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SOCIOECONOMIC AND CULTURAL IMPACTS OF LABOUR MIGRATION ON MIGRANT MINEWORKER FAMILIES IN THE KINGDOM OF ESWATINI

By

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DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to my ancestors and descendants. To my ancestors, for laying the formidable foundations on which we stand today. And to my future descendants, may this be a sign and reminder that everything is possible when Umvelinchanti and your ancestors are walking with you.

Mtseku, Tsikatane waboLanga, Nyambokati. Von Groening. Hlatshwayo, Mhayise. Zwane, Mangweni, Linda kaMkhonto. Nkhosi, Dlamini, Gwalagwala.

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Ngiyabonga.

Makwande.

DECLARATION

Student Number: 13382251

I declare that **"Socioeconomic and cultural impacts of labour migration on migrant mineworker families in the kingdom of Eswatini"** is my work and that all the sources that I have used and quoted are all indicated and acknowledged through complete references.

I further declare that I have not previously submitted this work, or part of it, for examination at the University of Pretoria for another qualification, or at any other higher education institution.

1 November 2021

Signature   **Date**

ABSTRACT

Mainstream literature on the migration-development nexus suggests that labour migration has developmental effects for both receiving and sending states. The expectation is that migration will result in poverty alleviation and improved socioeconomic conditions in the sending states. However, case specific investigations on migration impact continue to show how communities within sending states do not always experience this anticipated development. This study sought to gain insights into migration's socioeconomic and cultural impacts on migrant mineworker families in the Kingdom of Eswatini. Using a mixed methods design, survey questionnaires and in-depth interviews were conducted to collect empirical data. The study found that although remittances were received, left-behind families often claimed that these were not enough to cover the respective families' expenses. The remittances had to be supplemented by other locally generated sources of income. Therefore, for these families, chances of economic development and significant improvements in living standards were extremely low. Migration was also found to have adverse sociocultural effects on the left-behind. The study identified a number of affected areas which included the considerable disruptions on adolescent socialisation, shifts in traditional family roles and functions which were found to have cultural and psychological consequences, the impact on emotional and relational welfare of the left-behind and their vulnerability during the migrants' absence. Consequently, the recommendations to acknowledge the importance of multi-sectoral and context specific investigations into migration impact, in order to fully understand its true impact on the left-behind, were made on the basis of these identified gaps between the anticipated positive outcomes of migration on the left-behind and the actual outcomes as demonstrated by the empirical evidence. The study also recommended that interventions aimed at training and developing skills of able-bodied left-behind members of migrant households should be instituted in order to increase their chances of employment, especially self-employment, and meaningful contributions towards the households' survival and welfare.

Keywords: Migration, Labour Migration, Family, Welfare, Eswatini.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AU	African Union
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FPE	Free Primary Education
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
ILO	International Labour Organisation
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
LBD	Left-behind Dependents
LBS	Left-behind Spouse
NELM	New Economic of Labour Migration
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
OVC	Orphaned and Vulnerable Children
REC	Regional Economic Community
RIMS	Research Information Management System
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics
SACU	Southern African Customs Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SNL	Swazi National Land
SWAMMIWA	Swaziland Migrant Mineworkers Association
SWAYOCO	Swaziland Youth Congress
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training

TEBA	The Employment Bureau of Africa
MOET	The Ministry of Education and Training
TDL	Title Deed Land
TNC	Trans-National Corporation
UN	United Nations
UNHRC	United Nations Human Rights Council

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction and identification of research theme

Migration has been framed in development terms by the African Union (AU) through the African Common Position on Migration and Development, the Migration Policy Framework and the Continental Protocol on Free Movement among others (Abebe 2017: 4; AU 2006). It has also been captured in the United Nations' (UN) Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the African Union's Agenda 2063. The significance placed on migration comes from the view that migration possesses developmental benefits for both sending and receiving states (Gadau & Yahaya 2020). This sentiment has revealed a renewed interest in migration and its associated advantages after a period where discourse on migration was fixated on its negative impacts (Crush 2013: 61). However, the negative narrative remains the dominant stance taken by states and other development actors such as International Non-Governmental Organisations (INGOs) and Transnational Corporations (TNCs) (Munck 2008: 1227). According to Wise (2018: 163), migration is perceived as a security issue, with development actors citing the negative impact migratory movements have on national security, the economy as well as political stability. This narrative has dominated the discourse and practice around migratory activities, thus working to restrict the movement of people across borders throughout the world (Mendola 2012: 102).

The rapid globalisation of the world has resulted in an increase of migration flows. As the world becomes increasingly interdependent, this rise in migration has become an inevitable process of the international system (Nyberg-Sorensen et al 2002: 7). People migrate for various reasons, some of which can be categorised into pull, push and network factors among others (Marais & Cloete 2013: 78). Migrations may take place in and outside of the continent because of both push and pull factors. Migration can be forced or an act of voluntary movement (Widgren et al 2002: 215). However, according to Thonje and Zikhali (2014: 9), the push-pull argument is insufficient in explaining why people migrate. This is because this perspective only explains the decision to move as it happens rather than examining the conditions and experiences that lead up the decision made. People who move from countries with high levels of unemployment and poverty in search of employment opportunities and better living conditions engage in voluntary migration. While in areas experiencing civil war or violence, people migrate for safety reasons becoming refugees in a different country or

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Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) within their countries of origin. Additionally, some people move because of environmental and climate related factors. Subsequently, these and other factors have contributed towards the continued migration of people, thus making migration a current, relevant and complex phenomenon to investigate (Mendola 2012: 107).

With the contributions made by globalisation in the increase of migratory flows in the world, global actors have realised the need to frame migration more positively. This positive perspective on migration links it to development, countering the prior narrative that associates migratory activities with threats to security and political as well as socio-economic stability (Munck 2008: 1233). Predominantly, this position developed through the UN's High Level Dialogue on migration and development in 2008 (AU, 2006: 4; Wise 2018: 173). The AU and its various Regional Economic Communities (RECs) have subsequently incorporated this position into their own instruments such as the policy frameworks stated above. The fundamental assumption advanced by the migration-development perspective is that the movement of people across borders has the potential to lead to the development (Abebe 2017: 3). However, the reality on the ground seems to be inconsistent with this view.

1.2 Rationale and Justification

Consequently, the forgoing is what the study was based on. The current discourse on migration asserts the developmental effects of migration for both sending and receiving states. However, the dominance of the migration-development nexus within academic and political discourse has created a danger of assuming that this nexus applies in all states thus offering an inadequate space for the exploration of alternative perspectives (Wise 2018: 165). Moreover, De Haas (2005: 1270), asserts that as identified above the dominant focus of migration literature has been on the effects of migration for the receiving (and most often the better developed) states rather than the sending states (Castles 2010: 1566). This has meant that the contexts and perspectives of sending states have been largely excluded from the discussions on migration and development (Munck 2008: 1228). Furthermore, for those that do investigate the impact of migration on the sending states, the unit of analysis is often the state and activities at the national level and the economic impacts of migration. The literature does not provide sufficient analysis of the effects of migration particularly on families and communities of migrant workers within sending countries (Leliveld 1992: 2). The dominant focus of migration research is on the effects of remittances and how they affect development, with little attention being paid to non-economic impacts such as those that are socio-cultural in nature (Mckenzie & Rapoport 2006: 3). This imbalanced approach has led to an

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inconsistency in the research carried out on migration and development, thereby necessitating the investigation of migration from the sending state's perspective. The unique focus on the Kingdom of Eswatini's migrant-sending families presented the opportunity for the study to contribute towards understanding the differing contexts under which migration takes place and its interpretation for families within sending states. It further provided an opportunity to generate an understanding of the impacts of migration on migrant sending families and individuals within those families, as the primary units of analysis. By using Eswatini's migrant-sending families, the study's focus on the kingdom highlighted the unique context of a commonly neglected sending state within migration research.

1.3 Research Problem

Based on the migration-development nexus, migration is a means of achieving development (Munck 2008: 1233). The migration of Swazi nationals for mine work in South Africa is therefore assumed to bring about developmental benefits to migrants and their families back home. This study set out to investigate whether the migration of Swazis to South Africa had truly resulted in the improvement of the socioeconomic and cultural welfare of migrants and their families back at home or not.

Although current research on migration has included the perspective of sending states and the non-economic impacts of migration, such research has been limited to macro-level activities while neglecting micro-level analysis. The focus is often on state level consequences of migration rather than a more comprehensive analysis of both macro and micro level impacts. This has resulted in a limited understanding of migration impact, especially on sending states, and has presented a distorted image of the true impacts of migration on communities, households and individuals within these states. Furthermore, this has implications for the kind of policy designed and implemented at state level. When policy is not aligned with the lived experiences of the communities on the ground, it often results in policy failure.

Research on the impact of migration in Southern Africa has been conducted, however the majority of the focus has been on countries such as South Africa, Lesotho, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Botswana among others (Bakewell 2011). Studies investigating the impact of migration on a micro-level in the kingdom of Eswatini have been extremely limited. The literature on Eswatini is either dated or limited in its scope, predominantly focusing on the role of remittances in the relationship between migration and development. Consequently, the micro-level activities and changes that emerge because of labour migration, affecting families

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and communities within the country, are insufficiently explored through research. The cultural and socioeconomic consequences of migration have not been investigated at the household level. This means that the knowledge of migration impact in Eswatini's case, is mainly limited to economic and state level impact.

Furthermore, in the rare instances where non-economic impact on families and communities is studied, the data collected is often restricted to general observations as opposed to in-depth ethnographical investigation of the realities on the ground. The implications of this lack of ethnographical investigation includes the production of generic knowledge on migration impact, which may not take into account the realities of local contexts, resulting in limited understandings of the phenomenon. Additionally, in Eswatini, studies conducted on this phenomenon are often of a non-academic nature. These studies are undertaken by Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs) with the aim of gathering evidence to support their non-academic activities (Save the children 2010; SWAGAA 2010). Therefore, there was a need to have an academic investigation of the topic at hand, which will possibly allow for further research on the topic. This study sought to address the above-mentioned gaps by investigating the socioeconomic and cultural impacts of migration on Swazi communities, in particular, families of Swazi migrants who work in South African mines.

1.4 Research Questions

1.4.1 The primary research question

How does labour migration impact on migrant-sending families in the kingdom of Eswatini? What is the nature of these impacts, if any, on migrant-sending families and their welfare?

1.4.2 Secondary research questions

• What are the socioeconomic and cultural impacts of labour migration on migrant-sending families and communities?

• Do migrant-sending families experience any changes in their structure as well as their socioeconomic and cultural conditions after the migration of members of their family? If so, what is the nature of such changes?

• Why is there a change, if any, to the socioeconomic and cultural conditions of sending-families as a consequence of labour migration? How does this change affect the welfare of the families left behind?

• Who, in migrant-sending families and communities, is impacted by labour migration? In what ways are they impacted?

1.5 Research Aim and Objectives
1.5.1 Research Aim
The aim of this study is to highlight and understand the impact of labour migration on the left-behind families of migrant mineworkers from Eswatini.

1.5.2 Objectives
• To analyse the way that labour migration socioeconomically and culturally impacts on the families and/or communities left behind by labour migrants.

• To describe the nature of the impacts of labour migration on migrant-sending families and on their welfare.

• To underscore the experiences of migrant-sending families after a member migrates to take up work in South Africa.

• To discuss recommendations and highlight areas of future research within this study's the area of focus.

1.6 Contribution of the study to International Relations
The study's contribution to the discipline of International Relations (IR) and migration research is based on the analysis made at the micro level, the context specific reflection on the Kingdom of Eswatini and the examination of non-economic impacts of migration. This contribution is significant because, as highlighted in the problem statement, most migration research has been focused on macro level analysis of migration impact. This means that the appreciation of what happens at the micro level, focusing on individuals and households, is often neglected. The study further contributes to research through the unique analysis of migrant families in the Kingdom of Eswatini. The existing literature on migration impact at the micro level does not include any empirical studies from the Kingdom of Eswatini. This makes this study the first and only study with this particular focus, providing new and context specific insights into the lived experiences of migrant sending families in Eswatini. The study also makes a contribution to literature by examining non-economic impacts of migration on families and communities left behind in Eswatini. The data on migration impact is often concerned with the economic effects of migration, which limits the number of studies that focus on non-economic impacts such as the cultural and social, among others.

1.7 Study delimitation

Although labour migration between Eswatini and South Africa encompasses different types of work, the study only provided an analysis of the migration of mineworkers. As such, the study did not discuss the local mining industry in Eswatini as the area of interest was on external migrant mineworkers rather than internal Swazi mineworkers. Subsequently, the data collected and analysed for the purposes of this study was limited to families in Eswatini with members that were current migrant mineworkers. The researcher also acknowledged the migration of skilled, semi and unskilled labour between South Africa and Eswatini. Labour migration between the two states takes place at all skill levels. However, the study specifically focused on the migration of semi and unskilled labour from Eswatini to South Africa for mine work. This does not disregard the other types of labour migration that take place between the two states, including formal and informal labour movements.

1.8 Definition of key terms

1.8.1 Migration

The literature on migration records that migratory practices have been a prominent feature of both international and regional environments in both history and present day (Sisman 2020). Migration is defined as the movement of "any person who changes his or her country of usual residence" (Kanu et al 2020: 3). Migration can be short or long term and it can be temporal or permanent in nature. Short term migration involves the movement of a person from his or her country of usual residence to another for a period of at least 3 months but not longer than 12 months (Kanu et al 2020). Long term migration is characterised by such movement for a period of 12 months or more. Migration can also be permanent in nature in cases where the migrant does not return to their country of origin (Bite et al 2020; Gadau & Yahaya 2020). This study is specifically concerned with the temporal migration of Eswatini men who travel to South Africa for work.

International migration relates to movements made by people between two or more states. International migration is often associated with movements that occur between political boundaries of states while internal migration is related to movements within the borders of states, which includes rural-urban migrations (Hickey 2016; Kanu et al 2020). Oucho (2006: 48) states that international migration has two features; cross border migration which involves movements between countries in the same region, in this case Southern Africa and movements from outside the region into a state within Southern Africa. Adepoju (2006: 28) argues that the distinction between international and internal migration can be difficult to

define as different stakeholders in migration view the two differently based on the varying contexts under which they experience migratory activity (Elrick 2008: 1506; King and Skeldon 2010: 1621).

Kok, Gelderblom and van Zyl (2006: 5) identify three main types of international migration. These are labour migration, refugee migrations and permanent movements. Labour migration is understood as a type of migration that involves the movement of individuals and groups for economic purposes such as employment (Gadau & Yahaya 2020: Mendola 2012: 103). Labour mobility can be circular, with workers travelling to destination societies for work in short, medium to long term periods but eventually returning to their origin states or communities (Kandilige 2018). Labour movements can also be formal or informal and can be carried out by skilled, semi-skilled to non-skilled workers. For the purposes of this study, the focus is on cross border labour migration of mineworkers from Eswatini to South African mines. The study is centred around circular migration which involves long term periods of absence by migrant mineworkers.

Adepoju (2006: 26) notes that migration takes up different forms. This includes voluntary and forced forms of migration. Voluntary migration occurs when the migrant moves as a result of a decision made by themselves or as captured by the New Economic of Labour Migration (NELM) theorists (further discussed in the theoretical framework in chapter 2), a collective such as a family. This movement may be influenced by structural or socio-cultural factors, (as will be discussed in detail in chapters 5 and 6 of this study) but it remains the migrant's choice to move or not. While forced migration results from circumstances that are beyond the potential migrant's control such that their life or wellbeing is threatened by not moving (Oucho 2007: 7).

1.8.2 Family
The concept of family has different meaning across cultural settings. The understanding of what constitutes a family and members of one's family is associated with the context in which this concept is used (Russell 2003: 9; Shabalala et al 2016: 10). This is why the meaning of this concept has been highly contested by sociologists and anthropological studies alike. The confusion in the conceptualisation of family mainly comes from the tendency to define family according to Western interpretations without recognising that such a representation of the concept is based on cultural and context specific understandings of family. The Western conceptualisation of family refers to the nuclear family with a mother, father and their children (Russell 2003: 12; Siqwana-Ndulo 1998: 407). On the other hand,

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family in African and other non-western societies is regarded as being wider than the nuclear family to include grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins, in-laws and other kin. Extended families, which are described by Siqwana-Ndulo (1998: 415) as collectives of people who live together and are connected through kinship or marriage and consider themselves family, present a more accurate depiction of the understanding of family in African societies. As noted by Shabalala et al (2016: 9), the idea of family in an African context can also extend to community members as well as members of one's nation. Although families are perceived differently across cultures, what is accepted as a fundamental feature of family is the interdependence of its members.

