that sell merchandise imported from both the Western Lowlands and from South Africa have increased considerably since late early 1990's. These services, plus the access of the tarred road have attracted immigration from outside villages into Mapholaneng. For example, the new village called 'Vaal Reefs' established at the crossing point of the Mabunyaneng river in Mafikalisiu is a result of immigration of people from Mahemeng and Mabuleng villages, from the upper Khubelu river. New villages that have also erupted in Motete and Meketeng are on the one hand, results of immigrations of people from other places from the outskirts of Mapholaneng, while some new households are for people from upper Mapholaneng rural villages of Khuhkune, Tiping and Matsoiring. On the other hand, some newly established households are for people that have immigrated 15 to 50 km from far away places into Mapholaneng. This category of immigrants are those from Tloha-re-bue, Ntsupe, Makhoaba and from Semenanyana and Matsoku rural villages in Thaba-Tseka district. Thus, the period between 1980-1997 could be associated with the process of unregulated urbanization in Mapholaneng. Most of the immigrants came looking for job opportunities especially during the construction phase of the tarred road between 1993 and 1997. Related new changes that came with the construction of the road included the development of houses for renting to serve the increased demands by employment-seekers and the road construction employees.



Photograph 4.5: Meketeng village

Soil erosion is seen in the foreground. Fields and new settlements can be identified below the hills, thereby illustrating the encroachment of settlement on land formerly used for crop farming. Mapholaneng High School is located on the plateau and is bordered by tall trees. Opposite are the traditional Meketeng homesteads and modern social service buildings, consisting of the Lesotho Bank agency, Post-office, Red-Cross Clinic, Agricultural Extension Department and Mapholaneng Police Station. What is more significant in the photograph is the new tarred road seen in the background. This road was constructed between 1993 and 1997. Since then, the road has been valuable in promoting increased socio-economic links between the urbanised core Lowland Region and the Mapholaneng which had been isolated from the major towns in the Lowlands.

The development of the new road has brought about increased population settlement in Mapholaneng and the road has had the negative effect of promoting the encroachment of new homesteads onto already scarce arable land.

As a result, Mapholaneng, for the first time, came to be characterised by the mushrooming of self-help shelters made of cardboard boxes and corrugated iron-sheets.

Another recent development in Mapholaneng is the petty commodity production (PCP). It shows itself in the establishment of small cafes and shops along the tarred road from Meketeng to Motete villages. These sell grocery, hardware, building materials, clothing and other households goods. Furthermore, on both sides of the road there lies a chain of hawkers' market stalls. These PCP stalls sell a variety of goods imported mainly from South Africa where they are relatively cheaper.

The type of goods sold by hawker trade include clothing, jewellery and cutlery. The hawker trade has had its initiative from both migrant labour and non-migrant labour incomes. With the construction of the tarred road, avenues for trade were opened. The construction of the road in 1993 stimulated the demands for restaurant-service and as a result, stalls or temporary shelters for the provision of food to the road construction workers were developed. Butcheries and other food providing enterprises were also opened in Mapholaneng. Another related recent development was the opening up of a local market for live-livestock especially, for sheep and cattle. These animals were needed for slaughter for the provision of meat for the food providers catering for the employees of the road construction.

Although the above factors have led, on the one hand, to the incipient urbanization and thereby contributed to positive socio-economic changes in the catchment, these incidences of urbanization have also led, on the other hand, to a complexity of urbanization related social problems which included the following:

- ★ the differentiation of catchment households into social classes of rich, middle and poor peasants as result of the unequal access to the commodity production and factors of production as a whole among the different households of the catchment;
- ★ the shortage of housing for the increased population occurring during the

construction of the tarred road also led to increased groups of youngsters and adult persons roaming about the catchment area as they had failed to procure employment from the construction work. Thus, the unplanned and unregulated incipient urbanization in Mapholaneng has resulted in increasing social problems relating to house-breaking, theft, robbery and crime which have currently characterised the urban villages of Motete, Meketeng, Mafikalisiu and Majakaneng.

The other two events which have also led to the increasing unemployment of the catchment labour force in Mapholaneng are:

- i the completion of the tarred road in late 1997;
- ii and the dwindling business trade in the catchment, due to the shrinking local market for road labourers and diminished income sources resulting from the increased rate of migrant labourers' retrenchment from the mines of South Africa.

4.8 The problem of labour migration in Mapholaneng Catchment.

Labour migration has been central to the experience of most households in rural Mapholaneng catchment. In fact, this process by which young and middle aged male adults from Mapholaneng crossed the boundaries into South Africa for employment opportunities is not unique for the same process as has been practised elsewhere in Lesotho. Generations of grandparents, parents and sons have worked in various working places such as in mines, farms, firms and in service industries in South Africa over the last century. The introduction and later, the institutionalisation of migrant labour in Mokhotlong district as elsewhere in Lesotho, disrupted both the traditional patterns of peasant production and social organizations in villages and communities. For example, the establishment of the mine labour recruitment office in Mokhotlong town and the transportation of the recruited labour force by air via Ladysmith to the mines, have long had an impact on the rural basis of household subsistence production. As a result, the historical absence of young and adult men for 12 to 18 months each year for mining contracts in South Africa, separated the male labour force from its normal and customary roles in the villages. For example, men have been away

in the mines for long years and therefore have not been available to perform their domestic household duties including mending houses, household equipment repairs, the socialization of offspring, cultural ordeals and farming activities. However in some cases, outside labour was hired to perform such duties and paid with migrant labour wages. In other words, even though household migrant members did not perform household activities in person, they provided the income to bring such activities into fruition. In such cases, labour migration has thus, been of importance in generating local employment in the catchment.

By the 1980's, there were hardly three families out of ten from which someone had not migrated to the mines for employment in South Africa from Mapholaneng catchment. Thus, migrant labour had become a deeply entrenched source of supplementary income to many households in Mapholaneng. However, to the relatively poor households, migrant wages had become the only major source sustaining household subsistence and investment in livestock production (Quinlan, 1989). The long history of labour migration in Mapholaneng had generated a doctrine among the catchment youths and parents that better future job-opportunities lay in the migrant labour system to South Africa. This inborn positive attitudes towards labour migration by the youths in Mapholaneng, especially among the boys, has had the effect of discouraging boys from completing formal schooling since labour migration was not seen as academic or literacy dependent. Reasons that have precipitated labour migration from Mapholaneng have already been discussed in Chapter Two above. However, as I have indicated earlier in this thesis, it has never been every household that has had someone working as a migrant. The study of five villages in Mapholaneng has shown that, a substantial number of ~~some~~ households have had no migrant labourers in South Africa. On the one hand, while some households have had someone working as local migrant within Lesotho such as a civil servant working in the town, on the other hand, other households have had no one involved in labour migration at all. For example in the rural villages of Khukhune and Tiping in particular, the majority of households have had no labour migration history neither anywhere in Lesotho nor in South Africa (non-migrant households). Table 4.1 is drawn to depict the differences in the number of both

migrant and non-migrant households in all eleven relatively larger villages constituting Mapholaneng catchment. From this table, it is observed that a larger percentage of non-migrant households is from the relatively rural and remote villages in upper Mapholaneng in Khukhune (62%), and Tiping (64 %). These villages are very remote and as such, they are still more traditional in their socio-economic practices than those in lower Mapholaneng where elements of western values are gradually eradicating traditional values. In fact, in these remote rural villages, ties of people with the resources of the countryside has still remained substantially central to the day to day subsistence of the households. A large percentage of migrant households is from the relatively urban village in Lower Mapholaneng and in villages such as Motete (68%) and Meketeng (70%).

Table 4.1: Migrant and Non-Migrant households in the sub-village of Mapholaneng catchment in Eastern Lesotho-1998-99.

Village name	total number of migrant households	% of migrant households	total number of non-migrant households	% of non-migrant households	Village total of households
Khukhune	15	38	25	62	40
Mafikalisiu	10	37	17	63	27
Makalieng	10	67	5	33	15
Malothoaneng	20	57	15	43	35
Matsoiring	22	69	10	31	32
Meketeng	37	70	16	30	53
Motete	92	68	43	32	135
Polomiti	39	76	12	24	51
Teu	29	55	24	45	53
Tiping	34	36	61	64	95
Tsieng	21	68	10	32	31
Catchment total	339	641	238	459	561

Source: Author's data supplied by headmen (April- July, 1998).

4.9 The structure of Lesotho's economy

Lesotho has been known through historical periods as a agricultural country practising both crop cultivation and animal husbandry. In fact, agriculture has been regarded as the backbone of the country's economy for the last 100 years.

4.9.1 Crop cultivation:

Lesotho has often been described as an agricultural economy for the reason that, agriculture used to employ 85% of the resident Lesotho labour force. However, recent records indicate that the domestic production of major grain crops of maize, wheat and sorghum has been falling drastically to the present levels by which the country is unable to feed itself from its agricultural base. In fact, Lesotho is said to have shifted from self-sufficiency in food production to the present condition of total impoverishment and dependence on foreign donation and importation of both basic staple grain food items and vegetables such as cabbage and potatoes (Murray, 1981). Table 4.2, reflects the food production dilemma of the agricultural base of Lesotho, and depicts historical changes of domestic decline in agricultural production during the period 1974 to 1988. In order to maintain the basic subsistence of her people, Lesotho is currently and without any choice, dependent on the imports of food grains such as wheat, maize, sorghum and other non-agricultural materials from her neighbour, South Africa. Agriculture has continued to feed most of the Basotho people and has also been a major contributor to the Lesotho's gross domestic product (GDP). For instance, according to Mcleod, in 1977/78, agriculture in order of crop cultivation and livestock contributed M 28.8 million and M 22.6 million respectively to the total gross domestic product at that period (Mcleod, 1995). In addition, in 1985, Lesotho Government records showed that agriculture alone contributed 26% or M142.4 million to the GDP as a result of the increases in the production of staple food grains of maize wheat and sorghum (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1987).

Table 4.2: Lesotho's imports and domestic production of major food crops in thousands of tones: 1974/75 - 1986/87

CROP- IMPORTS					DOMESTIC PRODUCTION			
YEAR	MAIZE	WHEAT	SORGHU M	PULSE	MAIZE	WHEAT	SORGHUM	PULSE
1974/5	74.5	23.3	3.7	0.9	122.5	57.0	84.0	4.7
1975/6	83.1	32.4	5.1	0.3	70.3	45.3	37.4	19.2
1976/7	96.3	50.8	5.8	0.8	49.1	44.6	24.5	18.8
1977/8	82.0	36.8	1.9	0.8	125.0	61.4	62.3	27.9
1978/9	91.3	32.1	1.8	0.9	143.2	57.9	85.8	15.2
1989/0	91.0	38.4	1.4	1.2	124.9	33.6	69.0	15.2
1980/1	05.7	37.7	1.0	1.0	105.6	28.2	59.3	15.3
1981/2	111.0	30.3	3.3	1.2	105.7	17.0	47.7	8.1
1982/3	99.2	33.3	1.3	1.3	79.8	14.5	26.0	6.7
1983/4	103.9	52.4	1.0	1.8	76.2	14.8	30.7	7.1
1984/5	108.8	58.6	1.0	1.8	79.4	17.1	33.8	5.0
1985/6	1117.3	62.7	1.0	2.3	92.4	18.4	54.8	5.8
1986/7	112.9	63.0	1.0	2.3	86.5	11.0	33.6	5.3

SOURCE: Lesotho Agricultural situation reports, 1984 & 1986 editions. (After, Nqgaleni in Santho and Sejanamane, 1990: 128-29).

Various contextual reasons have been commonly advanced to account for the historical decline in agricultural yields as indicated in Table 4.2 .

★ Conditions of soil for cultivation

In Lesotho, recently soils became poor and infertile or exhausted as a result of long centuries of continuous cultivation without fertilizing the soil, as a result of the traditional practices of monoculture and of using animal manure as firewood for household requirements.

★ Increase in population growth

The recent increases in population growth is a factor which has commonly been considered responsible for the shortage of virgin farming land and which, in turn, has led to the cultivation of hill slopes and marginal lands, contributing to the conditions of land degradation and of rural-urban migration.

★ Long period of absence of men

In most instances, the absence of men as valuable household labour power, for long periods of mine work in South Africa, had also been critically considered an issue associated with the decline in agricultural yields. This issue has currently become very controversial among the academics. The related debate on the issues are discussed at length, elsewhere in this thesis.

★ Soil erosion

Both naturally and humanly induced aspects of soil-degradation such as in the case of wide scenes of sheet and gully erosion throughout the country have been documented to have contributed a major role in the current decline of agricultural yields in the country.

★ Lack of funds to finance agricultural purchases of farming technology and to reduce illiteracy among farmers. Most rural farmers are poor to raise funds to improve agricultural production.

4.9.2 Livestock farming

In Lesotho most farmers who historically cultivated fields also kept a certain number of livestock, hence crop farming and animal husbandry were never inseparable among the traditional Basotho farmers.

The practice of animal husbandry usually involved the rearing of both small and larger domestic animals like cattle, horses and donkeys or mules, while the small stock consisted of sheep and goats. As elsewhere amongst the Bantu people in Southern Africa, through historical times, livestock has been regarded as a symbol of wealth and of social status by the Basotho who have historically valued livestock quantitatively rather than qualitatively. The topography of Lesotho is mostly suited to livestock farming, but documentation and real life experience in the country reveals that the physical number of livestock owned by the farmers has been double the carrying capacity of the pastures. As a result, it is strongly argued that several generations of continuous overstocking of the rangeland throughout the country has culminated in the current conditions of the pasture's deterioration (Ambrose, 1976, Mcleod, 1995,

Perry, 1983). Angora goats and merino sheep are mostly reared and encouraged for their wool which form a major export component of Lesotho's trade to the outside world, through South Africa. Furthermore, and in order to maintain the livestock breeds, selected breeding places have long been established in the eastern district of Mokhotlong and Qachasneck, where most of the best livestock is produced.

- ✱ Livestock graze in the mountains in summer and in the lowlands pastures in winter, practising the farming process of transhumance.
- ✱ The lack of winter grazing and absence of fodder-crops constitute a major problem leading to weakened draught animals for sustaining ploughing, hence contributing to the poor types of farming practices by poor peasants.

4.9.3 Mining and Manufacturing

Diamonds are the only minerals of economic importance in Lesotho, occurring in Likhobong, Kao, Lemphane and Lets'eng la Trai mining areas. The mine in Lets'eng la Trai was formerly opened in 1977 but had to close down in 1982 due to then unfavourable world prices. Presently the provision of basic infrastructure of housing, roads, fencing and electricity supply is underway for the re-opening of the mine. Even though it is not exactly clear as when the mine will be re-opened, it is hoped that some of the retrenched mine workers from the mines of South Africa will be employed. However, the employment of the ex-migrants will depend on the relevance of their skills and experience to the diamond mining requirements in Lesotho, which are different to coal and gold mining. The potential for employment of retrenched migrant mineworkers is therefore not considered good.

Manufacturing in Lesotho is poorly developed and consists mainly of textile and clothing industries which are promoted by the Lesotho National Development Corporation (LNDC) and the Basotho Enterprises Development Corporation (BEDCO) both of which are run and controlled by foreign private companies from South Africa and Asian countries. Opportunities for the employment of retrenched migrant workers is considered very limited, particularly as employment in these industries is mainly focussed on female labour and wages are relatively lower than those expected by the ex-migrants, who have been used to higher wages on the mines.

CHAPTER 5

5. ANALYSIS OF QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY DATA

5.1 Introduction

The chapter's focus is the analysis of data collected by questionnaire survey of selected villages in Mapholaneng catchment. Data relating to individual urban and rural villages is initially analysed, then combined to facilitate generalization in the formulation of strategies for uplifting rural conditions of existence in the catchment as a whole.

5.1.1 Households size

The concept of household sizes is important to understanding the production and consumption sides of households existence from one year to another, since the size of a traditional rural farming household determines the worker -consumer relations or the dependency ratio of such households (Murray, 1981; Chayanov, 1977). Both Migrant and Non-Migrant households were analysed and compared:

- ⊕ to assess the household labour potential input capacity for household production;
- ⊕ to compare different household sizes to their material resource base and level of household subsistence.

Table 5.1: Size of Migrant and Non-Migrant households

Catchment villages	Total households sample	% of migrants & non-migrant h/holds		% of h/holds with 1-3 persons each		% of h/holds with 4 to 8 persons each		% of h/holds with over 8 person each	
		M	N	M	N	M	N	M	N
Urban villages	40	60	40	15	5	30	28	13	10
Rural villages	24	46	54	13	4	29	33	4	17
Catchment-Total	64	55	45	14	5	30	30	9	13

Source: field work questionnaire survey, 1998–99.

5.1.2 Urban household sizes

Most Urban households are middle sized with 4 to 8 persons. Table 5.1 shows that 58% of the Urban households are in this category. While 30 % of these are Migrant households, 28 % are Non-Migrant households, indicating that there is no meaningful difference between Non-Migrant and Migrants households in respect to this household size. Similarly, Table 5.1 shows that 23 % of the urban households and 21% of the rural households are relatively large with over 8 persons each.

On the other hand, 20 % of the Urban households are small, consisting of only 1 to 3 persons. A larger percentage of this category (15%) is composed of Migrant households as against only 5 % for Non-Migrant households. Thus, migrant urban households seem to be dominating in the changing households' sizes from large extended families to small, modern nuclear families in the urban areas of the catchment.

It is tentatively suggested that the transition of households from the traditional large extended families, to modern small nuclear families in the catchment, may partially, at least, be attributed to the migrant labour system, since reduction in household size is mostly seen gradually developing among migrant households in the catchment. Moreover, the frequency of smaller families among the migrant households may be the culmination of a long process of acculturation to which rural migrant workers have been exposed during their migrant lives in both South Africa and Lesotho's urban towns. It is also not unexpected that changes in traditional practices, values and beliefs which today are prevalent even amongst rural communities and which are being replaced by modern value-systems such as money and a capitalist ideology for example, should be more common amongst the migrant-households. However, the proposition is moderated by the fact that it is not only the migrant-households that have been exposed to the global changes of conditions of living, because the establishment of the modern social and economic sectors in the rural areas such as churches, schools, shops and other service sectors, can also be associated with introducing concepts of modernization in the catchment.

5.1.3 Rural household sizes

Table 5.1 shows that 62% of the rural households have 4 to 8 persons. While 33% of this size category is drawn from Non-Migrant households, 29% is from the Migrant households, therefore indicating that rural households are larger than those of the urban areas in size. Moreover, 21% of Rural households are large with over 8 persons, with 17% of this group consisting of Non-Migrant households while on the other hand, the Migrant households only constitute 4% . Thus, in the rural villages, Non-Migrant households are relatively larger than those of the Migrant households, indicating a relative traditional nature of most non-migrant households or those which resist change by adhering to the customary practices of extended family living.

5.1.4 Household sizes in Mapholaneng catchment

Households in Mapholaneng Catchment as a whole can be classified into three size divisions.

★ Larger households

Almost a quarter of the households(22%) in Mapholaneng are very large with more than 8 members.

★ Medium households:

The majority of households (60%) in the catchment have between 4 and 8 members each. Combining these two categories, means 82% of all households in Mapholaneng catchment have 4 or more members.

★ Small households

This is the remaining 19% of all other households in Mapholaneng. It is a group of small households that consists of 1 to 3 members.

In general, Table 5.1, shows that the majority of larger extended families in the catchment are from the Non-Migrant households while a larger portion of smaller nuclear families are migrant households. The difference in household sizes between Rural and Urban areas of the Catchment are also shown with more urban households being small with 1 to 3 persons than rural households.

Some of the largest families with more than 8 members are polygamous in orientation. Polygamy as a form of marriage also influences family size of households. Even though polygamy was culturally accepted and encouraged in Lesotho in the recent past, its practice in Basotho life, tended to be the preserve of a few individuals with relatively dominant socio-economic status such as chiefs and other materially better off households. Polygamy has been highly valued for the socio-economic benefits it was envisaged to produce, including:

- ★ facilitating high chances of bearing male children which were culturally required for the continual existence of patriarchal households into the future generations;
- ★ the procurement of extra land. An example of this has been confirmed by Mcleod who observed that under the traditional land tenure system in Lesotho, polygamous families would be allocated relatively more land for cultivation than the single mothered households (Mcleod,1995). However, with the changing contemporary rural conditions culminating from increased in population growth and reduced availability of virgin lands, it is no more easy for larger polygamous households to procure any legal allocation of extra farming land. As a result therefore, the current existence of larger families seems to raise socio-economic problems that relate to their future sustainability, particularly given the current rural conditions which are pervaded by a complex of agrarian issues including:
 - ★ dwindling agricultural yields from the catchment as a whole due to soil exhaustion, land shortage, drought and degradation ;
 - ★ increased costs of farm inputs as well as increasing costs of health and educational needs of the households.
 - ★ lack of employment opportunities with particular reference to the ex-migrant households which have been used to wage income earnings, and to the young , novice labour power looking for their first productive employment.

Based on these current 1999 economic constraints facing the material maintenance of larger households, the future of the lawful and culturally accepted polygamous families is fading away just like other Basotho traditional customs which have been

disarticulated by Lesotho's integration into the world economy since independence from colonial rule by Britain. The agricultural problems seem to have frustrated agricultural production to the level that even the chiefs, who historically were noted for their increased material production, today stand no chance of maintaining larger families.

Mapholaneng catchment therefore reveals a transitional feature of society, showing that as a place begins to modernize, it also starts to loose or discard some of its former or attributes, values and attitudes which are gradually replaced by the effects of acculturation.

5.1.5 Catchment implications for rural development

The majority of households in Mapholaneng have depended for their subsistence on the migrant wages or remittances. However, since 1987, a large number of households have had their migrant workers retrenched from work, especially from the South African Mines. This background information raises research questions such as 'how will these retrenched households meet their life needs? What will be their source of income? The prevalence of larger households in the catchment is a crucial factor to their well-being and the issue of dependency in households. Large households with no viable means of production and currently faced with retrenchment from work in South African, experience socio-economic difficulties related to the provision of households needs. There is a need to identify, develop and initiate land rehabilitation, conservation programmes and other viable alternatives for sustainable and productivity to enhance socio-economic activities to replace household income losses from the of Migrant labour System and the declining annual agricultural outputs.

5.2 Age and gender relations of households

The composition of rural households in terms of age and gender division, impacts on many aspects of rural socio-economic organizations. For example, among the Basotho people, the dependency relations between the junior and senior household members have historically been reflected in many aspects of social life including the following:

- ★ children depend on parents for means of survival;
- ★ dependence of adult males on parents for cattle for lobola and related marriage arrangements;
- ★ dependence of household's females on males for provision of households requirements for subsistence; for example, traditional dependence of wives on their husbands for life needs;
- ★ control by male parents over the labour use and proceeds of juniors and wives;
- ★ The sample households in Mapholaneng catchment were researched in respect of age-groups and gender divisions between members to establish the following:
- ★ to determine changes in dependency relations between age-groups and gender among households;
- ★ to identify changes in gender dependency relations influenced by the migrant labour system;
- ★ to obtain data from which to assess rural development.

Table 5.2 shows urban and village differences in age -gender divisions among migrant households while Table 5.3 shows the same conditions in respect to non-migrant households, while Table 5.4 presents a summary combination revealing the overall conditions of age and gender divisions of the Mapholaneng catchment as a whole.

Table 5.2: Age and gender divisions of Migrant Sample households

Catchment villages	Migrant h/holds Sample	% of h/holds with persons of up to 5 yrs		% of h/holds with persons aged 6-30		% of h/holds with persons aged 31-50 yrs		% of h/holds with persons aged over 50 yrs	
		Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Urban villages	24	42	38	58	46	46	46	42	25
Rural villages	11	27	27	64	36	82	82	73	45
Catchment-Total	35	37	34	60	43	57	57	51	31

Source: Fieldwork questionnaire survey, 1999

Table 5.2 indicates that, both urban and rural migrant households have most of their household-members in the working age groups (31–50 and 18-30 yrs) at 62% and 56% respectively, followed by the over 50 years old age groups (45%) and the infant age-group (39%). The proportion of females in all age groups and in all villages is either larger than that of males or equal but not less than males, indicating that Mapholaneng catchment has more females than males. Thus, for future rural development considerations, these findings may mean that the traditional subordination of women especially in respect to employment opportunities requires re-thinking. For instance, given the fact that some households have already lost their husbands or male bread winners in the mines of South Africa (Table 5.12) this fosters a need for rural women empowerment programmes that will enable rural women to realize their development potentials in initiating income generating activities for the subsistence of their households.

Table 5.3: Age and gender divisions of Non-Migrant sampled households

Catchment villages	Non-Migrant households sample	% of h/holds with persons aged up to 5 yrs		% of h/holds with persons aged 6-30 yrs.		% of h/holds with persons aged 31-50 Yrs.		% of h/holds with persons aged over 50 yrs.	
		Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Urban villages	16	44	44	56	50	88	69	38	25
Rural villages	13	62	54	69	77	69	69	46	54
Catchment-Total	29	52	48	62	62	79	69	41	38

Source. Fieldwork questionnaire survey, 1998-99

Table 5.3 shows that with the urban non-migrant households, the same pattern as with the migrant-households, whereby the majority of the households members are in the working age groups is still maintained. Moreover, the percentage proportion of females in all age groups seems to be relatively larger than that of males among most of the villages in the catchment.

