International Migration, Remittances and Sustainable Livelihoods: The Case of Chivi District.

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Abstract: Literature on Zimbabwean migrants, migration and development has burgeoned in recent years. Mainly concerned with generalisations of migration patterns and behaviour, whether migrants remit, how much they remit, what channels they use and to what use the remittances are put, the literature assumes that remittances from various demographic profiles of migrants make similar contributions. Such conceptualisation is both erroneous and misleading as there are different contributions from males and females, the youth and older persons and from the brain drain as opposed to brawn drain. Focusing on youth migrants from Ward 21 of Chivi district in south eastern Zimbabwe, this article argues that remittances from youths contribute to household livelihoods in the short term but are largely not relevant for sustainable livelihoods.

Keywords: Remittances, Migration, Migration Theory, Zimbabwe, Sustainable livelihoods.

I. Introduction

Migration as a field of enquiry has received a considerable amount of attention particularly on Zimbabwe since 2000. Despite studies continuing with analyses based on ‘binaries’ alluded to by Hammar, Landau and Mcgregor (2010), they have been useful in documenting the migration phenomenon concerning Zimbabwe. The rise in studies in the period just prior to the turn of the millennium is no coincidence because this is a period where vast changes transpired on Zimbabwe’s socio-economic and political landscape. The tumultuous decade commencing circa 1999, witnessed some segments of the Zimbabwean populace seeking refuge beyond their country’s borders. Zimbabwe’s challenges were manifest on many fronts equally stemming from many causalties (Bond and Manyanya 2002). With respect to the economy, soaring inflation (Noko 2011), government sanctioned controls and intervention (Brett 2005) and unconventional policies concocted to make a potion so poisonous that by the year 2008 Zimbabwe had one of the world’s worst performing economies. In the political arena, poor governance (Sachikonye 1998), contentious policies particularly in land distribution (Sachikonye, 2001; Bond, 2007), controversial policies leading to displacement such as Operation Murambatsvina and disputed electoral outcomes added to the mix of ingredients creating a simmering pot. Amidst these challenges, many Zimbabweans migrated predominantly to countries within the region and to the United Kingdom. Those who remained behind grappled with food shortages, a decimated currency and poor living standards. Meldrum (2007) notes that in the harsh economic conditions, households without access to foreign currency resorted to barter trade while those with access to foreign currency fared better as they could purchase goods in neighbouring countries or on the local ‘black market’. As such, access to and possession of foreign currency became a lifeline for many households. The foreign currency was mainly acquired through remittances from relatives abroad or from family members who engaged in trade in neighbouring countries.

In the mêlée of the time, migrants from all sections of society sought relief in South Africa. Some were documented while many others were undocumented; there were also young and old, male and female, skilled and less-skilled, young and old and voluntary and involuntary among many classes. Some of the various characteristics depicting the migrants have been the subject of scrutiny among scholars of Zimbabwe’s migration in this time. For example, Dodson et al. (2008) study the gender dimension to southern Africa’s migrant population including Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa. Their study reveals that Zimbabwe had the highest proportion of female migrants among all countries studied. Chikanda (2005) focuses on the loss of skilled labour in the form of nurses while Crush, Chikanda and Tawodzera (2012) focus on various aspects such as age, gender and motivating factor. Other studies opt to portray migration in Zimbabwe as part of a wider politics of exclusion set in a general theme of displacement (Hammar, Landau and Mcgregor 2010). Whatever the focus of enquiry among academicians may be, it is clear that the period after 1999 marked an epoch of unprecedented emigration from Zimbabwe. As a consequence, some shades in the migration phenomenon have yet to be fully understood. For example, Crush, Chikanda and Tawodzera (2012) observe that many migrants in Zimbabwe’s ‘third wave’ of migration are school-leavers and young. Yet few studies have focused primarily on this cohort to understand their development contribution to their home areas through remittances. Moreover, few studies specifically focus on contributions of less educated or less skilled migrants who constitute a ‘brawn
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drain’. This paper occupies the gap prevalent thus far in the literature on migration of rural, less skilled, lowly educated migrants and their contribution to local development (De Haas 2007). Based on research conducted in 2013, it focuses on the contribution of remittances from youth migrants from Chivi district who are based in South Africa. The central question it seeks to pose and answer is, ‘what is the contribution of remittances from emigrants based in South Africa towards sustaining rural livelihoods in Chivi District?’ In seeking answers to this question, the study also teased out issues such as motivation for migration, gender dimensions of remittances and uses of the remittances. In so doing, it provided a platform through which comparison with other studies could be made in spite of the different time settings.