A number of authors describe family as a social grouping with a shared residence, economic and emotional cooperation and a setting for demographic reproduction (Georgas 2003: 4; Georgas et al 2001: 290; Mokomane 2013: 248). Shabalala et al (2016:10) state that "family is a social group that is biologically, legally or emotionally connected, who's meaning can be based on the context in which it is used and the tone of the user". This definition differs from the first in that it acknowledges the significance of context and perception in the definition of family.

For the purposes of this study, family will be defined as a social group with ties to one another. These ties can be biological, social, emotional, legal or cultural as determined by the context and interpretations of those being asked. The concept of family, particularly extended family, is important in this study because it forms part of the main unit of analysis. The study focuses on families of migrant workers and how the members within these families have been affected by the absence of the migrant. Therefore, it is vital to set the conceptual parameters for what can be understood and accepted (for the purposes of this study) as constituting the 'family' under investigation.

1.8.2.1 Family Structure and Functions

When discussing family, the literature often refers to the structure and functions of family (Georgas 2003; Georgas et al 2001; Levin 1999; Shabalala et al 2016). This discussion is particularly relevant for this study because of the significance both family structure and function have in highlighting the core findings of this research in chapter 6 (the data presentation and analysis chapter). The empirical evidence presented in chapter 6 shows how labour migration has affected the structure and functions within sending families in Eswatini. Therefore, an initial understanding of family structure and functions provides a better

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appreciation of the shifts that take place (as evidenced in chapter 6) as a consequence of migration.

There are a number of family types. These types relate to family structure and may include; nuclear families, extended, single-parent, child-headed among others. Family structure refers to the number of members in a family and the different positions they occupy (Georgas 2003: 4). These families can further be categorized into two generation families and three generation families. Two generation families are those that typically have a parent or both and their children. This category is consistent with nuclear and single-parent families (Georgas et al 2001: 291). Three-generation families are known as extended families with grandparents, parents and children. These three generations could be grandparents from both paternal and maternal sides, wife and husband, uncles and aunts, cousins, nieces, in-laws and other kin of the husband and wife from both generations (Georgas 2003: 5). The extended family also has different variations within it. Some extended families can be polygamous or monogamous. Polygamous families consist of one husband and two or more wives while a monogamous family has one husband and one wife. Georgas (2003: 5) suggests that the distinction between these two forms of family is important in order to avoid confusion of polygamous families as being purely extended. Extended families can either be polygamous or monogamous.

Family types can be influenced by a number of factors within any given society. These relate to the contexts under which families exist. The cultural values of a particular society can help shape the types of families that emerge out of it. For instance, in precolonial Eswatini, the values of community, shared responsibility and respect formed the basis of establishing and maintaining the extended form of family structure (Shabalala et al 2016: 11). In some instances, family type may be determined by the political climate and laws regulating families. For example, some states in the United States of America do not permit polygamy. This automatically restricts the scope of possibilities with regards to family types (Georgas 2003: 11). Other influences come from religion, education and economic conditions in a country or community.

The functions of a family refer to the roles and activities performed by its members in a bid to ensure the continued survival of the family (Georgas 2003: 4). These family roles and activities are designed to provide for the family's physical and emotional needs such as food, shelter, clothing, education, and emotional support among others. Functions of family also

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include reproduction, sexual and social regulation and provision of companionship. It is important to note that the type of functions performed by families may differ because of family structure. According to Mokomane (2013: 248), extended family functions can include the socialization of children, childcare and reciprocal caregiving relationships between the elder members of a family and the younger. The latter function may not be present in nuclear families for example, where caregiving is normally reserved for the parents towards their children (Georgas 2003: 5).

Family roles and functions can also be determined by the cultural expectations placed on members. These are usually unwritten rules about how a mother or father should act like and how children should behave in relation to their parents. In traditional extended families for example, female members are expected to perform domestic duties such as childcare (Mokomane 2013: 248). Therefore, female children are taught from an early age how to perform such duties. However, as evidenced by the data and analysis presented in chapter 6, these functions can change as a consequence of labour migration. The traditional roles which are often accepted as a norm were found to be affected by the absence of the traditional head of household. This shift in family roles and functions is one of the major themes in the analysis chapter and helps in answering the research question.

1.8.2.2 Family in the Kingdom of Eswatini

The preceding discussion is specifically relevant to this research because of the unique context in which family is understood in African societies and in particular, Swazi rural communities. In the Kingdom of Eswatini, family was historically characterized by an extended structure centred on patrilineal kinship (Russell 1984: 610). Here, members of three or four generations shared the same homestead and responsibilities associated with the running of the homestead. Family roles were clearly defined by a hierarchical structure that all members of the family and even community were meant to observe (Russell 1984: 604). The socialization of children was the responsibility of a number of elders in the family, including grandparents, uncles and aunts. This form of family organization went beyond the nuclear and extended family to include members of the community to which one belonged. This meant that children were expected to interact with all elders within their communities as they would their biological parents or members of their homestead. Such a structure emphasized the idea of family as more of a community than a group of people one is biologically related to or shares a common residence with (Shabalala et al 2016: 11).

Kinship ties with extended families can be maternal or paternal. In some societies, this distinction is important as issues of belonging and relationships are tied to a person's paternal or maternal lineage (Georgas et al 2001: 291). In the Kingdom of Eswatini in particular, children are believed to belong to their paternal ancestry more than they do to their maternal. This is why a child is given their father's surname at birth and becomes a fully-fledged member of that particular family as a result (Russell 2003: 27). However, children that are born out of wedlock are deemed as belonging to their maternal lineage until a fine is paid to the mother's family. Only after this fine, in the form of cattle, has been paid is the child acknowledged as belonging to their paternal kinship (Shabalala et al 2016: 11). This practice often determines a number of issues related to the child, which may include their place of residence and their relationship with family and other kin.

According to Shabalala et al (2016: 11), the type of family structure described above has declined in Eswatini while the nuclear family, especially within urban areas, has become the preferred form of family organisation. Nuclear families in the cities still maintain links with their extended families in the rural and semi-rural communities, but those ties are no longer as defined and strong as those discussed above. This does not however imply that the extended family and the ideals that it was centred around is no longer relevant in understanding Swazi families in the rural areas. Hierarchical structures, gender roles, shared responsibilities and relationships within extended families may be less cohesive than they were before the colonial period, but they are still maintained to varying degrees across the country's rural population (Russell 2003: 14).

1.9 Organisation of the study

This study consists of 7 chapters, each focusing on specific elements of the research process. The first chapter is the introduction to the study. Here the research theme and problem are identified, followed by the outline of the study's research questions and objectives. The first chapter also defines the key concepts of the study as well as discussing the delimitations before concluding.

The second chapter is the theoretical framework, which discusses the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) theory and other relevant theories for understanding migration and migration impact. Here, the basic assumptions, migration outcomes and criticisms of the different migration theories is presented along with the justifications for the selection and use of NELM and neo-classical economics theories in this study.

The third chapter is a literature review of the migration and migration impact debates found in migration research. It presents these debates on labour migration and its impact on origin states, communities and families by looking at the economic and sociocultural impacts of migration within these spaces. This includes discussions on migration's impact on left-behind children's academics, psychological impacts on left-behind children and spouses, relational welfare and economic impacts at the household level among others.

The fourth chapter is on research methodology. This chapter discusses the research process and the methods used to gather the necessary data for the purposes of analysis and conclusion. It includes discussions on research paradigms, the research design, the sampling design, data collection, data analysis, reflexivity and positionality, the ethical considerations and limitations of the study before concluding.

This is followed by chapter 5 which focuses on the conditions causing migration in the kingdom of Eswatini. This chapter provides context for the study and looks into the economic and sociocultural conditions found in Eswatini, which contribute to the decision made by some families to have a member of their family migrate. These include the state of the economy, specifically looking at the unemployment and poverty levels, the education and health systems and the respective challenges associated with them and some political considerations among other significant structural conditions. These discussions demonstrate why some families end up using migration as a household survival strategy.

Thereafter, Chapter 6, the data presentation and analysis chapter follows. This chapter is structured according to the objectives of the study, providing data that speaks directly to each objective. It is based on the empirical evidence collected during the fieldwork phase of the research and the analysis of this data in line with the theoretical framework, the migration debates highlighted in the literature review and the context provided by chapter five.

The study then concludes with a final chapter on the recommendations and conclusion. Chapter 7 provides a reflection on the study's key theoretical discussions based on the contributions made by the NELM and neo-classical economics theories. It also presents a summary of the findings based on the objectives of the study as outlined in this introductory chapter. Furthermore, the chapter offers recommendations and reflects on possible areas of future research based on the questions that emerged during the process of conducting this research. It ends with concluding remarks that recall the aim and objectives of the study and the key findings and conclusions that were made.

1.10 Conclusion

This introductory chapter has served the purpose of identifying the research's theme, research questions, aims and objectives. The chapter also included a discussion of the research problem and the rationale and justification of undertaking this study. In addition to this, the chapter included a discussion of the key concepts found in the study, specifically focusing on the concepts of migration and family. The final section of the chapter provided an outline of the study's organisation before concluding.

CHAPTER 2
MIGRATION THEORY: AN OVERVIEW OF RELEVANT THEORETICAL APPROACHES

2.1 Introduction

Migration theory helps us make sense of the multiple processes associated with the movement of people internally and internationally. Although highly criticized for mainly focusing on migration determinants, migration theories are still useful in explaining some of the important activities within the migration and development space (Carling et al 2020; Kurekova 2010). This chapter presents some of the theoretical debates that have shaped migration research with a specific focus on the theoretical migration approach, New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM), used in this study. The chapter begins with a discussion of the different migration theory categorizations. Here, the migration initiation and perpetuation are reflected on as the main categorizations of migration. In addition, the level of analysis, being micro, meso and macro levels are also highlighted under the categorization section. The chapter than discusses the main theoretical approach informing this research, NELM. Here the discussion is focussed on the basic assumptions of the theory, the outcomes, criticisms, and limitations. Thereafter, a section on the justification for using the NELM theory follows. The final section provides a discussion of other relevant theoretical approaches in migration which include neo-classical migration theory, cumulative causation, and migration system theory. For each theory highlighted here, the basic assumptions and critics against it were briefly discussed.

Migration debates have been represented by competing views from scholars and policy makers alike. These debates have gone through numerous paradigm shifts as the environment in which migration takes place also evolves. Until the early 1970s, the migration debate was generally dominated by optimistic views of the neo-classical and developmentalist theorists. Thereafter, a period of migration pessimism followed until the 1990s (de Haas 2010a: 227). This period was dominated by discussions around the negative effects of migration such as brain drain and dependency. From the 1990s to the early 2000s, more optimistic views on migration re-emerged with a much more balanced approach that expanded the scope of migration research. This period saw the emergence of pluralist perspectives such as the New Labour Migration and Livelihood approaches, which had a more empirical focus than previous research. This is not to suggest that previous migration research did not have

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empirical studies but to indicate an increase during this period. This period was trailed by a growth in migration research and a continuation of the focus on migration optimism from 2001 to present day (de Haas 2007). This section discusses some of the theories that represented these different periods in migration research in a chronological order, beginning with the optimistic period that ended in the 1970s to the pessimistic views of the 1970s to 1990s and the 1990 to 2001 period of empirical research and optimism and finally the 2001 to present day debates.

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2.2 Migration theory categories

According to Dahal (2016), migration theory can be categorized into two based on the purpose the theory is meant to serve. One category groups theories that explain the causes or the reasons for initiation of migration. Under this group, theories such as the neo-classical economic theory, new economics of labour migration and the world systems theory are regarded as providing a basis for understanding the reasons for initiating migration (Dahal 2016). Each of these uses its own basic assumptions, concepts and methods to arrive at

unique conclusions about migration. This also applies for the second category of international migration theories which focus on the continuation of migratory practices. This category features theories such as the migration network and institutional approaches (Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana 2016). These approaches are mainly concerned with explaining the continuing patterns of migration over time (Dahal 2016). These two categories are represented by the figure below (Figure 2.1) which shows theories of migration that explain the reasons and conditions for migration initiation and perpetuation. From these two categories, the focus of this study is on migration initiation theory which explains the reasons behind the decision by households to have a member of their family migrate and the kind of impact this has on the family.

Figure 2.1: Theories of Migration: Initiation and Perpetuation

Initiation of Migration

-Neo-classical theory
-Migration as system
-World System Theory
-Dual Labour Market Theory
-Lee's Push-Pull Factors
-Behavioral Models
-Theory of Social Systemes
-New Economics of Labour Migration

Perpetuation of Migration

-Migration as System
-World System Theory
-Social Capital Theory
-Institutional Theory
-Network Theory
-Cumulative Causation Theory
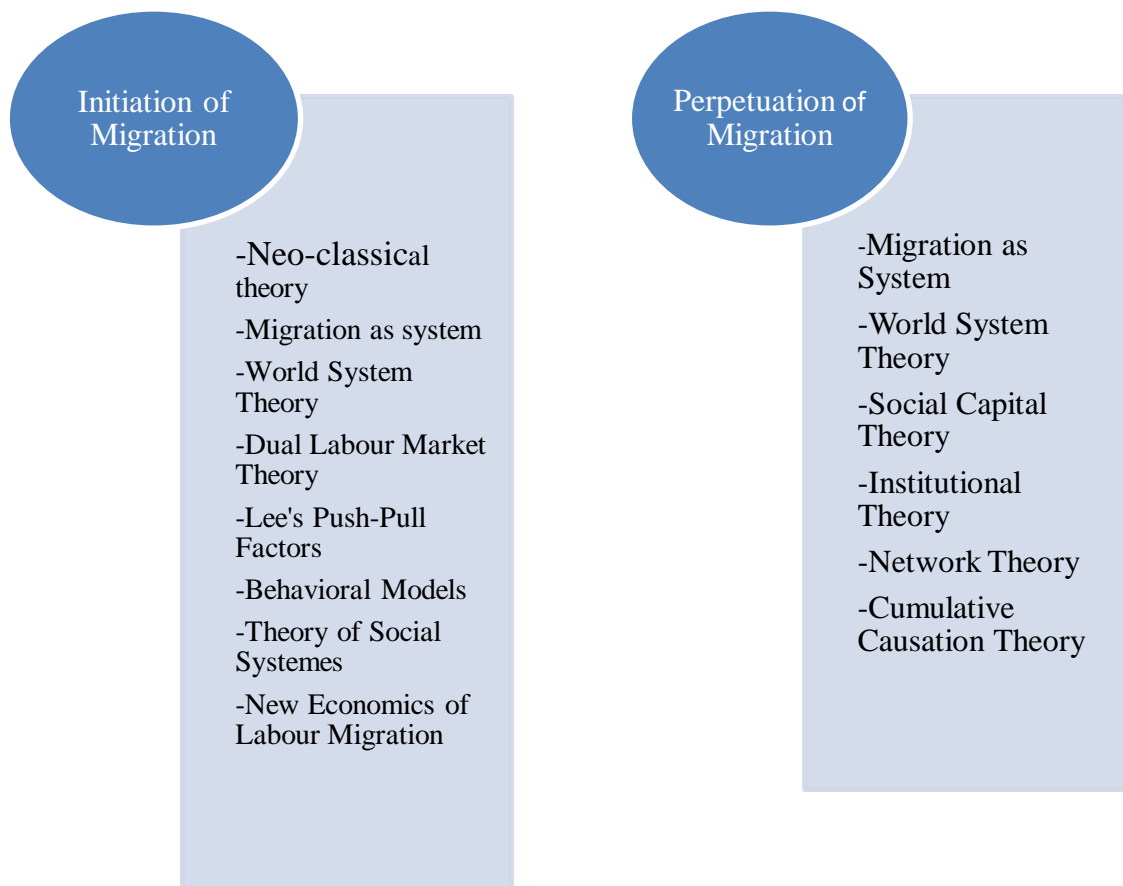
Source: Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana 2016

Migration theories can further be classified according to the level of analysis each theory is concerned with. These levels of migration analysis include the micro, meso and macro levels. Figure 2.2 as presented below shows the different levels of analysis in migration theory. The

micro level theoretical approaches are focused on the individual and smaller scale communities as the primary unit of analysis in determining the reasons for migration or the reasons for the continuation of migration. This level of analysis often includes approaches such as the theory of social systems, the push-pull factors framework and neo-classical micro migration theory (Wickramasinghe & Wimalratana 2016). The second level of migration is concerned with meso level analysis which tries to make sense of migration process through the combination of micro level and macro level analysis. The approaches normally found within this level include social capital theory, New Economics of Labour Migration theory, Network theory, and cumulative causation theory. The final level of analysis is the macro level which is concerned with a much broader scope of investigation. Macro level units of analysis include nation states, the international community and other larger scale interactions such as economic systems and institutions which play a role in migration. The macro level migration approaches that are normally used include migration systems theory, dual labour market theory, mobility transition theory and neoclassical macro-migration theory (Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana 2016).