Table 5.4: Age and gender divisions of all Catchment households

Catchment villages	Total households sample	% of h/holds with persons aged up to 5yrs		% of h/holds with persons aged 6-30 yrs		% of h/holds with persons aged 31-50 yrs		% of h/holds with persons aged over 50 yrs	
		Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Urban villages	40	43	40	58	48	63	55	30	25
Rural villages	24	46	42	67	58	75	75	58	50
Catchment-Total	64	44	41	61	52	67	63	41	34

Source: field work questionnaire survey, 1998-99

Table 5.4 shows that between 40% and 46% of urban and rural households respectively have young children up to 5 years old. While between 55% and 75% of urban and rural households respectively have members 31 to 50 years old, indicating that Mapholaneng catchment has a relatively higher percentage of working age groups than others. However, when the very young dependants are combined with the old age group they constitute a relatively large dependency factor in households.

Given the present collapsing Migrant labour system on which many of these households have depended, it is highly likely that many working age household members without sustainable income generating sources will still have to maintain both young and old dependants with basic subsistence. Given the continuing decline in farm yields as a result of both natural physical factors of climate and socio-economic constraints facing the majority of rural farmers (Table 4.2, Chapter:2), many working age members of households face a difficult future if alternative employment to replace the losses of retrenchment is not made available.

Faced with the problem of unemployment and build-up of pressure for household requirements and survival needs, the danger exists that household members may

without choice resort to illegal means of earning a livelihood. It is a serious consideration that with the continuing retrenchment and impoverishment of rural conditions, Mapholaneng may soon experience increases in crime, robbery, theft and other violations of human rights as people will be forced to meet household basic requirements.

5.2.1 Changing patterns of household gender division of labour

Although traditionally Basotho communities were known to have reflected a social division of labour based on age and gender, the questionnaire survey conducted in Mapholaneng has shown that these traditional or cultural patterns of division of labour between women and men and between children and parents or between juniors and seniors are in transition, changing to accommodate modern conditions of labour that are based on skills, training, knowledge and experience.

For example, the historical socio-economic household roles that were traditionally the preserve of either men or female, are found to have changed and are continuing to change in Mapholaneng catchment. The example of this trend is that both children and parents now work for cash-income. Thus, the present 1999 study of gender and age relationships in Mapholaneng, reveals new dimensions of social change in respect to the following:

- ✧ The socio-economic roles that were traditionally performed by men only, are now also done by women.
- ✧ Roles that were relegated only to parents or elders have also come to be performed by the children.
- ✧ Tables 5.5 and 5.6, show some of these age, gender and labour production relationships among households members in Mapholaneng that were dominant in the 1970's,

Table 5.5: Historical age-gender division of labour in Mapholaneng Catchment in the 1970's

Cultural and socio-economic household roles	Gender responsible	Age-group
livestock (cattle-economy)	men	elders; juniors needed for herding assistance
ploughing	men	elders; juniors helping
hoeing/weeding	women	elders-juniors helping ; "matsema " or community work-groups
harvesting	women	elders; juniors helping
storage	men & women	elders only
distribution	men	elders only
marketing (rare trade)	men; women helping	elders
cultural values, norms, ethics	men & women	elders
household- head	men	elders
decision-making	men	elders
wage-labourer/ earner	men	elders

Source: Questionnaire survey data, Feb-March 1999

Based on the Basotho traditional principles founded on age and sex of individuals members. There was still a clear distinction between women's socio-economic roles and those of men and between juniors and senior members of households. The survey in Mapholaneng revealed that historically, social relations of productions among households revolved around the cattle which was traditionally a preserve of men only. However, since junior members of households would in future require cattle for paying lobola for the procurement of wives, they in turn would be expected to provide services to the elders as herdsman or to help in crop-farming. In such cases, parents had complete control over the labour power and the social up-bringing of their children. Another observation, identified from studying conditions of age and gender based division of labour among households in Mapholaneng, is the fact that during the 1970's, cultivation of food-crops was basically a women's job although it had to be initiated first by men through carrying out the ploughing activities. Discussion with the respondents

indicated that by the 1970's, trade or marketing of goods was still rare and when it did occur, it mainly consisted of the traditional barter trade between different households or exchanges in grain or livestock between different villages and was also organized and managed or controlled by elderly men. While Table 5.5, shows the prevailing conditions of the 1970's based on traditional Basotho production principles in which age and sex played a leading role in determining the rights and obligations of individuals in the rural communities and where old age or seniority was highly valued and respected, Table 5.6 shows contemporary changes since the 1980's on the division of labour between household members of different age categories and gender.

Table 5.6: Contemporary age-gender relations of division of labour in Mapholaneng in the 1980's and 1990's

essential socio-economic household roles	gender-responsible	age-group
livestock (cattle-economy)	men & women	elders & juniors
ploughing(tilling of soil)	men & women	old-age, young-women & children
weeding/hoeing	women& men	old-men & women
harvesting	men & women	old & young
storage	men & women	elders
distribution	men & women	both old and young
marketing (trade	men & women,	elders & young/juniors
cultural values, norms, ethics e.t.c	Women & men	elders
household-head	men & women	elders & young=married
decision-marking	women & men	elders & young(cash-income)
wage-earner	men & women	elders, seniors & juniors

Source: questionnaire survey data, Feb.–March, 1999.

Table 5.6 depicts some of the main age-gender changes which have become evident since the 1980's in Mapholaneng Catchment. Traditional kinship and age-gender based relations of production among households members as well as among the whole rural community have changed over historic times. In most cases, basic changes have affected the traditional occupations which were formerly regarded as the monopoly of elders or of men alone.

For instance, ploughing the soil with cattle was formerly a man's activity, but recently it has faced changes, when the handling of cattle as inputs to agricultural production became a common practice for men women and the children.

In addition, the earning of wage income by both junior and female members of households has indeed represented a transformation in the traditional social division of labour. The earning of wage-income which historically was a territory of parents, especially of men alone, has also changed with the new labour developments whereby working for a wage income has become a natural right of both genders. However, what is of significance in relation to this thesis, is the resultant impacts of such age- gender changes on the rural relations of socio-economic bases of productive organizations.

From the discussions with some of the respondents from both rural and urban villages in Mapholaneng, it is pointed out that historic changes in age- gender relations of production are a result of the effects of the use of money in satisfying households needs. One of the respondents commented that it was the earning of wage-income by our great grandparents from working on the farms and mines in South Africa, that first came to introduce Lesotho villages to the capitalist money economy. Moreover, some of the old-aged ex-migrants argued that it was between the 1830's and 1850's that the transformation of their subsistence agriculture was brought about by the introduction of selling and of buying of agricultural products. Respondents emphasized commoditization of agriculture and creation of wage labour during the early 19th century, as major external forces that have shaped current changes in traditional division of labour between age and gender of household members. For example, colonial labour policies of hut

taxation have frequently been held responsible for the present day changes in division of labour between genders, households and traditional division of labour between elders and juniors and between men and women have faced changes and challenges. This has been due to the fact that now both sexes can get wage employment and therefore earn their own individual cash income such as only men have historically done.

These historical changes in social relations of production may be considered to have had negative impacts on the traditional organization of rural communities. For instance, it is maintained by some of the respondents that the controlling power of rural traditional authorities such as those of parents over their offspring and of chiefs over their subjects, in the case of migrant-workers have been undermined by the corresponding gender-age changes promoted by the migrant labour system. For instance, respondents have pointed out that the power of parents to control the labour power of their sons or children and the related proceeds of such labour inputs has been eroded by capitalism through involvement in labour migration by relatively junior members of households. Thus, with the opportunity of junior members of households earning their own individual incomes, they could easily raise money for *lobola* cattle without having to beg the parents as before the creation of wage labour. Moreover and on a wider scale, it is also mentioned by respondents that labour migration has also led to the declining powers of the chieftaincy and the traditional elders over the growth and social development of the youth. With the earnings of individual incomes by the junior/youth; the chiefs authority was been undermined, since they could not any longer have access to the free labour power of the migrant workers.

5.3 Age, gender and rural production

Before colonialism came to disarticulate the traditional Basotho socio-economic organization of rural communities, rural production was mainly concerned with survival by producing the means of subsistence from the allocated household land. Traditionally, the main unit of production was cattle which was controlled by the elders, while on the other hand, the juniors or youths only had access to cattle through their elders. This dependency relationship between households seniors and juniors was often manifest in

marriage arrangements for *lobola* payments, where juniors were bound to return or refer to their parents for the required number of *lobola* cattle. (Rodney, 1974; Ake 1981).

This type of cultural relationship among the Basotho was traditionally valued for maintaining parent's control over their sons movements and behaviour. However, with the advent of individual cash-incomes first brought about by junior members involvement in the migrant labour system which enabled them to earn their money and therefore arrange marriages on their own. This traditional dependency relationship has almost been lost. The traditional organization of rural production has had to adjust to the related changes. A study and analysis of the composition of rural households in respect of age and gender division of members is necessary for a full understanding of rural socio-economic fabric. This is because in traditional rural communities, household members constitute an integral labour power unit of the household's means of production.

According to Chayanov (1977) and Murray (1982), the composition of the household determines the household's consumer-worker relations or dependency ratio calculated as a proportion of working household members to the young children and old aged dependants. Moreover, the household output and income changes over time in accordance with the demographic development cycle of the household. It is from the combined productive efforts of each household's members that a total single household income and output to sustain subsistence from one year to another is obtained. The labour power of each household member, regardless of age and sex was important, and as a result, each stage of growth of an individual had duties based on gender and age. For instance, in Lesotho as historically elsewhere in rural Africa, every individual at every stage of his/her physical development has a series of duties, rights and obligation to others based on sex and age and, in all cases, seniority was highly respected and valued. In most instances, elders were never to be considered wrong or liable for open criticisms, especially from the junior members of households. Moreover, with the colonial introduction of modern schools, traditional-gender division of labour and types of duties between men and women have affected rural production and socio-economic roles between men and women have gradually been changing.

Age and sex structures of the sampled households in Mapholaneng catchment were studied in order to understand historical household's gender changes and related impacts on households division of labour supply and accordingly, to assess their historical impacts on the household production base

Moreover, age and gender structure of households in Mapholaneng catchment are studied for purposes of helping to facilitate speculation on the present and future conditions of available potential labour supply for rural development activities of the catchment so as to estimate the required degree of job-creation and provision of community needs. Population in Mapholaneng catchment was classified according to four age groups, namely young/infant (0-5 yrs), young labour force (6-30 yrs), mature productive adults (31-50) and the old age dependancy group over 51 years old (Tables 5.2; 5.3 and 5.4).

5.3.1 Young infant age group (0–5yrs).

A rural social group consisting of young children aged up to 5 years of age is wholly dependant for all its material and non-material needs on the working members. For instance, it is a social group that requires;

- ★ proper up-bringing and socialization;
- ★ provision of basic needs of food, shelter and clothing;
- ★ provision of proper health and education care and the satisfaction of human wants.

According to some traditional sociologists, the more the children a household has, the more future potential of labour power such a household has at its disposal; but at present, the more costs such a family has to incur (Chayanov, 1977 and Murray, 1981).

5.3.2 Young and inexperienced labour force age-group(6–30 yrs).

Among the typical rural Basotho communities, from as early as age 6, both boys and girls are expected to contribute their free and unpaid labour services to their respective households.

While boys learn through watching and imitating male seniors, girls are expected to be doing the same from their female seniors. Thus traditionally, this stage represented a clear-cut gender division of labour and between socio-economic activities of rural households. For example, from ages 6 to 11, young boys would be expected to perform duties such as looking after livestock and helping in household farm work, girls would be expected to do domestic duties around the homestead. From ages 12 to 30, both boys and girls would be expected to continue either with their unpaid contribution to their household's domestic production away from the homestead or to be hired by other households so as to start making a material contribution to the subsistence of the household and therefore help parents. This age-group also represented a transition into maturity and adulthood. Both boys and girls would be expected to undergo, initiation for preparation of marriage and for a full participation in the affairs of the society as adults. However, since the introduction of modern schools and the prevalence of using money in economic transactions, the traditional roles and gender division of labour in all age groups have been affected, so that historically a choice has had to be made by parents, whether to send children to schools, or to have them look for paid employment either in kind such as in live-animals, in respect to herding livestock, or in cash, as in cases of the historically established migrant labour system to South Africa which, in historical times, had become a future work and job-destination for the community's youth.

5.3.3 Ages of Maturity and productivity (31–50 yrs).

Traditionally among the Basotho, ages 31 to 50 were regarded as ages of maturity and adulthood. For example, household members in this age-category and regardless of gender, were traditionally assumed to have become mature and responsible parents. Moreover, individuals, in this group were expected to be still young, energetic, innovative and therefore for increasing material production of households. Thus, depending on the availability of funds for training in education skills, values, attitudes, techniques and knowledge, this age group represents the most relatively able or productive labour force for the community as a whole.

5.3.4 Old age dependency (51 yrs upwards).

Beyond fifty years of age, members of households have traditionally been regarded old and therefore, gradually deteriorating in respect to productivity potential and the presence of elderly persons in different households implied an extra load for dependency on the working members of households. However, the presence of an elderly person in a households may also be looked at as a storage of society 's experiences and of society's traditional arts and crafts, life-histories, wisdom and as a source of guidance and counselling for the newly established families.

Table 5.7 shows the percentage of households with members in general dependency and economically active age groups.

Table 5.7: Household-Dependency in Mapholaneng-Catchment-1998-99

Catchment villages sampled	Total number of households	Number of households sampled	Total number of household-members	Number of population aged less than 18 yrs		Number of population aged 18 to 50 yrs		Number of population aged over 50 yrs	
				NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Urban villages	188	40	258	108	42	119	46	31	12
			Number of persons per household	2.7		3		0.8	
Rural villages	150	24	159	52	33	83	52	24	15
			Number of persons per household	2.2		3.5		1	
Catchment	338	64	417	160	38	202	49	55	13
			Number of persons per household	2.5		3.3		1	

Source: Questionnaire survey data, Dec, 1999.

It is observed that the young dependent age group up to 16 years of age constitute a large proportion of the total population, (38%) similar to countries of the developing world in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Urban and Rural villages have 42% and 33% of their population respectively aged 16 years or less while 12% and 15% respectively are over 50 years of age. In the socio-economic context of Mapholaneng, those household

members aged 16 years and less and those over 50 years of age are considered dependents on the economically active members aged 17 to 50 years. The Table shows that Mapholaneng households have an average of six or more members, of whom basically four are dependents under 16 years or over 50 years of age. This burden of dependency is exacerbated by the fact that the majority of the 17 to 50 year olds are not in fact employed or earning any income, particularly since the migrant labour retrenchments from 1987. Actual dependency levels in the villages is therefore even higher than these data first indicate. While 49% of the population is in the economically active 17 to 50 years of age group. The average percentage of catchment households with young children below 6 years, is 35 % and an average of 30% of households in the whole catchment has persons aged above 50 years. Thus 51 % of Mapholaneng Catchment households have a proportion of young children and old aged dependent members who need to be supported with means of subsistence by the working members. In addition, it is also revealed from Table 5.7 that in all age-groups rural households seem to be larger than urban households. At the same time, the percentages of females in all age groups, also seems to be greater than those of men in both rural and urban villages.

5.3.5 Implications for rural development.

- ✱ The Mapholaneng catchment has a substantial percentage of young children for whom future plans for their means of survival have to be identified and developed, including investments in future health and education development.
- ✱ The great labour potential of men and women which is mostly concentrated in the age-group 6 to 30 and 31 to 50 needs to be mobilized for full participation in the development of households and the catchment as a whole, through creation of self-employment and wage employment activities. Also of significance as reflected from studies of gender structure of the catchment, is the old traditional notion of female subordination by males in all workplaces, which this thesis will suggest needs to be revised, so as to enable rural women to use their potential skills and initiatives as men in advancing rural development activities.
- ✱ The predominance of women in all age categories, especially in working ages,

should mean the development of new thinking in traditional rural economies, in respect to the old dichotomy in gender functions, confining women only to domestic roles and thereby inhibiting exposure and full exploitation of their work ethics, talents, knowledge and potentials in serving public spheres of social life.

- ★ The large number of children under six years of age and of youths aged up to 30 years, is an indication that future generations will still need the land resources of the catchment, which at present (1999), are either degraded or eroded;
- ★ The presence of a substantial proportion of the aged members of households in the catchment is a critical issue for consideration.
- ★ Lesotho does not provide any national or government old age security for its old age citizens which implies an increased dependency burden on the household's bread winners. This situation highlights the dire need for the advancement of programmes that will help create income-generating activities for the future improvement of the lives of the rural people, including:
 - i identifying potential available resources in the catchment for productive exploitation;
 - ii identifying both socio-economic and cultural infrastructural requirements for the upliftment of the rural living conditions, and
 - iii identify viable possibilities for the creation of sustainable employment alternatives in the catchment.
- ★ Though this has not specifically investigated the impact of Aids in the catchment, a substantial number of Lesotho citizens are already affected by this killer disease and it is imperative for the Lesotho Government and people as a whole to take preventive measures against the spread of Aids.

5.4 Age ranges and educational levels attained

For the purposes of fully understanding the living conditions of the rural households, it was found important to study the size of the households concerned. The size of the households determines the relative labour potential of the households this is because rural households have historically been known for their reliance on their own household/ family labour power for all household socio-economic activities.

Traditionally, and theoretically larger families represented a great potential of labour outlay and depending on the age-ranges, larger household were destined for more production of material substance for household existence. Household size also impacts on household dependency ratios. Studying households sizes included classification of household members into different age-categories and thereby exposing the relative numbers of those who are completely dependent such as infants, children and the old; and comparing them with the current working/ productive members of each household sample. Furthermore, it needs to be remembered that in most traditional rural areas, the youth is regarded as the future pensions or items of investment for parents when the latter reach unproductive old-age. With this view, the dependence period of the household offspring is normally long, ending during marriage. Information on household dependence ratios was thought to be useful in the assessment of households historical conditions of existence and to prove or reject the common populist postulation which claims that the size of the households determines the relative wealth of the household (Murray, 1981). Traditionally a form of extended family was a norm among the rural homesteads; however, with the changing nature of family structures, rural household life has undergone drastic socio-economic changes especially with respect to size and the whole conduct of family life. Moreover, in order to have a full comprehension of the changing rural living conditions of households, each household sample was investigated in respect to gender and educational attainment by all members. This was done so as to facilitate this study's purpose of assessing the likely contribution made by each member in the socio-economic development of households and to identify any relationship between the sizes of the different households and their socio-economic histories. The analysis on household sizes and educational differences between gender were also found important for helping to identify gender socio-economic conditions of the different households in different sub-villages of the catchment.

5.4.1 The development of education in Lesotho

In Lesotho, formal education is structured into levels or standards ranging from Primary to University. Since the 1970's, primary education has consisted of standards 1–7 with students all enrolled as day scholars commuting daily either from home or rented

accommodation. For the reason that there is no free education in Lesotho, costs for primary education calls for only a few Rands/ Maluti, and differs according to the classes concerned. Fees are paid annually and also include the costs of the required books but not stationary which like the mandatory school uniforms are the responsibility of individual parents. Secondary and high school levels range from Form A to E. In such cases, student intake or enrollment is often a combination of boarding and day schooling students. Whereas in Primary schools, tuition fees are regulated by the government or are according to standards or rates set by it, it is not so with respect to both secondary and high schools. In the latter cases, tuition fees vary from school to school and as a result, different schools are at liberty to devise their own fee charges which may even be different from other schools with similar conditions or in the same vicinity. After the completion of the seven year primary level, students proceed to secondary high school levels, and after which they may either choose between different occupational, vocational and professional institutions either in the country or join technical institutions in South Africa or else enroll with the National university of Lesotho for a broader perspective of the careers preferred. Nevertheless, in all circumstances, enrollment is never automatic as pre-requisites in terms of previous academic records and other necessary entry requirements have to be satisfied first, before any admission may be granted.

Within historical times, claims made on Lesotho's level of education have shown it having the largest literacy rate among other poor African states. However, in practical terms, a statement of this nature may be taken as highly misleading especially to foreigners, who may superficially think that Lesotho has a substantial quality educated, trained labour force. The sweeping statement has recently received criticism when concrete life situations of Basotho are meaningfully analysed, in relations to procurement and display of required technical skills needed for modern societal development. For example, between 1960 and 1970's, a person was considered literate after completing a few or two beginning primary classes. But even at that time, it was still never possible to measure precisely the basic ability of learners to either write or read. In other words, the quality and quantity of education offered at the initial levels or classes of formal education, make it rather doubtful of the concrete practical functions of education at that very basic level

in respect to Lesotho's socio-economic problems of which relevant education is supposed to be an attempt towards resolving them. A study of educational attainments of households in Mapholaneng is important because education is always assumed to be linked to the quality of life of people, particularly in respect to the following dimensions of social significance:

- ★ the likelihood of higher earnings;
- ★ the likelihood of better health and nutrition;
- ★ the likelihood of greater labour productivity and faster economic growth(Psacharopoulos and Wood,1985; Schultz,1988).

As a result of this background information to the significance of education, this thesis found it worthwhile investigating the levels of educational attainments of the households and to be able to analyse the changing factors that determine schooling of both boys and girls among the rural communities in Mapholaneng. Moreover, sample households in Mapholaneng catchment were also investigated of their educational attainments so as to be able to:

- ★ determine present and future educational trends in the rural catchment;
- ★ relate household educational attainment levels to their degree of economic base;
- ★ identify socio-cultural issues hampering schooling in the rural environments;
- ★ compare and contrast educational attainments by gender differences and therefore help identify the resultant impacts on rural social organization;
- ★ compare and contrast migrant and non-migrant households in educational attainments, so as to establish differences or similarities in respect to costs incurred in human capital investment and therefore be able to speculate on future household potential for development.

In order to depict the conditions of education attainments in the catchment, the following tables were compiled from the questionnaire survey. Table 5.8 shows schooling attainments among the Migrant households while Table 5.9 shows schooling attainments among the non-migrants households. Table 5.10 is a comparison between Migrant and Non-Migrant households in respect to factors determining their schooling,

while Table 5.1.1 depicts conditions of educational attainments in Mapholaneng catchment as a whole. This latter table has been made with a view to facilitating a broader catchment analysis of educational attainments and to facilitate generalizations and to suggest future needs for educational improvements in Mapholaneng.

Table 5.8: Schooling attainments among migrant-households

Catchment villages number of migrant h/holds sample	Primary level		Sec/high school level		Tech/ college		university level		Informal Edu.		% of total h/holds with no Edu.
	Female Male		Female Male		Female Male		Female Male		Female Male		
	%		%		%		%		%		
Urban villages=24	67	50	67	63	8	13	0	4	17	25	13
Rural villages=11	64	36	27	27	0	18	0	0	0	9	36
Catchment- Total==35	66	46	54	51	8	14	3	0	11	20	20

Source: Field work Questionnaire Survey, Jan-Feb, 1999.

Table 5.8 provides a survey of educational levels in migrant households in Mapholaneng catchment to be of help in the assessment of the contribution of migrant labour wages in promoting education attainments in comparison with those of the non-migrant households which are shown on Table 5.9. Educational levels in Mapholaneng show a disparity between the urban and rural village households, indicating in general that more urban households have been exposed to schooling than those of the rural villages.

In urban households, education levels between females and males is not significant compared with rural households, in which disparity between genders favours females at the primary level. It is also evident that the number of households with schooled members is relatively high at the lower levels of learning and then sharply declines with increasing levels of education beyond the secondary/ high school level to university.

It is also reflected in table 5.8 that a substantial number of migrant households are illiterate (20%) and relatively more frequent among rural migrant households (36%) than with the urban migrant households (13%).

Another substantial number of households have members who have been able to attain Vocational skills in brick-laying, house-painting, shoe-repair, carpentry, motor-mechanics, tailoring through informal means of learning such as on-job training, observation and apprenticeship.

Table 5.9: Educational attainments in Non-Migrant-households

Catchment villages number of non-migrant h/holds sample	Primary level		Sec/high school level		Tech/ college level		University level		Informal Edu.		% of total h/holds without Edu.
	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	
Urban villages=16	44	31	44	31	31	19	6	6	31	31	25
Rural villages=13	46	23	38	15	15	15	0	0	0	8	38
Catchment-Total=29	45	28	41	24	24	17	3	3	10	10	31

Source: Questionnaire survey, 1998-99

Table 5.9 shows education attainments of urban and rural non-migrant households in the catchment to facilitate the analysis of the use of non-migrant incomes in advancing the schooling requirements of the concerned non-migrant households vis-a-vis that of the migrant labour sources. In all lower levels of schooling, the number of household qualifications is relatively high, but as the levels of education increase, so the number of qualified members decrease, similarly as is the case with migrant households. Moreover, with the exception of university and informal level of education, the proportion of qualified females is greater than that of males.

Urban non-migrant households have a larger number of educated members than rural

non-migrant households, which is also the case for urban migrant households. It may be concluded therefore that urban households both migrant and non-migrant, are relatively more literate than the rural ones. It is also reflected that 31% of non-migrant households are illiterate and particularly rural non-migrant households (38%).