II. Migration Trends and Theorising

Literature on migration involving Zimbabweans has burgeoned in recent times (Crush Chikanda and Tawodzera 2012; Tevera and Zinyama 2002; Tevera 2008). Crush, Chikanda and Tawodzera (2012) note that studies have been done on numerous elements of migration such as irregular migration, the brain drain of skilled professionals (Chetsanga and Muchenje 2003), the living and working conditions of migrants in South Africa, remitting behaviour and remittance flows, the xenophobic treatment and human rights abuse of migrants, migrant identity, prospects for diaspora engagement and the confused policy responses of the South African authorities. To decongest the literature, some scholars have divided migration of Zimbabweans into three post-independence epochs (Mlambo, 2010; Pasura, 2010; Crush, Chikanda and Tawodzera, 2012). Since the year 2000, studies have predominantly focused on migration in a period of socio-economic decline and political contestation. For some, the migration episode is an extension and a component of the politics of displacement in both space and structure (Hammar et al., 2010). While such an analysis is nuanced and poses a broader angle from which migration in Zimbabwe can be conceptualised, many studies assume a different posture either preferring to narrate migration patterns or discuss legislative and policy frameworks. For example, von Burgsdorf (2012) studies the remittance channels utilised by migrants based in Johannesburg. Bloch (2008) on the other hand looks into the legislative framework in South Africa and how it impacts on migrants from Zimbabwe. In the studies, common themes such as identity and acceptance are touched on. These are mainly included in studies which address xenophobia. However, for the purposes of this paper, the most important aspects to do with migration involving Zimbabweans in the post-2000 era is the migration-development nexus. Appleyard (1989) has pointed out that the litmus test for migration’s development impact lies in remittances. In similar light, Zanamwe and Devillard, (2009) recognise that the large emigrant population from Zimbabwe presents an opportunity to harness remittances sent in the form of foreign currency. Ideally, these remittances should make a contribution towards development both at micro, meso and macro level.

The developmental impact of remittances in Zimbabwe has been the subject of enquiry by a number of scholars. Maphosa (2005) and Maphosa (2007) focus on parts of the South-Western region which are characterised by poor climatic conditions and isolation from major economic centres. His study focuses on the impacts of remittances in southern regions of Zimbabwe and international migration patterns of emigrants of people from the same regions. In his study, he looks into the motives and risks assumed by migrants both in terms of human movement and in their remittances. The study reveals that remittances make a significant contribution to rural incomes and are mainly used for such purposes as acquiring livestock, procuring of household daily requirements, payment for medical expenses and purchase of assets such as scotch-carts (ibid). Maphosa’s study is complemented by Ncube and Gomez (2011:22) who reveal that remittances pose a significant benefit in ‘increasing the purchasing power and sustaining demand which creates opportunities that in turn fuel private sector development’. The positive mood in these studies is a stark contrast to findings by the Solidarity Peace Trust (2009: 8) which reflect that ‘51% of [the] sample families with at least one member in the Diaspora received NO goods whatsoever from them during 2008’. The study, which perhaps presents the chilliest picture on migration and development, notes that while few migrants managed to tender remittances, some did not remit; instead only managing to come back as bodies, repatriated after years in exile. The studies by Maphosa, Ncube and Gomez and Solidarity Peace Trust were all conducted in south-western Zimbabwe.