For the purposes of this study, the focus is on meso-level theory which allows us to understand migration impact on families, and to an extent communities. The concern with migrant sending households requires analysis that goes beyond the individual (micro-level) while also acknowledging the role played by macro-level factors such as economic and socio-cultural conditions within sending nations. In this regard, the New Economics of Labour Migration theory, which examines migration at the meso-level, is useful for analysis that is focused on the household.

Figure 2.2: Migration Theory: Level Based Analysis

Micro-level
- Push-pull factors
- Neoclassical Micro-Migration theory
- Behavioral models
- Theory of Social Systems

Meso-level
- Social Capital Theory
- Institutional Theory
- Network Theory
- Cumulative Causation
- New Economics of Labour Migration

Macro-level
- Neoclassical Macro-migration Theory
- Migration as System
- Dual Labour Market Theory
- World Systems Theory
- Mobility Transition
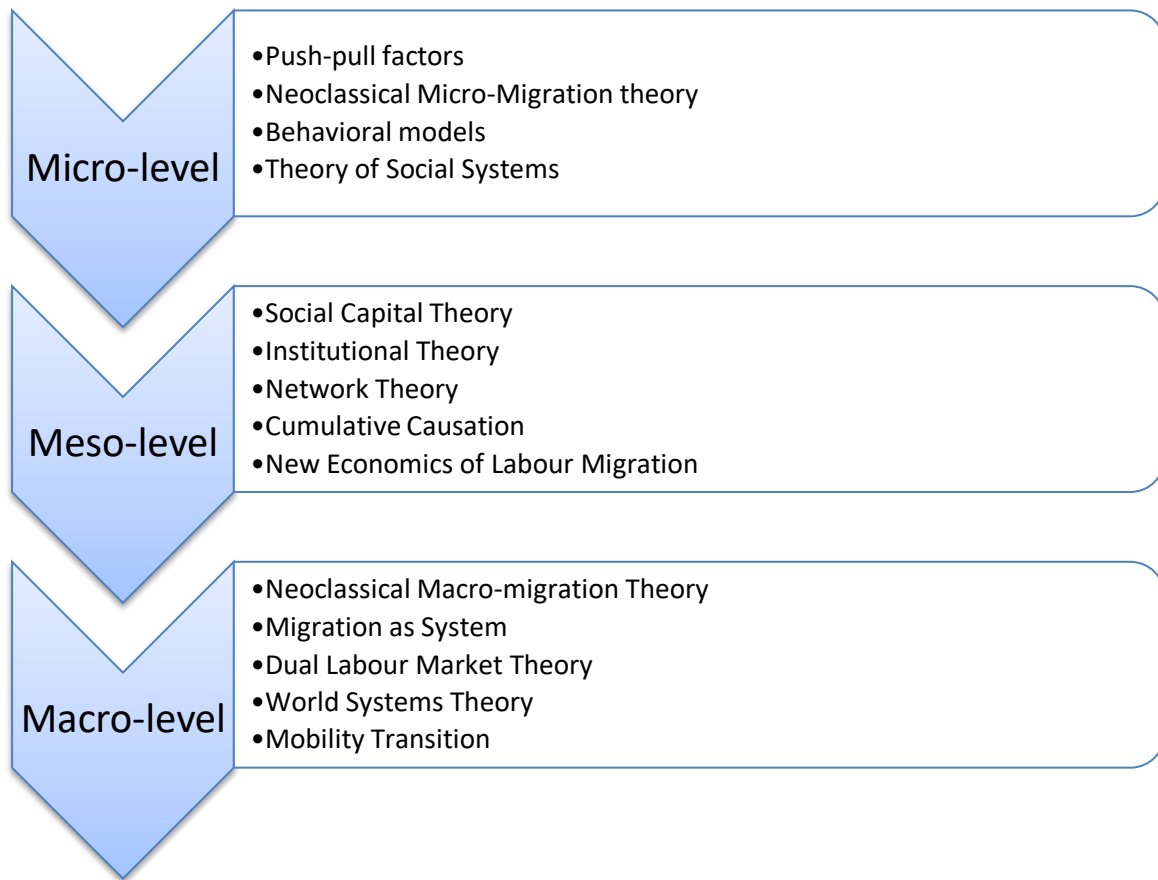
Source: Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana 2016

2.3 New Economics of Labour Migration

2.3.1 Basic Assumptions

The NELM was a response to the optimistic views of the neo-classical approaches and the pessimist views advanced by dependency and structuralist perspectives (de Haas 2010a: 242). The unit of analysis in NELM is the household (Zhu & Qian 2021). This is because the decision to migrate is often taken by the collective as opposed to the individual (Abizu 2018; Grune 2017). This approach acknowledges the role of human agency by placing a social grouping such as the household at the centre of migration decision-making (Taylor 1999). This moves NELM away from the deterministic approaches used by neo-classical theorists (at the macro level) and structuralists and highlights the centrality of human agency within varying structural contexts (Massey et al 1993: 436). NELM approaches the individual within a group context. This means that the individual's role in the migration process is

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acknowledged while the influence of the group, normally the household, is also considered (Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana 2016).

NELM is based on the main assumption that migration is a livelihood strategy used by households to diversify their income and avoid risks as well as secure investment (de Haas 2007: 7; Massey et al 1994: 712). In this sense, international migration is often taken in search for better economic and social environments, particularly foreign employment not only as a survival strategy but a risk management strategy too. The household utilizes the ability of its members to earn an income to manage the risks associated with market failures, especially within the labour market (Kurekova 2010; Zhu & Qian 2021). This is to ensure that the negative effects of these market failures, such as job insecurity and income fluctuations, are minimized (Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana 2016). Therefore, the collective decision for a family member to migrate is taken to address these potential risks. The remittances received can therefore be used to supplement the household's income or be used for investments and savings, which become useful during periods of market volatility. Further, the income earned in the origin states can also be useful for those who have migrated as it may be used to supplement their income in cases of income fluctuations in the host nation. This way, migration is seen as a mutually beneficial activity for the left behind and the migrant. Based on this logic, the return of migrants to their countries of origin once their household targets have been reached is not an anomaly (Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana 2016). According to Dahal (2016), this strategy is normally used by rural subsistence households from developing countries.

NELM further acknowledges that these households live within imperfect markets that often threaten their livelihoods. Therefore, unlike neo-classical theory, NELM recognizes that the decision to migrate takes place within restrictive market conditions (Massey et al 1994: 711). These conditions go beyond the lack of employment opportunities and other economic factors identified by other theories. NELM acknowledges that the initiation of migration is also based on the socio-cultural and political structures in the sending state (Kurekova 2010). These include issues such as educational and investment opportunities, access to loans and credit, the cost of living, inadequate service delivery, lack of appropriate health infrastructure and other socio-political factors. Households may feel that they are restricted by these structures when they are not conducive for their livelihoods, which then motivates them to migrate in search for better conditions (Grune 2017; Zhu & Qian 2021). In this sense,

migration is seen as a response to household's perception of relative deprivation (Abizu 2018). This further supports the idea of migration being a survival strategy as threats to livelihood may stem from so much more than economic challenges alone.

Neo-classical theory also places emphasis on wage differentials as the main driver of migration. The NELM argues that although households may consider the wage differentials when making the decision on where a family member will migrate to, this is not the only or most important factor influencing this decision (Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana 2016). For NELM, it is important to acknowledge the combination of factors and influences on this decision as it tells us more about the reasons and consequences of migration. In that way, the NELM, in trying to understand and explain migration considers both structural factors and market conditions faced by the individual, within the household context (Zhu & Qian 2021).

2.3.2 Migration outcome

NELM is opposed to the notion that migration strictly has positive or negative impacts as respectively purported by the optimists and pessimists. NELM recognizes that migration can have both negative and positive impacts on states and communities. The argument is that migration effects are not rigid and can differ across contexts. Essentially, migration will lead to benefits for communities and states where the conditions there are conducive enough to produce positive impacts. The opposite also applies, where environments that do not support the effects of migration thus leading to negative consequences (Massey et al 1994: 714). This approach highlights the importance of context specific analysis when trying to understand the developmental effects of migration in different societies (Taylor 1999).

Remittances, according to NELM play a crucial role in improving the welfare of households and helping them gain access to investment opportunities they would not otherwise have (de Haas 2010a: 243; Taylor 1999). NELM approaches argue that remittances can be used for productive activities, which is in direct opposition to the claims made by dependency theories, which suggest that remittances only promote dependency and inequality within sending communities (Abizu 2018; de Haas 2007: 6).

2.3.3 Criticisms and theory limitations

One of the major criticisms levelled against NELM is the theory's narrow focus on the factors listed as potential causes of migration. According to Grune (2017), NELM ought to include other conditions facilitating migration in addition to the focus on market restrictions.

The assumption made by NELM is that the income received from the migrant member of the family will be sufficient for the household's survival during instances of market failure in other migration environments. If a household loses all its other sources of income because of market failures which incapacitate the earning abilities of those that remained behind, the expectation is that the family will continue to survive based on the income received from an external market where the migrant member is stationed. This however does not account for the unique circumstances found in Eswatini, where market failures have led to high levels of unemployment and poverty (Manana & Rule 2021). This means that the remittances may become the only source of stable income for some households. In addition to this, the remittances may not be sufficient in covering the household expenses, especially when they are not supplemented by other sources of income generated locally. Therefore, in such instances the presence of remittances no longer has the expected effect of improving household livelihoods or ensuring the survival of the family. Empirical evidence gathered during this study will show the unique circumstances faced by Eswatini rural migrant households and how the intended consequences of labour migration, including the improvement of living conditions, are not realized for some.

The NELM, like other migration theories such as neoclassical or network theory, tend to focus on the economic outcomes of migration. The main concern is with the developmental aspects of migration, with some theories perpetuating the optimistic views of the migration-development relationship and others promoting the pessimistic narrative. The most significant highlight of migration theory, including NELM is often the role played by remittances in improving the living conditions within sending countries. Although the NELM acknowledges the possibility of both positive and negative effects of migration and the centrality of context in determining migration impact, this acknowledgement still focuses on economic outcomes of migration. The consequences of migration stretch beyond the economic spheres associated with development and remittances to affect other spheres of a society at state, community, and household levels. However, these socio-cultural and political consequences of migration are not sufficiently investigated, creating a distorted analysis of

migration impact for sending countries. Consequently, the non-economic migration outcomes, particularly at the household level, need to be included in the study of migration to provide a more comprehensive analysis of impact within sending states. This is especially the case for the kingdom of Eswatini where the unique socio-cultural conditions faced by rural households present a challenge to the expected outcomes of migration.

2.3.4 Justification for the use of theory

When compared with other migration theories, the NELM approach provides a more accurate representation of the complexities of migration and migration impact. This approach has been chosen for this research as it offers a more comprehensive way of understanding the interplay between structure and actors in labour migration. This is contrary to the restricted focus of optimists and pessimists and widens the scope to present a pluralist view of migration. This approach acknowledges the potential for both negative and positive consequences of migration on both sending and receiving states. This is relevant for this study because the investigation seeks to explore all possibilities, being positive or negative of labour migration among Eswatini's migrant sending families. Using any of the other theoretical approaches, the neoclassical economics theory, or the cumulative causation theory, would limit the scope of analysis to focus exclusively on either the positive or negative effects of migration respectively. This in turn would present an inaccurate depiction of the lived realities of these families, which may show images contrary to either strictly positive or negative understandings of migration impact. By acknowledging the importance of context in determining the nature of migration impact across different environments, the NELM is better suited than other theories in helping us better understand the outcomes of migration across unique conditions.

NELM also examines other factors influencing the decision to migrate besides individual utility maximisation (Taylor 1999). This helps us understand other reasons for initiation and the continuation of migration other than utility maximisation. The theory considers the sociocultural and political conditions within sending states as important factors explaining the initiation of migration. Unlike other theories, the NELM brings out the significance of non-economic factors in understanding migration, albeit to a limited extent. This is particularly useful in this study because of the investigation's focus on the sociocultural aspects of migration in Eswatini. It also helps highlight the usefulness of non-economic analysis in better understanding and explaining migration.

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The NELM also allows us to go beyond the emphasis on the individual and macro levels of analysis to incorporate the household and community levels of analysis, expanding the site of investigation. This study's focus is on migrant sending households, therefore the theoretical approach adopted is meant to direct focus on this level of analysis.

2.4 Other theoretical approaches to migration

2.4.1 Neo-classical economics theory

The macro level analysis of the neo-classical approach focuses on the flow of labour and wages. This classical approach is concerned with demonstrating how "migration is driven by geographic differences in labour supply and demand and the resulting differentials in wages between labour-rich versus capital-rich countries" (Kurekova 2010). Therefore, for neoclassical theory, the main cause of international migration is the geographical imbalance between the demand and supply of labour. In countries or regions where the labour is abundant but is lacking with regards to wages, the labour often migrates to those areas where wages are more favourable (Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana 2016). This process is believed to contribute towards development and economic growth. For neo-classical theorists, migration has benefits for both sending and receiving states as resources (labour and capital) are optimally allocated through labour movements (de Haas 2010a: 231). Labour migration can also reallocate labour from rural areas and low-wage, capital-scarce states to urban areas and high-wage, labour-scarce states. This labour movement is argued to lead to an opposite flow of capital from the labour-scarce states, which are normally the more developed states towards the capital-scarce developing states (de Haas 2010b).

Neo-classical economics theory has the unique advantage of being able to analyse migration from both macro and micro levels. This makes the theory useful, particularly for this study, in helping us gain a better understanding of some of the conditions that influence the decision to migrate at an individual level. Neo-classical economics argue that the decision to migrate can be based on the need for utility maximization by the individual (Hejdukova & Kurekova 2020). Therefore, an individual, in collaboration with the various structural factors within their environment, will make the decision to migrate in order to maximize their economic utility. This argument is consistent with the claims made by the NELM, which both place importance on the micro levels of analysis in understanding migration (Zhu & Qian 2021). Both theories respectively acknowledge the role played by individuals and households in migration. They also acknowledge the micro level anticipated benefit attached to the decision

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to migrate. For neo-classical economics theories, the motivation is based on personal utility maximization while for the NELM, the decision is viewed as a livelihood strategy at the micro level.

Therefore, both these theories become useful for the analysis of mineworkers' migration from the Kingdom of Eswatini to South Africa. For mineworkers and their families, the decision to migrate is made at the individual and household level. As demonstrated in the empirical chapter (chapter 6), migration within migrant sending households in Eswatini is seen as both a utility maximization and household livelihood strategy. The decision to leave Eswatini to work in South African mines is initially taken with the assumption that the income from this move will improve economic utility and livelihoods for migrant sending families in the country. The outcomes of this assumption are often varied across different contexts. For this study, chapter 6 discusses the outcomes of this decision making for Eswatini's migrant mineworker families.

Although the main theory used for analysis in this study is the NELM, it is supported by the micro level neo-classical economics theory. As stated above, the justification for using both these theories, albeit to varying degrees, is the applicability of both theories to a micro level understanding of migration (Massey et al 1993). Although the NELM criticizes neo-classical theories, this criticism is mainly based on the macro level analysis pursued within neo-classical theory and not the analysis that takes place at the micro level. Therefore, NELM acknowledges the micro level analysis found within neo-classical economics theories, which allows for the two theories to be used in support of each other.