5.4.2 Migrant and Non-Migrant household's education attainments.

Migrant and non-migrant households are compared and contrasted on the basis of their educational standards and levels attained by household's members. The purpose for such a comparison has been to assess households resources and income used or invested in the educational development of household members and also to determine present and future projections on the educational quality of the labour force and investment in human capital between Migrant and Non-Migrant households. Skills, techniques, methods, know-how, attitudes and values learned or acquired by household members may make a contribution to the upliftment of rural conditions of livelihood in Mapholaneng.

However, variations seem to arise with regard to technical, vocational education, in which case the proportion of Non-Migrant households with qualified members is relatively larger than that of the Migrant households. It is also evident that the percentage of households who have acquired schooling through informal means is slightly larger among the Migrant households than with the Non-Migrant households and their proportion of qualified males is larger than that of females. On the whole, the educational assessment of Mapholaneng catchment reveals the following observations:

- ⊛ Migrant households have invested their resources in providing members with basic primary and secondary high school education, but without continuation it is considered that this will be of little contribution to development requirements to change rural livelihoods;
- ⊛ Non-Migrant households on the other hand seem to have provided education to their members up to tertiary level and vocational to University level, even though at a low level;
- ⊛ Among both groups of households, the proportion of educated females is relatively

larger than that of males, except at the Technical Vocational levels where the proportion of males is greater than that of females among the Migrant households;

- ★ Even though a substantial number of households are represented in most of the classified educational levels in respect to this study, there are differences between households, relating to the number of persons in each of the educational levels.

For example, while the majority of households in both Urban and Rural villages and among Migrant and Non-Migrant households seem to have between 1 and 3 persons each, however, in some of the educational categories, only a handful of these households has more than three individual persons qualified in primary or secondary high school education. On the other hand, female school drop-outs are found to have been mostly in Secondary/ High school levels, so that in higher education levels, the proportions of females are relatively lower than those of men. Reasons obtained for female drop-outs are that at primary level, female drop-outs are due to traditional demands on both gender for initiation rituals, while at Secondary level, if not due to unpaid tuition fees, female drop-out is mainly associated with elopement and pregnancy.

- ★ Although, Migrants households have largely provided for both primary and secondary education, the content of that education is not mainly work-related and the impacts on development are uncertain.
- ★ However, Non-Migrants households have provided members with both tertiary and work orientated education which may be assumed to have contributed to the development of the catchment or to specific aspects of households livelihoods.
- ★ Nevertheless, the contribution of Migrant households in attaining informal education in necessary practical skills such as in brick-laying, carpentry, tailoring, repairs and in other related field cannot be overlooked in the development of the catchment. In addition, the new positive thinking and attitudes in respect to global socio-political and economic issues to which the Migrants have been exposed through the media, newspapers and other related channels, are considered of great significance in helping unravel remote and closed traditional life to globalization and new values of the unfolding twenty-first Century.

5.4.3 Survey findings on factors influencing education in Mapholaneng

In modern times, education has become a basic requirement for any sound socio-economic advancement. The results of the questionnaire survey of households in Mapholaneng indicate the following general conclusions with respect to the educational situation of the catchment's population.

- ★ School qualifications are high at primary levels but and begin to fall from post-primary through to university (49% – 0.1 % of households).
- ★ The percentage proportion of educationally qualified females is greater than that of males at primary level, but declines from post-primary onwards, beyond which males dominate.
- ★ The percentage of both males and females with vocational training and university qualifications is generally low (11.7% and 0.1% respectively).
- ★ The percentage of households which have received education through informal channels is substantial.
- ★ Although the majority of the catchments households may be considered literate, the 16 % of illiterate households must still constitute a significant hindrance to community development;
- ★ Disparities exist in relation to the accessibility to schooling between the urban and the rural villages of the catchment, with urban villages reflecting a relative advantage over the rural villages.
- ★ Whereas the majority of households tend to have between 1-3 members who have attended school, on the other hand, only a few households have had more than three members having enrolled in formal education.

The Mapholaneng survey has shown that some level of schooling has become an accepted norm for most household's livelihood. The survey indicates that almost all the sample households showed positive attitudes to the ideas of formal education, but as reflected in Tables 5.8 and 5.9 not all households have been able to have members educated beyond primary or secondary levels. Various reasons that originate from cultural and financial constraints to hamper the development of schooling practice in the catchment that been advanced by the respondents during the questionnaire survey, include the following:

★ **Cost of education**

In Lesotho the costs of education are basically the responsibility of parents and since school fees are high, most poorer households cannot afford them. For example, at some boarding secondary high schools, tuition fees alone cost over a thousand rand per annum, while costs for books and stationary also substantial resulting in many households being unable to send their children to school, particularly beyond primary level.

★ **Distance from the School**

The survey in Mapholaneng revealed that some rural households are located in inaccessible villages which make day to day commuting to school very difficult.

Findings show that numbers of children have been unable to attend school due to the distance between where the closest schools are in Meketeng village and their home in Tiping village over 8 kilometres away. In other similar circumstances, the issue of the location of schools causes pupils to arrive late at school from among those households that are situated relatively far away from the schools.

★ **Cultural factors:**

Even though the problem of financial constraints was found almost to be overruling, especially among the relatively poor households, it also became clear through the questionnaire survey that other factors besides the lack of funds for schools have contributed to hamper the development of education in some of the households in the catchment.

a) **Marriage obligations**

During the questionnaire survey, many cases were encountered whereby incidences of school-drop-outs due to elopement due to pregnancy and marriage by girls, had occurred, thus accounting for the reduced number of girls completing secondary and high school levels.

b) **Initiation circumcision**

Among the traditional Basotho, initiation is still a social practice which is highly valued in many communities, but particularly in rural communities. Even though its historic traditional material and ideological significance have been overtaken by

industrial socio-economic developments, traditional initiation still continues and negatively influences formal schooling in the rural areas. For example in the relatively rural villages of Tiping and Khukhune in the Mapholaneng Catchment, it is practised on an annual basis and schooling opportunities of both genders have been limited to primary schooling only, while pupils are considered too young and still not mature enough to undergo initiation rituals. The survey in these villages found that a substantial number of both boys and girls have had to drop out of school completely due to the cultural necessity for initiation and its consequences.

c) Parental Background:

In his study on levels of household schooling attainments and factors determining the schooling of both boys and girls in Mexico, Binder (1999) came to the conclusion that educational background of parents has a positive and statistically significant impact on the children's educational attainments. Where both parents are literate, the chances that the children will be schooled are higher than in those situations in which parents are not illiterate or only partly literate. Others have argued that it is mainly the background of the household head alone, which has a dominating influence over the education of the household's children (Chernichvsky, 1985; Glwwe and Jacob, 1994; Sigh, 1992; Cochrane, 1982; Handa, 1996; Deolalikar, 1993). Boys may therefore be more educated since most household heads in the traditional rural areas are men. Similarly, it is maintained that mothers prefer the schooling of girls, assuming that education will enable girls to contribute better to raising household productivity and proper child-bearing. If schooling raises productivity in household production, then a more-schooled mother may be able to produce more health and nutrition from a set of inputs. If health and nutrition complement each other and other human capital goods such as schooling, then children of more schooled mothers will also get more schooling. The relatively greater importance of a mother's schooling is attributed to her greater role in household production, particularly her responsibilities regarding child-bearing. On the other hand, support for the schooling of boys at the expense of girls may be considered essential in that the education of girls is regarded as not so essential in the long-run, when they will get married and leave the original homestead.

Schooling of boys is supported on the basis that boys will stay at home and will therefore contribute their schooling skills, knowledge, values, attitudes and attributes of education to the family more than girls would do. The proponents of this thinking hold that educating boys may help to provide financial support to the household, even after their marriage than girls would do and moreover, since boys are more likely to participate in the labour markets, it is believed that parents are normally concerned about labour markets requirements for certain levels of schooling for boys (Selby, *et al*, 1990:56).

The argument against the schooling of the girls beyond basic levels of education is rationalized, " since girls are expected to raise a family, their schooling level is less closely tied to parent's future income. Thus, this may explain why daughters' schooling appears to be less closely tied to parents desired schooling" (Selby, *et al*, 1990). With regard to conditions of schooling in Mapholaneng catchment, the survey found the following factors to more or less determine the schooling for both genders. Parental influence plays a leading role in deciding who should go to the school and and who should not , among the households' siblings. In those households in which both parents have undergone traditional initiations, the possibilities that the offspring will drop out of formal schooling at the opportunity cost of initiation is high and there are many examples of such incidences in the catchment, particularly in the rural villages where the majority of parents are illiterate, such as in Tiping and Khukhune villages.

Generally in Mapholaneng, positive attitudes to formal learning seems to have a bearing to the educational background of the parents. In those households in which parents have schooled beyond high school, the tendency that their children's schooling will also continue to higher levels is considered better than those in which parents are illiterate, which unfortunately is largely the case in the rural villages (Tables, 5.8 & 5.9).

d) Household agricultural production:

Traditional agricultural activities of the rural households such as herding livestock and helping with the household's cultivation practices, have to large extent hindered educational development in the catchment. The opportunity for formal education

among the recent past generations of parents and grandparents were even more limited than they are today. This study shows that exposure to the urban environments has positive impacts on the schooling of household children in contrast with those household that have illiterate parents and also have never been exposed to the world outside their rural communities. In Mapholaneng, examples of positive impacts are found more prevalent among migrant households where migrant fathers are more literate, having at least completed secondary high school, and more household children have been schooled through post-high school levels into vocational institutions than is the case with illiterate fathers. Illiterate migrant parents also seem to have a greater desire for the schooling of their children than the illiterate non-migrant parents. The survey conducted throughout the different villages of the catchment showed that boys in particular, have had to drop out of school or have failed to attend school due to the household pressures to look after the household's livestock or to help in the cultivation activities. Although this problem has been frequent among the migrant households, where in most cases boys had to replace their fathers or brothers in looking after household livestock and agricultural production in general this is not exclusively so. Survey data indicates that it has even been more common among illiterate and non-migrant household's, where the majority of both boys and girls have completely failed to attend school due to the demands of agricultural production for household subsistence survival.

5.5. Changes in households sources of income in Mapholaneng (1970–1999).

In order to establish a historical perspective on the current socio-economic level of development and rural resource utilisation in Mapholaneng Catchment, the questionnaire survey undertaken required the sampled households to list and rank in order of importance their different historical sources of income during the last three decades (1970 to 1999) as depicted in Tables 5.10 (urban households) and 5.11 (rural households). Although the importance of both arable agriculture and livestock have declined in importance, evidence shows that both have been of great importance to most households in the previous decades. Importance of a source of household income has through history been attached to the degree which households needs were met by such

source of income. For example, even though most households have through history been brewing traditional beer for sale to meet occasional households needs, brewing traditional beer was never considered the most important source of household livelihood. Another example of this relates to the wages earned from the migrant labour system during earlier periods of labour migration when mine wages were relatively lower than income earned from farming at home. Tables 5.10 and 5.11 show that migrant wages were generally low during the early 1970's. Even though most households had members as migrant-workers in South Africa, earnings that accrued were initially not enough to be regarded as constituting the most important sources of household income since they could not provide the bulk of households requirements as income from agriculture did. Even though presently (1999) some households in Mapholaneng have different sources of household income such as from petty-trade, self-employment, repairs and local employment, information collected during field-visits showed that between 1970 and 1999, sources of household income in the catchment have basically been from agriculture and migrant wages earned from the employment of household members in South Africa.

However, the development of a variety of business enterprises in retail shops, self-employment in practical skills such as in tailoring, furniture repairs and in commerce in the urban villages shows the variety of income potential to be mobilised for local accumulation of capital.

Table 5.10: Urban historic sources of income/ subsistence,(1970-1999).

Migrant households (M

Non-migrant h/holds (N)

Urban villages- t o t a l s a m p l e d households = 40	Most important household source of income	1998-99 % of h/holds involved		1995 % of h/holds involved		1990 % of h/holds involved		1985 % of h/holds involved		1980 % of h/holds involved		1975 % of h/holds involved		1970 % of h / h o l d s involved	
		M	N	M	N	M	N	M	N	M	N	M	N	M	N
Meketeng M=12 N=7 Total=19	migrant wages	11	-	16	-	21	-	26	-	32	-	16	-	16	-
	agriculture	27	22	32	16	27	16	27	16	22	27	42	32	42	32
	local employment	5	5	5	5	11	5	5	11	11	5	5	5	5	5
	shops/ petty trade	11	5	11	11	5	11	5	11	-	5	-	-	-	-
	renting of rooms	11	5	-	5	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Motete M=12 N=9 Total=21	migrant wages	14	-	19	-	24	-	19	-	29	-	14	-	10	-
	agriculture	19	28	14	24	10	24	19	33	10	24	33	28	33	33
	local employment	5	5	10	10	10	10	5	10	10	10	-	10	-	5
	shops/ petty- trade	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	5	5	5	5	5	-	5
	renting of rooms	10	-	5	-	5	-	5	-	5	-	5	-	-	-
	migrant wages	10	-	18	-	23	-	23	-	30	-	15	-	13	-
	agriculture	23	25	23	15	15	20	23	25	15	25	38	30	38	13
	local employment	5	5	8	8	10	8	5	10	10	8	3	8	3	5
	business	10	8	10	10	8	10	8	8	3	5	3	3	-	1
	renting	10	3	3	3	3	3	3	-	3	-	3	-	-	1

Source: Field work Questionnaire Survey, Feb-March 1999.

Table 5.11 Rural households sources of subsistence income (1970-1999)

(Migrant households=M

(Non-migrant households=N

Rural villages- total sampled households= 24	Most important household source of income	1998-99		1995		1990		1985		1980		1975		1970	
		% of h/holds involved		% of h/holds involved		% of h/holds involved		% of h/holds involved		% of h/holds involved		% of h/holds involved		% of h/holds involved	
		M	N	M	N	M	N	M	N	M	N	M	N	M	N
Khukhune M=3 N=3 Total=6	Migrant wages	-	-	-	-	17	-	33	-	33	-	17	-	17	-
	agriculture	33	33	33	50	33	50	17	50	17	50	33	50	33	50
	local employment	17	17	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Makalieng M=2 N=2 Total=4	migrant wages	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	-	50	-	25	-	25	-
	agriculture	50	25	50	25	50	25	25	25	25	50	25	50	25	25
	local employment	-	25	-	25	-	25	-	25	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tiping M=6 N=8 Total=14	migrant wages	14	-	14	-	21	-	21	-	36	-	14	-	7	-
	agriculture	21	50	21	50	21	50	21	50	7	5	28	57	35	57
	local employment	7	7	7	7	-	7	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-
	migrant wages	8	-	-	-	17	-	25	-	38	-	17	-	13	-
	agriculture	38	42	38	46	38	46	29	46	13	54	29	54	35	50
	local employment	8	13	8	8	-	8	-	8	4	4	-	-	-	-

Source: Field work Questionnaire Survey, Feb-March 1999.

5.5.1 Agriculture:

Evidence from Mapholaneng catchment reveals that during the 1970's agriculture was still of a mixed subsistence consisting of both crop-cultivation and animal husbandry. Tables 5.10 and 5.11, show that during the 1970's, agriculture was still a dominant source for livelihood for both migrant and non-migrant households in Mapholaneng. Important food crops have been maize, sorghum and wheat which formed importance sources of variety of human diet.

In rural villages of Tiping and Khukhune, wheat seems to be relatively thriving well as it favours thin soils in relatively cooler and less rainfall places. On the other hand, maize and sorghum grow better in deep, fertile and well drained soils along lower Mabunyaneng valley in Motete and Meketeng urban villages. Other crops that have been grown by farmers in the catchment include peas which also favour the areas suitable for wheat while beans, potatoes and pumpkins on the other hand, are planted in the relatively flat areas used for maize and sorghum. Most of these latter crops are nationally regarded as cash-crops because they have historically been sold rather than been consumed by the producing households. A few of the sampled households mentioned that they occasionally cultivate fodder crops such as barley and oats for supplementary winter feeding for the livestock. Since most crop-farmers also possessed a certain number of livestock, income earned from livestock products has also been of importance through history in the catchment. For example, income earned from livestock supplemented food-crops in providing households needs. Wool and mohair were annually sold either locally, at a local foreign store (Tlokoeng- K.Nolan Store) 6 kilometres away from the catchment or transported on horseback across the border into South Africa through Monontsa pass (border gate) in Butha-Buthe district. However, as shown in Tables 5.1 and 5.2 not all households have had equal accessibility to arable land or to ownership of livestock. During the 1980's, the importance of agriculture as a major source of households livelihood had declined among most households as a result of changes which took place:

- ⊕ large increases in livestock purchases from South Africa coupled with poor land management had led to land-deterioration and soil erosion;
- ⊕ increases in migrant wages in South African mining industry increased the use of cash money even into the remote villages and changed perceptions of the value of money and the cash economy which undermined the traditional former non-market activities and interest in subsistence agriculture. Non wage-earning soil conservation programmes became worthless to some members of households that had been accustomed to the use of cash income or salaries for migrant labour;

- ⊛ during the 1990's, agriculture continued to involve many of the rural households even though in real terms, agriculture had become unproductive with ever declining annual farm yields. Land -degradation has escalated with rills and dongas cutting and destroying the former valuable arable and rangeland local landscape in the Mapholaneng area. Soil erosion has turned the landscape into rugged terrain of rills, gorges and dongas;
- ⊛ poor management of the communal pastures in the catchment has resulted into undernourishment and death of livestock from most households. Modern government livestock improvement policies have had the effect of differentiating between the farmers and those who could not afford improving their livestock sold them, while crop-farmers entered into share-cropping arrangements with others or rented their fields to the prosperous farmers in order to earn a living;
- ⊛ the 1990's also saw a new development in livestock trade. For the first time in the history of the catchment, livestock became a formal trade like other business enterprises in material goods. Since early 1992 trade in livestock has become a rural industry, employing cash-paid labour for producing live-animals in the rural areas in Mapholaneng and then exporting them to sell in the lowland districts of Butha-Buthe, Leribe and Maputsoe where the market for livestock is relatively better;
- ⊛ availability of a ready market for rural livestock coupled with increasing labourers retrenched from the mining industry in South Africa, has increased poverty in the rural areas, which in turn is associated with increased crime, robbery and livestock theft in the catchment. By the 1990's, some households in the catchment had already began failing to make any productive use of their arable lands or fields due to their lack of necessary farming inputs. The questionnaire survey revealed that farmers who lacked farming equipments such as an ox-span, plough and seeds as indicated in Table 5.4 either rented their fields out for cash to prosperous households or entered into share-cropping arrangements with other local households (Tables 5.3).

5.5.2 Migrant labour wages

Information collected during field visits in Mapholaneng showed that by the 1970's, most households had already become involved in labour migration to the Republic of South Africa. Households have had mostly male migrant workers and only a few households had female migrants working in South Africa. Where women migrants were involved, it has been in domestic household duties in farms and firms and not in the mining industry, where most male migrant workers have historically been employed. By the 1970's, even though most households already had a member or members as migrant workers in South Africa, only a few of such households regarded wages earned from the migrant labourers as constituting the most important source of household livelihood (Tables 5.10 and 5.11). The survey data indicates that the relatively low migrant wages that accrued to the migrant households during the 1970's were basically used for purchasing livestock from South African farms across the borders.

During the 1980's, the pressure exerted by the mine worker unions within the mining industry in South Africa culminated in the increases in mine wages, which in turn affected the development of individual migrant households and the rural communities as well. For example, increases in migrant wages led to the improvement of migrant homesteads with new modern buildings, purchases of modern household equipment, furniture and communication goods such as radios, hi-fi sets and sporting materials, changes in clothing materials, improvements in health care and education of migrant households members, improvement in transport as some migrants became capable of buying vehicles and to train in engineering and electronic skills, starting self-employment activities such as repair workshops, tailoring and petty-trade establishments. However, by the late 1980's, an increase in retrenchment resulted from the pursuance of better mine-working conditions initiated and instigated by the National Union of Mine workers (N.U.M). This affected changes in rural life in most migrant labour exporting rural villages and the fate of the returned Basotho migrants was bleak.

The questions have to be asked, how will these returned former migrant labourers maintain the subsistence and development of their households and do they have necessary practical skills, knowledge and resources to initiate a 'take off' of rural sustainable development?

5.5.3 Local employment

In the context of this thesis local employment refers to where members of households in the catchment obtained employment from other households or from either government or non-governmental organizations within Mokhotlong District. As indicated in Tables 5.10 and 5.11, local employment has not been of major significance in providing necessary needs for subsistence to most households in Mapholaneng. Information obtained from the household survey shows that historically local employment implied two forms of available employment within the rural areas.

Non cash-based employment opportunities where payments have not been in the form of money are traditional and have historically been related to agricultural production. It is still a common practice in Mapholaneng for men or herd boys to be paid in live-animals after a six months or one year contract, rather than in cash. Particularly in regards to women employed in agriculture, employment opportunities have occurred seasonally, related to different stages of crop-farming such as ploughing, weeding, hoeing and harvesting and in most of these activities, payments have been made in food-grain and not in money.

- ★ Payments in cash terms is one of the legacies left by the British colonial economy and its application alongside the use of non-money transactions is a manifestation of the unequal penetration of capitalism between the rural and urban areas in the Third World. Thus, employment for cash payments is basically more dominant in modern, urban economic sectors such as in domestic household duties, commercial, education and governmental establishments, mostly in the urban villages of the catchment, especially in Motete and Meketeng.

The household survey undertaken direct visits in both urban and rural areas in

Mapholaneng shows that in the relatively remote rural villages of Khukhune and Tiping, the most common form of employment has been associated with agriculture while employment opportunities in the relatively urban villages where modern economic sectors are available have been associated with payments in money for household domestic duties, clerical work in retail shops and services in governmental and non-governmental establishments.

5.5.4 Development of business enterprises

Trade or exchange of basic goods such as food items, clothing and other traditional types of merchandise between different households has a long history in Mapholaneng. However, what is new since the 1990's is the increasing pace and variety of goods sold within the catchment and its periphery. For instance, the increasing number of informal hawkers trading in lower Mapholaneng may be seen as an indication of the incipient development of entrepreneurship skills in the catchment.

Information gathered from households during field visits in Mapholaneng indicates that during the 1980's, business trade was still very limited and was a privilege of just a few better off households and one foreign multinational general store established during the early days of the British colonial period in 1877 in Tlokoeng area. However, since the 1990's, the development of smaller cafes, shops and hawker trade has expanded among both migrant and non-migrant households in the catchment. This rapid development in petty- commodity production in the catchment is considered to have increased economic differentiation between the poorer and relatively richer households

5.5.5 Urban and Rural households sources of livelihood

An assessment of households sources of subsistence in Mapholaneng over the last three decades, based on data obtained during the household questionnaire survey, shows a slight difference between the rural and the urban communities in the catchment.

Sources of households income for rural communities have basically been associated with traditional agriculture, while sources of households income in the urban communities have shown diversification into new forms of income generation from rented rooms, petty-trade, self-employment in practical skills of furniture repairs, knitting and sewing, brick-laying and taxi-transport (Tables 5.10 and 5.11).

Even though local employment seems to have been prevalent among both non-migrant and rural households, data from the rural households revealed that most of the available employment has been the herding of livestock. Rural migrant and non-migrant households have traditionally hired labourers for herding livestock and performing other agricultural activities such as preparing the fields for cultivation and helping in the harvesting of the concerned households fields, while in the urban village areas, available jobs have been in the modern sectors consisting of household domestic duties and in formal semi-skilled and skilled jobs related to commerce, law, teaching, nursing, private and public services.

Non-migrant households seem to have closely kept to traditional agricultural production while migrant households have introduced new agricultural innovations and added variety with initiatives in non-agricultural activities, thereby contributing to the diversification of rural economic development.

5.6 Impacts of migrancy on the household labour force

Table 5.12 shows that the proportion of households with migrant labourers in Mapholaneng catchment have been at its highest peak during the 1970's. However, since 1980's up to the present 1999, the total number of households with migrant workers across the borders in South Africa have been declining dramatically. For example, while in 1970's, 100 % or all of migrant households had members working as migrant workers ;in 1980's this number had declined to 66 %, indicating a 34 % decrease per that period.

Table 5.12: Impacts of migrancy on the household labour force (1970–1999)

Total number of sampled migrant h/holds =35	Impacts on migrant h/holds	1970's migrant h/holds		1980's migrant h/holds		1990's migrant h/holds		1995 migrant h/holds		1998-99 migrant h/holds	
		no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%
	total h/holds	35	100	23	66	12	34	10	29	8	23
	disabled	2	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	death	3	9	1	3	1	3	1	3	0	0
	retrenched	2	6	9	26	2	6	1	3	2	6
	abandoned home	4	11	1	3	0	0	1	3	1	3
	current migrants	24	69	12	34	9	26	7	20	5	14
	Reductions per period	-		35%		8%		6%		6%	

Source: field work questionnaire survey, Feb-March 1999

The reductions in labour employment from South African work places such as the mines, farms, firms and other service sectors, have historically been due to different circumstances resulting from both changes at particular work places and from the national South African government socio-economic transformations that have had a bearing on policies on labour reconstruction. Moreover, evidence from the catchment as reflected in Table 6.1 indicates that different migrant households in Mapholaneng have been affected both negatively and positively. For instance, their long period of involvement in the migrant labour system in South Africa for the last decades, has resulted in losses of members through death, disablement, abandonment of homes and the current onslaught of labour retrenchment.