Other scholars such as Bracking and Sachikonye (2006) study the pattern, frequency and use of remittances as well as emigrant visits during the period of economic decline in 2006. Their study focuses on remittances from various locations in the diaspora community as received in four urban locations in Harare and Bulawayo. The supporting role played by the remittances was recognised in Bracking and Sachikonye’s study as well as in efforts by the Zimbabwean government through ‘Homelink’. Homelink was an initiative by the Zimbabwean government through the Reserve Bank, aimed at the Zimbabwean diaspora. It was a facility aimed at encouraging the channelling of remittances from migrants to their families through formal channels. However, Masengwe and Machingura (2012) contend that Homelink proved largely unsuccessful. Similarly, they identify shortcomings in the government’s National Migration Management and Diaspora Policy (NMMDP).
The study employed a mix of theories to form a theoretical basis through which migration-remittances-sustainable livelihoods relationships could be conceptualised. To study the migration motives and behaviours of the migrants, the neo-classical economic migration theory and the new economics of labour migration were employed. On the livelihoods front, the study utilised the sustainable livelihoods approach. As alluded to earlier, the developmental impact of migration is noted by Appleward to be driven primarily by remittances. Remittances therefore stand to contribute to livelihoods as financial capital. However, before remittances can be received, emigration saps out human capital from communities. As a result, developmental impacts vary both in time and in structure. To understand the various impacts and adjustments of these shifts, the three theories were employed, giving different insights into what motivates migrants, how they remit, what receiving households do with the remitted income and how they strategize in their livelihoods where and if incomes are inadequate. The sustainable livelihoods approach is an approach which aims to proffer comprehensive solutions to eradicating poverty (Krantz, 2001). This is done through broader appreciation of issues which relate to and cause or entrench poverty and the identification and implementation of broad solutions which are developed on the basis of information gathered (ibid). The sustainable rural livelihoods approach or simply livelihoods approach is an approach to development which recognises ‘needs and notions’ of poor people and then ‘based on this information, proceed by determining necessary policy reforms in the context of sustainable development’ (OECD, 2001:10). The approach is therefore participatory and beneficial to a broader segment of stakeholders than other ‘top-down’ development approaches. To enable an intense understanding of poor people’s needs, the approach applies five resource areas as units of analysis. Ellis and Freeman (2005: 3) recognise the resources as ‘human capital (skills, education, and health), physical capital (produced investment goods), financial capital (money, savings, loan access), natural capital (land, water, trees, grazing etc.) and social capital (networks and associations)’. In addition, Krantz (2001: 11) asserts that the livelihoods approach has three features which focus on the livelihoods of the poor i.e. analysis of current livelihoods in order to identify a suitable entry point and people involvement. For the purposes of the study, the livelihood alternatives in Chivi were analysed using the sustainable livelihoods approach. In addition, the contribution of remittances to rural livelihoods were assessed in terms of contributions to the five broad assets or resource areas identified above.

To understand migration motives and remitting behaviour, the study employed two theories – neoclassical economics and new economics of labour migration- identified by Massey et al. (1993). In explaining the neoclassical economics migration theory, Todaro and Smith (2009) note that migration is caused by wage differences between countries. The Todaro migration model presumes that migrants consider the various labour market opportunities available to them in the rural and urban sectors and choose the one that maximises their expected gains from migration (ibid: 339).

The theory assumes that prospective labourers make comparisons in prospective earnings (both actual and potential) over a given time horizon and make decisions on the basis of the wage differentials. Prospective migrants make comparisons between local and foreign potential earnings over a given period. Foreign earnings may be weighed against costs of movement, probability of deportation and the likelihood of acquiring a job quickly. If the prospective migrant considers all such factors and still finds a net benefit in migrating then they leave and if the net outcome suggests a loss, then they will remain in their home area. With regards to the study, the theory was used to understand the motives for migrating and how remittances contribute to livelihood sustenance in Chivi.

According to Massey et al. (1993), new economics of labour migration (henceforth referred to as NELM) considers ‘conditions in a variety of markets, not just labour markets’. The theory recognises that the decision to migrate is not just made by an individual. Instead, the decision is a collective effort within a household made to minimise risks. These risks include those emanating from weak or non-existent crop insurance markets, futures markets, unemployment insurance and capital markets. Inadequate crop insurance among communal farmers for example, implies significant exposure to crop failure. In the event of a drought or poor harvest, an alternative source of income may be sought. In some cases, migration becomes the alternative. The household will decide on who migrates and the remitting conditions (ibid: 436). As a result, migration is not a personal choice but an inclusive one involving household members.

Stark and Bloom (1985: 174) explain decision-making in migration by noting that:

Just as it is clear that neither a brick nor a bottle of wine can decide to move between markets, so should it be equally clear that a migrant is not necessarily the decision making entity accountable for his or her migration

NELM will enable a broader understanding of factors which lead to migration and also determine the remitting behaviour.

The study will therefore analyse migration from Chivi to South Africa using NELM and the neoclassical migration model. As Ellis and Freeman (2005) note, migration is part of the coping strategies
employed by rural household. According to NELM, the motivation to migrate may be caused by poor markets (Star and Bloom, 1985) while the neoclassical migration model states that migration may be a result of a search for better wages or incomes (Massey et al., 1993). The motivation to migrate from either one of the two theories will have different implications on remittances and the nature of their use. Through remittances, incomes can either be supported or livelihoods sustained depending on whether remittances are largely used for consumption or in investment (Ratha, 2005). Migration models will explain migration causation and remitting behaviour and volumes. These will be linked to the sustainable livelihoods approach which reveals that as a result of migration, livelihoods can improve through better assets accumulation and a reduction in poverty (Ellis and Freeman, 2005). Furthermore, remittances may reduce risk and vulnerability and improve livelihoods (ibid).