De Haas (2010a: 231) asserts that neo-classical migration theory was based on earlier observations of migration and migration patterns within Europe and the United States. This understanding of migration is largely premised on the developmental and positive impacts of migration. Neo-classical theorists argue that labour movements will often result in positive changes, especially within sending states. As presented by this approach, migration leads to the reduction of unemployment, poverty and underdevelopment (Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana 2016). However, critics of neo-classical theories argue against the individualistic and optimistic approach to migration and the inability to account for other motivations for labour migration other than utility maximization. Massey et al (1994: 702) also state that the theory has not been adequately tested to prove the validity of its claims. This particularly relates to the expected income, which despite being presented as a major

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motivation for movement, neo-classical studies on international migration have not fully investigated the concept and its effects on migration. It is argued that human capital is often the main deciding factor in migration rather than the focus on the imbalances in labour demand and supply.

2.4.2 Cumulative causation theory

The early 1970s show an increase in the criticism levelled against optimistic views of migration. A paradigm shift focusing on a more historical-structuralist approach represented migration because of the structural conditions present within states. According to this theory, migration is regarded as perpetuating underdevelopment and global inequalities as those capital scarce communities and states experience human and material capital deprivation when people migrate to more urban and industrialized areas and states (de Haas 2010a: 234). This part of the theory is useful for understanding the impact that the migration of able-bodied members of the family has on the households', and to an extent the communities', development. When these able-bodied individuals leave for work in the urban areas or outside of the country, some families may be left with members that are not able to take up the productive responsibilities of those that have migrated. In rural Eswatini, subsistence farming is still a common practice and source of livelihood for some families (Myeni & Wentink 2021). The absence of able-bodied members of the family, who are regarded as a human resource, may affect the productivity levels within the household. This in turn may affect the livelihood of the family, especially for those households that rely on their farming outputs for survival.

Dependency and structuralist approaches claim that migration has largely negative rather than positive impacts, particularly on sending communities and states. Rather than improving conditions within the developing world and less industrialized communities, migration exacerbates inequalities by promoting the movement and concentration of capital (human and otherwise) towards developed areas (Binford 2003). Therefore, the structural conditions that cause migration in the first place are not improved as these areas in the periphery are left with no resources to achieve development. Cumulative causation theorists argue that migration does not result in price factor equalization as claimed by optimistic views; rather migration movements benefit the core over the periphery (Massey et al 1993: 451). This leads to further migration, both internal and international, as those left behind are pushed to migrate by the prevailing conditions of underdevelopment within their communities and states (Dahal 2016).

Consequently, this approach can be associated with the migration network theories and classified under the perpetuation of migration and meso-level analysis (Massey et al 1993). Therefore, this theory is also concerned with explaining the growing number of migrants overtime. It explains why more people from the same countries, communities or households continue to migrate and the conditions that facilitate this migration for them (Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana 2016). Cumulative causation theorists argue that migration is perpetuated because of the first migrant who provides the necessary social capital for family and friends that may want to migrate in future (Jennissen 2004). More like the network theory, this approach puts forward that migrants are motivated to leave because the conditions and costs of their migration is often more favourable as a result of having a family member or friend in the host nation. This explains why migration continues, as more people migrate, they create room for more of their kin to follow them.

The role of remittances is also viewed negatively by cumulative causation theories as they are perceived as sources of hyper-consumption and inflation rather than investment (de Haas 2010a: 233). This is based on the idea that remittance income is used for non-basic needs. It should be noted that this logic could only apply in conditions where remittances received serve as additional income and not as the primary source of income for a family. In cases where remittances form part of surplus income, spending may include investments and activities that may promote hyper-consumption. However, in cases such as those found within Eswatini's migrant mineworker families, this condition does not apply. This is demonstrated in detail in chapter 6 where the role of remittances in migrant families is discussed using empirical evidence gathered during fieldwork. De Haas (2007: 5) argues that remittances promote dependency within sending states, which in turn stifles development and leads to income inequalities within communities. Recipients of remittances are believed to become dependent on this source of income over time. This is argued to limit the developmental potential of developing states as the custom of receiving remittance income undermines the significance of establishing and maintaining local developmental efforts.

Cumulative causation theories assume that because of the structural conditions persistent within sending states, not everyone can afford to migrate. The costs associated with migration are regarded as being too high for the poor, therefore migration is often undertaken by those who are relatively well off (de Haas 2007: 5). Critics of structural and dependency perspectives however point out the contradictions within cumulative causation theories. De

Haas (2010b: 1587) states that one of these contradictions is how, according to cumulative causation theorists migration is often undertaken by those who are relatively well off. While at the same time, the conditions of deprivation caused by migration in sending states also leads to migration of the same people who remained behind in the first place because they could not afford to migrate (Binford 2003: 322). Another significant critic of cumulative causation theory is based on the focus of this theory on negative impacts of migration while disregarding its positives. De Haas (2010b: 1597) argues that empirical research has supplied evidence of the positive effects of migration and remittances on the welfare of sending communities and families. Cumulative causation theory is therefore criticised for ignoring this evidence in its framework. This also affects the theory's applicability across cases that present both positive and negative impacts of migration. This consequently limits the theory in its analysis and its usefulness to gaining a more comprehensive understanding of migration impact.

Although this theory is based on meso-level analysis, the focus on migration perpetuation means that the theory cannot be used for analysis in this study. This study is only concerned with the initiation of migration, therefore the analysis of perpetuation, in this particular case, would not be useful. The study is focused on Eswatini's migrant sending families' initial decision to migrate and the consequences thereafter. Although the unit of analysis can be classified as meso-level (households), the study only examines the initiation of migration from Eswatini to South Africa by mineworkers. Consequently, analysing the perpetuation of migration, using this theory, would not offer any substantive contributions towards the objectives of this study.

2.4.3 Migration systems theory

The migration system theory is closely related to the network theory of migration. Both these approaches deal with the role played by systems in understanding migration (De Haas 2010). Migration system theory explains migration process from both a micro and macro level. At the micro level, the focus is on the individual and the network systems that encourage their migration (Bakewell 2014). These include family ties, friendship and kinship networks between the origin and destination countries or locations (Suckall et al 2015). At the macro level analysis is focused on the political, social, cultural and economic systems that facilitate migration (Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana 2016). According to the classification of migration theory presented earlier, this approach can be categorized as dealing with both migration initiation and perpetuation.

The core assumption of migration system theory is that migration has developmental effects for both sending and receiving states. This approach advocates for the developmental potential of migration. Consequently, the initiation of migration at both micro and macro levels is motivated by the development achieved in both sending and receiving states (Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana 2016). This theory is associated with the optimistic views of the migration-development nexus debates. The central belief is that migration leads to development and the subsequent changing of living conditions for countries of origin (Suckall et al 2015). These advances may in turn encourage other people within sending countries, upon witnessing the developmental impact of migration, to migrate as well. The influence of these expected developmental effects is not only limited to individuals, it also reaches the macro level. Here, macro level influence affects immigration policy as well as other institutional structures involved in the migratory process (Kurekova 2010). When migration is regarded as beneficial, the migration policies and cooperative agreements between states are designed to promote further migration.

Although there are similarities between systems theory and the network theory one of the major differences is that while the network theory focuses on the relationships that explain perpetuation, systems theory goes further to discuss the developmental impacts as reasons for the continuation of migration (Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana 2016). Network theory argues that the existence of kinship and Diaspora networks explains why migration is perpetuated. This approach is mainly concerned with the reasons behind the continuation of migration rather than the determinants (Kurekova 2010). Therefore, according to network theory, people who are exposed to migration networks will continue to migrate even when wage differentials, as argued by neo-classical theory, are not favourable. The fact of having someone or people in the host country that may make the processes associated with migrating easier or more attainable is what encourages continued migration even when it may seem undesirable to migrate.

One of the major critiques against migration system theory is that it is a purely descriptive account of migration (Kurekova 2010). This approach is argued to simply provide a description of migration continuations, making its contribution to migration theory quite limited. Another critique levelled against this approach is based on the limited knowledge of "the internal mechanisms that drive migration systems" (Suckall et al 2015: 5). According to Bakewell (2014), the migration system is often regarded as being obvious, therefore not

requiring much elaboration. Consequently, it becomes difficult to truly understand how migration systems work, how they come about and how they decline. This has consequences for understanding migration impact as well. This is because migration systems theory tends to focus on an abstract level of analysis, which makes it difficult to pinpoint the actors involved in the systems and their respective roles. This reinforces the notion that this approach is quite vague in its analysis.

Although migration systems theory provides analysis of migration from both micro and macro levels, the approach is not best suited for conducting analysis in this study. This is because the micro level focus is on the individual and how they relate to the network system of migration they are exposed to. This is consistent with the theory's focus on both initiation and perpetuation of migration. This study only seeks to engage with the individual and the initiation rather than the perpetuation of migration through networks. Therefore, although this theory is useful, it does not offer an appropriate frame of analysis that is within the scope of this study.

These theories and other theoretical approaches used to explain migration are presented in the table below (Table 2.1). This table provides a summary of some of the theoretical approaches found within migration literature and distinguishes each one by subject of analysis, level of analysis, pet variables and critique. The table highlights the main concerns of each of the theories presented and is meant to provide a concise overview of theory informing migration research.

Table 2.1: Overview of Migration Theories

Theory	Subject of analysis	Level of analysis	Pet variable(s)	Critique
Neoclassical theory of migration	*Determinants of migration*	Micro Macro	Wage and income differentials Probability of employment	Mechanically reduces migration determinants – exclusion of politics and policies. Assumes linearity – unable to explain differential migration, why people do not move, or why migration ceases before wage differentials equalize. Ignores market imperfections. Homogenization of migrants and societies. Static perspective.
Human capital theory of migration		Micro	Wages, economic benefits affected by individual characteristics	Overly optimistic (functionalist) view - migration is not always a voluntary process to maximize gains.
New economics of labour theory of migration		Micro Mezzo	Wages and income distribution (relative deprivation) Institutional failures – credit market, labor market deficiencies	Critique of the neoclassical theory rather than a theory in its own right. Sending side bias. Limited applicability – difficult to isolate the effect of market imperfections and risk in migration decisions from other income and employment variables.
World system theory (historical-structural approaches)		Macro: global and international processes	Structural changes induced by the flow of capital	Only applicable at the global level. Explanation formulated *ex ante*, cannot be empirically tested.
Dual labor market theory		Macro: Nation state Mezzo	Labor demand Bifurcation of labor markets FDI State immigration policies and recruitment efforts	Receiving state bias – excludes push factors, formal recruitment practices overemphasized. Unable to account for differential immigration rates in different advanced economies with similar economic structures. Distinction between primary and secondary sector is usually arbitrary which leads to instability in empirical estimates.
Network theory	*Perpetuation of migration and/or directionality of flows*	Mezzo	Networks, diaspora	Conceptual framework rather than a theory.
Migration systems theory		Macro	Developmental space	Purely descriptive.
Transnational migration		Transnational level	Transnational social spaces	Novelty of the concepts has been questioned. Research within this paradigm usually selects on dependent variable.

Source: Kurevoka 2010

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a discussion of theories of migration. The focus was on the NELM as the theory chosen for this study's purposes. The chapter first highlighted the categories that make up migration theory. This section's focused on migration initiation theory and the

different levels of migration theory analysis. The basic assumptions, outcomes and criticisms and limitations of the NELM theory formed an integral part of the discussion. This was followed by a discussion of the reasons why the NELM was selected as being the most appropriate theory for this study. Thereafter, the chapter included a discussion of other theoretical approaches in migration; neo-classical, cumulative causation and migration system and highlighted those areas in some of these theories that could be useful in this study.

CHAPTER 3
LITERATURE REVIEW: THE MIGRATION-DEVELOPMENT NEXUS AND THE IMPACTS OF MIGRATION ON THE ORIGIN

3.1 Introduction

A literature review involves the process of identifying, selecting, and analysing existing data related to the phenomenon under study. The purpose of a literature review is to outline both past and present knowledge on the topic under study (Creswell 2014: 96). Literature reviews are derived from various sources including books, journal articles, dissertations, and reviews among others (Bloomberg & Volpe 2012: 3). This chapter provides a review of migration as the central phenomenon of the study by discussing elements of the migration debates and more importantly on the economic and sociocultural impacts of migration, which are central to this study. The chapter starts off with a discussion of contemporary migration trends. This is followed by a section on the migration-development nexus debates, largely focusing on topics such as the developmental aspects of migration considering the assumptions made by theories, including the NELM that migration as a survival strategy ought to produce improved living conditions for those that take part in it and their dependents. Lastly, the chapter turns to a discussion of the various debates around the impact of migration on origin states, communities, and families. This section highlights the findings of some empirical studies conducted on the effects of migration on those that are left behind. It also examines the gaps found within these studies with the intention of engaging the literature on migration impact further.

3.2 Contemporary Migration trends

Migration has been a constant feature of societal life from historical to contemporary times people are constantly moving within and between states and regions. Although African migrants are argued to make up a tenth of the world's international migrants, migration trends show that more migration actually occurs within the continent than it does from Africa to the rest of the world, especially to the developed Western states. According to Kwankye & Anarfi (2018: 31), Africans engage in intra-regional migration more than they do in international migration outside of the continent. This is also displayed in figure 3.1 below, which shows the number of documented migrants that have moved within and from Africa over the last 30 years. The graph shows the increasing number of migrants over the years, confirming how migration continues to feature and increase within contemporary society.

Migration patterns in Africa also reveal that African migrants move within and between African countries more as a livelihood strategy (Awumbila 2018: 9).

Figure 3.1: Migration within and from Africa
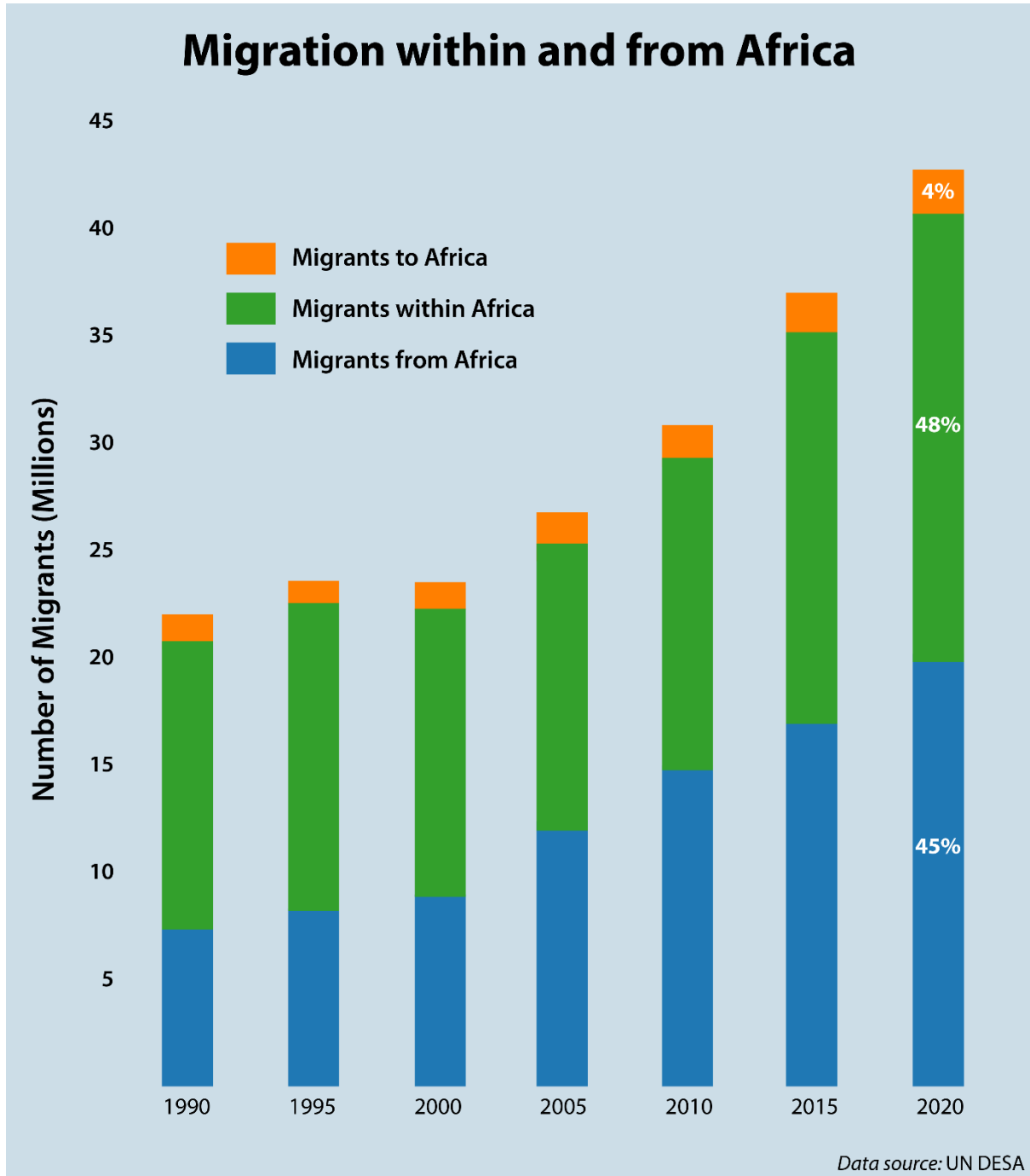
Source: by the author using data from UNDESA (2020).