5.6.1 Loss of household labour power through mine deaths

As indicated in Table 5.12, between 1970 and 1995, 18 % of migrant households in Mapholaneng lost their migrant workers as a result of mine death. Visits to different homesteads in Mapholaneng showed that some of the former migrant households had lost household members such as fathers, husbands or sons mainly due to mine accidents and sicknesses suffered while working in the mines. During field visits to

the catchment villages, discussions with the ex-migrant workers confirmed that working in the mines and especially underground, has historically been highly risky. Underground mining in which most of the unskilled and rather semi-skilled labourers work is claimed to be associated with risks of rock-fall, rock-outbursts, fires and explosions. These incidents make migrant labourers vulnerable to non-infectious chronic diseases such as those normally associated with incidences of T.B, HIV and alcoholism, all of which cause fear, anxiety and discomfort or in the end, bring death to the migrant workers.

5.6.2 Loss of family members through abandonment of home

The questionnaire survey in Mapholaneng revealed the sad stories by which some migrant households have lost their migrant members through abandonment of their home. In some cases women migrants have gone for ever, but more cases of abandonment are found to relate to men than to women. Reasons for abandonment obtained in Mapholaneng vary from those advanced by women respondents on one side and those by men respondents on the other. Responses from men indicated that they decide to abandon their original homes for ever as a better option for their individual subsistence. According to ex-migrants, decisions of abandonment have been arrived at by men as a result of family conflicts especially relating to sexual behaviour of the spouse remaining at home. On the other hand, women's responses maintained that home abandonment is a legacy of morally weak migrant males, who after receiving several mine cash payments, begin to misuse wages with mine women and later develop a guilty conscience towards the family and friends, which in the long run influences their decisions to completely abandon the home. This results from male migrants freedom to visit towns and shebeens in the vicinity of the mine-compounds from which frequent contacts with informal migrant women are made. These contacts develop into sexual relationships from which some of the men end up forgetting about their original homes, their children and all they left behind. Even though the issues relating to the abandonment of homes by migrant members of households seems to be an inter-gender debate in Mapholaneng, what became obvious during the questionnaire survey and which this thesis needed to address is the fact that, 20% of

the catchment migrant households lost their able-bodied relatives such as parents, husbands, sons and kin as a result of working as migrant workers in South Africa. One of the detrimental consequences of these losses through abandoning home by migrant workers is that these households are now lacking breadwinners or any close economically potential relatives to provide basic household needs of food and clothing.

The following account is a tragic example of this impact. A widowed 83 aged ex-migrant has completely lost his family through abandonment. He lives alone in a two roomed homestead which belongs to his son who never returned from the mines in Dundee in Natal. His own house was old and dilapidated so much that during the heavy snowfall in 1987, it fell and since then it has never been possible for him to rebuild it. During the 1970's, his son was working as a migrant labourer in the former coal mines in Dundee in Kwa Zulu Natal Province and had left the wife and child behind at home. However, since 1978, this son never wrote or visited home and in 1982 the wife left to look for her husband, but by 1984 she had neither written nor reported her findings. The child, who by then was a grown-up boy, also left to look for his parents whom he found working in a restaurant in Ladysmith. Two years later, he left them still working in Ladysmith and returned home to his grandfather. But the parents still never wrote or sent any money or clothing to their father and the grandson again went to look for them but this time it was in vain. During the early 1990's, this grandson married and together left with his wife to search for employment in South Africa, but like his parents, he has never written nor visited his grand father again.

The grandfather has a 2 acre field which he cultivates through the assistance of relatives or through share-cropping arrangements with neighbours who possess an ox-span and simple ploughing equipment. Although very old, he is still capable of contributing his labour in the ploughing, weeding and harvesting of his fields. The share of farm yields, however, is relatively low because it has to be shared between those whom he sometimes hires to help him especially during the ploughing and hoeing seasons. Although his field is naturally situated in a relatively fertile loam soil area, its fertility has gradually degraded due to monoculture of maize and soil erosion

is actively cutting terraces and developing rills and dongas on the property. Although he is aware of the declining soil conditions and yields of his field and also knows what to do or what mitigating measures are needed to restore the fertility of his fields and increase the harvest, he claims to spend most of his time worrying about his scattered family and his bleak old age survival without close relatives to cater for his last days of life and to inherit the field and homestead.

5.6.3 Disablement of migrant-labourers

The questionnaire survey has also shown that during the last three decades since 1970, some of the Migrant households in Mapholaneng have had members disabled, resulting from accidents on the mines. For example, between 1970 and 1980, 6 % of households in Mapholaneng had migrant members injured in mining from rock-falls, rock-outbursts, excessive heat and explosions.

Some of these disabled ex-migrants have become deaf or are one-legged or one-handed and have become life time-burdens demanding food, clothing and general welfare from their families as well as from the community at large. With no sustainable assets or capability of independent productive work, with only degraded fields and lost or stolen livestock, the subsistence of these disabled persons in the socio-economic set up of Lesotho with neither old age pensions nor disability allowances, is becoming increasingly difficult. The impact on the lives of the aged and disabled members of society in Mapholaneng is total neglect and impoverishment.

5.6.4 The scourge of retrenchment in Mapholaneng

Field visits to the different villages in Mapholaneng have shown that men have been migrating for employment opportunities across the borders into South Africa ever since the first mining industry began in that country in the 1880's. Between 1970 and the early 1980's, 70% of Mapholaneng households had either one or more members as migrant workers in South Africa, but since late 1987 up to 1999, this number has declined to half (Table 5.12). Discussion with ex-migrant male respondents during the fieldwork survey revealed that between 1987 and 1993 alone, about 170,960 jobs

were lost in both gold and coal mining-industries in South Africa and that since then, further reductions in the mine labour force has occurred as the mining companies attempt to reduce mining production costs and to maximize profits. This dramatic decline in employment of Lesotho's labour force in South Africa is seen in the context of general ever-changing mining working conditions in South Africa (Matlosa, 1997; Santho & Sejanamane, 1990). From direct observation in the villages, mine retrenchments can be seen to have had adverse impacts not only on individual migrant households and families but also on the whole socio-economic fabric of the community. For instance, local business trade had been thriving well during the honey-moon days of the migrant labour system when the majority of households had migrant wages and it was always possible for them to do their daily household purchases from local trading shops in the catchment. However, with the recent and continuing incidences of retrenchments from the mines, the future of business trade in Mapholaneng has been negatively affected. Future household's improvements in matters of education and health of members have also been negatively affected by the retrenchments. For example, by 1998-99, a substantial number of migrant households children had began dropping out of school and funds for safeguarding household's health conditions had also become scarce due to lacking financial support historically provided by migrant labour remittances and defer- payments. Moreover, migrants-homestead improvements and developments of new buildings and modern houses, purchases of modern consumer goods, purchases of livestock, agricultural investments and other migrant household costs that were met with migrant wages now have to be forfeited. Unfortunately, the increasing incidences of retrenchments unfold at a scenario when the Lesotho economy in general is still not ready to absorb the returned migrant workers, let alone provide employment to its de facto labour force nor provide old age pensions even to its ex-government long service civil servants.

For example, at the present in 1999, the end of 20th century, when Lesotho finishes her fourth decade of independence, the country's economy is still limited in capacity to offer any employment to the majority of both her unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled labour force. Agriculture which through history has provided a traditional subsistence

to the majority of rural peasants, has recently faced a slow but steady dwindling trend. Direct contact with the retrenched migrant workers in Mapholaneng has also revealed the logistics of labour retrenchments which are significantly affecting the post-retrenchment economic security and quality of life of the ex-migrant workers.

5.6.4.1 Reasons for labour retrenchments from South African mines

The reasons normally advanced for the onslaught of recent labour retrenchment from South Africa are many and varied depending on the nature of origins from which they are framed in relation to the socio-political and economic transformations on which the South African government has recently embarked. Retrenched migrants claimed that information given to them by mine management when they were being retrenched between 1987 and 1993 was that it was a practical manifestation of the former apartheid government's policy of labour internalization, by which the employment of foreign migrant workers would be eliminated and be replaced by the employees from within South African former Black- Homelands.

The uncertainty and relatively low pricing structures in the global mineral markets and particularly with regards to constant fluctuations in the world market price of gold has also often been used as a pretext by mining companies to rationalize the dumping of labour power from the mines. The increasing mechanization of the mining-industry was intended to facilitate and expedite mine-production but has on the other side been viewed with agitation from workers and from mine worker unions as well. Consistent failure by some individual mine productions to keep pace with agreed and negotiated, NUM, mine wage scales and benefits has also been associated as a cause to mounting rates of labour retrenchment from the mines. However, on the other hand, and from the point of view of migrant workers as well as from mine worker unions such as NUM, recent increases of retrenchment are conceptualized as only new innovative strategies by mining companies and mine- managements to intensify procurement of mining profits through reduction of the long serviced and highly paid mine labour power, which in turn faces replacements by the new, novice cheap labour power. Retrenched ex-migrants that were met during the questionnaire survey in

Mapholaneng also confirmed to the allegations that retrenchments by mining industries have been a pretext to escape increased wage and benefits scales negotiated with NUM by mine managements. Re-employment of ex-migrants is claimed to be rather informal. Instead of recruitment being done through the formerly established recruitment offices, current recruitment is said to take place at the mine gates through contracts which specify payments that are half those mandated by NUM and which provide no benefits, no employment security, no severance packages, no disability insurance or next of kin compensations, incases of mine deaths.

5.6.4.2 Issues of retrenchment Packages

The administration of mine retrenchment is found to be inter-linked or structured along with the accessory retrenchment severance packages, provident funds and individual migrant labourers long service bonuses. However, some of the recently retrenched ex-migrants in Mapholaneng had several complaints referring to the wide spread of denial and misappropriation of such severance retrenchment packages by the corrupt practices and tendencies of nepotism during the recently increasing re-hiring or labour recruitments that are claimed to be taking place at the mine gates. Some of the retrenched migrant workers contacted during the questionnaire survey were strong supporters of NUM and many of which complained that, they had been sent away without provision of proper severance packages or even without being provided with their work records and certificates. To some of the retrenched migrant workers, acts of this nature from the mining industry in south Africa are regarded as punishments for their alliance to NUM, particularly with reference to mine workers participation in the 1987 National Mine Workers Strike.

Given the substantial number of deaths (18%), disabled persons (6%) and the recently increasing numbers of retrenched migrant workers (47%) without provision of sustainable allowances, insurances or compensation packages, the normally assumed contribution of the mining industry to the development of the labour force that has for a century struggled and suffered to enrich the same industry and develop it to the present production standards, should critically be re-evaluated.

However, visits to the different retrenched households showed that those who were able to procure their retrenchment packages have either used them mainly for household's acquisition of durable consumer goods such as the building of new modern houses, purchases of leisure vehicles and clothing and in holding household cultural rituals such as initiation and other traditional ceremonies. Nevertheless, other retrenched households have instead used their packages mainly for investment purposes in farming technology. These activities included the following:

- i purchasing tractors, which in turn are being rented out to other farmers, so as to insure the household earning of cash;
- ii some have improved breeding of their livestock by the purchases of improved rams and purchases of medicine for live-stock diseases. Others have invested in non-agricultural income-generating activities including tailoring, cement- brick-making, chicken-raising projects, petty-trade and taxi-transport.

5.7. Changes in livestock ownership in Mapholaneng (1970-1999).

Historically, Lesotho has been suited to livestock farming rather than to cultivation of crops. As a result, livestock has represented a principal source of income for the majority of households in Mapholaneng for many years. Most rural farmers in Mapholaneng still possess some domestic livestock and personal rural savings of farmers have been invested in livestock. However, although the physical nature of the country has been suited to the production of livestock, this historical and cultural rural industry has recently deteriorated in value and significance. By 1999, agricultural production has become far from being very productive and sustainable for advancing rural development in the country as a whole , and in Mapholaneng in particular. The recent decline in livestock farming as one of the major sources of rural livelihood in Mapholaneng, is seen to be a result of many interrelated rural problems ranging from the following:

- i increased purchases of imported livestock especially by migrant workers which in the long run led to the overgrazing and deterioration of pastures in the surrounding landscape;

- ii lack of adequate credit or funds to cover agricultural costs of production inputs;
- iii lack of winter supplementary feeding for livestock;
- iv escalating incidences of livestock theft and sale ;
- v spread of livestock diseases such as pneumonia, gall sickness, internal worms and others;
- vi livestock exposure to weather hazards of snow, excessive heat(global warming), storms and severe winter cold.

Table 5.13 portrays the historic rise and fall of households that own livestock categories among rural peasants in Mapholaneng. And as Table 5.13 shows, the proportion of households owning livestock was relatively higher during the 1970's and 80's until the early 1990's when the decline began to unfold up to the present, when a considerable number of households do not own any livestock. Data gathered on livestock ownership in Mapholaneng shows that since the 1970's, the numbers of households owning livestock has both risen and fallen. For instance, Table 5.13 reveals that there was an increase in the number of households owning livestock from 1970 up to 1980. Among cattle owning households, the number increased from 28% in 1970 to 42% in 1980; thereby indicating an increase of 14 % over that decade.

However, the number of households owning livestock in general, declined from 1990. The catchment as a whole as shown on Table 5.13 indicates a decrease in cattle ownership from 38% of households in 1990 to 19% of households in 1998-99.

Table 5.13: Changes in livestock ownership of households (1970-2000).

* migrant h/holds (M)

* non-migrant h/holds (N)

Total urban sampled households= 40	Type of livestock	1998-1999		1990's		1980's		1970's		No of h/holds with livestock		No of h/holds with no livestock	
		%		%		%		%		M	N	M	N
		M	N	M	N	M	N	M	N				
M=24 N=16 Total=40	cattle	18	15	40	25	40	33	25	33	23	15	38	25
	sheep/ goats	10	10	33	23	40	25	35	23				
	horse/ donkey	5	5	13	13	18	20	15	23				
	poultry	10	20	10	30	10	33	13	35				
Total Rural sampled households= 24													
M=11 N=13 Total=24	cattle	21	33	33	46	46	54	33	54	29	29	21	21
	sheep/ goats	25	38	42	50	46	54	38	54				
	horse/ donkey	21	33	33	46	42	46	33	54				
	poultry	21	33	38	42	42	46	33	50				
Catchment Total sampled households= 64													
M=35 N=29 Total=64	cattle	19	22	38	33	42	41	28	41	25	20	31	23
	sheep /goats	16	20	36	33	42	36	36	34				
	horse / donkey	11	16	20	25	27	30	22	34				
	poultry	14	25	20	34	22	38	20	41				

Source: Fieldwork data supplied by headmen; Feb-April, 1999.

Visits to the villages show that different factors have contributed to the historical increases and decreases of different domestic livestock and the following section provides an account of the different livestock owned in Mapholaneng.

5.7.1 Cattle

The historical conditions of cattle-rearing are considered. As reflected in Table 5.13, during the early 1970's, the majority of both migrant and non-migrant households in both rural and urban villages of Mapholaneng, owned large herds of cattle. But, although the number of households rearing cattle among the non-migrant households remained relatively constant, the number of households owning cattle among the migrant households during the same period increased. Increases in cattle may be through natural reproduction but other related factors that have contributed to the historic changes in the number of livestock owned between different households must also be considered. Among the Basotho, individual household livestock has always either increased or decreased due to the additions or deductions made in respect to traditional payments for *lobola* (marriage payment). This method by which households livestock could be increased has had a great impact on the upbringing of girls among most traditional households. Historically, any birth of a baby girl was associated with future wealth in terms of livestock to accrue to the concerned girls households. As a result, most girls in the catchment have had to drop schooling in order to engage in marriage for the benefit of the concerned parents. Even though it was not possible to procure a formal record of the number of livestock obtained through livestock marriage arrangements in Mapholaneng, it was indicated by respondents from several households that some of their cattle, sheep, goats and donkeys had been procured through marriage of their daughters. Other cases of increases in livestock have resulted from payments for the services of herding as the activity of hiring of herders is traditional in Mapholaneng. Initially, this practice was never a wage labour relation but was understood as an indigenous patron-client relationship between different households. However, with the coming of capitalism and money for production, the standard rate of pay for a livestock herder has traditionally been fixed at 12 sheep (ewes) or one large stock (a cow or a horse). per annum. Alternatively, one ewe was

paid on a monthly basis for elderly persons or to any herding male above 15 years of age. In cases where the herder is a minor below 15 years of age, the standard rate of pay was historically fixed at half the price of the adult livestock herders. However, since the early 1980's, the payment in livestock has been replaced with payment in money-terms. In this case the price in cash paid to the herders has as a result been equated to the local market price of the type of livestock concerned. For example, during the 1998-99 field work in Mapholaneng, the standard local price for an ewe sheep was R150 to R200.00 while that of a cow or horse ranged from R800 to R2000 depending on the size and general weight and the quality of the livestock involved. In many cases, migrant labour wages have contributed substantially to changes from kinship social relations between people, to the new global market-price or capitalist social relations that have pervaded the whole catchment just like everywhere in the country. It is thus argued that labour migration having been a major historic source of cash-income in Mapholaneng, has to a large extent influenced the day to day social relations among the people. In fact, it was during the early 1980's, that the external factor of migrant wages greatly influenced higher and unusual increases in livestock, especially among the migrant-households. This was the result of the then relative increases in migrant labour wages from the mines in South Africa and which were used in the related purchases of livestock by the migrant workers. On the other hand, Table 5.13 also shows that livestock ownership in Mapholaneng began declining since the late 1990's up to 1999. For example, the table shows that the proportion of households owning cattle has dramatically declined with the result that at the present time, some of the households in Mapholaneng do not own any cattle at all. In lower Mapholaneng or among urban households (Motete, Meketeng) 38% of migrant households own no livestock while 25% of the non-migrants households also do not have any livestock.

At the time of the questionnaire survey, February–May 1999, it was found that 63 % of all urban households did not own any livestock at all. Nevertheless, a different trend was also developing in relation to ownership of livestock in the upper Mapholaneng or rural households (Khukhune, Tiping). In these villages, only 21% of

both migrant and non-migrants households did not any more own any livestock. Thus, in Mapholaneng, more of the households in the rural villages still have some livestock, than it is with the households in the relatively urban villages. However, at the catchment level as a whole, 42% of all households did not own any livestock *vis-a-vis* 58% which still owned some livestock during 1999. Lack of livestock especially cattle by rural farmers has become a great blow to the agricultural activities of most farming households in Mapholaneng. For example, throughout the past centuries, cattle have been the only source of capital investment for crop production and of social cohesion among the rural people. Cattle were the medium of all transactions and practices between different households. This has traditionally been expressed in marriage arrangements which in turn have through historic times acted as the foundation of social, cultural, economic and political relationships between the Basotho people.

In addition, livestock ownership has historically been a complex industry when it incorporated the system of Mafisa, which was sometimes referred to as the 'livestock loan system' (Quinlan, 1989:56). Mafisa has been a livestock management practice allowing equitable distribution of livestock resources throughout the country. Even though in some circumstances this practice created and generated economic inequalities between closing the wealth gap between those who had more livestock and those who had less or none. For example, in order to ensure that every household had access to the benefits derived from livestock farming even by those who owned no livestock at all, a system of Mafisa was established which until the 1980's, was a historic livestock institution among Basotho livestock farmers. Through this system, livestock owners entrusted part or all of their livestock to other farmers for unspecified time periods. The latter farmers then became responsible for the welfare of the entrusted livestock and in return enjoyed the related costs and benefits underlying the mafisa practice. According to Duncan, the Mafisa system operates in the following manner:

“ the owner lends livestock at his own risk but benefits by obtaining the services of the recipient to herd and care for the animals, and the return of all the progeny of the animals. The recipient is entitled to use as needed. He is at liberty to use

for example, cattle for his household ploughing, horses for his household transport and also to use the resultant livestock products including milk, wool, mohair, meat and skins of livestock entrusted to him”(Duncan,1960:81-2).

In other words, the system of mafisa was helpful in reducing lack of livestock among other households. This practice as a result reduced incidences of livestock theft which have currently increased with the collapse of the mafisa system. During fieldwork in 1998-99, the traditional practice of Mafisa has dramatically collapsed due to general lack of interest in the improvements in livestock rearing among most of the rural households. In fact recent lack of interest in livestock farming among some households in Mapholaneng has been fuelled by recent increases in livestock theft which have even spread throughout the country. Table 5.13 shows that more than half (54%) of households in Mapholaneng do not keep or own any livestock any more. Moreover, the collapse of the mafia system has also contributed to the increasing tendencies of rural social differentiation among different households. This trend is reflected on Table 5.17, which relates to the unequal distribution of livestock between different households in Mapholaneng catchment. The collapse of the mafisa system has also affected crop farming in the catchment as it increased shortage and inaccessibility of different rural farmers to livestock used in crop-farming. Visits to the sampled households in Mapholaneng showed that a substantial number of fields remain fallow and uncultivated during the ploughing season. This is said to be the result of lack of draught animals or ox-span by the field owners. An ox-span consists of four or more head of cattle which number is regarded as suitable to undertake the activity of ploughing and other related practices of rural cultivation. Nevertheless, a certain number of households without an ox-span have sometimes been capable of either renting an ox-span from other farmers or a government tractor that is irregularly supplied during the ploughing season. But this option is limited to a handful of rural peasants who may be regarded as prosperous farmers who are capable of producing means of subsistence beyond the consumption levels of their households. These are the households who are capable of realizing production profits or surplus production. The majority of households are limited to the production of households necessities or

below subsistence levels. Also culminating from the recent lack of cattle among most of the rural households has been the farming practices of share-cropping and of arable-land renting. These practises are preferred by some of the farmers who own fields but do not have either cattle for ploughing or the necessary cash-income to rent a tractors or an ox-span from the neighbours or relatives. Discussions with some of the share-croppers indicated that share-cropping arrangements have negatively contributed to the socio-economic differentiation of rural farmers. In this context, differentiation is understood to refer to the socio-economic process by which different groups of poor, middle and relatively rich farmers or peasant farmers are created. This process is currently increasing in Mapholaneng as a breakaway from traditional rural homogeneity into different social classes of households. In Mapholaneng catchment, differentiation of households into different wealth categories is exacerbated by the unequal accessibility to rural production resources such as livestock, farming land, items for sale, accessibility to markets, credit and other factors of production among the different households. For instance, among traditional rural farmers, cattle have historically constituted a capital resource by which other wealth could be created. A farmer with an ox-span can easily increase his wealth by renting his cattle to those who do not own cattle for ploughing, especially when such a market is in great demand during the ploughing season. Furthermore, a cattle farmer can use as an added advantage, the annually held cultural functions or ceremonial rituals that are entirely depended on the slaughter of cattle. In such cases, the cattle farmer is even made capable to determine the prices as he wishes or, it is his monopoly to sell to those in demand of cattle at the prices determined by him especially during winter season when such cultural rituals are nationally deemed appropriate. The reasons for the decrease in the number of cattle among rural farmers in Mapholaneng which have been pointed out by some of the respondents are briefly discussed below:

★ The 1980's overstocking of the pastures.

It is maintained that large purchases of livestock from South Africa by migrant workers plus local purchases by non-migrant farmers contributed to the then already overstocked communal pastures, both in the surrounding landscapes and also around the cattle-posts which in most cases are situated 30 to 50 kilometres

away from home. In Mapholaneng, this traditional practice of animal husbandry is done through the system of transhumance. This is a seasonal migration of livestock between summer and winter pastures together with the herders, moving between home and the cattle-posts. This practice of livestock is done in order to protect crops from livestock destruction as well as to allow for the natural restoration of pastures around home areas while animals are away. When animals in any area are considered more than the carrying capacity of that particular area or pastures, overgrazing results. Prolonged overgrazing, coupled with drought, may in the long run lead into land degradation as it has historically happened with the surrounding landscape in Mapholaneng in which the land scenery is seen in eroded landforms.

- ✪ Non-implementation of land management policies and conservation programmes. Questionnaire survey respondents from Mapholaneng have pointed out that through the past years, both concerned rural institutions of farmers, chiefs and government agricultural officers have all failed to implement legislation made for the restoration and rehabilitation of the land. In most cases, this legislation was concerned with the traditional practice of *Maboella* (reserved rangelands), hence this has been a cultural method of conserving the natural resources of communal land resources of pastures, water, natural trees (Wood) and thatching grasses or reeds. Thus, even though any farmer could traditionally graze his livestock on any land which is regarded as 'rangeland' or pasture land within the jurisdiction of concerned chiefs or headmen, the traditional institution of 'leboella' has been a limiting factor. However, the practice of leboella has never been put to its full implementation. As a result, historic failure to implement land conservation programmes in the catchment have had effects that have contributed to the deterioration of pastures and to the incipient process of desertification which is seen gradually creeping into the local landscape in Mapholaneng catchment as whole. Just like with other traditional uses of land resources, the responsibility for demarcating local villages areas for 'leboella' have historically been vested in the chieftainship and related village land committees as spelled out in the land tenure system (Ashton, 1952; Bardill and Cobbe, 1984).

★ **Livestock deaths**

It was not possible to procure the exact figures on livestock losses from each livestock-owning household, so it has not been possible to find out the exact total number of animal losses within the whole catchment. However, it was maintained by the farmers that large losses of livestock have been incurred, either due to natural disasters such as storms and the 1987 heavy snowfall in which many farmers lost a substantial number of their livestock. Some losses have also been associated with drought, livestock diseases such as the 1973 epidemic and attacks from jackals at the cattle-posts.