III. Methods
A descriptive survey research design was employed. This entailed using a convenience sampling approach in identifying Chivi district as well as villages in Ward 21. To determine the sample of the study, multi-stage sampling was used. This was informed by convenience as well as purposive sampling methods. The population was narrowed down from district level to Ward and then village level using convenience sampling methods. This means that from the 13 Wards forming Chivi central, the researcher conveniently sampled villages from which a sample of households was then identified. The households identified comprised of at least one emigrant based in South Africa at the time of the study. Interviews were then conducted in each of the sample households. Research tools used included guided questionnaires, observations and interviews. In Pretoria, the research maintained a convenience sampling framework, using known migrants as an entry point and extending to referrals by way of a snowballing technique.

IV. Chivi District: An Overview
The fieldwork for this study was carried out in Ward 21 of Chivi District in South-eastern Zimbabwe as well as migrants based in Pretoria. According to parliamentary reports, Chivi district is divided into three sections which are north, central and south. These are further divided into 32 Wards of which Ward 21 is a part. Ward 21 of Chivi central comprises of 23 villages which are inclusive of Dzingira and Gwapedza villages. Dzingira and Gwapedza villages are situated adjacent to the Runde River in an area approximately 80 kilometres from Chivi District offices. Chivi is in natural region five with some parts classified in region four (ITDG, n.d.). Droughts in Chivi occur in three out of every five years. Furthermore, there is a scarcity of draught power as well as high pressure on land which is a result of a high population growth rate (ibid). As a result, there is widespread poverty in many wards which compels residents to engage in illegal gold panning along the Runde and Tokwe rivers as sources of earning incomes (ibid). Other residents of Chivi, primarily the youth, resort to migration to local urban centres and increasingly to South Africa. Rain-fed crop production is unreliable while cattle-ranching is a viable livelihood option. Migrants in Pretoria resided in a number of informal settlements just outside the metropolitan area such as Diepsloot. Importantly, the Pretoria sample was strictly comprised of the youth because this was the demographic group whose development contribution the study sought to understand. The youth were identified as persons aged between the age of 15 and 35, a definition consistent with the Zimbabwe Youth Council (2013:5) at the time of study.

V. Findings
5.1 Migrant profiles and household characteristics
Thirty one (31) interviews were conducted with household heads in Gwapedza village and fourteen (14) were done in Dzingira villages. From the forty-five (n=45) interviews with household heads, a total of three hundred and seven (307) household members were identified suggesting an average number of 3.4 people per household. Forty (40) of the forty-five households were headed by elderly people whose demographic profile placed them beyond the youth bracket. The age range in these households spanned from 79 to 2 years of age. The remaining five (5) of the forty five (45) households were headed by female youths who had remained behind as their husbands had immigrated to South Africa. The age range in these households was 22 to 1 years old. Every household interviewed identified a wide albeit greatly varying array of assets owned from income derived from livelihood activities. The assets commonly identified were animal stock such as cattle, goats, donkeys and chickens as well as wheelbarrows.

In Pretoria, a total of thirteen (n=13) immigrants were identified and interviewed. These immigrants ranged from 20 to 30 years in age, with an average age of 26 years. This was consistent with the assertions made by the two key informants interviewed in Chivi who noted that mostly young adults between the ages of 20 to 35 years migrated. The Pretoria sample consisted of eight (8) males and five (5) females. Notably, five (5) of the immigrants indicated that they were not heads of families while eight (8) stated that they were family heads, either as husbands or wives. The five immigrants who were not family heads comprised of three women and two men while the eight family heads comprised of six men and two women. All the immigrants who noted that they
were family heads stated that they had at least one child. The most number of children that an immigrant had was two children while the least was one child. On average, immigrants stating to head a family had one (1) child. Seven immigrants indicated that they had only progressed as far as primary school in their academic pursuits while six (6) noted that they had enrolled into secondary school albeit without specifying whether they completed secondary school studies or not. Regarding employment in South Africa, the immigrants indicated different occupations which ranged from formal employment such as working as security guards, to informal self-employment such as working as informal traders and a painters. While most immigrants identified one form of occupation, one immigrant identified two economic pursuits as an informal trader and a hairdresser. A summary of migrant occupations and nature of work is presented in Table 1 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Nature of work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Odd jobs</td>
<td>Part-time, self-employed, full-time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Informal trader</td>
<td>Self-employed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Handyman</td>
<td>Self-employed, part-time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Security Guard</td>
<td>Full-time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Hairdresser</td>
<td>Self-employed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Maid</td>
<td>Full-time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Painter</td>
<td>Part-time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The interviewed immigrants identified three income brackets which they fall under. Six immigrants indicated that their income ranged between R1000-R1499; four between R1500-R1999 while three between R500-R999. On the basis of the frequencies in income ranges, an average income range was calculated by adding up all income ranges identified and dividing the aggregate by the number of respondents. This yielded an average income range of R1038.46 to R1537.46 per month. In addition to absolute income figures, the research noted that the distribution of income had a significant gender dimension. Table 2 below shows distribution of men and women immigrants according to the income brackets they fall under. Men earned marginally higher incomes than women.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Bracket</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R500-R999</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R1000-R1499</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R1500-R1999</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 5.2 Livelihood options