Movement across regional borders usually occurs on a short to medium term basis, with people moving between borders for formal and informal activities such as trade and work.

Within the SADC region, these movements often see individuals such as informal traders crossing from one country to the other with goods they have acquired from one state to sell in another. These movements are frequent, with others crossing on a daily, weekly and monthly basis. Cross border labour migration trends in Southern Africa reveal that unskilled and semi-skilled labour continues to flow into South Africa from neighbouring countries (Oucho 2007: 2). According to Fundira (2018), Cross Border Trade (CBT) is a vital part of migratory flows in Africa and accounts for about 50% to 60% of intra-Africa trade. Cross border traders often use the returns from trading to supplement their household incomes and as a means to cover the economic gap caused by the lack of employment opportunities within their countries of origin. Furthermore, people still move to South Africa to work in mines and farms as unskilled and semi-skilled labour even though these movements have decreased as a result of the internationalisation policy instituted after apartheid (Oucho 2006: 57). Movement of skilled labour and brain drain also characterise the migration trends in the region with skilled individuals moving to more developed countries both within and outside of the region.

3.2.1 Migration Determinants

As indicated above, migration is motivated by various factors. These include some of the fundamental structures of society, environmental factors and globalization effects to mention a few. While acknowledging the multiplicity of factors that drive migration decision and patterns, this work focuses on the structural factors influencing migration, first at the international then at the regional level. Inequalities that exist in the international system are also present within regional settings, where development levels between states in the same region also vary. This difference is an inherent feature of the international economic system which divides the world into the global south and global north (Kandilige 2018). This division is further reinforced by the disparities in development levels within the global south, where some economies experience accelerated growth levels while others are experiencing under-development (Geiger & Pecoud 2013). Subsequently, people are motivated to migrate by the desire to secure a better livelihood for themselves and their families; hence the expectation is that they will move from less developed areas to those that are more developed (Kandilige 2018).

This is the case for Swati citizens who move from the small ailing economy of the kingdom, in search of work opportunities that could help their financial situation back at home. Swati citizens that do decide to move for employment purposes do so as a result of both the structural conditions that exist within the state and those that exist within the region Southern

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African Development Community (SADC). Internally, Eswatini's political, socio-cultural and economic structures are characterized by high levels of inequality and limited participation (Dlamini 2005: 67). The kingdom has in the past and is currently experiencing extremely high poverty, unemployment and inflation rates, instances of civil unrest, a crisis within the health sector, and a government employment freeze among others (Khumalo 2021). These conditions have made it extremely difficult for ordinary Swati citizens to sustain their families' livelihoods (Moore & Daday 2010: 292). This has prompted some to migrate to neighbouring South Africa in search of employment opportunities as a survival strategy. Some of those who make the decision to migrate are semi and unskilled workers who go to South Africa to work in the mines, as domestic or factory workers and truck drivers among others (Crush & Williams 2010). The main idea is to work and be able to send money back home to supplement the family income; hence the decision to migrate is often not an individual one but a collective effort by families to secure their income and livelihoods.

Although the argument that only a select few are able to migrate because of the costs involved may be valid, the costs associated with migration have not in the past prevented people from migrating (Schwidrowski et al 2021). The flow of migrants may be reduced or slower as people build up capacity for the move but they eventually do migrate. This is also possible because, when the decision to migrate is not an individual one but a collective economic decision, then families are often able to collectively work towards ensuring that the family member that is meant to move does so (Till & Panu 2014). These movements are also facilitated by social networks in destination countries which may reduce the financial burden of the journey on the migrant. Katseli et al (2006) argue that these networks often go beyond providing assistance with the initial journey, but also provide support to the new migrant upon arrival. Some may offer shelter, food and other necessities while the new migrant establishes themselves in the host state. This often happens because the expected benefits of migration are perceived to outweigh the initial costs associated with migration. Therefore, people are willing to experience some difficulty or discomfort at the beginning, with the hope that their living conditions and that of their families will improve as a result of the move (Crush & Williams 2010).

3.3 Migration-development nexus

The debates on the developmental benefits of migration have occupied policy makers, scholars, governmental and non-governmental organisations at domestic and international levels alike. Proponents of the migration-development nexus have praised the potential in migration to bring about development and growth in less developed nations (Iqbal et al 2014; Sorensen et al 2003). They have argued that with the effective regulation of migration through bilateral and multilateral cooperation among states, both sending and receiving nations can enjoy the benefits of migration (Faini 2007). For this group, migration benefits are often economic in nature and at the macro level. Those that criticize the optimistic approach base this opposition on the limited scope of analysis the approach uses to determine the developmental benefit of migration (Akokpari 2000; Bakewell 2011; Fagioli-Ndlovu 2015; Melde et al 2014). Migration-development pessimists are sceptical of the obvious benefits of migration, especially for the less developed, sending nations. They argue for a broader scope of analysis that goes beyond the economic to focus on the socio-economic, political and cultural effects of migration on development. This section reviews some of these debates between the migration-development optimists and the pessimists with the aim of highlighting the main issues of contention within this debate.

3.3.1 Developmental debates of migration

The migration-development nexus has mainly been promoted through neoliberal policy and optimistic narratives on the economic benefits of migration. The relationship between migration and development is portrayed as being equally beneficial and vital for both sending and receiving states (Faini 2007). The developmental aspect of this relationship is mainly focused on the economic benefit of migration. This ignores the non-economic effects that migration has, particularly for the sending nations (Roman & Voicu 2010). These socio-economic and in some cases cultural effects of migration may outweigh the impact of the economic benefit, leaving communities in sending states in worse off positions than they were in before (Kleist 2020).

The migration-development nexus debates place the migrant at the centre of the development processes of migration. The individual, through the remittances they supply to their origin states, is argued to play a central role in the development of that particular nation's economy (Faini 2007; Khan 2017). The assumption is that the economies of sending nations are able to grow because of the remittances flowing into the country. This assumption is flawed in a

number of ways. The first challenge with this assumption is how the economic is prioritized over the socio-cultural factors of development within these sending nations.

Secondly, the role of remittances, as an instrument for development, is argued to be over-exaggerated; making it seem like the presence of such income has the ability to significantly change the living conditions within sending families and whole states (Bite et al 2020; Roman & Voicu 2010). This has been shown to not be the case across a number of migrant sending countries in both the global North and South. The value of remittances relies on various factors, which differ across various contexts. In some countries, the prevailing socio-economic conditions create environments where the value of remittances received is diminished (Ratha et al 2011). Those who receive remittances may not be able to use them for the investment activities often cited in optimistic narratives of migration-development. Some still experience difficulties in meeting their household basic needs and often have to find alternative means to supplement the income received from remittances (Graham and Jordan 2011). This then gives a contrary image to that presented by migration-development enthusiasts who advocate for the developmental effects of migration through the flow of remittances into sending nations.

Thirdly, the optimistic, neoliberal narrative of the migration-development debate fails to account for the conditions in sending states that drive migration in the first place. This also relates to the value that remittances will have in any given society. The optimistic views of the migration-development nexus do not consider the reasons for migration and how these impact on the developmental potential of migration in the sending state (Melde et al 2014). In most cases, sending states are less developed than the receiving states and present better prospects for those migrating. Migration is often viewed and used as a survival strategy (Khan 2017). This means that the conditions within the origin state may not necessarily be conducive for investments and development when citizens are struggling to make ends meet (Ratha et al 2011). The underlying conditions within that particular state would have to be addressed first for any meaningful development to take place.

Lastly, the advocates of the migration-development nexus largely ignore the negative effects of migration on receiving states. These are often vaguely acknowledged while highlighting the positive economic effects of migration for both sending and receiving states. The fears and sentiments of locals about the impact of migration on their daily lives are often downplayed in these discussions of migration's developmental consequences (Faini 2007).

The focus is on the macro level economic effects of migration rather than a combination of all the levels of analysis in order to create a more accurate picture of how migration affects all levels of a society (Ivlevs et al 2018). The experience of migrants when they reach host nations is also ignored. Migrants are often confronted with undesirable living and working conditions in host states while others become victims of xenophobic violence or sentiments, making the experience of being a migrant a dangerous and uncomfortable one for some (Ratha et al 2011). In addition, the optimistic approaches to the migration-development debate do not consider the impacts of migration on migrants in transit and the effects on societies within these transit nations.

Ratha et al (2011) argue that empirical evidence for the positive effects of remittances on growth and development for origin states and particularly households has been extremely limited. Instead, empirical studies have shown that remittances do not have the power to produce the kind of economic shift expected by proponents of the migration-development nexus. Further, the level of analysis for migration-development optimists is extremely limited as it leaves out various levels and units of analysis which are directly affected by migration. This approach creates limited analysis and therefore responses to migration's effects for both sending and receiving states. The policy priorities at domestic and international levels based on this view of the migration and development relationship become distorted and often fail to address the real challenges and harness the actual potential, developmental and otherwise, of migration.

3.3.2 Migration management and development

Migration has become a subject of debate as it presents both major advantages and disadvantages for development. Cornelissen (2009: 349) argues that this gives reason to why migration management has become an important element of the migration debate as states, regional and international organisations and other role players emphasise the need for better governance of migratory activities in order to achieve its developmental benefits. This comes as the world is globalising and migration is becoming more vital for the productive economy (Jordan & Duvell 2003: 58). One other way that globalisation has manifested itself is through the intentional cooperation between states at bilateral and multilateral levels, collaborating on a number of issues including the economy, governance and culture.

In Africa, the regional integration project was strengthened under the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1980 (Thakur & Van Langenhove 2006: 236). Regional Economic

Communities (RECs) such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC) among others have made some progress in their effort towards realising the goal of freer movement between its members. The free movement of persons forms an integral part of the integration plan. However, the level of progress made in terms of the realisation of the movement of persons has not been satisfactory (Cornelissen 2009: 348). Presently, the protocol facilitating movement has not been ratified by all SADC member states. Consequently, one of the areas affected by this is the governance of labour migration within SADC.

Some of the debates surrounding this slow rated progress highlight the asymmetrical relationships between member states, which make it difficult for those states that are regarded as more developed to engage on free movement plans. This is based on the assumption that the developed countries will see an influx of migrants in search for employment and other opportunities, overloading the capacity of these more developed nations. In turn, the less developed nations would experience a range of negative consequences, including but not limited to brain drain, which impacts on the developmental capabilities of any society (Ratha et al 2011).

Currently, SADC instruments that relate to the governance of labour migration include the Labour Migration Action Plan (2013-2015 and extended to 2019), the SADC Decent Work Programme (2013-2019) and the draft Regional Labour Migration Policy Framework among others (Segatti 2015). Labour migration has seen the flow of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled labour between states, regions and the international community (Mendola 2012: 103). These instruments are meant to facilitate the movement of people within the region while harnessing the positive effects of such movement. This is based on the belief that migration, when managed well, has developmental consequences for both sending and receiving states.

According to Geiger & Pecoud (2013) at the international level, the regulation of migration is argued to present a rather uneven relationship between the North and the South. Migration agreements are designed in such a way that they often benefit the more developed receiving states at the expense of the less developed sending nations. The interests of the developed nations are prioritized, creating migration scenarios that result in developmental benefits for them. These states often have bargaining power over their less developed counterparts. They are often able to offer developmental aid in exchange for cooperation in migration

management (Geiger & Pecoud 2013). Usually the type of agreements that result from such an arrangement work to reduce migration from the sending states towards the receiving often developed states. Developing nations of the South are given developmental aid incentives to help regulate and thus limit migration to the developed nations of the North (Landau 2019). Where migration is encouraged, it is where the nations of the North will attain economic benefit (Roman & Voicu 2010). This explains why these states will encourage the migration of highly skilled professionals from developing nations and work to reduce the migration of unskilled persons.

This asymmetrical relationship deprives the less developed nations the opportunity to truly enjoy the potential benefits of migration. The process of encouraging the migration of skilled professionals becomes detrimental to the potential development of the sending nations (Roman & Voicu 2010). Although these states may be receiving developmental aid, the lack of adequate and appropriately skilled human resources may derail the process of development (Faini 2007). Furthermore, the effects of developmental aid on the actual development of countries in the South have been highlighted in recent debates. Critical theories such as post-colonialism, post-modernism and critical development studies have highlighted some of the effects of developmental aid in the developing world (Geiger & Pecoud 2013). The argument advanced by critical theorists is that developmental aid, instead of providing the necessary circumstances for growth and development creates a tendency towards dependency of the developing world on the developed.

Dependency theorists argue that countries of the South are often trapped in an ongoing cycle of dependency on the North. The aid provided to developing nations is designed in such a way that states keep going back to the North for more assistance. The terms of aid are set by the developed nations which means that the nature, duration and outcomes of development projects undertaken by these developing nations is, to a large extent, still in the control of the developed nations providing the aid (Geiger & Pecoud 2013). The terms attached to aid agreements often serve the interests of the developed nations providing aid. This reduces the potential for real development for the developing countries of the South.

3.4 Debates of migration impact on the origin (states, communities, and families)

Labour migration affects both sending and receiving states, communities, and individuals. Impacts can be both negative or positive and in some instances a combination of both (Gadau

& Yahaya 2020). Migration can have economic and sociocultural consequences for the origin state and communities, which are as important to understand as those witnessed in the destination countries and communities (Knudsen 2021). The literature mainly focuses on the impacts of migration on the host nations, looking at issues such as overpopulation, pressures on the local labour market, cultural clashes among others (Rapoport et al 2020). While the discussion on migration impact for the origin states is often focused on the effects of brain drain and the positive outcomes of migration on the economy, mainly through the instance of remittance transfers (Bite et al 2020). This study acknowledges the gap that exists in the literature in relation to migration impact and addresses this by providing an examination of the sociocultural impacts of labour migration on the sending state, communities as well as, and more specially on, the family.

As indicated above, the expected impact of labour migration is often an improved life for those that migrate and those that are left-behind. Studies on migration impact have shown evidence to support and disprove this assumption. The differences in results have been attributed to the differences in context and geographical location by Ndlovu and Tigere (2018). This line of argument states that the impacts of migration will not be experienced in the same way across different locations as the set of conditions present in different areas may result in a unique set of experiences with the same phenomenon.

3.4.1 Labour migration impact on origin states and communities

The impact of labour migration on the origin state and communities within those states can be diverse. As mentioned above, migration can have both positive and negative consequences for the origin across different societal sectors. The mainstream argument of migration impact often focuses on the economic effects of labour migration over the social and cultural impacts. This usually emphasizes the changes observed within the origin's economy, through the role played by remittances and the debates around the challenges associated with brain drain (Gadau & Yahaya 2020). These are usually the two main factors considered in determining migration impact on the origin. Migration impact goes beyond the economic level to affect the social and cultural aspects of a society (Wahba 2021). This is the case for origin states and communities, where migration has had an impact on the cultural and social structures and practices at state and community levels (Knudsen 2021; Pagheh & Amiri 2019).