★ **Loss of livestock due to livestock hunger.**

Evidence from the Mapholaneng catchment questionnaire survey shows that most farmers have lost a substantial number of their livestock as a result of poor winter grazing coupled with a lack of provision of winter supplementary fodder. Most of the peasant-farmers in Mapholaneng spend a large part of productive activities in trying to satisfy basic needs of food and clothing. As a result, activities involving expenses relating to issues or concerns besides those directly concerned with basic needs for household survival are normally relegated to minor consideration. The cultivation of fodder crops has never been a felt necessity to most livestock farmers and as such, it is a rare practice done by only a few households. To the majority of peasant farmers, finding necessary seeds for the next ploughing season is a major problem. Thus, in the case of the majority of relatively poorer households, purposeful cultivation of fodder for livestock is not known.

★ **Livestock fodder used to be provided by maize stalks and crop residues remaining after the harvest but these are now used as an energy source for fires for household cooking.**

★ **Lack of credit or finance.**

Most rural farmers lack the necessary finances and are not able to obtain credit to purchase livestock medicine to control diseases and to sustain modern necessary requirements for improvements in livestock.

★ **Shortage of livestock herders.**

Modern ways of living as pervaded by migrant labour system and other forms by which traditional life has changed has had a negative impact to the livestock-economy. Modern boys do not prefer herding any more. The fact that modern life demands cash-payment has further deteriorated the value of herding livestock. As a result of changes of this nature, livestock farmers are faced with lack of dedicated livestock herders for sustainable development of animal husbandry. Livestock-herding has ebbed due to new interest in modern schooling even among the traditional rural farmers.

✧ Livestock theft.

Increases in livestock theft has pervaded the rural communities nationwide and goes on without serious concerted efforts to halt it. The recent increases in rates of livestock theft in Mokhotlong district and Mapholaneng has been recorded by Quinlan from his analysis of Court cases from the magistrate court in Mokhotlong. In his findings in 1980, 9% of the court cases were concerned with livestock theft while five years later, in 1985, 10% of all magistrate court cases were on livestock and by 1987 the rate of livestock theft cases had increased to 19%. From discussion with household respondents, it became clear that more incidences of livestock theft have on the whole been more common and frequent among migrant households than to non-migrant households. It is therefore argued that the absence of adult males as migrant-workers has thus made private property of such migrant households insecure and vulnerable to attack, robbery and livestock theft. The related historic records showing the number and type of stolen livestock from local Mapholaneng villages are kept by the Mapholaneng Police station. However, it was established that in some instances of livestock theft, reports were never made known by the affected households and therefore this factor made actual data on livestock theft unreliable.

✧ Availability of livestock market.

In Mapholaneng, the market for livestock since the 1980's became available either through regular government auction sales or through private livestock sales in the lowland districts of Butha-Buthe and Leribe which have since the 1990's become the central market areas where most of the livestock from

Mapholaneng has been receiving relatively better prices. Unfortunately, due to the informal nature of this trade in livestock, data showing the trend of trade is not available to indicate how many of the households from Mapholaneng are involved or to show how much is earned by each participating household. However, direct observation in the catchment confirms a frequent transportation of sheep in trucks from Lower Mapholaneng villages of Motete and Meketeng to Butha-Buthe and Leribe districts in the Lowland region where the sheep are sold. Visits to several animal stalls and kraals that have recently been build or constructed along the main roads both in Butha-Buthe and in Leribe towns indicate the prevalence of livestock sales from Mokhotlong District, of which Mapholaneng forms a part.

✪ Substitution of money for cattle as the traditional store of wealth.

The shift to and influence of a cash market economy has recently discouraged peasants farmers from owning cattle. This has been for the fact that with money, all traditional functions under which cattle are highly valued can now be satisfied by the possession of money. For example, payments of traditional lobola (bride-price) can now be paid in money instead of cattle and the ploughing of households fields can also be substituted with the hiring of tractors. However, in some circumstances, farmers lacking cattle but having cash-income can always hire or rent the cattle from cattle-owners. In this case, especially among the relatively urban villages, cash-income has become a dominating factor over the changing conditions of lives of people in the catchment. In other words, current contemporary general acceptance of money in all social, economic and cultural transactions by society has influenced some of the social activities in Mapholaneng as anywhere else throughout Lesotho away from the traditional values placed on individual household possession of cattle. This negative development of behaviour or attitudes of farmers towards livestock ownership is being highly supported by the common fear among the livestock owners for increasing rates of livestock theft. This problem is seen escalating day by day throughout the catchment in Mapholaneng and the surrounding communities in its periphery.



Photograph 5.1 Makalieng village

Erosion from overgrazing and footpaths by animals and people is evident. The single huts seen on the left of the photograph are for the new immigrants from Likoting village (10 km north east) who have located closer to their fields and to modern infrastructure of roads, schools, clinics and shops which are 2km south-west of this village in Meketeng and Motete.



Photograph 5.2 Khubelu River Valley degradation

Development of gully, terrace erosion and general land degradation are seen along the Khubelu River, 2km below Motete village.

5.7.2 Sheep and goats

In Lesotho, small livestock are mainly suited to the relatively cooler mountain areas such as in Mapholaneng catchment. Although sheep and goats are culturally less valued than cattle, in practical day to day living conditions of the rural livestock owners they may be of more immediate importance as sources of households income than cattle. For example, they are both kept for their regular annual supply of wool and mohair that provide owners with annual income and through the last decades, these products have received high prices from the external market through South African Wool and Mohair Boards in Port Elizabeth. Small stock, particularly sheep, are basically preferred for the reason that they can be sold frequently and quickly for slaughter at the local butcheries.

Tables 5.14 and 5.15 show the amount and value of mohair and wool produced and sold by Lesotho farmers during the last two decades in South Africa.

Table: 5.14: Lesotho Mohair sold in South Africa: 1975-1984

year	no of bales	quantity in kgs	value (Rands=Maluti	average price cents /kg
1975	4137	616419	2,290821	371.63
1976	?	417740	1,989379	576.22
1977	?	39660	1,925362	485.39
1978	3487	494942	4,816052	973.05
1979	3485	497220	4,331376	871.12
1980	3371	480968	2,737994	569.27
1981	1717	244270	1,398686	572.60
1982	2769	415303	2,443585	588.39
1983	4473	668706	6,814320	1019.03
1984	4812	724105	10,017574	1383.44
totals	?	4,956333	38,765149	-

Source: Statistical Yearbook (1987):Table G.15,p129 in Quinlan (1987).

Table 5.15 Lesotho Wool sold in South Africa: 1976-1984

Year	no of bales	quantity in kgs	value Rand=Maluti	average price Cents / kg
1976	?	2,381642	2,595049	?
1977	?	2,391921	2,923330	?
1978	?	2,444299	3,552313	?
1979	?	2,466529	4,172255	?
1980	?	2,663180	4,252675	?
1981	?	2,690105	5,065466	?
1982	?	2,933722	5,230922	?
1983	?	3,145281	6,985530	?
1984	?	3,162477	11,160564	?
Totals	?	24,279156	45,938104	?

Source: Statistical Yearbook (1987): Table G.16, p13, referred in Quinlan(1989)

The tables indicate that external prices of wool and mohair have fluctuated. Reasons for low prices during certain periods have been associated with competition from other world wool and mohair producing countries such as Australia. However, in Mapholaneng, the general trend shows a consistently increasing price for these products. Such relatively high livestock product- prices enabled livestock-farmers to earn incomes beyond subsistence levels for their households and thereby permitted savings for further expansion or re-investment even into non-agricultural activities by some farmers(Quinlan,1989). But as Table 5.13 shows, since the late 1980's, the proportion of households owning small livestock generally began to fall up to the present (1999) when only a handful of farmers still posses some small stock, with great disparities in the numbers of each type of livestock owned between different households.

This is a present cause in Mapholaneng of an accelerating process of socio-economic differentiation between households. For example, Table 5.16 illustrates some of the categorizations of Mapholaneng households as based on differences in livestock

ownership between different households. For instance, whereas a few peasants have a minimum of 10 head of cattle, 1000 sheep and 10 horses plus donkeys, other peasants have only one or two head of cattle and many have none at all. The reasons advanced by the livestock farmers for the recent decline in small stock in Mapholaneng are many and varied. Some of these conditions are discussed further.

- ✪ Firstly, the recent 1990's establishment or opening of butcheries and restaurants in the catchment has substituted the need for direct possession of small livestock. This substitution comes because at any time meat is needed, it can always be bought with cash. However, this need for cash income has become one of the predominant problems facing the majority of the disadvantaged rural households. The recently opened butcher trade in Mapholaneng can be seen from the catchment map (Fig. 3.1) where social services such as shops are located in both Motete and Meketeng villages. The development of local butcheries in Mapholaneng has also extended the sale of livestock for slaughter from the catchment even to the lowland districts of Leribe and Butha-Buthe, where relatively higher prices are assumed to prevail by the participating peasant farmers.
- ✪ Secondly, recent fluctuations in international prices for wool and mohair and the established global standards relating to the demands for proper breeding of livestock for better quality raw materials, have forced many farmers who could not afford such necessary improvement to quit the livestock industry. This change has added to the escalating livestock based class differentiation of rural farmers.

Even though it was not possible to procure written records pertaining to the quantities, prices and earned incomes from the historic sales of livestock products such as wool, mohair and live-animals, verbal information attained during the interviews in different villages confirmed the historical changes in livestock product prices and markets. For example, during the 1970's when most farmers in Mapholaneng still had more of both types of livestock farmers from Mapholaneng had their wool and mohair sold in Qwa-qwa or the present day Phathalitjaba area in the Orange Free State.

This area shares boundaries with the north-eastern parts of Lesotho between Mokhotlong and Butha-Buthe districts (Figure:5 and 1.7). However, recently due to the decline in possession of transport animals such as donkeys, horses and mules, many of the poorer livestock owning households have begun to sell their livestock products of wool, skins and mohair in the local market at the store which started in 1887 as the first transnational general store, Frazers, K .Nolan Ltd, situated 7 kilometres from Mapholaneng across the Khubelu river in Tlokoeng (Figure:3.1). The market for Lesotho's livestock was established in South Africa through the Lesotho Wool and Mohair Export Board under the ministry of agriculture. Income earned through this livestock market has been relatively higher compared to that derived from the traditional former alternatives or market in Tloekoeng store.

But this option is mainly open for the relatively better off livestock farmers who are capable of bearing the related costs of livestock breeding improvement and the costs for transport of livestock products to the overseas markets through South Africa, besides being able to afford livestock medical attention costs and being able to subsist without the forthcoming income during the long period while the products are exported.

Discussion with the involved livestock farmers in Mapholaneng revealed the general feeling among some people that it is having to remain waiting for the cash-income from the sale of wool and mohair from South Africa which in most cases takes two to five months, which has discouraged the relatively poorer farmers from participation.

Thus, poor farmers with no other reliable sources of income cannot maintain their subsistence during the long wool- shearing and export periods choose to sell their wool and mohair locally for less income rather than wait in hunger for pre-assumed higher income from export.

- ⊛ Environmental hazards of snow and prolonged dry periods are also contributing to the continual unsuccessful agricultural pursuits among the majority of farmers.

5.7.3 Horses and donkeys

These types of domestic animals are mostly favoured in the mountain areas. This is because they are valued as the predominant durable means of transport for both human journeys and movement of luggage and food. Although generally, all households used to possess both or either of these livestock, since the 1990's, the percentage of households owning them has been ebbing. Even though during the late 1970's and early 1980's, a relatively large number of horses and donkeys were imported from South Africa by migrant labourers, the 1990's saw a rapid decline of horse and donkey owning households in Mapholaneng, particularly in the urban villages of Motete and Meketeng where modern forms of transportation and other traditional uses of livestock may be easily substituted or improvised. For example, wheelbarrows are used to carry grain to the store for grinding instead of using donkeys or horses and also for transporting grain and animal fodder from the fields to the homestead. As Table 5.13 indicates, rural villages of Upper Mapholaneng in Khukhune and Tiping contain relatively more livestock than other villages in lower Mapholaneng such as Motete and Meketeng in particular. Reasons for a concentration of livestock in Khukhune and Tiping were given by the respondents during the questionnaire survey. Most of them emphasized the significance of these villages on the basis of relief and mountainous conditions of pasturage and of weather, such as those discussed below.

- ★ These villages are situated in areas between the remote mountain river valleys, at relatively high altitudes above 2250metres above the sea level. As a result, it is maintained that the villages are sheltered from strong winter winds and cold thereby promoting the thrive of the livestock. The villages are also accessible to mountain water sources and vegetation for livestock. For example, the surrounding communal pastures in these villages still have more palatable and nutritious sweet veld grasses of *seboku* and its variant species of grass, all of which are mostly favoured by livestock.
- ★ The undulating nature of the landscape makes possible for the livestock farmers to plant fodder crops of barley and lucerne for supplementary feeding of livestock especially in winter, and both of these crops are suited to local soil and climatic conditions.

- ⊕ The remoteness of the villages has made them very conducive places for the upbringing or socialization of the typical traditional Basotho livestock herders, with implications of being cut-off from modernization practices, who are wholly dedicated to all livestock welfare through its stages of growth and development.

Visits to different villages during the questionnaire survey revealed that the number of both donkeys and horses in the whole catchment has declined or being greatly reduced. Reasons that have led to the reduced number of these animals in the catchment are not different from those already advanced above relating to decline in cattle rearing in the catchment. For example, the escalating livestock-theft which has currently pervaded Mapholaneng and other livestock-rearing areas in Lesotho has actually reduced farmers interest in livestock-farming. Several Visits to different households in both rural and urban villages of Mapholaneng confirmed that most households have within their recent history lost substantial numbers of livestock due to theft. For example, some farmers indicated that between 1980 and 1998 alone they lost from 4 to 10 horses and donkeys due theft alone.

These latter animals are mostly stolen by smugglers especially those that are engaged in the illegal trade in dagga which is exported to South Africa. This trade has since the early 1990's, become a common alternative source of income for some non-migrant household and ex-migrant households. Even though many households did not openly admit their involvement in the dagga trade, informal discussions with other people outside the sample and 3% of the respondents confirmed the economic significance and the related risks in entailed in this illegal trade in the local drug. In fact in Mapholaneng ,dagga trade is basically a night activity that involves loading it in bags on either horseback or donkeys from the source or production areas to where it is sold in South Africa. From the discussion with the locals in Mapholaneng, it was revealed that the general route taken for this trade is normally direct to the upper sources of Khubelu, Orange River and Maliba-Matso Rivers at the borders with South Africa along the Southern Drakensberg escarpment. It is the nature of this trade, operating mainly at night, that has led to the increased theft of the local transport livestock in horses and

donkeys from Mapholaneng catchment. The long absence of migrant labourers in South Africa affected the rearing of livestock both positively and negatively in Mapholaneng catchment. In most cases it was the use of migrant labour wages that provided the economic means to increase both quality and quantity of households livestock. Migrant labour wages helped to hire herders to look after the welfare of household's livestock during the absence of migrant workers. However, on the one hand, the absence of the household adult male members in the mines removed the general security/ safety prevailing over the non-migrant household properties including livestock and fields. Thus, migrant labour has contributed to making some households more vulnerable or victims of theft than non-migrant households in the catchment.

Table 5.16: Differentiation of farmers on the basis of livestock ownership

Total sampled households=64 Total livestock owning households=45 %	Size of livestock or herd owned	Cattle ownership % of h/holds	Sheep /Goats ownership % of h/holds	Horse / Donkeys ownership % of h/holds
	1-3	22	13	23
	4-10	16	14	16
	11-20	5	3	2
	21-30	2	5	5
	31-40	0	3	0
	41-50	0	3	0
	51-100	0	3	0
	101-500+	2	2	0

Source: Fieldwork data, Feb-May, 1999

The above table illustrates differentiation of the sampled households based on the number of livestock possessed by each household. It may be observed from this table that a greater percentage of households owns less of each livestock commonly kept in the catchment: cattle, 22%; sheep, 13%; and horses/donkeys, 15%. Thus the majority of households are concentrated in the ownership range of livestock numbers between 1 and 10 category while on the one hand, only a few of some households own large numbers of livestock in the categories ranging from over fifty and above hundreds in some of the livestock types. For example, the table above shows that 2% of all households in the catchment owns relatively large number some livestock ranging from 101 to Over 500 either herd of cattle or sheep or both.

5.8 Ownership of fields for cultivation

In Mapholaneng as in other communities country wide, farm land is understood to imply both land used for cultivation and pasturage purposes of livestock farmers. Both of these land- uses have traditionally been under the jurisdiction of chieftainship which has also been directed by the traditional land tenure system.

The concept of Land tenure in reference to Lesotho and a full account of the related changes in land tenure conditions as they prevail to Lesotho and their impacts on the agrarian development of rural farming is provided in Chapter 2 of this thesis. For this reason, it is suffice indicating that there has been a slight difference in the role of traditional chiefs as a result of the application of contemporary, 1979 land reform which was established to replace the former traditional colonial tenure system. However, in practical day to day community land disputes, both systems seem to be working in juxtaposition, especially with reference to distribution or allocation of land in the rural areas of the country as is the case in Mapholaneng. For example, while individual land seekers may now purchase arable land from others, the government introduced village development committees (VDC) still allocate land on behalf of the king.

Moreover, as spelled out in the traditional land tenure system, the land for cultivation (fields) has traditionally been freely obtainable only by married males of households.

However, with the recent institutionalization of the 1979 Land Act, farming land (fields) can now be bought from individual landowners who are forced by rural condition for survival to sell a portion of household land. In Mapholaneng, this new practice of purchasing land either for cultivation or for establishing a homestead is seen more common among the migrant households. The reasons for this trend are not hard to find. Observational evidence in Mapholaneng shows that land is bought by those who had never been legally and traditionally allocated any land, perhaps due to the general shortage of any virgin land throughout the country as a whole.

Another reason advanced by some of the respondents relates to the shortage of arable land culminating from general growth in population and related sub-divisions of households fields between family sons.

In some cases, those who had joined labour migration as a consequence of land shortages and who are now forced by the retrenchments to subsist from land are seen using their retrenchment packages for the purchases of arable land for either farming or establishing their own families. In Mapholaneng, farming arable land entails two major versions:

★ Individual homestead gardens:

These are relatively small pieces of arable land which in many cases range from 0.3 to 0.5 hectares each. They are located around each homestead. They are basically used for horticultural production of vegetables such as cabbage, raddish, carrots and others produced for both household consumption and for the local market.

Visits to the different households during the questionnaire survey discovered the existence of seasonal (autumn-season) trade in vegetables between the rural households and the urban villages.

Due to the relative abundance of water and rich soils along the upper Mabunyaneng river valley and streams, the upper Mapholaneng villages of Tsieng, khukhune, Ha-Teu, Matsoiring and Tiping as a whole seem to enjoy a better production of vegetables.

As a result, extra vegetables beyond household needs are often loaded on donkeys for marketing in lower Mapholaneng where the market is relatively available. In the latter cases the market is provided by the presence of socio- financial services of schools, Red Cross Clinic, police station, bank-agency, post-office, livestock veterinary department, local court and several shops. Peach trees are found outside almost every traditional Basotho homestead for the provision of peach fruits for household consumption and for shelter from the trees against high temperatures in summer and to give some protection against cold south westerly winds during the winter season. Some households in Mapholaneng use the gardens for the production of basic food crops of maize, potatoes, peas pumpkin and beans or in other incidences practice inter-cropping by mixing the cultivation of crops with vegetables.

However, the main common problem always confronting vegetable production is drought and lack of funds to harness water from the perennial rivers and streams for irrigation.

★ The fields(*Masimo*).

Arable land also consists of the fields (masimo) used for the year to year cultivation of food crops. It is constituted by individual household fields belonging to some land owning households in the catchment. These fields are not far from the catchment settlements or homesteads. Most fields are located at distances ranging from 1 to 4 kilometres away from home settlements; along river/ stream valleys; and along hill slopes in the surrounding landscape particularly, in Tiping and Khukhune rural villages(photographs 4.4 and 5.4).



Photograph 5.3 Motete village

In the foreground erosion from overgrazing is seen. An anti-erosion measure in terms of the construction of the furrow above the fields can also be seen. Fields which spread down to the homesteads are cultivated during the spring season. The centre of the photograph shows the urban area of Motete, consisting mainly of shops, restaurants, a taxi-rank, informal markets and the tarred road passing between the village from the Lowland Region to Mokhotlong district. Homesteads are mostly modern and are basically arranged along both sides of the tarred road so as to be close to the services provided. Degradation of the surrounding landscape is seen in the background.



Photograph 5.4 Khukhune village

In the foreground, erosion is cutting through field's terraces illustrating poor land management activities in the village. The remoteness of the village in the rugged mountain landscape away from services and infrastructure is visible.

★ Communal pasture lands.

These are areas that are used for the grazing requirements of households livestock. The communal pasture land use is considered in two forms, as home areas and as cattle posts.

- i Home area pastures: These are the grazing areas that are found between the farming lands (fields) and the unbuilt areas between the village settlements. Areas that are used for grazing purposes of livestock are constituted by land forms such as hills, plateaus, slopes and the unsettled valleys within the catchment. Moreover, all of these places are also used as sources of firewood for household heating and cooking and for other domestic or cultural uses of land resources by the people. In addition, all the pastures are communally used by all people or all livestock farmers regardless of the exact settlement location or the livestock quantity and quality of the individual farmer concerned.
- ii Cattle post pastures: These are the grazing mountain areas located at distances ranging from 20-100 kilometres away from home settlements. They are often located in the remote rugged mountain areas that are relatively far from crop cultivation. According to Quinlan (1989), in Lesotho cattle-posts have historically been regarded as central institutions established for livestock management practices of farmers. Quoting his exact description of the rationale behind this livestock institution he has asserted that,

“ They are the foci of a system of range management which demands the removal of livestock from villages each summer to the open grasslands in the mountains. Cattle-posts, consist of rough stone huts and stone byres are privately owned and provide shelter for a stock owner’s herders and a place of safekeeping for livestock during the time they are kept on the mountain grasslands. Generally speaking, cattle-posts are used during the summer months and abandoned during the winter ,” (Quinlan, 1989:59).

The Sesotho names for cattle-posts are ‘*motebong* and *thabeng*’ (Mountain). Culturally among the Basotho, cattle-posts have been located at relatively higher altitudes suitable for the summer grazing of livestock. In Mapholaneng, most cattle-posts are found at

areas above 2700 metres above sea level, extending from Thaba-chitja up to beyond Letseng la trai where the altitude is 3000 m and above (Figure 3.1).

Historically, land needed for a cattle-post site was never procured through the means of any formal application procedures, as it has recently been instituted by the 1979 Land Act. As a result, livestock farmers could establish their cattle-post sites anywhere in the distant mountain areas. However, most sites for cattle -posts just like other human settlements establishment, have to a great extent, been influenced by natural factors pertaining to the availability of water, nutritious grasses and land aspect, or the sun-facing mountain slopes. Even though each individual farmer may have his own cattle-post settlement, the pastures and associated aspects of other natural vegetation including shrubs, bushes, wild trees and types of grasses needed for herding purposes by livestock-herders in the cattle posts are all shared or used communally by all livestock farmers irrespective of quality and quantity of livestock owned by each individual livestock farmer in the catchment. This communal sharing of land resources for livestock has had destructive impacts from overgrazing of the areas surrounding cattle-posts. Furthermore, communal grazing of livestock has also hindered effective breeding improvement of the livestock.

From his studies on the livestock economy in Mokhotlong, Quinlan (1989) indicates that cattle-posts have been owned and used according to the traditional Lesotho tenure in which all grazing land is communally held. Thus, historic overgrazing coupled with the recent and current changes of global warming have resulted in the currently escalating processes of pasture deterioration and degradation pervading most cattle posts areas.

However, with the application of the 1979 Land Act, formal procedural formulations for establishing cattle-posts have been instituted. For example, in 1999, a farmer requiring to establish a site for a cattle-post has to register the types and number of livestock he owns and then make official application for a cattle-post site through consulting the newly introduced government Rural Development Committee. The Act aims to correct some of the loopholes that were inherent within the former colonial land tenure system by introducing private ownership of land to provide security to ensure effective land

management, land conservation and rehabilitation. However, during the questionnaire survey of this study, the conditions of the historical communal uses of land including cattle-posts did not reflect any meaningful change to privatization of land especially in relation to the cattle posts. Furthermore, most of the cattle-posts are established at relatively high mountainous areas extending from Thaba-chitja mountain range behind Khukhune and Tiping up to places beyond the Letseng-La Trae diamond areas above 3000 metres above sea level. When the new land reform was instituted by the 1979 Land Act, it was generally thought that some of the loopholes associated with the former traditional land act would be rectified. For instance, it was generally believed that all land, including pastureland would be privatized and therefore provide assurance and security to each individual land owning family which would promote effective land management and conservation of most land holdings. However, the current study shows that the conditions under which cattle-post are used has not at all changed from traditional communal usage as open- pastures. Even though the 1979 Land Act approved and legitimized private ownership of land, it seems that no relevant structures were put in place for implementation. As a consequence, the gradual deterioration of local pastures including those at the cattle-post in Mapholaneng is on the increase and there is an urgent need to address this problem if animal husbandry is to be developed for a sustainable future of the catchment. Table 5.17 depicts the unequal distribution of arable land in Mapholaneng.