There are a number of livelihood strategies which households in Chivi employ in an effort to survive and/or generate income. The strategies widely employed include farming, vegetable gardening, gold panning, kushandira and ndari. One of the key informants from the Rural District Council noted that some women are involved in garment sewing activities although none were identified in the area under study. Despite Chivi being a predominantly dry and arid region, farming is the predominant livelihood strategy as evidenced by the number of households who identified it as a strategy they utilise. Table 3 below presents the strategies and the number of households using the strategies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Livelihood Strategy</th>
<th>Households employing strategy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetable gardening</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold panning</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kushandira</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndari</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Households do not rely on one livelihood strategy to survive. Instead, a portfolio of options is often used to generate as much income as possible. The average monthly income derived from a combination of strategies employed was $67.18. In spite of this, from a total of thirty households which were capable of giving an estimated duration on which the income from their livelihood strategies lasts, it was discovered that on average, incomes last 2.23 weeks. Nine (9) households indicated that they derive no income from specified livelihood strategies while four (4) could not respond.
5.3 Gender and remittances

One of the questions the research sought to answer was ‘do men and women remit differently in terms of volume and thus make different contributions to household income, livelihoods and development”? To make an informed and reliable interpretation and conclusion of the contribution of men and women, comparisons must be made between the two groups. To make the comparisons, the researcher tested the significance of the two groups considering the different sizes of the two villages in the sample. To ensure that relevant interpretations are made from comparisons between the two villages, a chi-square test was conducted. The chi-square test is used when data has been collected ‘on one categorical independent variable and one categorical dependent variable” (Dewberry, 2004: 112). Chi-square was used to examine whether the proportion of males and females varied across the two villages. Of the sample population, 65 per cent of emigrants from Dzingira are male with a corresponding figure of 71 per cent of those from Gwapedza also being male. However, the difference between the proportion of men and of women emigrants in the Gwapedza and Dzingira villages is not statistically significant. This is because the probability value in the sample was .763. A probability value of more than .05 is deemed statistically not significant. The calculations from SPSS are presented in the appendix section at the end of the document. As a result of the chi-square test, reliable comparisons can be made between the two villages.

From the data collected, men and women from Dzingira contribute more compared to men and women in Gwapedza. Furthermore, women from Gwapedza tend to remit more to their households compared to their male counterparts in the same area. Women from the two villages contribute more to their households compared to men in Gwapedza.

5.4 Motivation for migration from Chivi

This section juxtaposes NELM and neoclassical migration models using findings in Chivi and Pretoria. It compares the motivation for migration among migrants from Chivi using data collected from household heads being guided by NELM and the neoclassical migration model. Emigration from Chivi to South Africa is largely motivated by a desire to acquire jobs and is mostly decided upon by individuals. All household heads and emigrants identified the search for employment as the primary reason why youths migrate. In addition, with a 72 percent prevalence of emigrants who decided alone, there were two implications of the data on the theoretical explanations to migration. In light of the neo-classical migration theory, the motive for emigrating appears to be heavily inclined towards economic motives. The fact that 54% of the emigrants interviewed in Pretoria were aware of the likely wages to expect in South Africa points towards a deliberate search for information to know possible remuneration in the South African labour market. Consequently, this confirms the underpinnings of the neo-classical theory which posits that migration is largely caused by wage differentials where migrants emigrate from an area with comparatively lower wages than their intended destination (ibid). However, a caveat suffices because while most households cited employment, it was also noted that some emigrants after returning to Chivi, delay going back to South Africa in order to help out on their household’s plot of land. It is when the harvest has been made or -as is often the case- when avenues for eking out a living or ‘comfortably’ surviving have dried up that the trek to South Africa resumes. Consequently, poor or weak markets in the agricultural sector and in the form of social security nets appear to prompt some migrants to emigrate.