Migration can impact the cultural practices of origin states where the absence of certain members of origin communities and families affects the effective carrying out of these practices. In some instances, migrants are those regarded as custodians of culture and cultural norms. Therefore, their absence as a consequence of migration may have negative implications for the maintenance of cultural practices and traditions, especially when these are orally transferred (Rapoport et al 2020). Within the African context, especially in traditional communities, family members have specific roles to play in the socialization of the younger members of the family. The absence of these members can impact on the process of socialization, resulting in missed opportunities and lessons for some (Kraus & Wojtas 2021). The culture of some communities may also be impacted by migration when migrants return with external cultural practices and norms. These external influences, which are often highly regarded as being superior to local practices, may alter the traditional customs within origin states (Bites et al 2020). The level of such external influence varies across different societies and may result in minor adaptations in some communities while resulting in major cultural changes for some (Pagheh & Amiri 2019).

Wahba (2021) argues that migration can also have an impact on the origin state and communities when return migration occurs. When migrants who do not have social security protection in the host nation return, they often contribute to the socio-economic challenges of the origin state. This is because challenges related to social protection often require the attention and action of the origin state, either through establishing collaborative initiatives at the state level for cooperation on social security matters for migrants or through local initiatives meant to cater for this group of migrants. This can have implications for both the state and the communities and families of migrants. At the community and household level, migrants may become a burden, financially and otherwise, for their fellow community or family members as some return after being incapacitated for work through illness or injury (Kleist 2020).

3.4.2 Economic effects of migration

Remittances are often central to the discussion of migration impact (Faini 2007). It is often the developmental role of remittances that receives attention at the expense of other migration impact. The flow of remittances from host states to sending nations has been framed in developmental terms (Ratha et al 2011). This offers the generally accepted sense that remittances will always contribute to the improved livelihoods of people in the sending state (Roman & Voicu 2010: 13). However, studies conducted in rural communities in Asia, parts

of Europe and South America have shown that the developmental effect of remittances is usually limited. This is due to the various other contributing factors such as structural conditions as discussed earlier which may affect the impact remittances have on families' actual benefit from migration activity (Katseli et al 2006). Studies conducted by scholars such as Ndlovu and Tigere (2018) in countries like Zimbabwe have also shown that remittances often do not have the intended impact on family welfare as a result of existing structural conditions and other factors that cannot be addressed by the introduction of remittance money into the economic system at a macro level or into the family on the micro level. According to Faini (2007), the positive impacts of migration and specifically remittances are often seen at the macroeconomic level. Studies that have conducted empirical research at the microeconomic level have often found that the role of remittances on their welfare is not as positive as demonstrated at the macro level.

This is supported by de Haas (2007; 2012) who states that migration, contrary to mainstream assumption, does not in actual fact lead to development or underdevelopment. De Haas (2007) argues that migration on its own does not have the kind of influence on society that it could alter the entire development trajectory of a state. The role played by migration is often one that contributes towards the economic, political, social and cultural structures of any society rather than altering them completely (Geiger & Pecoud 2013).

A positive effect of migration, particularly on sending nations is the potential reduction of unemployment. Based on the study conducted by Roman and Voicu (2010), countries such as Romania and Poland experienced reduced unemployment rates as a result of the migration of citizens to other parts of the European Union (EU). This is often cited as a short-term effect of migration and is believed to have a positive impact on the living conditions of people left behind as well. In such instances, the left behind are able to invest in education, particularly higher education, which in turn improves the chances of employment for those left behind. Furthermore, the reduced pressure on the labour market within sending states, caused by the migration of citizens who were otherwise be employment seekers, is argued to have positive consequences on the local economies and the general improvement of economic conditions (Gadau & Yahaya 2020).

3.4.3 Migration and impact on children's education

Since migration is a social phenomenon, it tends to affect a wider range of issues and structures within society, including education. Khan (2017) describes migration impact as being multi-layered, including the impact on left behind children's education. From the decision to migrate, migration involves a number of actors that function within a complex societal environment. This environment sees the interaction of social, political, economic and cultural factors among others, of which humans are a central part of. In some instances, migration has had a positive impact on the education of migrants' children in terms of both access and school performance, where children of migrant labourers were found to have access to better education as a result of the remittances received and that they experienced better academic performance because of this (de Haas 2007: 25; Moala-Tupou 2016). These children are believed to perform better than children from non-migrant families. The argument, as presented by Khan (2017), is that the educational opportunities for children in migrant sending families are better than those from non-migrant families. This assumes that the remittances received help to reduce constraints on the household budget, allowing for more money to be directed towards accessing better and even higher levels of education. The results from Khan's (2017) study of left behind children in a Pakistani village revealed that the remittances received increased household spending on education.

Migration, through the use of remittances as evidenced above can have positive effects on the education of children left behind. However, this is not always the case as some empirical studies have presented different results. Findings from Ndlovu and Tigere's (2018) study showed that in the Gweru Rural district of Zimbabwe, migration had a rather negative impact on education. Approximately 50% of students from migrant sending families within this district were not able to pay school fees in full and they had challenges with other school levies as well as the school uniform. The argument made here was that in some cases, students from migrant families do not have their educational needs met because the remittances sent are either not enough or they are used by their caregivers to cover other or even personal expenses. These experiences differ from children in non-migrant families as their caregivers are often their parents, directly responsible for their wellbeing. Kanu et al (2020) argue that left-behind children often received better protection and care directly from their parents rather than caregivers. They argued that children were more vulnerable to issues such as abuse and exploitation in the absence of their parents.

Students from migrant families were also argued to have challenges in class with regards to their academic performance (Moalo-Tupou 2016). This is based on the belief that the absence of the migrant parent affects the left behind student psychologically, which also has an impact on their school performance (Iqbal et al 2014). The absence of a parent can also affect the level of support the child receives at home. According to Ndlovu and Tigere (2018) children who lived with their parents were said to perform better than those from migrant households because of the lack of supervision and support from home with schoolwork (Moala-Tupou 2016).

Hu (2017) conducted a study on parental migration and its effects on left-behind children from central China. The study sought to investigate whether left-behind children were negatively affected by their parent's absence and if there were any noticeable differences between them and non-left behind children. Hu used a mixed methods approach to collect empirical data from left-behind children, their teachers and caregivers. The study revealed that, contrary to popular belief, as portrayed in mass media, parental absence in this migrant sending community in Central China did not result in left behind children being disadvantaged over their non-left behind counterparts. This was based on the understanding that Chinese values on education played a significant role in creating resilience among left behind children as these helped them understand the importance of their parents' absence for their futures. In this case, left-behind children from this community had positive perceptions of parental migration. The results also demonstrated how values of mutual responsibility among family members meant that left behind children continued to receive the emotional support they needed from non-parent family members.

3.4.4 Migration and emotional impact

Ndlovu and Tigere (2018) have also highlighted the positive impact of migration on the emotional state of both children and adults left behind. It is believed that children and adults from a migrant sending family have less to worry about as their basic needs and at times their wants are taken care of by their migrant member. According to this argument, those from non-migrant families are often less advantaged in comparison and often suffer from emotional stress because of poverty and deprivation. This is said to also contribute towards the improvement of family relationships and the relationship between the migrant and their spouse. According to Roman and Voicu (2010), migrants often assume that the remittances they send provides better living conditions for their families, which in turn influences their

levels of happiness and wellbeing. This view is based on the absent migrant's perception which can be quite different from the lived experiences of those left behind. However, the psychological impacts of the migrant's absence can still be experienced while the left behind are receiving a substantial amount of money and living well (Ivlevs et al 2018).

The migration of a parent is argued to have adverse effects on the children left behind. D'Emilio et al (2007) highlights how the prolonged periods of absence of a parent due to migration often create challenges for the relationship between a parent and child. The child may feel abandoned as they no longer receive the love and emotional support expected from the migrant parent. They may also lose respect for that parent as a result of their absence, making it difficult for the migrant parent to exercise their authority or instil discipline upon their return. D'Emilio et al (2007) also mentions that the migrant parent's role may be replaced by other members of the family that are left behind. This affects the relationship of migrant parents and left behind children causing disintegration of family structure and relations within migrant sending households.

A study investigating the psychological well-being of left-behind children from Ghana, Angola and Nigeria was conducted by Mazzucato et al (2015). The study sought to understand the relationship between transnational families and the psychological well-being of left-behind children. The researchers used survey questionnaires across all three countries, focusing on secondary school pupils. The data revealed that impact on children's psychological well-being was varied across the differing contexts found within each state. Furthermore, the characteristics of different transnational families were also found to have an effect on the type of impact parental absence had on children's well-being. In Ghana, parental absence was found to have no impact on children's well-being while the absence of a mother (through migration) in Nigeria resulted in poorer well-being. In Angola, poor outcomes on psychological well-being were based on the absence of both migrant mothers and fathers. Essentially, the study highlighted the importance of context specific research in understanding the true nature of migration impact on children's well-being.

As discussed earlier, context is at the centre of migration and migration impact. The emotional impact of migration, like other types of impact, is an empirical matter. The impact cannot be determined without the support of empirical evidence reflecting the specific conditions of the environment being studied. Therefore, it is not surprising that while other families may benefit from the migration of a member, others may experience no or little

benefit in relation to their welfare, education, and emotional well-being among other factors. Furthermore, a study conducted by Ivlevs et al (2018) highlighted the importance of using subjective well-being measures in determining the kind of impact migration has on the left-behind. These measures were argued to include both material and non-material parts of life in order to provide a more comprehensive picture of migration impact. The study argued against the over-reliance on standardized measures focusing on consumption, remittances and the labour market outcomes associated with migration.

3.4.5 Migration and family relations

Migration also has an impact on the cultures of different societies, affecting family and community structures, functions, and activity. In some societies, family structures and functions are unique to the cultural context of that particular people (Myeni & Wentink 2021). A study investigating migrant households in South India (Singh 2019) sought to understand the impact of migration on changing household structures. The study used a mixed methods approach to collect empirical data through household surveys and interviews. The data revealed that migration has a direct impact on shifting family structures. Furthermore, these shifts were argued to have an effect on the livelihoods of migrant sending families in rural South India. The migration of a family member, particularly the head of household has been shown to have adverse effects on families (Kanu et al 2020; Roman & Voicu 2010: 9). The family roles and responsibilities are often affected, with the women taking up more responsibility as a response to the vacuum left by the migrant husband. This, according to Ndlovu and Tigere (2018: 4), places undue pressure and emotional strain on the women, resulting in conflict, and disintegration in the traditional structures.

Relationships within families have also been affected by the migration of a family member. The migration process is one that transforms the nature of relationships within sending families (Graham and Jordan 2011; Kanu et al 2020). Roman and Voicu (2010) referred to the reorganization of family roles as a consequence of the absence of some migrant family members. This assigning of new and sometimes extra roles or responsibility was said to potentially impact the wellbeing of the family, causing tensions between members or even between the mother and father figures (Ratha et al 2011). The relationship between a husband and wife may further be negatively affected as spouses spend long periods of time away from each other, prompting infidelity in some cases, which may also place them at risk of contracting HIV (de Haas 2007: 29).

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A study conducted by Graham and Jordan (2011) was focused on understanding the impacts of family separation on the psychological wellbeing of children left behind. The study examines the experiences of left-behind children in Southeast Asia and reveals that children who had absent mothers are prone to emotional distress and often exhibit worrying behaviour. According to Roman and Voicu (2010), there are cases where children are abandoned by migrant parents. These children are often taken care of by the state in the absence of their parents. The study also reveals that in cases where both parents migrate for work, children are often left in the care of grandparents, friends or even neighbours. This, according to Ndlovu and Tigere (2018), places increased responsibility on the elderly which may make it difficult for them to provide the expected and appropriate parenting support to left behind children. In some cases, the elderly are left with the responsibility to provide for the children when their migrant parents abandon them or when they do not send enough or any money for their upkeep (Roman & Voicu 2010).

In a different study conducted by Europe Aid Project (2012), as cited in Ndlovu and Tigere (2018), the migration of parents was presented as a well-planned process that involved parents taking into consideration the potential effects of their absence on their children. According to the findings of this study, parents were aware that their absence might have some emotional and other impacts on the left-behind children. They therefore ensured that they left their children with the appropriate care structures in place in order to minimize the impact of their absence. Children have also been found to experience strained relationships with their migrant parents. The absence creates unfamiliarity between the parent and their children, often making it difficult for these relationships to continue as they were before the move. Subsequently, this could also have an effect on the psychological health of children and spouses left behind, as they deal with the absence of a family member (Kanu et al 2020; Ratha et al 2011).

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the main issues in the migration-development debates through a survey of the literature on migration. The chapter also included a discussion of the impacts of migration found in the literature. The focus was this discussion was mainly on the micro level impact of migration, looking at the impact on households and individuals within these migrant sending families. The impact literature was supported by both theoretical and empirical studies conducted by migration research scholars interested in investigating the

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effects of migration across different contexts. The results were varied, mainly revealing the need for empirical investigation when trying to determine migration impact. Some highlighted the positive while others the negative effects of migration. These were related back to the migration-development debate with the aim of highlighting the importance of this debate on migration and specifically migration impact research.

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CHAPTER 4
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed discussion of the methodology of the study. The aim is to offer an account of the methodology decisions and procedures used by the researcher in fulfilling the requirements of the study. The chapter starts off with an overview of the research paradigms used in qualitative research, in order to ultimately define and discuss the paradigm deemed appropriate for this study. Thereafter, a discussion of the research design, highlighting the elements of a descriptive study follows. The mixed methods of research and data collection are reflected on, followed by the population as well as the sampling design in the methodology section. The instruments used for data collection; in-depth interviews and surveys are discussed next. Then the chapter turns to data analysis, highlighting the analysis technique used for the study. The question of research validity is addressed by a discussion on reflexivity and positionality in qualitative research. Thereafter, the ethical considerations and limitations of the study are explored before the chapter concludes.

4.2 Research paradigms

The definition of paradigms in research has a number of meanings for different scholars. Some of the definitions put forward by the literature include Babbie's (2012: 31) who describes a paradigm as "a model or framework for observation and understanding, which shapes both what we see and how we understand it". According to Krauss (2005: 759), a paradigm can be defined as "the basic belief system or world view that guides the investigation". These paradigms shape the way we view the world, which in turn affects the way we learn about and understand the world. In research, the manner in which we engage with the phenomenon we are studying is based on the paradigm we are using. The methods of data collection, the analysis of data and the presentation of the entire research project will be influenced by the paradigm we employ.

4.2.1 Realist Paradigm

Positivist paradigms claim that the researcher ought to be objective as possible in studying any element. The researcher has to study the phenomenon independently of their own experiences. Positivists believe that all knowledge is obtained through direct observation and

measurement and that this is the only way for knowledge about any phenomenon can be accepted as valid (Krauss 2005). This ensures that the knowledge produced is not influenced by the researcher's experience but is purely based on measurable fact (Healy & Perry 2000). They believe that there can only be a single truth, which is obtained through a scientific process of objective observation and measurement (Krauss 2005).

The qualitative researcher often uses a different paradigm from the quantitative positivists. Qualitative research seeks to immerse the researcher into the phenomenon being studied. Unlike positivists, qualitative paradigms such as constructivism and realism believe that there are multiple truths that exist about a single phenomenon and that there is no objective reality (Krauss 2005). They assert that the 'truth' about the same phenomenon can be different based on the position and experience of the researcher. In this regard, qualitative research emphasizes the need for every subject to be studied within its unique context. Constructivists claim that the meanings we ascribed to things, places and experiences are all socially constructed and that they change over time because of the evolutionary nature of human existence (Healy & Perry 2000; Krauss 2005). For constructivists, meaning ascribed to the same phenomenon will differ across communities, which is why it is important for them to study a phenomenon within its unique context. This is in direct opposition to what positivism argues for.

The realist paradigm has elements of both positivist and constructivist understandings of the research process. Realism embraces both the qualitative and quantitative nature of constructivism and positivism respectively (Healy & Perry 2000). This paradigm views both qualitative and quantitative research processes to be complementary and useful in conducting a study on any particular phenomenon (Krauss 2005). The need for objective and subjective observation which is brought by the two paradigms is necessary in establishing the multiple realties that may exist about the phenomenon under study (Terry et al 2017). According to Krauss (2005: 762), the realist paradigm replaces the "seeming dichotomy between the qualitative and quantitative" which provides the researcher with an appropriate paradigm to address phenomena that require a merging of the two, to varying extents based on the needs of the researcher.