Table 5.17: Legal ownership of fields for cultivation

Total sampled h/holds	Total no of migrant and non-migrant h/holds		No & % of h/holds owning fields		no & % of h/holds with no fields		No & % of h/holds owning less than 3 fields		no & % of h/holds owning 3 fields		no & % of h/ holds owning more than 3 fields	
	M	N	M	N	M	N	M	N	M	N	M	N
64	35	29	20	19	15	10	6	8	10	5	4	6
Catchment- Total %	55%	45%	31%	30%	23	16	30	42	50	26	20	32
			39	61%	25	39%	14	22%	15	23%	10	16 %

Source: Questionnaire survey, Feb-July, 1999.

Table 5.17 shows that a comparatively equal percentage of both migrant(31%) and non-migrant(30%) households own individual fields on which crop production may be done. On the one hand, a relatively substantial percentage of migrant households (23 %) compared to only (16 %)of non-migrant households did not have any legally owned fields for cultivation. Reasons given by the respondents for this disparity in land distribution in Mapholaneng were as follows:

★ **New immigrant households:**

It is commonly alleged that some households do not own any arable land due to the fact that they are new in the area, having recently transferred from their former homes into Mapholaneng. For instance, visits into some of the villages in Mapholaneng such as in Motete, Meketeng, Mafika-lisiu, Polomiti and Majakaneng revealed that a substantial number of the households(18%) belong to recent(1980-1990's) immigrants from areas outside Mapholaneng and also from the relatively remote rural villages of upper Mapholaneng such as from Tiping, Matsoiring and Khukhune

The study shows that most of these newly established households have transferred their residential homestead into lower Mapholaneng for various socio-economic reasons such as the necessity to be closer to the contemporary infrastructure services provided in lower Mapholaneng. For example, former migrants moved so as to take advantage of the provision of public taxi and bus transport. However, most of these immigrant households (9%) indicated ownership of farming land in their original residential villages from which they came.

But for the sake of the related security needed for the crops, the concerned households claimed that crop production from such owned fields was under way; though operating under new arrangements or in partnership with the remaining relatives or friends. Nevertheless, what became clear during the questionnaire survey was that most of these immigrant households did not have any legal rights to land ownership in their new location in Mapholaneng. As discussed in relation to Table 5.17, at the time of the questionnaire survey, some households had begun purchasing portions of land for farming from the relatively incapable poor land owning households. The latter group

had recently begun taking advantage of the stipulations of the Lesotho's contemporary land tenure system which allows the sale or mortgage of individual land holding to earn cash for households subsistence requirements. But, in most cases, the fields so purchased are turned into residential sites instead of being used for crop cultivation. This is causing an agrarian transition in Mapholaneng where arable land is used for the establishment of settlement, thus further reducing the already limited land for agricultural production and placing the sustainable agricultural basis of the catchment in jeopardy. On the other hand, other immigrant have come to reside in lower Mapholaneng as a result of the attractions of a relatively available local market for participation in petty and hawker trade and in self-employment opportunities.

⊕ Historical consequences of traditional practice of inheritance:

Another group which has no land for cultivation in Mapholaneng consists of those lacking it due to inefficiencies inherent in traditional sub-divisions of family fields among the kin by way of inheritance. In this case, shortage of land has been in existence for some decades but was not so obvious among different households due to the dependence on migrant labour wages by the affected landless migrant household members. However, now that retrenchment from South African mines is forcing everybody back home, the demand for deriving basic subsistence from the cultivation of land among the people has become a major problem facing most of rural households.

Table 5.17 reveals a common tendency that migrant households seem to own less land than is the case with non-migrant households. Some non-migrant households have accumulated more farming land through prolonged land disputes or local court cases. However, as spelled out in the traditional land tenure system of Lesotho which is discussed at length in Chapter 2, three fields per household is theoretically the Basotho cultural standard of arable land allocated to each qualified land seeking households. Disparity in land distribution among different households in Mapholaneng is not only reflected in the number of fields owned by different landowners but also in terms of size and quality of soil at the disposal of each individual land farmer. Table 5.18 depicts the estimated existing differences in sizes of fields owned by different households in the catchment.

Table 5.18: Size of fields owned by different households in the catchment

M= migrant households N=Non-migrant households

Total number of s a m p l e d h/households	Total number of landowning h/hold		total number of h/hold with no fields	Total field- sizes owned (hectares)	Number of households involved		Catchment total number of households
=64	M	N	25		M %	N %	%
	20	19	M=10 N=15	0.1-0.7 ha	30	26	28
				1-4 ha	50	37	44
				Above 4 ha	20	37	28

Source: questionnaire survey data ,Feb-July, 1999.

Table 5.18 shows different field sizes owned by different land owning households in Mapholaneng. The fields can be divided broadly into three field sizes: the small, medium and comparatively large ones. Even though a larger percentage of catchment households (61%) has legal rights of owning arable land, the related land is not at all fairly distributed equally among the land owners. Three size categories of land divisions were found within the catchment and they illustrate the nature and extent of the inequality in land among different households.

★ Small fields (0.1-0.7 ha):

These may be regarded as gardens or plot size fields. As portrayed on Table 5.18, a substantial number of households (28%) own fields of this size. Reasons given for these relatively smaller fields are varied depending on the historical, cultural and contemporary issues related to land allocation in Lesotho as a whole. Firstly, most households own small fields as a result of historical land sub-divisions and the requisites of the traditional institution of inheritance. After the death of parents, family sons usually sub-divide family assets including land among themselves.

Depending on the number of the concerned family sons, obviously some are bound to have small portions of land on which to subsist. In Mapholaneng, fields which were initially large have as a consequence, been sub-divided into different private ownership

for each family son. Thus, large farms have been sub-divided into small different pieces of either equal or different sizes and distributed according to the number and ranks of the concerned households sons.

Although it is often found that in cases of inheritance, young brothers also have had to be given some shares of inherited family fields by the family elder sons or family heirs. However, direct contact with concerned households in Mapholaneng indicated that, the issue of sharing inherited households field (sub-division of fields) is one of the controversial agrarian challenges facing rural agricultural development especially with references to land tenure problems. For instance, sub-divisions or breaking down of inherited family fields into small parcels of arable lands among brothers seems to have happened only at the discretion of the concerned heir or elder son of the concerned homestead. Moreover, at present 1998-99, the conditions of households sub-division of fields among the family sons in Mapholaneng seems to be at stake .

This observation is being substantiated by many court cases where conflicts and misunderstanding between the heir and the other young brothers have often resulted with the elder son subjectively and culturally mandated giving himself the greater portion of the sub-divided fields. There are other relatively small farms that consist of poor marginal fields that are established to substitute the shortage of suitable farming land. Some of these marginal farms are on steep hill slopes and examples of these fields can be identified from photographs taken along upper Mabunyaneng valley in Tiping and Khukhune villages. In addition, shortage of farming land and the cultivation of marginal lands is being aggravated by the newly increasing desire for farming land by the former landless migrants workers who are now forced by the consequences of retrenchment to get land and replace income losses of migrant labour.

★ Medium sized fields (1–4ha):

Table 5.18 reveals that the majority of the farmers (44%) own what may be termed medium sized farms ranging from 1 to 4 hectares each. It is thus evident that the majority of households in Mapholaneng have legal rights to land for basic cultivation. However, field visits to the different sub-villages in the catchment during the questionnaire survey have revealed that individual legal right to the

ownership of farming land does not always entail effective production to create wealth, and secondly, that productive agriculture is dependent on physical conditions of soil and weather as well as on technical and socio-economic conditions of the farming system such as the availability of farming capital, ox-spans, selection of seeds, funds and knowledge to control crop diseases and the capability of the farmer to adjust methods to suit the farming conditions.

★ Large farms (Over 4 ha):

Table 5.18 shows that 28% of households in Mapholaneng own relatively larger fields for farming. In most cases, this group is mainly made of a number of chieftainship related households. In Lesotho traditionally, large fields have culturally been associated with the chieftainship institution. Customarily, these large fields belonging to the chiefs in different wards were termed, ' *Tsimo-Kholo* ', meaning large fields. These fields were worked upon for social and chieftainship production benefits of consumption. The labour provision was voluntary from male persons under the jurisdiction of the concerned chief. However, when and where voluntary labour was not available, the fields were worked by compulsory community labour. But, at present in 1999, this traditional practice of the chieftainship has lost its social significance which was historically maintained and valued. This drastic social change has come about recently since Lesotho's independence due to many historical socio-economic transformations that have currently led to its collapse in Mapholaneng catchment as well. However, in some of the villages, there are still some pockets of traditional chieftainship related households which own relatively larger fields than the majority of other households. Examples of this phenomenon are with the headmen in Motete, who has a large portion of the agricultural maitisi valley south of the village (Figure 3.1) and photographs on Motete village). Furthermore, evidence of this practice from the actual chief of Mapholaneng in Meketeng who also has a large number of fields in different parts of the catchment. However, more emphasis is placed on the larger field that lie along the lower Mabunyaneng river, just below the Mapholaneng high School. This particular field owned by the chief, besides it being large, it is located on rich loam sandy soils and positioned in a prime, moist part of the river valley.

The questionnaire survey found that the field is cultivated on the basis of being rented to other capable households for cash and that rural conditions are so pressing that even the traditionally rich social group such as that of the chieftainship, is also compelled by forces beyond its control to rent its resources of land to earn cash for subsistence. This is also an agricultural that ownership of any fertile large and moist farm does not always entail productive usage of such a land by the owning farmer. Constrains of agricultural capital, funds, credit and agricultural equipment hamper many rural households from making fruitful use of the fields they legally own. In fact even though a number of different households have access to either small, medium or large fields, participant observation in Mapholaneng has shown that it is not the size nor the ownership rights to land that determines the productivity of the land for farming but also accessibility to other factors of production and the methods used in farming activities of the households.

★ Implementation of the 1979 Land Act.

Another factor that has recently contributed to the increasing disparity in farming practices between different households in Mapholaneng has been the implementation of the 1979 Land Act. By giving security rights over the traditionally owned farms, it has provided the medium by which the relatively rich farmers may further increase their land holding through purchases of land belonging.

Land for purchasing is basically from those who are not capable of making their land productive and who may become divorced from their original farms, although providing at the same time, a temporary relief to the poorer land-owning possessing households through the sale of their asset. In many cases, portions of farms have been sold for cash in order to procure children's school fees or to perform cultural feasts and rituals such as burials, yet in some situations land was sold to get cash for basic subsistence the of households. In Mapholaneng the practice of purchasing land is also realized among the ex-migrant workers and rich non-migrant farmers.

Direct observation in Motete and Meketeng villages found that a substantial number of fields were bought locally with migrant wages and have been used for either purposes

of farming or the establishment of the residential home. However, visits to different households in Mapholaneng has shown that it is not every body who has a field who produces from it, but that in Mapholaneng, a substantial number of landless peasants do get opportunity to cultivate land and produce both crops for either household consumption or for a limited local marketing. Agricultural constraints for cultivation compel many landless peasant farmers or relatively poor land owning farmer to enter into arrangements with others for the fruitful usage of their fields. In Mapholaneng such farming relationships exist in the form of share-cropping and renting of farming land among the households. Table 5.19 is a reflection of these changes in the rural cultivation of fields.

Table 5.19: Conditions of using fields for cultivation in Mapholaneng

Total number of sampled Catchment h/holds=64	Total % of land owning h/holds		Total number of landless households		% of h/holds cultivating fields frequently		% of h/holds cultivating their field through share- cropping		% of h/holds renting out their fields		% of h/holds owning land & renting extra land		% of landless h/holds but rent: land from others.	
	M	N	M	N	M	N	M	N	M	N	M	N	M	N
	20	19	10	15	45	58	25	37	30	16	20	26	25	16
Catchment %	0	61	0	39	0	31	0	17	0	14	0	14	0	13

Source: Questionnaire Survey, March-July 1999

Without cattle to constitute the ox-span and lack of cash to purchase the plough and related ploughing equipment, lack of proper or well selected seeds and also lack of suitable/ knowledgeable manpower especially among the widowed household are factors that make most rural households vulnerable to external arrangements entailing share-cropping or renting of their own fields.

Based on Table 5.19, out of a total of 39 households (61%) of all land owning households throughout the catchment only 20 (31%) are found to be cultivating their fields independently on regular yearly basis. The majority of arable farmers have had their fields or part of them either lying fallow for a certain number of years or rented to

other households capable of providing the always required cash to maintain the subsistence of households. Table indicates that 17% and 14% of all land possessing households are not capable of farming independently, except by means of either share-cropping or renting out their own fields, respectfully.

Discussion with the respondents revealed that a substantial number of arable land farmers lack the necessary prerequisites for productive farming. As shown under section 5.7 of this chapter, a relatively large number of households do not own cattle any more as a basic capital good for rural practice of cultivation. Without access to any ox-span or capability to hire one or a tractor, it is rather impossible for households to attempt any cultivation activities.

However, this study of conditions of arable farming in Mapholaneng shows some of the newly improvised agricultural trends in rural agriculture. Firstly, a new agricultural situation has emerged in which farming land has become a commodity for a local market of renting in particular. This practice has since the 1990's become one of the major ways by which some of the land owning households have made it possible to procure themselves the cash needed for day to day requirements. Secondly, a substantial number of the landless mostly former migrant labourers (30%) are currently seen renting land for farming purposes from the land-owning households.

Moreover, it was evident from the study in the villages in Mapholaneng that the historical use of migrant labour wages and the current retrenchment packages from the mines of South Africa have, and continue to play a leading role in both the purchases and renting of land from those who own it so as an endeavour to replace the historical cash income losses of retrenchment. Thirdly, due to social differentiation existing among rural communities, rich farmers who either originally did not own any land or who already owned some land, have rented extra fields from others. Thus, the study of Mapholaneng agrarian conditions reveals a possibility of surplus production by some farmers, hence a realization of available potential for rural capital accumulation in the catchment which is a pre-requisites of any meaningful rural development starting point.

In addition, and as discussed, under size and soil conditions of households in Mapholaneng; size and soil conditions of fields from different households differ; and consequently, farm yields between different households also vary substantially.

5.8.1 Farm size and yields/output

Figures in terms of total annual crop yields that have accrued to individual crop farmers through historic times could not be relied upon for a meaningful analysis of rural crop production in Mapholaneng. This is because, most farmers do not keep records of their farming activities including both quantities or quality of their output or input factors. Even where it was clear that a substantial amount of crop yield had been produced, the farmers did not want their exact farm out-puts to be known. However, it became clear that in general, farm yields have declined regardless of size of fields. A certain number of respondents indicated continual historical decline in their farm yields. For example, from a field size of 3 hectares, grown with maize in 1984 and from which a total of 15 x 80 kg bags of maize grain was harvested, in 1998, the same field produced only 6 x 80 kg bags of maize, indicating a decline of 9 x 80 kg bags of maize over a period of 14 years. Crop output from small farms (0.1 - 0.7 ha) also seemed to have changed for the worse. Several households indicated harvested farm yields that could not be quantified in 80 kg any more but instead in rather smaller quantities measurable in 25 kg tins. In some of them, it was not the size that influenced low yields but the socio-economic conditions under which individual cultivation among households is practised. Moreover, evidence of low farm yields currently accruing to most households is proved by the frequency at which regular purchases of maize meal for the day to day consumption of the households is done in the surrounding stores in the catchment. However, to some households, the required cash for purchasing basic maize meal for household survival has become a major problem. As a result, those who own livestock are seen to be selling it on a regular basis so as to earn cash to purchase basic maize meal for households subsistence. A major overriding agricultural problem confronting both poor and relatively rich farmers alike is the dependence of rural farming in Mapholaneng on favourable weather conditions of precipitation and temperature

5.8.2 The influence of labour migration on crop yields

Even though it became apparent during the questionnaire survey, that some migrant households had invested their wages into crop farming either by purchases of seeds, draught animals, farming tools including iron-ploughs and other related farming equipment, the decline in farm yields over the years among some of the migrant households is associated with the absence of migrant workers over many years. In the rural areas, especially where traditional cultural practices are still relatively a norm of social life, any long term absence of men from the homestead seems to have historically been a great blow or a disadvantage to the development of the socio-economic performance of households, including in agriculture.

The following conditions were given by the respondents to relate the ways by which agriculture is undertaken in Mapholaneng with particular emphasis on the related effects of the historical labour migration to the mines on crop yields among different former migrant households.

★ Insecurity of the household,

In most homesteads visited, the absence of the father from the homestead is always associated with the whole issue of the insecurity of the household and its property. This is because in the present changing conditions of rural life, some of the social problems of robbery, crime, house-breaking, rape and stock-theft have gradually pervaded communities to the extent that people in most villages no longer trust each other and also don't feel safe in the absence of a mature male household's head, whose presence is mostly conceptualised as the provision of household protection and relaxation of members. This insecurity is particularly felt among the widowed households especially when their crops are regularly damaged by animals or are stolen at night by neighbours. The study shows that the absence of male migrants has, to some extent been associated with the historical decline in households farm yields. According to the information obtained in Mapholaneng, some of the migrant households have had their farm yields declining as a result of the long absence of relatively skilled and capable household members.

★ Delayed household decision-making activities

Data collected points to the claims made by some of the respondents that the

absence of household heads has been a detrimental factor that among other things inhibiting household development by the delayed final decisions regarding plans and policies of the households. It is said that most of these had to be made by the household head in the mines and whose decisions had to be waited for especially with regard to livestock and crop cultivation activities. Decisions about what crop to be planted? And to the fields different crops were to be planted all were determined by the absent migrant worker. In most cases due to delays and complications in the postal services between the mines and home, delays were associated with the declining of some households farming practices and to poor harvests.

Data collected also revealed that in some circumstances, the absence of men led to conflicts between members of different age-groups. It was during the survey that cases were identified among some migrant households where the long absence of men from home have had a bearing on the misunderstanding between the three household social groups, the children, grandparents and the women. In most of these cases, conflicts had resulted from different perceptions by these different groups regarding household decision making activities during the long migrant absence of the father.

✧ old parents

Although this group is considered knowledgeable in the traditional production activities of the households they have become physically incapable of performing farming activities themselves except by way of providing advice and guidance and which in most cases faces opposition and criticism from both children and the women regarding the ways by which households farming should be organized.

✧ Women

Although traditionally women have also been as agriculturally capable and semi-skilled as most men, they have never been culturally allowed to deal with cattle, which have historically been regarded only as the preserve of men. As a result of these cultural underpinnings, women have been inhibited from displaying their agricultural skills, and only since recently with emphasis shifting to a cash economy system, have women been exposed to dealing with cattle, such as payments for ploughing.

Field visits to the different parts of the villages showed that a certain number of women from the catchment have had to abandon their families as a result of the long absence of husbands, coupled with increased criticisms from children, and in-laws. Moreover, cases of divorce resulting from these households conflicts were also identified in some of the researched villages in Mapholaneng.

★ Boys

In most migrant households, herd boys have historically formed a significant component of household's agricultural labour power. However, herd boys have also lacked training in agricultural activities and methods except farming experiences and basic farming procedures collected through either observation or from on-job informal practices with the elders. With such lack of training in modern methods of farming by this young farm labour, it is alleged that herd boys who often constitute the larger part of the household's labour force, would just scratch the upper part of soil during ploughing, so as to finish the work quickly without consideration of the quality of cultivation for an increased harvest. Frequent ploughing of households fields in the poor farming methods of herd boys is believed to have led to losses of top soil from the fields and to the subsequent decline in yields.

The attendance of school by boys from some of the migrant households in Mapholaneng seemed to have been hampered by the practice of labour migration of male parents such as a father and elder brothers. For instance, in some of these cases, the absence of elderly members of households from looking after the material wealth of the households livestock or crop-production had compelled many boys from migrant households to drop out from schooling to replace the absent parents duties.

The problem of illiteracy of some households livestock herders in respect to agricultural improvements is associated with their failure to participate or improvise in carrying out government policies and programmes related to the conservation of land resources of agriculture. Although, the degree of erosion and degradation in fields belonging to the different households in the catchment, are at the varying levels, the relationship between degradation and declined yields that may be associated with the absence of

the male labour force from the migrant households is controversial. A deeper assessment of degradation of each of the fields belonging to both migrant and non-migrant households alike, would obviously need to be made, before any meaningful conclusion could be reached.

Statistics relating to the procured farm yields by different migrant and non-migrant households would also need to be monitored before changing trends between the fields of these two social groups, the migrant households and the non-migrant households could be established. However, it is also debatable whether, a complete non-migration to the mines of these former or ex-migrant households would have encouraged them to have learned new methods and taken precautions and agricultural awareness that are currently required worldwide for the transformation of traditional subsistence agriculture. Would they have attended agricultural workshops and agricultural demonstrations administered locally within the catchment by the agricultural extension services of the Ministry of agriculture, aimed at helping rural farmers improve their agricultural practices for increased output. One can only speculate.

5.9 Households accessibility to farming technology

Farming technology in the form of both tools, techniques and machinery that are employed to facilitate and expedite agricultural production is necessary for any successful agricultural undertakings. Study in Mapholaneng indicates that farming technology has consistently remained low, at the basic level of farming tools and methods such as the use of ox-spans and ploughs and to some extent a limited use of fertilizers by some more prosperous farmers.

Table 5.20: Farming technology conditions of the households

Total sampled urban h/holds	% with an ox-span		% with a plough		% using traditional seeds		% using commerc ial seeds		% applying fertilizer & manure		% hiring farm - labour		% using communal labour		% using tractors		% with subsidy	
	M	N	M	N	M	N	M	N	M	N	M	N	M	N	M	N	M	N
Urban h/holds 40	6	5	23	11	14	19	9	6	9	5	13	5	3	8	8	3	-	3
Rural h/holds 24	6	3	14	9	14	19	5	3	-	-	8	5	6	13	2	2	-	-
catchment total	20		56		66		23		14		30		30		14		3	

Source: Questionnaire Survey, Feb-April 1999.

5.9.1 Ox-spans (4 or more head of cattle)

Four or more cattle are needed as an ox-span to pull a plough. Ox-spans of 2 head of cattle are common in other rural productive activities for pulling sledges carrying grain, pulling of bundles of wood or trees for firewood or thatch for thatching of roofs. Households with a relatively larger number of cattle are at liberty to make up more than one ox-span to facilitate quicker ploughing of their fields. The capability to form more than ox-span also has added advantages to the owner. Extra ox-spans can be rented to other households to earn cash for the household's requirements for development. Thus, an ox-span forms a basic prerequisite for rural crop production especially where the use of farming technology such as a tractor is not applicable. This may be due to the rugged nature of the landscape on which farming fields are located in some of the case study villages in Mapholaneng catchment. Similarly where farms consist of small patches, it is not suitable to employ the use of tractors or harvesting machines. In Mapholaneng, at present (1999), a relatively small percentage of households own ox-spans (20%).

Data obtained during the questionnaire survey relating to the decline in cattle ownership provides historical causes that have led to the current general decrease in livestock farming in the catchment as a whole, hence to the decline in ox-spans. It is

observed that even though many former or ex-migrants bought many cattle during their working times in the mines, at present (1999-2000) most of the ex-migrant households have either less cattle for an ox-span or do now not own any cattle at all. Some of the factors behind this decline especially among the migrant households are asserted to include the following:

- i The long absence of migrants in the mines influenced a relatively higher rate of theft of their livestock resulting from the related insecurity of the livestock in the absence of adult household males;
- ii famine resulting from lack of poor pastures and lack of supplementary feeding particularly in winter when coupled with severe cold;
- iii livestock diseases and the reluctance and ignorance of livestock owners in general to provide livestock with medical care;
- iv recent (1990's) sale of cattle to avoid more losses through theft.

However, even though these reasons did not apply exclusively to migrant households, non-migrant conditions seem to have not been so bad as for those who have historically been away from their properties and livestock.

5.9.2 Ploughs

A study of the agricultural history of the catchment in Mapholaneng shows that since the early 19th century, the use of a plough had become an indispensable ingredient of any meaningful rural cultivation, so that each farming household had to purchase them as a means of contribute to the development of farm production. Table 5.6 indicates that at present (1999-2000), more than half of the total catchment households (56%) possess an iron plough. Participant observation among some of the households showed that even in those households which do not have cattle or an ox-span any more, some equipment and ploughs were still available. Some respondents went further to indicate their recent sale of the household's ploughing equipment to get cash for other pressing household needs. The number of households with ploughs seems to have mostly been with the migrant households in both urban and rural villages,

indicative of the contribution of migrant wages in advancing rural agriculture. As shown in Table 5.6, a larger percentage of households owning ploughs was found among the migrant households (23% 14 %) ; than with the non-migrant households,(11%+9%). This disparity between the migrants and non-migrant households is historical in the catchment. Reasons gained from the discussion with some of the ex-migrant respondents indicated that purchasing a plough was one of the basic reasons for labour migration to the mines in South Africa and buying a plough was among the first priorities in the use of migrant wages among many migrant households.

The social value placed on the possession a plough today is reflected by those households which do not any more possess cattle at all, but still keep several ploughs that are now unused. However, in some instances, the possession of a plough is an added advantage for the family possessing it, as an entrance into share-cropping partnership with other households that own ox-spans instead. For example, out of 11% households involved in share-cropping arrangements as reflected in Table 5.5, some 4% of them enter into share-cropping arrangements on the basis of the plough they have in relation to those who have recently bought cattle with retrenchment packages but have been unable to purchase plough equipment.