The decision to emigrate is largely inconsistent with NELM theory because in Chivi, it was noted that the decision to migrate was made by the emigrants alone. This is contrary to NELM theory which states that migration decisions are jointly made by the family unit (Stark and Bloom, 1985). This assertion would only correspond with six percent of the sample. Consequently, in spite of the likelihood that NELM theory may play a part in explaining migration patterns and decisions in Chivi District, there is a greater likelihood that the theory best explaining migration is the neo-classical migration theory. Evidence of this stems from a comparison of the average income range and the minimum wage in Zimbabwe. The minimum wage is an ideal proxy for the rural emigrants primarily because of their level of education. The lowest minimum wage in Zimbabwe is set at US$65\textsuperscript{v} per month which would then translate to R657.15\textsuperscript{vi} at the official exchange rate or R610 at yearly average exchange rate for 2013\textsuperscript{vii}. As earlier stated, neoclassical migration theory suggests that people migrate where they identify wage differentials between two places such that their current location has lower wages than the prospective area. Consequently, because the average income reflected by the minimum wage is lower than the average earnings of emigrants in South Africa, the neoclassical explanation for migration would appear to apply in the case of emigrants from Chivi. Lastly, despite some emigrants harbouring the opinion that they could earn more back in Zimbabwe (a point which could refute assertions made by neoclassical economics); the differences in quality of life appear to entice them into staying on in South Africa as emigrants.

From the data collected, three key points can be identified which relate to NELM, neoclassical migration model and the sustainable livelihoods framework. First, perceptions from household heads suggest that emigrants tend to decide on migrating on their own. Second, migrants are motivated by a desire to get jobs. The explanation for high incidences of employment seekers may be due to the poor labour markets in Zimbabwe\textsuperscript{viii}, lack of ‘sustainable systems of social security’\textsuperscript{viii} as well as low levels of agricultural insurance in.
rural Zimbabwe\(^{4}\). Consequently, it would appear that motivating factors for migration which are consistent with NELM such as poor labour markets, poor agricultural insurance markets and weak social security systems prevail. However, the prevalence of employment searching as a reason for youths emigrating to South Africa suggests that NELM is not the primary theory that can help in explaining migration from Chivi. Using employment seeking as an indicator for neoclassical migration motivation and hunger as a proxy-indicator of NELM, it can be deduced that 74.5 percent of migrants were perceived to migrate for employment seeking while 25.4 percent were motivated by factors explained using NELM. Migration is therefore motivated by the search for better employment.

5.5 Volume and frequency of remittances

As revealed in the presentation of findings, remittances from emigrants in Chivi vary in frequency due to the inconsistent inflow of income on the part of the emigrants. However, on the basis of household cash remittance data, it is evident that emigrants contribute on average R1088 per annum to household income. This is mostly remitted when they visit over the Christmas holiday period. The fact that remittances are sent mostly at one time in the year is not entirely detrimental to the possible contribution of remittances to households. However, the average amounts remitted suggest that remittances may not substantially contribute to household incomes. An average of R1088 per annum pales in comparison to the average income obtained by households in rural areas derived from their various livelihood activities. An average income of $67.18 per month can be equated to an annual income of $806.16 which equates to R8150.28\(^{\text{a}}\) per annum.

5.6 Gender and age dimensions to migrant remittances

Men from Dzingira appear to make contributions which are greater than those of all women. On average, men contribute more than women although this is not in both villages. The lower average remitting volumes of women may be explained by the nature of jobs or occupations which emigrants have in South Africa. Women tended to work in the informal sector as vendors and hence received lower wages compared to men who although being self-employed in the informal sector, tended to do contract work in areas such as construction. Consequently, men were more likely to acquire higher wages on average and therefore remit more, than their female counterparts.