This paradigm is useful for this study because it offers the researcher an opportunity to use both qualitative and quantitative methods in responding to the research question. The qualitative paradigm allows the researcher to study migrant sending households of Eswatini,

bringing out the unique conditions present within the families and communities. This subjective acknowledgement of Eswatini's unique context will create the necessary conditions for a more accurate representation of the lived experiences of migrant sending families in the kingdom. Therefore, the objective contribution made by the quantitative method used in this study will complement the more subjective methods.

4.3 Research design

The research design is understood as the general plan a study will follow. The research design describes the "procedures for conducting research" including the data collection methods, types of data to be collected and how that data will be interpreted (McMillan & Schumacher 2014: 28). The design outlines the plan a research study will use in order to gather evidence for answering the research question posed by the researcher (Abdulai & Owusu-Ansah 2014). According to Kothari (2004: 32), the research design "stands for advanced planning of the methods to be adopted for collecting the relevant data and the techniques to be used in their analysis, keeping in view the objective of the research and the availability of staff, time and money". Therefore, the research design is understood to be a blueprint for how the study will be conducted, detailing all the steps and techniques adopted by the researcher. It outlines the topic to be studied, the population, the area to be studied, the research methods to be used and the justifications for these choices over others (Babbie 2012: 120). The research design is also expected to be consistent with the research problem and objectives in order to ensure that the procedures chosen are able to effectively respond to the research gaps.

4.3.1 Descriptive Research

Descriptive research studies are concerned with providing a detailed description of a particular individual, group or a situation (Kothari 2004). Descriptive studies involve the obtaining and presentation of facts and characteristics about the phenomenon being studied. Atmowardoyo (2018) defines descriptive research as "a method used to describe an existing phenomenon as accurately as possible". According to Babbie (2012), descriptive studies do not merely described observed phenomenon but go beyond to "examine why the observed patterns exist and what they imply". This particularly applies to this study, which aims to not only provide a description of the experiences of family members within left behind households but to understand why there are observable patterns among these experiences and what the implications are for those left behind. Descriptive studies make use of both

qualitative and quantitative data collection methods, making such instruments as interviews, surveys, and observation among others, available to the researcher (Atmowardoyo 2018).

This is specifically useful in this study since both interviews and surveys were used as the main data collection methods. These data tools were used to gather the information that shaped the description of the lived experiences of emaSwati with migration impact on their families and the effects on their livelihood.

4.4 Mixed methods research design

4.4.1 Qualitative research

Qualitative research follows the constructivist understanding of reality. Constructivism argues that reality is socially constructed, that "reality is an interactive, shared social experience which is interpreted by individuals" (Krauss 2005: 760). In this regard, qualitative research tends to focus on the meanings people ascribe to certain processes, cultural symbols, and personal experiences (Azungah 2018). It is concerned with people's subjective accounts of social phenomenon (Aspers & Corte 2019), focusing on the meanings that are given to these experiences and processes by individuals. According to Vibha et al (2013) qualitative research gives the participant a voice in research. In this regard, qualitative research aims to understand, describe, and interpret a particular social phenomenon from the research participants' perspective (Anderson 2010; Mohajan 2018). This is consistent with the idea that multiple truths about a single phenomenon can exist and that these truths are a result of differing perceptions of reality, across differing social and cultural contexts (Vibha et al 2013). Qualitative research mainly uses five main data collection methods. These include observation, document review, interviews, and field observations (McMillan & Schumacher 2014: 369).

Qualitative research seeks to answer the questions why and how in understanding social phenomena (Mohajan 2018). One of the main advantages of qualitative research is that it provides rich and detailed data on the phenomenon being studied. Unlike quantitative research which focuses on statistical data, qualitative research can offer new and deeper insights into causal relationships between variables under study (Mohajan 2018; Ngozwana 2019). One of the major criticisms of qualitative research is based on the reliance on subjective information. This limitation means that data generated from qualitative research is

not objectively verifiable (Anderson 2010). Another limitation found in qualitative research is the inability to use the results of a study for the purposes of generalization (Mohajan 2018).

4.4.2 Quantitative research

Quantitative research follows a more positivist paradigm which states that knowledge is objectively generated. This is based on the argument that there is only one objective truth about any phenomenon, which can be scientifically tested. Consequently, quantitative research is often associated with data that can be handled numerically (Aspers & Corte 2019; Roger 2015). Quantitative research is concerned with answering questions such as what and how, using quantifiable data (Goertezen 2017). Quantitative data collection tools include survey questionnaires, standardized tests, and checklists among others (Creswell 2014: 28).

Quantitative research can be used to generalise findings for a specific population and the standardized nature of quantitative research means that a study can often be replicated. The use of larger sample numbers also places quantitative research at an advantage when it comes to greater representation of any given population (Goertezen 2017). One of the main limitations of quantitative research is that, unlike qualitative research, it does not provide for the individual's perception of reality. The focus on numerical data means that the feelings, thoughts, and beliefs of individuals do not inform the creation of knowledge in quantitative research (Roger 2015).

4.4.3 Mixed methods research (qualitative and quantitative)

This study uses a mixed methods design with both qualitative and quantitative methods. The mixed methods approach uses both qualitative and quantitative methods for data collection and analysis in order to answer a study's research question (Clark & Ivankova 2016: 5). This study warrants a mixed methods approach because using the strengths from both qualitative and quantitative methods will provide a better understanding of the research problem (Creswell 2014: 565). The mix of methods allows the researcher to draw evidence towards better answering the research questions posed in the study. The mixed method research design is said to neutralise the weaknesses inherent in both qualitative and quantitative designs by using both methods in a complementary manner (Asenahabi 2019).

Most importantly, the mixed methods design also allows the researcher to "confirm, cross-validate, or corroborate findings within a study" (Chemagosi et al 2016: 142). In this case, the

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use of mixed methods allowed the researcher to corroborate the qualitative data gathered with the quantitative findings of the study. The two methods were able to complement each other by providing data that could be compared against the other, further improving the study's validity. The mixed method design also helped in expanding on the data gathered from the initial quantitative phase, providing a more comprehensive picture of the situation on the ground as presented by participants. According to Hafsa (2019), the mixed methods approach includes a multiple level strategy incorporating a two phase approach where both quantitative and qualitative data collection techniques are undertaken concurrently or sequentially. The sequential approach uses one approach at a time, where the first phase is used to inform the second phase of data collection (Hafsa 2019). This is consistent with the procedure followed in this study, where the quantitative instrument was administered first and then used to inform the qualitative data collection process, as described in the sampling procedure section in this chapter.

The study used a mix of qualitative methods, in-depth interviews and quantitative methods, questionnaire surveys. The qualitative and quantitative data was collected in a sequential manner. The sequential approach requires that one data collection phase follows and often informs the next phase (Bowen et al 2017). Moreover, the data was integrated during analysis and reporting, therefore it aligned with sequential data collection. The primary data was collected through in-depth semi-structured interviews and questionnaire surveys. The interviews were conducted face-to-face with members of migrant sending families in Eswatini's four geographical regions and the questionnaire surveys were distributed among the same group. Furthermore, secondary data sources such as books, journal articles, reports and newspaper articles among others were also used. Secondary data presents what other researchers have studied about the variables that form part of the study. Therefore, these sources help to inform the explanation of the concepts used and the relationship between them.

4.5 Research Population

A sample population as defined by Corbetta (2011: 5) is a collection of units of analysis that constitute the object under study. Therefore, a population is the aggregate of the sampled units. In this study, the sample population is Swazi migrant workers who leave the country to work in South African mines. Census reports in 2017 indicated that the kingdom of Eswatini has a total population of 1, 093, 238 people. The country is divided into four regions, namely,

Hhohho, Manzini, Lubombo and Shiselweni. The Manzini region has the highest portion of the population with 355, 945 inhabitants, followed by Hhohho with 320, 651 people, while Lubombo has a total population of 212, 531 and Shiselweni with the least inhabitants at 204, 111 (UN in Swaziland 2017).

Source: Maps of the World (2018)

Figure 4.1: Map of the Kingdom of Eswatini

The population size of migrant mine workers is estimated at 4 500 (Nshimbi & Fioramonti 2014: 57) of a total country population of approximately 1 million. This figure accounts for 0.4% of the total population. These numbers are of registered mineworkers from Eswatini working in South Africa. Statistics on the migrant population in each region were obtained from the statistics office in the kingdom. These statistics are publicly available and accessible from the Statistics Office's website and their offices. The average migrant mineworker is male, although new trends have indicated an increase in female migrant mineworkers (IOM 2010: 9).

Although artisanal and undocumented migrant mineworkers exist, the study exclusively focused on those mineworkers that have been formally recruited, usually on a contractual basis, by registered mining recruitment firms such as The Employment Bureau of Africa (TEBA) (Harington et al 2004: 65). These miners are registered with civil society organisations such as Swaziland Migrant Mineworkers Association (SWAMMIWA), which provided the database used in the sampling process. Permission was granted by the organisation to make use of this database in identifying migrant sending families within the four regions.

4.6 Sampling Design

Sampling as defined by Daniel (2012: 2) is the selection of a part of the entire research population in order to include it in a study. According to Henry (2011: 7), sampling allows the researcher to use a manageable selection of the population to answer a research question or test a hypothesis. Sampling therefore provides a practical way for the researcher to study a large population by selecting a sample which serves as a model of the entire population. Probability and non-probability sampling are the two main techniques used in research (Babbie 2008: 203; Bhardwaj 2019). In probability sampling, every research population element has a chance to be included in a study while in non-probability sampling, not all elements of the population have the chance to be included in the study (Daniel 2012: 15).

4.6.1 Stratified random sampling

The researcher used the stratified random sampling method. Stratified random sampling is a probability sampling method based on classification and random selection (Lliyasu & Etikan 2021). It is used when the researcher has identified the sample population and wants to ensure that a particular group within this population is represented (Bryman 2008: 192). The sample

for this study was identified through the list of migrant mine workers provided by the SWAMMIWA. The stratified random sampling includes creating sub-categories of the population under investigation in order to achieve proportional representation of those groups (Berg & Lune 2014: 51). These sub-categories in this study were the provinces mentioned earlier in the chapter. These ensured that all the areas with migrant mineworker families in the country would be included in the study. Once the sub-groups are created, the members of the sample are then selected randomly (Bhardwaj 2019). This method is simple random selection and it gives equal chance of inclusion for all members of the population found in the different strata. However, it is also argued to go beyond simple random sampling by deliberately creating specific sub-groups of the total population in order to ensure that they are included in the sample to be studied. Once the members within the strata are selected, they are combined to create a single sample (Lliyasu & Etikan 2021). The stratified random sampling method has been chosen as an appropriate method for this research because it allows for representative sampling by ensuring that all four regions of the country, as sub-categories or strata, are included in the study. Moreover, because of the representative nature of this sampling method, the results of the study can be generalised to the entire known population.

4.6.2 The sample

A total of 24 participants were identified for the study. Survey interviews were conducted with all 24 participants and a group of eight were then identified based on the survey responses for in-depth interviews. The sample was determined on the basis of having a member of the family who was a migrant mineworker in South Africa. Participants were selected from a list of migrant mineworkers registered with SWAMMIWA. The organisation works with migrant mine workers, hence the access to participants' basic sociodemographic information. This information was useful for identifying the migrant families' locations throughout the country. The stratified random sampling method which included a proportional distribution of participants across the four regions of the country namely, Hhohho, Shiselweni, Lubombo and Manzini regions was used. Each region had three families that were identified. In each family, two participants were interviewed. The surveyed participants were from migrant-sending families who had a member that was away for work in a South African mine.

The two groups of participants that were interviewed were the left-behind spouses and children or dependents that are 18 years or older. The left-behind spouse is chosen because they are mainly responsible for running the household in the absence of the migrant member (who was the father in all the cases). Therefore, some of the effects of the migration of a family member are managed by the head of household. Consequently, the experiences of household leaders can be different from other members of the family because of this responsibility linked to their role. Moreover, heads of household usually have a comprehensive overview of family activity as they are likely to be involved in overseeing the different areas of the family's activities. The second group of respondents was children or dependents who were 18 years of age or older. This group was chosen in order to understand the impacts of migration from the experiences of children or dependents left behind by a migrant family member and how this affected them. Children under the age of 18 were not included in the study for ethical reasons. The nature of the questions for the in-depth interviews were not suitable for children younger than 18 years. The university's ethics committee required that the researcher make the necessary provisions for counselling services in the event that participants needed to receive professional assistance after participating in the study. Therefore, the line of questioning was not deemed suitable for younger persons. Furthermore, the legal age for children in Eswatini is 18 years, which meant that the researcher could legally engage this group without violating ethical codes for research.

4.6.3 Sampling procedure: Stratified Random selection

Migrant sending families were selected from all four regions in the country. The total population of the country's migrant workers was divided into strata, in this case the four regions in the kingdom. The families that were interviewed were then selected from each of the regions/strata. Although two of the four regions have the highest migrant populations, the sample was stratified in order to ensure that all four regions are represented in the study.

The sample was randomly selected from a list of migrant sending families in each region provided by the non-governmental organisation SWAMMIWA. This organisation deals with migrant worker's welfare and other related issues. SWAMMIWA has a database of member migrant workers and where their families are located. Each region has its own list of families which was randomly selected for inclusion in the sample. There were 24 surveys distributed

across all four regions. Each region had a total of six survey questionnaires that were administered. The responses from these surveys were then used as a guide to inform the selection of the families to be interviewed. These selections were aimed at ensuring that each region would still be represented in the interviewing stage. From each region, one family was selected for in-depth interviewing, making a total of four left behind families that were interviewed. From each family, two members were interviewed, which resulted in a total of eight interviews.

4.7 Data Collection

Data collection is the process by which a researcher gathers information on the phenomenon under study. This information serves as evidence for answering the research questions and hypothesis of the study (Creswell 2014: 23). There are two main kinds of data, namely primary and secondary data, both of which were used for this study. Primary data is information derived from a researcher's first-hand experience with the phenomenon being studied, either through direct observation or recording the experiences of people (Creswell 2014: 9). The primary data in this study was collected using both face-to-face interviews and surveys (see appendix 5 and 6). Secondary data is described as information that has already been collected and made available to the researcher. Secondary data sources include periodicals such as academic journals, government publications, minutes and diaries among others (Adams et al 2007: 117). In this study, secondary data was particularly useful in chapter five, which provides a description of the conditions that exist within the Kingdom of Eswatini and how these contribute to labour migration.

4.7.1 The Survey Questionnaires

Survey questionnaires are data collection instruments used to gather information about the attitudes, opinions, behaviours or characteristics of a population (Creswell 2014: 402). A questionnaire can be a set of closed-ended, open-ended questions or a combination of both sent to respondents in order to capture their responses on a particular topic. Surveys can also be used for exploratory purposes and applied to a large group of respondents that are representative of the population being studied (Babbie 2008:207). In this study, the surveys were used to ask questions related to the economic and socio-cultural impacts of labour migration on sending families. The surveys were used to gather objectively verifiable data from participants, which included biographical data. This data helped with confirming

participants' experience with labour migration, particularly as left-behind family members. The surveys also helped in quantifying some of the participants' experiences, especially those regarded as economic in nature.

The survey questionnaires were used as the first data collection technique which was then followed by the in-depth interviews. The surveys were administered in all four regions of the country. A total of 24 participants took part in the exercise. As mentioned above, the questionnaire responses were then used as a guide on identifying the families that were to be selected for the in-depth interviews that followed. These interviews took the form of open-ended questioning during face-to-face interview sessions. Once the surveys had been completed, the sample was further divided into two strata. One group represented the left-behind spouses and the other represented the left-behind dependents of migrant workers from Eswatini. These two groups were created for each region to ensure that random selection of the in-depth interview participants included both LBSs and LBDs.

Each survey was completed within a 45 minute period. The responses were captured by hand writing on the questionnaires and were later typed out in order for them to be electronically stored. The interviewer was responsible for capturing these responses by handwriting. The questions were in English and the dependents were able to respond directly without any need for translation while the LBSs often required the questions to be translated into Siswati by the interviewer. Their responses were in Siswati, which was subsequently translated back to English by the researcher during the data presentation and analysis stage.