5.9.3. seeds

The quality of seeds used in crop production is of great significance for successful farm production. If the seeds used for crop production are not of good quality or not suitable to the type of soil in which such seeds are planted, it is logical to doubt the resultant yields in such a set up. Study undertaken in Mapholaneng showed that farmers basically use two sources of seeds for cultivation

★ Traditional seeds

These are described as seeds selected either from the household's previous year harvest or seeds exchanged with other crop-farmers either locally or from distant friends. After every harvest, it is customary to begin selecting grain to be kept aside as seeds for the next planting season. Quality measured by the degree of complete ripeness of the grain is made by household elders who are well

experienced with traditional farming conditions. Where there is a shortage of a particular type of grain seed, arrangements are made concerning the type and quantity of seeds needed with those who possess the required grain for the purposes of exchanges for other types of grain seeds or for money as is the case more often now.

Although, these practices have been reliable sources for cultivation over the past decades, they have not been without associated agricultural drawbacks.

- i The quality of the seeds under these traditional sources is not always effective for the best productivity and is related to the methods by which such seeds are firstly, thrashed on the ground which increases the chances of mixing the seeds with soil, stones and other impurities from the ground
- ii Secondly, the traditional storage for grain in bags and keeping it on the soil smeared house floors makes the stored grain vulnerable to damage due to moisture, insects, mice and fungus.

★ Commercial seeds

Commercial seeds are sold in some of the shops and from the government agricultural department. These seeds are normally pre-treated against crop diseases and in most cases are hybrid seeds that are associated with high yields.

As Table 5.6 indicates, only 23% of all the farming households use commercial seeds, particularly because they require cash to purchase. It is unfortunate that most farmers in Mapholaneng still bank on the selection of the seed from their previous harvest, because during poor harvest years, there is no source for the provision of seeds and this is one of the major factors contributing to the situation whereby some of the catchment fields lie fallow in some years due to lack of seeds for cultivation. This phenomenon is even worse in cases where there is no wage labour or any source of cash for the households to buy the seeds during the planting season. However, even though commercial seeds are bought in times of general shortages of traditional seeds, they are basically disliked especially by traditional farmers. In some cases, commercial seeds have failed to produce

The anticipated production compared with the traditional seeds. For instance, traditional seeds of wheat grain have for decades been associated with tall straws required as thatching materials for traditional houses/huts. But, the wheat seeds bought from the shops or from government seed markets is said to produce short straw which it is not suitable for the production of the required thatch material. However, for those household in transition to urban types of houses not requiring the use of traditional materials of wheat straw, the commercial seeds are preferred. This change is becoming more common among both the relatively literate and migrant households.

It is also among these groups that modern houses are more common than with other groups. However, the substantial number of non-migrants (9%) using the commercial seeds seems a recent 1990's practice resulting from the related government initiated local workshops and village level agricultural demonstrations. Even though new changes are not easily accepted by conservative farmers, visits to different villages showed a slight increase in peoples participation in community meetings on agricultural modernisation in general. The fact that most of the new commercial seeds are found to be taking a relatively shorter season to ripen than the traditional crops, was a motivation especially to the relatively poor farmers wanting a quick relief from hunger during the growing season.

A process by which information is shared and allowed to diffuse through the social framework in their communities is seen to be growing at varying levels between the villages. While most community meetings called in lower Mapholaneng were relatively well attended, in the Khukhune rural village, the people were found unwilling to attend a pitso general public meeting called by their headmen. All people were notified five days in advance to assemble at the village court place on a particular day and time. The headman kept on reminding the people each day shouting aloud every morning before the actual day scheduled for the meeting. However, out of a total population of 40 households, only 14 came and even then, very late. This became an indication that in some rural areas, the majority of the peoples are still relatively hostile and resistant to change.

5.9.4 The employment of hired farm labour

The employment of external farm labour depends on the level of material wealth of the hiring farmer and in Mapholaneng seems to be historical among some households. Labour was hired for the purposes of looking after livestock and for performing other crop-farming activities including ploughing, weeding, hoeing and harvesting of grain from the fields. The fieldwork survey results reveal that through historic times, farm employed labour was paid in either livestock or in grain depending on the activity in which the hired labour was involved. However, with the growing prevalence of the use of money in payment transactions agricultural labour are now also paid in money.

The current study of farm employment conditions in Mapholaneng are portrayed in Table 5.6. It shows in 1999, 30% of all households were hiring outside labour for farming purposes. Discussions with the respondents have indicated that the majority of the hired labour is basically concerned with livestock and ploughing activities of rural agriculture and in most cases, seasonal, with relatively more labour being required during the ploughing and harvesting seasons.

The method of payment is in both money terms, grain and in live-livestock. Whereas cash payments are immediate after the completion of the concerned work, the other forms of payments are long-term. For example, where farm labour is to be paid in grain, this implies that such payment would be forth coming after the harvest of the related crops for which labour has been hired.

In this case, payment in kind especially in grain is being rapidly replaced by payments in cash, the latter method has recently received preference over other forms, for the reason that money can serve immediate family needs. Preference of payment in money has even pervaded to the livestock herders who now prefer to receive money rather than livestock.

This factor has also contributed to the current continuing decline in livestock farming in many rural communities. In other words, recent sources of cash-income, including petty-commodity production and migrant labour have to some extent led to the escalating lack

of interest in livestock farming among an increasing number of households. Moreover, the prevalence of payment in money terms has also been pervaded further by the modern sectors of the economy such as shops, household domestic duties, government and non-government work establishments, including schools and the red cross clinic.

As table 5.6 shows, it is among the migrant households that a slightly greater number of households hire outside labour for general household farming activities. This is found to be the result of the long absence of adults males or heads of households in the mines. Some migrant households do hire outside labour to provide schooling opportunities for the household's male children who in some other migrant households usually fail to attend or have to drop schooling to attend to households demands for agricultural production. However, within the rural villages of Tiping and Khukhune farming payments made in both grain and livestock are found to be more common than it is with the urban villages. This explains the relative larger number of households still possessing livestock among these rural areas than with the urban villages in Motete and Meketeng.

5.9.5 Community labour work-groups (*matsema*)

The use of community work groups in doing any major work among rural communities has historically been highly valued as an indication of social cohesion among households living together and sharing the same human-physical environment. It is a practice that reflects the cultural homogeneity of rural households in sharing both resources and productive work.

Discussion with relatively older people from the catchment, revealed that communal work was an integral tradition among the Basotho up until the 1980's when people began to loose interest as a culmination of the need for paid work. Historically, communal work consisted of community assistance in major households tasks for subsistence including weeding, ploughing, building of livestock kraals, sharing of small stock wool and mohair, cutting of trees gathering of firewood and others. In all cases, households helped freely without expecting any payment in return. However the host household would obviously be forced to arrange the provision of food.

Table 5.20 shows that 30% of households in Mapholaneng still embark on the organization of communal work for their household farming tasks. Visits to different households in which the practice is still relatively common, showed that the hosting households would normally decide on the day on which the communal work would be performed, then invitations would be made in advance to the neighbours for assistance. Depending on the type of work concerned, each participating household would in turn contribute the related tools, and labour-time required. However, as reflected on Table 5.20, the prevalence of community communal work in Mapholaneng seems to be still relatively common among the non-migrant households than it is among the migrant households. This is found to be the repercussions of increased significance placed on the value of money in all transactions among people.

5.9.6 Application of fertilizers and manure

Although these two concepts are rather similar in general function for enriching the soil, importance relegated to each is very different among the farmers. As reflected on Table 5.20, the application of fertilizers or manure is practised by only a relatively smaller number of households (20%). Cow-dung which is available to most livestock rearing farmers has never been effectively used to enrich the soil but is used instead as a household source material for burning, in place of scarce firewood. Use of some commercial fertilizers seems to be only a practice of the prosperous farmers which are capable of incurring the purchasing costs. However, the majority of crop farmers interviewed from the case study villages showed a negative attitude to the use of these agricultural chemicals for increased productivity.

Reasons advanced for this dislike included the following assertions by a number of peasant farmers:

- i Since most of the fields in Mapholaneng contain relatively black-loam soils culminating from the weathering of the basaltic rocks, some farmers maintained that their fields did not require any additions of fertilizer.
- ii In some other cases, farmers did not have any trust in a general application of fertilizers into farming systems, stemming from their historical fear that most

commercial fertilizers contain more acidity which in the long term may inhibit crop productivity.

- iii Commercial fertilizers are not obtained freely like the kraal manure, so even to those who would like applying fertilizers in their fields lack the required disposable income as a limiting factor.

5.9.7 Accessibility to government subsidy

The concept of an agricultural production subsidy refers to farming practices where costs of production are compensated through the intervention of the State. In the early 1990's the Government of Lesotho provided tractors to help rural farmers with ploughing activities and even though each farmer had to pay depending on the size of the field, the costs were highly reduced, by an indirect government subsidy to the rural farmers. However, since the tractors could only be hired by the relatively better off households, it is doubtful if the intended purpose and benefits did reach the rural poor to make the best use of their lands.

The perception of the rural poor is that, instead of the government helping the farmers solve some of the farming problems, it is the government itself that benefits by taking away from the peasants in the form of prices, taxes and levies. Table 5.20 shows, that it is only a small number of households(6 %) who get one or another form of assistance from the State for advancing individual agricultural pursuits of households. In Mapholaneng, this group is consistent with the rich capitalist farmers who are capable of procuring land or credits from the State financial institutions for the purpose of improving household agricultural production. In some cases, these farmers are assisted in the purchases of hybrid seeds, fertilizers and technological improvements through loans from the former Lesotho National Bank and Agric Banks and for the purchase of tractors which are rented in the catchment and subsidized by the State in the purchases of improved livestock for breeding.

CHAPTER SIX

6. CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF MAPHOLANENG

The system of migrant labour from Mapholaneng to the mines of South Africa has been in operation for the past three decades(1970-2000). On the one hand, the system has been a life blood to 60 percent of the households providing income for subsistence (Matlosa,1996; Molefi,1991; Cobbe and Bardill,1994). On the other hand, it has been a disaster to both individual migrant households and to the catchment as a whole as it led to the decline of socio- economic and cultural activities in agriculture, traditional rituals, norms and family break-ups.

The intention of this study was to examine the historical effects of the migrant labour system and to identify future viable ways to uplift rural development in Mapholaneng. To achieve these goals, households in five case study villages were sampled and surveyed using a comprehensive questionnaire to obtain data for a deeper analysis of the dynamic influences of the migrant labour system on the living conditions of households in the catchment. This chapter summarizes the main findings of the study and also looks into possible future alternative solutions to the rural problems associated with the historical practice of labour migration to the South African mines.

Data obtained from the case study villages indicates that the migrant system has spread urban and capitalist influences into the remote areas of Mapholaneng, impacting both positively and negatively on the traditions, cultural, social and economic structures of the catchment. Study findings show that the use of money(cash) was first pervaded by the migrant labour system and this has led to destruction of the traditional social harmony and solidarity among rural households. The example of this change is obvious in the livestock economy of the rural households whereby before the advent of labour migration, payments for services rendered such as livestock herding were done basically in kind with livestock or in grain. These conditions maintained family-kinships intact until they were disturbed by the migrant labour system which introduced money transactions. The latter is found to have led to social conflicts, mistrust and individualist perspectives among people.

The significance of money in modern life has also discouraged effective participation of labour in community development initiatives such as in soil-conservation projects and other social and cultural functions which historically were based on unpaid and voluntary labour contributions of community members. Even though the introduction of money is found to have been detrimental to other aspects of rural life, in some cases, it is found to have made rural life easier by promoting local and regional trade in goods and services.

The migrant labour system has stifled and disarticulated rural relations of production between different social groups. Traditional working relations between chiefs and their subjects, between parents and their migrant sons and between husbands and wives, have been negatively affected by the long practice of labour migration to the mines in South Africa. The study has also revealed that a substantial number of catchment workforce has either died or been physically disabled due to mine accidents related to rock-falls, explosives and other dangerous effects of the mining environments.

Purchases of livestock by migrant workers during the 1970's and 1980's contributed to the soil-erosion and land degradation problems commonly seen throughout the catchment, resulting from overgrazing. These negative effects on land have led to decline in agricultural yields. But, with the realization that at the present 2000, the historical large herds of livestock kept by farmers have dramatically been reduced by factors of death, sale and theft, it may be expected that the already over grazed and degraded pastures will naturally rehabilitate themselves. However, this speculation would be fruitless unless both the people and the national government implement appropriate land rehabilitation policies throughout the catchment.

The study of relationships between labour migration and formal education has shown that the migrant labour system has left a legacy of illiteracy in the catchment. Some of the catchment's male youth dropped out from school or never attended school due to the fact that they had to replace their absent fathers or brothers in the mines for undertaking their roles especially in agriculture. Another reason behind illiteracy has been a historical vision

for future work in the mines which was seen not to depend on any basis in literacy.

With the present on-going process of labour retrenchment from the mines, coupled with the declining recruitment of a novice work force, many rural households who had banked on mine employment are found to be in jeopardy for life. In fact, the study has already discovered that the retrenched households are facing problems relating to finding sustainable income for households.

Findings on households sizes indicate that households are generally large with four or more members. This household size has a policy implication for family planning programs and identification of viable opportunities for local employment and income generation to replace losses of migrant labour remittances. The study has indicated that investments were made with the use of migrant wages by some of the ex-migrant workers. These have included purchases of agricultural technology such as tractors, improved seeds and improved breeding of livestock. The sustainable maintenance of these items for the future of the households is crucial.

The study of land distribution in Mapholaneng revealed that farming land is not equitably shared between the households. Whereas some households have several fields, others have none and are landless. This issue is found to be of utmost significance requiring urgent attention by land authorities such as chiefs and village development committees in the catchment so as to provide a means for survival to the people through farming, especially to address unemployment that is being exacerbated by the retrenchment from the mines of South Africa.

6.1 Future development of Mapholaneng

Any development strategy needs to take account of past and present conditions. The preceding chapters of this study have provided the background which has given rise to the present conditions of existence among different households.

The study has revealed widespread environmental degradation of land forms in the

catchment due to both physical ecological and anthropogenic factors. In order to bring about development, the problems of degraded bare hills and gullies need to be addressed and areas restored to promote the re-growth of indigenous flora of grass, bushes and trees for both animal and human uses.

Mapholaneng is located in the proximity of three perennial rivers, namely the Seate, Mabunyaneng and Khubelu which could be harnessed for sustainable use including aquaculture of appropriate fish, irrigation and generation of hydro-electric power. However, due to lack of appropriate skills and resources of funds for the required equipment, these opportunities are not at present exploited for sustainable economic benefits of the catchment. Even though livestock production has dramatically declined in the catchment, those remaining could be improved by pasture rehabilitation and better breeding for increased future income to the households.

People are considered essential development resources. It is the people who may initiate and trigger development or who may destroy and distort improvements. This study has shown that Mapholaneng is well provided in human resources. Tables(5.3 and 5.4) have indicated that the catchment has adequate people in the economically active working age-groups which should be an advantage for development activities but whom require employment and participation in productive activities for development. But for people to be involved in development, there is a need that they are trained and educated in the relevant skills and knowledge. The Mapholaneng labour force does not have many of these prerequisites for meaningful contributions to development. Even though 75% of the households have members who have gone through schooling, they only have basic primary and secondary education which are mainly theoretical learning devoid of practical skills and knowledge to initiate full utilization of local resources in the catchment. Another related human resources factor revealed by this study, is the dominance of female potential labour power. This predominance of females should encourage pursuing women empowerment through involvement in rural decision making, education and training in rural skills pertaining to issues of health, family planning and economic initiatives so that women may become partners with men and contribute effectively to rural development.

Mapholaneng is a village in transition, changing from traditional life to modern urbanized life, but the old people found in the catchment still possess the necessary traditional indigenous skills and knowledge that are related to the exploitation of some of the local resources. For instance, the study has shown that some people still have knowledge on how to use stones, trees, mud and grass for constructing shelters. Grasses such as *moseha* and *motolo* can still be used for producing household decorating of walls and for seating mats.

In addition, visits to a number of households during the questionnaire survey showed that people still have knowledge for manufacturing local clothing and other household materials such as sun-hats, brooms and grain-containers. It is suggested that if these traditional skills are promoted, they could be of help in promoting eco-tourism, which would enhance development of the rural catchment in Mapholaneng. However, the success of this will depend on the restoration of the surrounding pastures from which these local raw materials may be harvested.

Ex-migrants from the urban mining areas of South Africa and urban areas in Lesotho, possess some basic skills in modern economic sectors such as in business enterprises, tailoring, electronics, furniture, brick-manufacturing, and in other self-employment productive activities. However, a major drawback facing a meaningful development of these activities is the lack of capital to establish fully fledged productive enterprises.

6.2 Limitations and future research

Many opportunities exist for further research to be done in Mapholaneng Catchment and the following are some that stem from this study.

- ✪ The issuing and overall administration of the migrant labour retrenchment packages needs further research to provide a full assessment in relation to sustainable future development of migrant households.
- ✪ It needs to be found out how many migrant workers from Lesotho as a whole have opted for permanent residence in South Africa. Such findings may help determine and estimate the capacity needed for job creation in Lesotho as a whole.

- ✧ A thorough analysis of the repertoire of technical skills and knowledge procured from the long involvement in labour migration needs to be made and related to appropriate local work places so as to reveal their full potential for rural development.
- ✧ Some of the essential variables of this study were indirectly embedded in the traditional rituals of the households and as a result, it has not been possible to investigate them fully. Examples of these are the traditional institutions of initiation and traditional healing. These and other customary Basotho rituals have historically played decisive roles in the day to day living conditions of both migrant and non-migrant economic and cultural nexus of households. A deeper analysis of income earned and spend in them, would have perhaps high lightened their significance in future rural development initiatives of the catchment.
- ✧ Illiteracy and a lack of basic book keeping or recording data among rural peasant farmers has also devoid this dissertation of basic individual household historical statistics on income and expenditure, which would help in providing a basis for future planning in the catchment.

6.3 Recommendations and suggestions for rural development

- ✧ Rural households in Mapholaneng need to take advantage of the availability local resources such as wool and mohair raw-materials to start appropriate small industries so as to provide local markets and employment. The catchment needs to initiate animal and leather-work based economic activities using local livestock resources of sheep, goats and cattle. But even though these are some of the possible options to uplift rural life for households, their successful implementation will largely depend on the provision of funds and training in relevant skills and know-how. Such initiatives in basic livestock related rural industries could help reduce unemployment and raise the quality of lives of many households in the catchments villages.
- ✧ Rural communities in Mapholaneng need to mobilize the prevailing communal ownership of institutions of land resources so to co-ordinate and formulate rural community development projects such as harnessing of water from the perennial Khubelu and Mapholaneng / Mabunyaneng Rivers for the purposes of irrigation, fishing and cement-block making and the construction of small dams to hold both

summer and winter precipitation for various socio-economic uses.

Both of these practices may help reduce the negative effects of dry-land agriculture which is traditional to the catchment and which limits agricultural development, and is a major cause of the escalating famine within the rural areas. Even though the socio-economically differentiated nature of rural farmers may impede cooperation, if shared rural decision-making can be initiated and promoted to focus on sustainable development, increased rural production could be realized.

- ★ The development of communal productive institutions could also be expanded into land rehabilitation and conservation programs to improve the degraded grazing and cultivated lands.
- ★ There is a need to mobilize funds to initiate stone-quarrying and other related works so as to create the demand, markets and employment opportunities in stone digging, shaping and distribution for stone houses and kraal building local industries.
- ★ A need for initiating self-employment in related local productive projects in cement-block making and other river resources such as fishing is essential.
- ★ Investment in local resources is required in conjunction with enhancing education and training in relevant knowledge, skills and technological adaptation to rural development requirements.
- ★ Technical and vocational education is essential to take advantage of the catchment's youth and to prepare them for full participation in the sustainable exploitation of local resources. This should curb future rural-urban migration, which otherwise may continue to deprive the catchment of its young and innovative labour force as the migrant labour system to South Africa has done in the past.

—oo0oo—

REFERENCES

- Ake, C. 1981: *A Political Economy of Africa*, Nigeria, Longman Ltd.
- Ambrose, D. 1976: *The Guide to Lesotho*, Johannesburg, Winchester Press.
- Amin, S. 1973: Underdevelopment and dependence on black Africa: origins and Contemporary forms, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Volume 10, No. 4.
- Arrighi, G. 1973: Labour supplies in historical perspectives: A study of the proletarianization of the African peasantry in Rhodesia, *Journal Of Development Studies*, No.3
- Ashton, S. 1952: *The Basotho*, London, Oxford University Press.
- Banghart, P.D. 1970: The effects of migrant labour on the social structure of the Bantu Homelands, *Migrant Labour and Church Involvement*, Umpumulo, Missiological Institute.
- Baran, P. 1957: *The Political Economy of Growth*, New York, Monthly Review Press.
- Bardill, J.E. & Cobbe, J. 1985: *Lesotho: Dilemmas of Dependence in Southern Africa* Great Britain, Gower Publishing Company Ltd.
- Beinart, W. 1982: *The political economy of Pondoland, 1860-1930*, London, Cambridge Overseas Press.
- Binder, M. 1998: Family Background, Gender and Schooling in Mexico, *Journal of Development Studies* Volume 35, No.2
- Brenner, R. 1978: The Origins of Capitalist Development : a Critique of Neo-Smithian Marxism, *New Left Review* No.104, January- February, 25-92.
- Brookfield, H. 1975: *Interdependent Development*, London, Methuen.
- Callinicos, L. 1987: *Working Life-1886-1940: Volume two*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press.
- Castles, S. & Kosack, G. 1972: Common Market Migrant, *New Left Review* 73: 3-22.
- Chase-Dunn, C. 1975: The effects of international economic dependence on development and inequality: A cross-national study, *American Sociological Review* 40 (6) 720-738.
- Chayanov, A. V. 1977: View of life cycle, in Shanin, T. 1977, *Peasants and Peasant Studies*, London, Penguin Book Ltd.
- Chernichovsky, D. 1985: Socioeconomic and demographic aspects of school enrollment and attendance in rural Botswana, *Economic Development and Cultural change*, Volume.33 No.2 pp 319-30.
- Cliffe, L. 1977: Labour migration and peasant differentiation : Zambian experience, *Journal of Peasant Studies*, Volume 5
- Church and Migrant Labour. 1970: *Migrant Labour and Church Involvement*, Umpumulo, Missiological Institute.
- Cobbe, J. 1982: Rural development in Lesotho, *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, Volume 2, No.2

- Cochrane, H. S. & Birdsall, N. 1982: Education and Parental Decision Making: A Two Generation Approach, in: Cascelles Anderson and Douglass, M. W. (eds) *Education and Development*, Lexington.
- Colin, L. 1998: *Lesotho : Africa Contemporary Record*, volume xxiii, New York; African Publishing Co.
- Cook, S. 1999: Surplus labour and productivity in Chinese agriculture: Evidence from household survey data, *Journal of Development Studies*, Volume 35 No. 5
- Cowen, D. V. 1967: Land tenure and economic development in Lesotho, *South African Journal of Economics*, No. 35
- Crush, J. & James, W. 1995: *Crossing Boundaries, Mine Migrancy in a Democratic South Africa*. Cape Town, Institute for Democracy.
- Deolalikar, A. 1993: Gender difference in the returns to schooling and in school enrollment rates in Indonesia, *Journal of Human Resources*, Volume 28, No. 14, 899-931.
- Dos Santos, T. Cited in Dale, L. J. 1972: Dependence and the international system, in: *Dependence and Underdevelopment, Latin America's Political Economy* by J.D. Cockcroft, A. Gunder Frank and D. L. Johnson, Garden City, Doubleday.
- Egero, B. 1974: *Population Movement and the Colonial Economy of Tanzania*, Dar es Salaam, Bureau of Resource Assessment and Land Use Planning.
- Eldredge, E. A. 1993: *A South African Kingdom: The pursuit of security in nineteenth century Lesotho*. Great Britain, Cambridge University Press.
- First, R. 1983: *Black-Gold: The Mozambican Miner, Proletarian and Peasant*, Brighton, Harvester Press.
- Frank, G. A. 1969: *Capitalism and underdevelopment in Latin America*, New York, Monthly Review Press.
- Forbes, D. K. 1984: *The Geography of Underdevelopment*, London, Croom Helm Ltd.
- Forster-Carter, A. 1978: *The Mode of Production Controversy*, New Left Review, No. 107, 47-76.
- Hardwick, P. & Langemead, J. 1986: *An Introduction to Modern Economics*, England, Longman Group Ltd.
- Handa, S., 1996: The Determinants of Teenage Schooling in Jamaica: rich vs Poor; Females vs Males, *The Journal of Development Studies* Volume 32. No. 4, pp 554-80.
- Hepple, A. 1968: *South Africa: a Political and Economic History*, New York, Praeger.
- Hingly, E. 1982: *Lesotho: From Migrant Labour Dependence to Self-help Development*, Horizon-Transvaal, Agency for Industrial Mission.
- Hodgson, M. L. & Ballinger, W. G. 1931: Indirect Rule in Southern Africa: Basotholand, U.P.
- Houghton, D. H. 1964: *The South African Economy*, London, Oxford University Press.
- Hunter, G. 1972: Employment policy in tropical Africa: the need for radical revision, *International Labour Review* 105, No. 1

- Gill, J. S. 1996: Labour migration and related issues, *Work for Justice*, No. 46
- Glewwe, P. and Jacob, H. 1994: Student achievement and schooling choice in low income countries: Evidence from Ghana', *Journal of Human Resources*, Volume.23. No.3. pp 843-60.
- Golding, M. Mass dismissals on the Mines in South Africa, *South African labour Bulletin*, Volume 10. No.7.
- Griffin, A. 1995: Lesotho, *The African Review 18th Edition*, Kogan Ltd.
- Guy, J. & Thabane, M. 1988: Technology, ethnicity and ideology: Basotho miners and shaft sinking on the South African gold mines, *African Studies volume 14*.
- Johnston, R. J. Gregory, D. and Smith, D. M.1994: *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, London, Blackwell Publishers.
- Johnstone, F. A.1976: *Class, Race and Gold: A study of class relations and racial discrimination in South Africa*. London, Routledge&Kegan Paul.
- Kingdom of Lesotho,1987: *Fourth -Five Year Development plan, 1986/7-90-91, Fiscal year Volume One*, Maseru, Ministry of Economic and Manpower Development.
- Laclau, E.1971: Feudalism and Capitalism in Latin America, *New Left Review*, No.67.
- Legassic, M. and Clereq, F. 1984: Capitalism and Migrant labour in South Africa, *International Labour Migration: Historical perspectives*, Britain, University of London.
- Leys, C.1974: *Underdevelopment in Kenya*, Berkeley & Los Angeles, University of California.
- Leys, C. 1976: *Underdevelopment and dependency: critical and self-critical notes*, paper presented at the Seminar on underdevelopment and dependency; Queens University, Kingston, Canada.
- Lewis, W. A. 1954 : economic development with unlimited supplies of labour, *Manchester School of Economics and Social Studies*, Volume 22. 139-91.
- Lipton, M. 1977: *Why poor people stay poor: Urban bias in world development*, London, Temple Smith.
- Luxemburg, R.1965: *The accumulation of capital*, New York, Monthly Review.
- Makhanya, E. M. 1980: *The plight of Rural population in Lesotho*, Pretoria, Institute of South Africa.
- Magubane, B. 1972: Migrant labour in Africa: a critique of conventional wisdom, *Critical Anthropology 2 (2) 88-103*.
- Magubane, B. 1975: The Native Reserve (Bantustans) and the Role of the migrant labour system in the political economy of South Africa, in Safa, H. I. and Du Toid, B. M. (eds) *Migration and Development : Implications for Ethnic Identity and Political Conflict*. The Hague, Monton Publishers.