Most emigrants identified in the household interviews conducted tended to be between the ages of 17 and 31 years. The average age of emigrants from both villages was 24.1 years of age. Among men, the average age was 26 while among women it was 25 years of age. The figures are consistent with those of the sample in Pretoria. The average age was 26 years of age while the range was from 20 years of age to 31 years of age. The Pretoria sample revealed that the levels of education were evenly distributed. Of the thirteen emigrants who comprised of eight men and five women, four men attended primary while an equal number had attended secondary school. Women were also evenly distributed with three attending primary while an equal number had attended secondary school. The highest frequency among all income brackets was in the R1000 to R1499 range which had six respondents ascribing to it. This was followed by R500 to R999 which had four respondents and R1500 to R1999 with three. Consequently, men appear to earn better incomes in South Africa compared to women. This could explain the differences in remitting behaviour which reveal that of the eight people who remit, six are men while only two are women. In addition, of the five people who do not remit, two are men while three are women. Using responses of either ‘yes’ as a proxy for remitting behaviour and ‘no’ for non-remitting behaviour among males and females, data from the Pretoria sample were tested for correlation to identify whether there was a strong or weak relationship between gender and remitting behaviour. The data were input into SPSS and results indicated a value of \(r = .35\). A value closer to ‘1’ signifies a strong correlation while a value closer to ‘0’ indicates that there is a weak relationship between the two variables. Consequently, despite the greater number of men compared to women in the Pretoria sample who claimed that they remitted; there is no strong relationship between gender and remitting behaviour. In other words, gender does not appear to determine remitting behaviour in the sample.

The literature review indicated that remittance uses are often studied under two broad classifications – for consumption (Barai, 2012), and for investment. (Ratha, 2005). The debate over consumption and investment points to questions over the role and impact various uses towards livelihoods and towards development. The study in Chivi noted that the predominant use of cash remittances was to purchase basic commodities. This is consistent with assertions by some scholars such as Barai (2012) who emphasise that remittances have limited developmental impact due to their use by households predominantly for consumptive purposes. Households in the area studied in Chivi appear to endorse the assertion as 80 percent use the remittances they receive for purchase of basic commodities, 16 percent use remittances on school fees, 11 percent purchase agricultural seeds and 2 percent use their remittances on an airtime business. The data on remittance use gathered in Chivi is supported by data from the Pretoria sample which indicates that remittances are sent between lengthy periods of time such as once in six months or once a year. It is only in one household which sells airtime where there is an

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\(^{4}\) www.iosrjournals.org 104 | Page
activity which could be classified as investment with short-term returns. Sending children to school may also be classified as an investment albeit with a long-term horizon.

5.7 Migrant Remittances and Sustainable Livelihoods.

The data collected from households supports Appleyard (1989)’s assertion that the ‘litmus test’ for the benefit of migration and remittances is in their use and volume. In Chivi, the households receive remittances intermittently with the average frequency of remitting in a year being once. Remittances are also low in volume compared to income from other livelihood activities. The low volumes are largely used for the purchase of household goods. While there may be potential benefits derived from consumption for the local economy through the money multiplier, the fact that very few investment activities were identified suggests that remittances are likely to be of limited benefit to the local economy and consequently, to local development. On the basis of the data, it is clear that migration and remittances benefits fare poorly in terms of vastly improving livelihoods and local development. Furthermore, Ellis and Freeman (2005) emphasise that migration and remittances wield benefits for livelihoods through assets accumulation which contributes to poverty reduction. However, from the study area, it is evident that very little asset accumulation is being done through remittances income. The assets identified by households were cattle, goats, donkeys, scotchcarts and household tools which were mostly not accumulated through remittances income. Consequently, the likelihood that remittances to Chivi largely benefit households is very low. Low asset accumulation and low investment through remittances suggest that apart from supporting other livelihood activities, remittances play an insignificant poverty reduction and developmental role.

Another interesting development with regards to remittances in Ward 21 is the prevalence of cash remittances. Studies on remittances in Zimbabwe prior to the year 2009 recognised the prevalence of goods remittances. However, emigrants in Chivi tend to remit more cash than they do goods. The most likely explanation for this is the marginal change in economic fortunes of the country since the year 2009. Prior to dollarization and the inclusive government, basic goods and consumables were very difficult to acquire in local shops. Consequently, many remittances were made in the form of goods. In contemporary Zimbabwe in general and Chivi in particular, basic goods are more readily available and traded hence the need to remit goods has declined. Instead, it is more convenient for the emigrant to remit in the form of cash. The convenience is however, likely to be detrimental to how involved emigrants become in the support of livelihoods and in local development. Since most decisions on the use of cash remittances are made by the recipients, there is likely to be a gap between the emigrant and development in the rural area. This means that there may not be direct benefits accruing to the community, hence no remarkable effects of remittances on the locale in the short term. While emigrants may not all have development of their home areas in mind, it is conceivable that there are some who may but due to the largely consumption-oriented nature of remittance use and devolved decision making and infrequent visits, cannot make useful contributions.

Lastly, households in Chivi, use a variety of resources which can be classified differently using the sustainable livelihoods framework. These include farming and zungura (natural resources) and garden projects and kushandira (human capital). Remittances appear less significant to household income and sustaining livelihoods for most families compared to other livelihood activities. This is because the annual volume of cash remittances constituted approximately 13 percent of the total household income that sustains their livelihoods.

VI. Conclusion

The study focussed on the role that remittances from youth emigrants from Ward 21 of Chivi district based in Pretoria, South Africa make towards sustaining livelihoods in the receiving households. Remittances supported households through incomes to a lesser extent. From a gender perspective, it was recognised that despite men remitting more frequently and higher volumes than women, the differences were not statistically significant. Therefore, remitting patterns by gender in Chivi are not significantly different. In spite of the search for employment being predominant, migrants often worked in the informal sector mostly as self-employed workers. The remittances that they sent to Chivi were mostly used for consumption in purchasing basic commodities and not for investment. The consumptive nature of expenditure stemmed from households in Chivi receiving low remittances which averaged R1016 in a year. The remittance income was therefore insufficient for use in investment activities which would make remittance contributions more sustainable. The study reveals that in spite of remittances to Chivi being transferred through formal channels, they do not appear to make much developmental impact. This contrasts with the assertion made by Zanamwe and Devillard (2009) that remittances through formal channels are likely to be more development oriented compared to those sent through informal channels. While the study does not refute the claims because of its focus on a local level, it does reveal the possible need for complementary elements such as knowledge and information on efficient remitting channels in order for remittances sent through formal channels to have more developmental effects.
The study also revealed that while there have been a lot of studies on remittances in urban areas which are often characterised by better education levels and therefore prone to the ‘brain drain’, rural areas face a crisis of their own. While it may be quickly dismissed as a ‘brawn drain’, the truth is that with limited education attainment and livelihood options, youth from Chivi have few options but to utilise the one form of capital they have – human capital in the form of their labour. They consider future likely earnings and make a decision. Often, this means that they emigrate from Zimbabwe to South Africa. However, their financial expectations are at times not met and hence they do not contribute much to the homes they may have left behind in Chivi.

From the discussions made above, one can conclude that remittances have a small role to play in sustaining rural livelihoods in Chivi district. Their infrequent and sparse flow to rural households in Chivi deems them of limited benefit. Furthermore, they pale in comparison to the average incomes that households derive from their local livelihood pursuits. In addition, the consumptive nature of remittances warrants them largely consumptive and therefore not sustainable. In order to be sustaining households, remittances would have to be used in such a manner that they benefit households presently and also enable future beneficiation through increased incomes and opportunities. As the evidence reveals, there are virtually no investments save for the airtime venture. Therefore, remittances from emigrants in South Africa which are sent to Ward 21 of Chivi District do not sustain local livelihoods.

Notes:
1 This is according to the website www.parl.gov.zw, accessed on 02/07/2013.  
2 Kushandira is a shona word meaning working as hired labour. When literally translated, the term means ‘to work for’. Often people move from Chivi area to commercial farms to work for a wage or for material or food hand-outs.  
3 In chikaranga, ndari means a traditional beer-drinking function. The function is hosted by a homestead which invites people from surrounding areas to purchase traditional beer and socialise.  
4 This applies to farmworkers who are the lowest paid in Zimbabwe. Sourced from http://www.allafrica.com/stories/201304090237.html.  
5 This figure is on the basis of the official exchange rate of US$1=R10.11 as at 19/08/13 available from http://www.itdg.co.za/home.aspx.  
6 The yearly average for 2013 was calculated on www.oanda.com/currency/average for the period 01 January 2013 to 24 August 2013.  
8 http://www.nehandaradio.com/2013/01/09/rural-areas—a-delicate-political-domain-in-zimbabwe/  
9 This is according to a document on Zimbabwean agricultural insurance markets available from the website: http://www.parl.gov.zw/dndocuments/Finance/Poverty2011.pdf  
10 This figure is on the basis of the official exchange rate of US$1=R10.11 as at 19/08/13 available from http://www.itdg.co.za/home.aspx.  
11 Scotchcart is a colloquial term used in reference to animal-drawn carts.

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