- Mamdani, M. 1987: Extreme but not exceptional: Towards an analysis of the agrarian question in Uganda, *Journal of Peasant Studies* Volume 14. No.2.
- Massey, D. R. 1981: *Labour migration and rural development in Botswana*, Phd thesis, Boston University.
- Matlosa, K. 1996: *The future of Basotho migrant- miners in South Africa*, National University of Lesotho (NUL) Department of Political and Administrative Studies.
- Matlosa, K. 1996: *Retrenchment of Basotho Labour on South African mines and its implications for Gender relations*, NUL, Department of Political and Administrative Studies.
- Matlosa, K. and Pule, N. 1997: *The impact of the Retrenched returnees on gender relations in Rural Lesotho*, NUL, OSSREA.
- Marx, K. 1965: *Pre-capitalist Economic Formations*, New York, International Publishers.
- Mcleod, G. 1995: *A Certificate Geography of Lesotho*, Longman Group U.K Ltd.
- Mhlanga, M. L. 1996: *Declining migrant labour income Remittances: Effects and Repercussion and possible Implications for the Mafeteng Development Project*. Maseru, Business Support Southern African.
- Molefi, J. 1991: Educating Retrenched Mine Workers, *Matlhasedi*, Volume 10 .No1. December.
- Mohlabi, F. M. 1970: moral effects of the system of migratory labour on the labourer and his family in Church and migrant Labour, 1970: *Migrant labour and church involvement*; Umpumulo, Missiologological institute.
- Moodie, T. D. and Ndatsane, V. 1994: *Going for gold; men, mines and migration*, Berkely, University of California Press.
- Mueller, M. B. 1977: *Women and men in Rural Lesotho: The periphery of the periphery*, Phd thesis, Brandeis University.
- Natal Witness, 1995: May 15.
- Neocosmos, M. 1987 : *Homogeneity and differences on Swazi Nation, Social Relations in Rural Swaziland*, S.S.R.U, UNISWA.
- Nzula, A. T. 1979: *Forced labour in colonial Africa*, London, Zed Press.
- Rake, A. 1999: Lesotho, *New African Year Book*, IC Publications Ltd.
- Richardson, P. and Marks, S. S. 1984: *International labour migrations*, Britain, Maurice, Temple Smith.
- Rodney, W. 1974: *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*, Dar es salaam, Tanzania Publishing house.
- Rostow, . W. 1960: *The Stages of economic growth: a non-communist Manifesto*, Cambridge.
- Pae, T. 1992: *The relationship between migrant labour and the differentiation of Peasantry in Mapholaneng Village*. BEd Research Project, University of Lesotho.
- Palmer, V. Poulter. M. 1972: *The Legal system of Lesotho*, Miche, Charlottensville.
- Perry, J. G. 1983: *Land and politics in Lesotho*: paper presented at Southern African Studies Seminar, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.

- Powesland, P. G. 1954: History of Migration in Uganda, *Economic Development and Tribal change: A study of immigrant labour in Buganda*(eds). Cambridge University Press.
- Psacharopoulos, G. and Woodhall, M. 1985: *Education for Development*, New York, Oxford University Press.
- Quinlan, T. 1989: *The Livestock economy in the mountain zone of Lesotho: Drakensburg/Maluti* Conservation programme, document 6. unpublished report.
- Simons, H. J. & Simons, R. 1969: *Race and class in South Africa, 1850-1950*, Baltimore, Penguin African Library.
- Safa, H. 1974: Division in the working class: political implications of industrialization, *The American Working Class*, Martin Oppenheimer, Transaction Books.
- Samp, 1997: *Riding the Tiger: Lesotho miners and permanent Residence in South Africa*, Sechaba consultants, Institute for Democracy in South Africa.
- Santho, S. and Sejamanme, M. 1990: *Southern Africa After Apartheid*, Harare, SAPES
- Seidman, G. 1985: *Working for the Future*, Gaborone, FEP.
- Selby, H. Murphy, A. and Lorenzen, S. 1990: *The Mexican Urban Household: Organizing For Self-Defence*, Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Sender, J. and Smith, S., 1986: *The development of Capitalism in Africa*, New York, Methuen, INC.
- Schultz, T. P. 1998: Education investment and Returns, in H. Henry and T. N. Srinivasam(eds), *Handbook of Development Economics, Volume 1*. North-Holland, Elsevier Science Publishers. pp 543-600.
- Simelane, N. 1995: *Social Transformation: The swazi Case*, Anthony Rowe Ltd, CODESRIA.
- Shedick, V. 1954: *Land Tenure in Basotholand*, London, H.M.S.O.
- Stallings, B. 1972: *Economic Dependency in Africa ana Latin America*, Beverly Hills, Sage Publications.
- Strom, W. G., 1986: *Migration and Development: Dependence on South Africa: A study of Lesotho*. Uppsala, Scandinavian Institute of African Studies.
- Sunkel, O. 1974: Transitional capitalism, disintegration in Latin America, *Comparative Studies in International Development* 9 (1).
- Van Burren, 1998: Lesotho-Recent history, economy in *Africa South of the Sahara, 1999*, London, Europa Publications Ltd.
- Van der Horst, S. T. 1971: *Native labour in South Africa*, London, Frank Cass.
- Vilakati, S. S. 1998: *Macmillan Junior Secondary Geography*, Macmillan Boleswa Publishing Ltd.
- Weekly Mail, 1987: June, 13-20.
- Wilson, F. 1972: *Labour in South African Gold mines, 1899-1969*, London, Cambridge University Press.

- Wilson, F. 1972: *Labour in the South African Gold mines 1911-1969*, London, Cambridge University Press.
- Wolpe, H. 1972: Capitalism and cheap labour power in South Africa: from Segregation to apartheid, *Economy and Society*, 1 (4).
- Woodis, J. 1960: *Africa: the roots of revolt*, London, Laurence and Withart.

—oo0oo—

APPENDIX

Appendix i : Household Questionnaire

University of Natal--Pietermaritzburg

GEOGRAPHY: School of applied environmental sciences

MAPHOLANENG QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY

Conducted by Mr Tiisetso Pae

Sub-village:-----

Household sample no:-----

Date of interview:-----

A. Household Information

1. Total number of resident family members staying in the household each week
2. Total number of family members away as migrant workers each week
3. migrant- males
- migrant-females
- 4 How many members of your households are in each of the following age-groups, gender and educational levels.

age-group	F	M	primary school	secondary school	high school	tech / college	university
>5 years							
6-15							
16-30							
31-50							
Over 50 years							

B. Household Economic status and labour- Migration

5. From which of the following does your household currently derive its income in 1998-1999. Rank them in order of importance from 1 for the most important source of income followed by 2 ,3,4,5 and 6.

Use the last column to show how your household ranked these activities about ten years ago (1980)

household's sources of income	1998-199 ranking order	no of household members involved	estimated income in maloti per month	ranking order before 1980
crop-farming				
livestock-farming				
household business: what--- --where---				
employment by government and Non-Government-organization's				
local employment by other households				
migrant wages				
renting out of fields/ rooms				
traditional beer/ joala				
chicken / eggs				
vegetables				
handicrafts				
dagga, etc.				
others-specify				

6. Fill the table below to show the particulars of your household business enterprise

Type of business	length of business operation in year /months	estimated income per month in maloti /rands
small cafe		
small-hawkwer type		
general-shop		
restaurant		
restaurant & bar		
knitting, sowing (tailor-trade)		
furniture / repair/ workshop		
taxi / own transport		
traditional healer		
livestock-trade e,g milk, mutton, dogs, checken		
others-specify		

7. Fill the following table to indicate and show the required particulars of your household members who worked or are working as migrant workers either in Lesotho or in the Republic of South Africa.

migrant-work places	no. of households employed	sex of households	place of employment or work	year , when first employed in this work	year, when first as a migrant-worker	total period as a migrant
Mining		male				
		female				
farming		male				
		female				
industries		male				
		female				
business		male				
		female				
transport		male				
		female				
building / construction		male				
		female				
domestic duties		male				
		female				
others specify		male				
		female				

9. What assets have your household been able to purchase using the remittances received from the household migrant-workers during the period shown .

i) up to 1980's:-----

ii) Since 1990:-----

10. Has the absence of the household member/s as migrant- workers affected the development of the household in any way ? e.g has it brought any good or bad things on the family? Explain your answer---

11. Does your household own any livestock ?

yes	no

12. Which type of livestock do you own? Please indicate the estimation of how many of each type of livestock your household has been having during the time periods indicated below.

type of livestock	total owned	before 1980	1980---- 1990	1991----- 1995	1996--- 1997	1998--- 1999
cattle	total owned					
	natural increase					
	new purchases					
	sales					
	loss by theft					
sheep	total owned--					
	natural increase					
	new purchase					
	sales					
	loss by theft					
goats	total owned-					
	natural increase					
	new purchase-					
	sales					
	loss by theft					
horses	total owned--					
	natural increase					
	new-purchase-					
	sales					
	loss by theft					
donkey/ mules	total owned					
	natural increase					
	new-purchases					
	sales					
	loss by theft					
poultry	total owned----- ----					
	new purchases					
	natural increase--					
	sales					

13. Has your household lost any livestock due to natural factors such as weather, drought snow, storms ?

yes	
no	

Please, explain cases of losses within time periods shown:

i) before 1980's-----

-----ii)Between 1980-----1990-----

iii) since 1990-----

14. Has your household been getting any income from the sale of wool, **mohair**, skins , milk or any other livestock by-product ?

Yes	
no	

15. Can you fill the table below to indicate the information required on these livestock-products.

period	product	quantity sold	income in maloti/rands	market place	was the most important product
1980--- 1985	wool				
	mohair				
	skins				
	milk				
1986--1991	wool				
	mohair				
	skins				
1992--1997	wool				
	mohair				
	skins				
	milk				
1998?-----	Wool				
	mohair				
	skins				
	milk				

C. Land ownership and crop-farming.

16. Does your household own or rent any land or fields for your crop-cultivation ?

Owned

Rented				rented-out			
yes				yes			yes
no				no			no

17(a)

				TYPES OF SOIL				
				loam	clay	sand	mixture	
Number of fields owned		total ha						average rent (M)
number of the rented fields		total ha						

17 (b) Does your household practise Share-cropping ?

yes	
no	

if your answer is yes , describe how your household is engaged in share-cropping arrangements-----

18 How often does your household cultivate the fields :

Frequency

every year	
after every one to two years	
in some years	

Crop-production

19. fill the table below with the crops and vegetables grown by your households, including annual yields in the periods indicated.

[illegible]

20. Which of the following farming methods and tools does your household have or use

farming methods & tools	owned and used in 1998	used before 1980
ox-span		
wooden plough		
iron-plough		
own tractor		
hired tractor		
commercial fertilizers		
animal or kraal manure		
seeds selected from the previous year's harvest		
Seeds exchanged from other households		
purchase new seeds		
machines for seed-sowing, weeding / harvesting used		
manual sowing of seeds, weeding and harvesting		
use of community work-groups (matsema)		
use of household labour		
use of hired labour		

21. How would you rank the conditions of soil-erosion/ degradation or soil exhaustion in your fields and the surrounding landscape in the sub-village during the given periods?

1990's

		Before 1980	Between 1980-1989	Since
SOIL EROSION IN YOUR FIELDS	HIGH			
	MIDDLE			
	LOW			
L A N D - DEGRADATION IN THE SUB-VILAGE AREA	HIGH			
	MIDDLE			
	low			

22. what has been responsible for the erosion and land degradation in the sub-village during the following periods ?

- (i) Before 1980's-----

- (ii) Since 1990 's-----

23. describe what is needed to be done to keep the fertility potential of the Sub-village intact?-----

D.Conditions of Household labour-relations.

23 Does your household employ any labour power from outside the household ?

yes	
no	

24. Please, fill the table below to show, total number of labour employed, sex of labour, activities /jobs for employing outside labour, skills needed, total payment per month also show whether you employ local or distant labour.

activities / jobs for employing outside labour	total labour employed	length of period employed for	sex of labour employe d	local/ distant	salary/ in kind per month in maloti /rands

25. How is work shared in the household/? Please fill the table below to show who in the household does which activity as shown or add any information left out by the table. Choose household members from the list of members provided.
HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS: father, mother, grandparents, older boys, older girls, male relatives, female relatives, hired male labour, hired female labour, young boys, young girls, work-groups or (matsema.)

household-activity	household member or members in- charge
ploughing	
hoeing/weeding	
harvesting	
food-storage	
distribution	
selling	
decision-making	
others	

26. does your household have any retrenched workers either from South Africa or any work in Lesotho?

Yes	
no	

27. How many household in the sub-village have work retrenched members

28. How has retrenchment affected the life of such households and the sub-village----

30. What do you think should be done to address the problem of unemployment? What jobs could be created locally, what should be the contribution of the government and the local people in this regard ?-----

Your contribution in this work has been of great help towards the work, I am presently involved in, with the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.

I thank you very much.

-oo0oo-

APPENDIX ii

Heads of school questionnaire

Name of school-----

Name of Head-----

School-denomination-----

Date when the questionnaire was filled-----

Date when the questionnaire was completed-----

Date when the school was first opened-----

1. How many students/pupils do you have in all, in your school this year ?

2. How many of your students/pupils are from Mapholaneng alone? That is, from Motete up to upper Mabunyaneng /Mapholaneng Valley and only those students/pupils whose parents are the inhabitants of Mapholaneng through birth and those households that have recently transferred to Mapholaneng for permanent residence.

3. Is it possible to divide your Mapholaneng category of students according to their different sub-villages from which they individually or in groups come from?

Please, fill the table 1, below to show:

- (i) total number of students/pupils from each of the different sub-villages of Mapholaneng in 1998.
- (ii) total number of female students/pupils
- (iii) classes in which they are
- (iv) total number of male students/pupils
- (v) classes in which they are

Table 1

sub-village	total for 1998	no of female	classes: ABCDE	no of male	classes: ABCDE
Meketeng	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)
Motete					
Polomiti					
Mafikalisiu					
Makalieng					
Mapeolane					
Malothoane					
Tsieng					
Khukhune					

4. In the current debate surrounding ‘ rural development’’ the contribution of wages or income from the migrant labour system to south Africa in the education of the household children and relatives has become very well supported; bu on the other hand, the long period of father absence from home, has also been associated with detrimental discipline of boys from migrant household. In addition, it is also alleged that many boys from the rural areas have failed to attend school at all or had to drop before completion due to the absence of father in the mines, and as result, boys had to leave school to look after household livestock and to help in ploughing.

How far do you agree or disagree with these statements especially with reference to your situation as it affects your school.-----

5. The traditional custom of lebollo is still practised in many areas including the vicinity of your school. Do you see this practise hindering pupils from learning in any way or how does the practise contribute to the development of the individual and village as a whole?-----

6. How is the kind/type of education offered by your school fitting in the demands of the sub-villages, the school serves.-----

7. How do you think the education, if possible could be improved to suit the demands of the rural places like the one in which your school is operating/-----

8. How many students in your school from Mapholaneng village are their fees paid for, by parents working in the mines of South-Africa

How do you think the increasing process of labour-retrenchment from the labour mines in South Africa will affect the education of children especially in the rural

9. What do you think are the major problems currently facing Mapholaneng as a place transforming into a town or suburb-----

10. Do you see any way of solving some of the current problems that face Mapholaneng? Identify these problems and explain how they may be tackled.-----

-oo0oo-

APPENDIX iii

Agricultural Department Questionnaire.

Name of agricultural officer-----

Date of filling in-----

1. When was this station opened?-----

2. What were the reasons for opening this station in this place?

(i)-----

(ii)-----

(iii)-----

----- (iv)-----

3. Since it was opened, what so far have been the success and the failures or problems of this station-----

4. What plans for future improvement of this department do you have?-----

5. Can you arrange the following sub-villages of Mapholaneng in order of total number of each type of livestock in them have, start with those with more livestock than others and end with those with few livestock.
- Sub-villages: Motete, Meketeng, Mafikalisiu, Makalieng, Polomiti, Ha-Mapeolane, Malothoaneng, Tsieng, Ha-Teu, Tiping, Ha-Mother, Ha-Tlhako, Ha-Molantoa, matsoiring

Sub-village	cattle	sheep	goats	donkeys	horses

6. Which of these villages have the best breed of livestock? Why-----

7. Where do farmers in Mapholaneng sell their wool, mohair , live-animals and other livestock products ?-----

8. Does your department allow the importation of livestock from South Africa?----- what procedures are followed for this-----

9. More plateaus, hills and slopes used for grazing seem currently devoid of any grass, do you consider this a result of overgrazing or of total negligence by the farmers in Mapholaneng?-----

10. Are there parts of Mapholaneng which are badly degraded?----- where in particular ?-----

11. What steps or procedures for land rehabilitation has your department planned?-----

12. How often does your department hold workshops or demonstration for farmers in this village and on what themes? Please explain, indicating, attendance and devotion of farmers. -----

13. What would you say are the general agricultural problems in Mapholaneng and how does your department see any way out of these problems.-----

Appendix iv: Individual villages household sizes

Size of Migrant and Non-Migrant households

Urban Villages	Number of village sample households.	Village sample of Migrants and Non -migrants households				% of households with 1 to 3 persons per each				% Of households with 4 to 8 persons per each				% of households with over 8 persons per each			
		Migrants		Non-Migrants		Migrants		Non-Migrants		Migrants migrants		Non-		Migrants		Non- Migrants	
		no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%
Meketeng	19	12	63	7	37	4	21	1	5	6	31	3	16	2	11	3	1
Motete	21	12	57	9	43	2	10	1	5	6	31	8	38	3	14	1	5
TOTAL OF URBAN SAMPLE	40	24	60	16	40	6	15	2	5	12	30	11	28	5	13	4	10
Rural villages																	
Khukhune	6	3	50	3	50	1	17	0	0	2	33	1	17	1	17	1	17
Makalieng	4	2	50	2	50	0	0	0	0	2	50	1	25	0	0	1	25
Tiping	14	6	43	8	57	2	14	1	7	3	21	6	43	0	0	2	14
TOTAL OF RURAL SAMPLE	24	11	46	13	54	3	13	1	4	7	29	8	33	1	4	4	17
CATCH-MENT TOTAL	64	35	55	29	45	9	14	3	5	19	30	19	30	6	9	8	13

Source: Field work questionnaire survey, 1998-99.

Appendix v: Age and gender divisions of individual Migrant Sample village households.

Urban villages	NUMBER OF VILLAGE SAMPLE H/HOLDS	% of Village Sample f Migrant h/holds		% of h/holds with persons of up to 5 years				% of h/holds with persons aged 6—30				% of h/holds with persons aged 31—50				% of h/holds with persons aged over 50			
		no	%	female	male	no	%	female	male	no	%	female	male	no	%	female	male	no	%
Mekoteng	19	12	63	5	26	3	16	6	32	5	26	4	21	4	21	8	42	3	1
Motete	21	12	57	5	24	6	29	8	38	6	29	7	33	3	33	2	10	3	1
TOTAL OF URBAN SAMPLE	40	24	60	10	25	9	23	14	35	11	28	11	28	11	28	10	25	6	1
Rural villages																			
Khukhune	6	3	50	1	17	1	17	3	50	2	33	2	33	2	33	3	50	2	3
Makalieng	4	2	50	1	25	2	50	2	50	1	25	2	50	2	50	2	50	0	0
Tiping	14	6	43	1	7	0	00	2	14	1	7	5	38	3	38	3	21	3	2
TOTAL OF RURAL SAMPLE	24	11	46	3	13	3	13	7	29	4	17	9	38	9	38	8	33	5	2
CATCHMENT TOTAL	64	35	55	13	20	12	19	21	33	15	23	20	31	20	31	18	28	11	

Source: Fieldwork questionnaire survey, 1999

Appendix v: Age and gender divisions of Non-Migrant village sample households.

Urban villages	number of village Sample h/holds	Village Sample of Non-Migrant h/holds		% of h/holds with persons aged up to 5 years				% of h/holds with persons aged 6—30				% of h/holds with persons aged 31—50				% of h/holds w persons aged o 50		
		no	%	female no	%	no	male %	female no	%	no	male %	female no	%	no	male %	female no	%	no
Meketeng	19	7	37	5	26	3	16	5	26	4	21	6	32	4	21	3	16	1
Motete	21	9	43	2	60	4	19	4	19	4	19	8	38	7	33	3	14	3
Total of urban sample	40	16	40	7	18	7	18	9	23	8	20	14	35	11	28	6	15	4
Rural villages																		
Khukhune	6	3	50	1	17	1	17	2	33	2	33	1	17	2	33	1	17	1
Makalieng	4	2	50	1	25	2	50	2	50	2	50	1	25	1	25	2	50	1
Tiping	14	8	57	6	43	4	29	5	38	6	43	7	50	6	43	3	21	5
Total of rural sample	24	13	54	8	33	7	29	9	38	10	42	9	38	9	38	6	25	7
catchment total	64	29	45	15	23	14	22	18	28	18	28	23	36	20	31	12	19	11

Source. Fieldwork questionnaire survey, 1998-99

Appendix vi: Mapholaneng catchment schooling attainments of households

urban villages	total number of village sample h/holds	no of persons per h/hold	Primary level % of h/holds F M	Sec/ High % of h/holds F M	Vacational % of h/holds F M	University % of h/holds F M	Informal earning % of h/holds F M	% of h/holds with no education
Mekoteng	19	% of h/holds 1-3 persons	37 43	32 31	16 11	-- --	16 27	22
		% of h/holds >3 persons	21 5	21 26	- -	-- --	5 10	----
Village Total	19		58 48	53 57	16 11	0 0	21 37	22
Motete	21	% of h/holds 1-3 persons	44 30	44 30	11 5	-1	21 26	16
		% of h/holds >3 persons	15 5	19 15	- -	- -	5 5	---
Village Total	21		59 35	63 45	11 5	0 1	26 31	16
Urban mean	40		56 42	58 51	13.5 8	0 0.5	23.5 34	19
Rural villages								
Khukhune	6	% of h/holds 1-3 persons	17 34	-17	-- -	- -	-- --	34
		% of h/holds >3 persons	34 17	17 34	-- -	-- -	-- --	17
total	6		51 51	17 51	0 0	0 0	0 0	51
Makalieng	4	% of h/holds 1-3 persons	50 50	50 50	-50	-- -	-50	50
		% of h/holds >3 persons	25 -	-- -	-25	-- -	- -	--
total	4		75 50	50 50	0 75	0 0	0 50	50
Tiping	14	% of h/hold 1-3 persons	50 21	28 7	-- --	--- -	-- --	35
Village Total	14		50 21	28 7	0 0	0 0	0 0	35
Rural mean	24		58 40	32 36	0 25	0 0	0 17	45
Catchment mean	64		57 41	45 44	6.8 16.5	0 0.25	11.8 26	32
catchment schooling levels mean	64		49	45	11.7	0.125	19	16

Source: Field work questionnaire survey, 1999