Some of the migrant families that were identified during the sampling stage were not willing to participate in the study. A majority of those who declined to be part of the exercise mainly stated that their scepticism was based on fear of disclosing information about their personal lives. They feared that other members of the community would know about their private lives if they participated in the study. This was despite the attempts made to explain the confidentiality and protection of their personal information guaranteed by the researcher. Others mentioned that they had participated in other studies before but did not see any results from them. They highlighted how they had previously shared personal parts of their lives with these interviewers with the hopes of receiving help through advocacy with their living and mostly economic situations to no avail. This may have been a result of a miscommunication of expectations from the previous interviewers. Attempts were also made in this instance to explain the terms of engagement for participating in the research. There

were 4 potential participants that declined the request. These were replaced with 4 other willing participants who understood the nature of the study and the survey process.

4.7.2 Interviews

Leavy (2014) described the qualitative interview as one with the purpose of obtaining descriptions of the life world of the interviewee in order to interpret the meaning of the described phenomenon. Semi-structured interviews allowed the researcher to understand the phenomenon under investigation as accounted for by the participants. The meanings and interpretations participants from each of the four regions place on migration were highlighted using open-ended questioning that gave the participant an opportunity to share their experience in a more detailed manner. The purpose of the data gathered was to focus on the experiences of members of these left behind families, revealing how labour migration has impacted them.

A total of eight participants were selected for the in-depth interviews. There were two members in each family from each of the four regions that were interviewed. Therefore, the in-depth interviews were conducted among four families, one from each of the four regions of the kingdom. The data generated from interviews was documented through audio recording and field notes, which were both vital for analysis in the development of the findings and analysis chapter. The interviews lasted for approximately 45 minutes to an hour and were conducted in the homes of the interviewees. The interviews were conducted in both siSwati and English, based on the preferences of the interviewee. According to Yin (2016: 143) the challenge with using semi-structured interviews is the possibility of misinterpretation and misunderstanding between the interviewer and the participant. This may result from the manner in which language is used, where the participant may use the same language to mean something different from what the interviewer may understand. This challenge was minimized through asking follow up questions for clarity where it was deemed necessary.

4.8 Data analysis

Data analysis is a process undertaken to convert raw data into meaningful text. According to Mohajan (2018), the purpose of data analysis is to bring out the themes, key ideas or units of meaning found in the literature (or primary data) on a particular subject. Thematic analysis as a method is concerned with presenting the patterns that exist within a dataset using themes.

Essentially, thematic analysis is a method of identifying themes in data (Terry et al 2017). Thematic analysis is sometimes used interchangeably with content analysis (Saldana et al 2011). The content analysis technique mainly relies on codes and frequencies in ascribing meaning to data. This has been criticized for not being able to take context into consideration while assigning meaning to the data (Joffe & Yardley 2004). Thematic analysis is argued to overcome this challenge by assigning both systematic and contextual meaning to data. This ability to accommodate both quantitative and qualitative data was the main reason why this technique was chosen as an appropriate analysis method for this study.

According to Joffe (2012), a theme refers to "a specific pattern of meaning found in the data". Saldana et al (2011) describe themes as being longer phrases or sentences that describe and summarize the meanings, both explicit and implicit, of data. Themes can be divided into two main categories; manifest and latent content. Manifest content is directly observable while latent content is derived from references and interpretation by the researcher (Joffe & Yardley 2004). Thematic analysis can also be based on inductive or deductive content (Saldana et al 2011). Inductive analysis is often used in instances where prior knowledge or research on the topic under investigation is limited or non-existent (Azungah 2018; Reichertz 2013). An inductive approach then uses the research questions, aims and objectives, and assumptions as a guide that informs the analysis (Armat et al 2018). Deductive research is based on existing research findings or theory on a specific subject (Reichertz 2013). The researcher uses the existing assumptions and knowledge to deduce meaning for their own study (Azungah 2018). Qualitative thematic analysis can use both approaches concurrently. While the research may start off using a deductive approach, as is the case here, the study may progress to include new categorizations or themes about the phenomenon being investigated. The adverse is also true, where an inductive analysis may also use deduction as the induction process bring out data that fits into existing categories of knowledge (Armat et al 2018; Joffe 2012).

The process of analysing data involves the conversion of data to organised text (Babbie 2013: 390). In this study, interviews were audio recorded. The data collected during the interviews was analysed directly from the audio recordings and field notes. This is to guard against losing the essence of participants' perspectives in the process of transcribing. Unlike transcription, direct analysis includes the non-verbal communication such as long pauses

made by participants during an interview, providing a more comprehensive picture of participants' understanding of the topic.

The data gathered during fieldwork through the use of surveys and interviews was organized and interpreted using themes. These themes allowed the researcher to create categorizations of the data. The categorizations provided descriptions of the meanings, both manifest and latent, attached to the data. Field notes were taken during interviews in order to record features such as context and the atmosphere surrounding the interaction between the interviewer and participant. The questionnaire survey results were captured using categories/codes. The responses were therefore organized according to categories (codes) (Babbie 2007: 444) based on the research purpose. Quantitative data can be analysed for statistical and descriptive purposes (Chemagosi et al 2016). The quantitative data gathered for this study, through the survey questionnaires, was only used for descriptive purposes. Therefore, the analysis of this study's quantitative data did not include any statistical inferences, instead, the data gathered was used to inform the descriptive analysis of the phenomenon as presented in chapter six. This was because the study did not have a hypothesis to test through the use of statistical data. The main objective of the study was to gather data to help provide a full description of the lived experiences of the left-behind, which was achieved through the use of both qualitative and quantitative description. Furthermore, the study was exploratory in nature as it is the only research effort of its kind that has been conducted in Eswatini. According to Jain (2021: 542), exploratory research is "a preliminary step in gaining a new perspective" and involves undertaking research in a new area in order to gain initial insight into the subject matter.

The priority of both methods was considered equal. Both the qualitative and quantitative methods hold the same weight in the study with regards to the contributions made by their respective findings towards answering the research questions. The results from both data collection processes was combined and interpreted together. The two methods were used to complement each other rather than provide separate sets of data and analysis. Consequently, the analysis method used was the convergent design. Convergent design analysis combines the results from both data collection processes and uses them to show how they support or refute the other's findings (Creswell 2014: 580). For instance, the themes that emerged from interviews were supported or refuted by the statistics that resulted from the surveys. The purpose of analysing primary data collected from the interviews and surveys is to present the

experiences of participants and use them to discuss the impacts of migration on migrant sending families. The analysis further highlights common patterns that exist between those experiences in order to understand the nature of the impacts of migration on families.

4.9 Positionality and Reflexivity

The use of validity and reliability as criteria for evaluating quantitative research has been criticized for being an inappropriate tool for measuring the quality of qualitative research (Noble & Smith 2015). Validity and reliability are regarded as being more suited for quantitative research studies that use statistical methods for evaluating research. Noble and Smith (2015) argue that qualitative studies are better evaluated through strategies such as truth value, which highlights the reflexivity and positionality of the researcher.

4.9.1 Positionality

Mukherjee (2017: 292) defines positionality as the "unique mix of race, class, gender, nationality, sexuality, and other identifiers, as well as location in time and space" influences the process and outcome of research. The researcher's positionality is important since it determines how one sees and interacts with the world. Positionality requires a constant negotiation of the researcher's intersecting identities with regards to how these have an impact on the research process (Silva & Gandhi 2018). The researcher occupies multiple social locations concurrently, and the awareness of each of these identities and their corresponding potential influence on the research process becomes central in maintaining the quality of qualitative research (Mukherjee 2017). Silva and Gandhi (2018) argue that positionality is not only a matter of how the researcher sees themselves but goes beyond to include how the participants view the researcher. This may affect the kind of information a researcher is able to extract from the field as participants interact with the researcher from their understanding of the researcher's positionality (Whitson 2017).

Undertaking this study as a young, unmarried and Nguni female, it is important to acknowledge my positionality and how it may have influenced the processes of identifying the study focus, data collection, and analysis. Therefore, reflexivity requires that the researcher conducts a critical self-evaluation to determine and be aware of their positionality throughout the research process. The integration of reflexivity allows the researcher to be aware of the role that their positionality plays in accessing participants and the knowledge

that they have as well as the interpretations of this knowledge and experiences by the researcher (Whitson 2017).

4.9.2 Reflexivity

According to Starfield (2011), reflexivity is understood as "the process of critical self-reflection on one's biases, theoretical predispositions, preferences and so forth which acknowledge that the inquirer is part of the setting, context and social phenomenon he or she seeks to understand". Starfield (2011) further claims that reflexivity can be a means to establish validity in qualitative research. Reflexivity helps to ensure that the personal biases of the researcher do not influence the outcomes of the study. Reflexivity requires that the researcher acknowledge internal bias in the way they engage with, interpret and present data (Ngozwana 2019). Reflexivity is concerned with the recognition of multiple realities that exist and the implications that this has on the researcher's choices during the research process (Noble & Smith 2015). According to Watt (2007), "the researcher is the primary instrument of data collection and analysis, therefore reflexivity is deemed essential". The researcher's personal viewpoints and experiences need to be acknowledged, seeing how they can potentially affect the decisions made during the course of the research (Starfield 2011). The researcher has to be aware of the reasons why they chose a specific topic of study and the methods they used (Watt 2007). They need to acknowledge how their own assumptions and behaviours impact on the study. This also helps the researcher become aware of the potential influence of these personal biases and creates room for the emphasis on clearly and accurately capturing and presenting the views and experiences of the participants (Noble & Smith 2015).

4.10 Ethical considerations

According to Leavy (2014) qualitative research has a unique set of ethical issues to consider because of it often "involves emergent and flexible research designs and usually entails collecting relatively unstructured data in naturalistic settings". This means that, unlike other research designs, qualitative studies require a strict adherence to ethical laws in order to protect the subjects of their enquiry. Ethics are often concerned with how the researcher treats participants while in the field. This relates to minimizing any real or potential harm to participants, respecting their privacy and autonomy as well as protecting their personal information (Leavy 2014).

The researcher adhered to the ethical requirements of the University of Pretoria and received ethical clearance for the study (see ethical clearance letter in appendix 1) obtained through the university's Research Information Management System (RIMS). The researcher received ethical approval from both the Department of Political Science's Postgraduate Research Committee and the Faculty of Humanities' Research Ethics Committee. In this regard, the researcher presented and conducted the research in accordance to all the university's data management policy and POPI Act guidelines and requirements.

In ensuring that the researcher was in compliance with the requirement for informed consent, consent forms were created, approved and given to participants to sign before the interviews were conducted. The purpose of the study and the participant's role were explained to all respondents beforehand. Respondents were also made aware that they were participating on a voluntary basis and that they had the right to withdraw from the exercise at any moment where they felt uncomfortable or threatened in any way. The researcher further requested for respondents' permission before audio recording the interviews. The researcher explained to all participants that their responses as well as any personal information would remain confidential. The respondents were assured that they would remain anonymous and that their responses would not be linked to them in any way. The recordings were stored in a password protected drive that only the researcher can access. This was communicated to the respondents before each interview. Respondents were asked for consent to be audio recorded and were made aware that they had the right to request that the recording to stopped at any given moment.

The researcher made provision for counselling services for all respondents. This was made available through the national counselling helpline which is free, making it accessible to all the participants. This provision was also related to why children younger than 18 years could not be interviewed. As a means of protecting them from any potential emotional damage from the questions asked about parental absence, children that were not 18 years or older were not included in the study. The researcher guaranteed that all participants were treated with respect and that a level of professionalism was displayed at all times. Respondents were given the opportunity to express their opinions and views on all the matters above in order to ensure that they were comfortable with the interview procedures explained. They were also

given a chance to ask questions before, during and after the introductions made by the researcher.

4.11 Limitations of the Study

The study has a number of limitations that the researcher was able to identify and acknowledge as potentially limiting. The researcher undertook this study aware that it would have benefitted from triangulation with the use of participant observation as a data collection method. Data from observation would have provided more details into the lived experiences of respondents with the phenomenon being studied. However, with time limitations and financial constraints, this was not a viable option at the time of data collection. Most importantly, the data was collected during a national lockdown because of the COVID-19 pandemic. This created several restrictions on movement and human contact. Therefore, being in the field as an observer could have potentially placed both the participants and researcher at greater risk of exposure to the corona virus. The use of in-depth interviews using open-ended questioning served the purpose of highlighting these experiences. Furthermore, the interviews revealed information and issues that are not evident to the one-time observer.

The sample size of the study could have been bigger to allow for more concrete claims to generalisation of the study's findings. Although this was the case, the current sample size was still appropriate and useful in reaching the conclusions made by the study. Most importantly, the actual size of the migrant mine worker population in the country is not officially known. This means that there was no way of verifying whether the sample size was representative of the population or not. The data source used to identify respondents demonstrated that the sample size would be adequate for the study's objectives. Most importantly, although the sample size was small, efforts (through the stratified approach) were made to ensure that the sample was representative of the provinces and migrant-sending families in the country.

The researcher also acknowledges that the study relied on data relating to migrant-sending families in Eswatini from a single non-profit organisation. The fact that other non-profit organisations and governmental agencies dealing with migration in the country exist meant that these could have also been beneficial in the data collection process. These organisations could have assisted by providing their own data, which could have potentially strengthened the data collection effort. This also raised issues of potential bias as a result of relying on a

single agency for data. However, the selected organisation was found to be the most suitable to work with because of a number of reasons. Firstly, the organisation was found to have the most reliable and updated data on migrant mineworkers in Eswatini. Secondly, the organisation was recognised, national and regionally as the official NGO to work on mine migration related matters. Although the claim cannot be made that this organisation has the monopoly on mineworkers' migration and related issues, it is regarded as an authority on the topic. It is the most active migrant organisation within the region that advocates for the tracing of migrant mineworkers. Consequently, this made using data obtained from the organisation more suitable than other organisations in the country.

Another major challenge for the data collection stage was a logistical one. The data collection process required more money than had been expected for several reasons one of which was the distances that had to be travelled to get to the respondents. Most of the villages visited where located in very remote areas. Therefore, it was quite difficult to determine the exact distance to the location. This meant that fewer trips had to be made in a day as one could only manage to visit homesteads that were very close to each other (often in the same village). Therefore, families in a different village or region had to be rescheduled for other days, extending the data collection period as well as associated costs.

Access to some homesteads was also problematic because of the difficult terrain in the rural areas where families were located. These challenges could have been mitigated by developing strategies that will help reduce costs such as staying within the different communities for the duration of the interview period in order to avoid daily travel over long distances. However, this was not possible since this option also required the use of network links or paying for accommodation. Finally, some areas were nearly impossible to access as a result of the tropical cyclone Eloise that destroyed roads and infrastructure in parts of the Kingdom (The Citizen 2021). Despite the various limitations stated above, the study was still able to provide an informed and comprehensive analysis of migration impact on Eswatini's migrant sending families. The methods used proved to be sufficient in providing a report that has contributed towards understanding migration impact on Eswatini.

4.12 Conclusion

The methodology of any research effort is vital and needs to be clearly defined in order to achieve an efficient research process. The research design, the data collection techniques as

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well as the preferred methods of analysis are all important elements of the methodology of any research. They provide the researcher with a detailed plan of how to conduct the research, allowing them to maintain a constant connection between the different stages and sections of the work. This chapter has outlined the methodology for this particular research project. The research paradigms, looking at positivism, constructivism and realism were discussed with the aim of highlighting the usefulness of the realist paradigm for this study. The chapter also reflected on the research design, which is often described as the blueprint of any research study. The elements of a descriptive study were also highlighted as part of the design of the study.

Sections that followed discussed the mixed methods approach and the data collection techniques used within this method. The research population as well as the sampling design formed part of the main discussions in this chapter. The sampling method, stratified random sampling and the sampling procedure as carried out during the early stages of the data collection process were reflected on. Thereafter, the discussion turned to the actual data collection techniques, survey questionnaires and interviews, which were used during fieldwork. This section was immediately followed by a discussion of the data analysis process, which centred on the thematic analysis technique. In order to reflect on issues related to credibility and validity, reflexivity and positionality were included in the discussion, emphasising the usefulness of these in evaluation of research. Finally, the chapter closes off with two sections, one on the ethical considerations and the second being the limitations of the study.

CHAPTER 5

CONDITIONS CONTRIBUTING TOWARDS MIGRATION IN THE KINGDOM OF ESWATINI

5.1 Introduction

Migration within the Southern African region continues to be a normal feature of everyday life among the region's citizens. People move within borders and externally to neighbouring countries for work, school, business, leisure, and other reasons. Migration is still a significant part of Swati society and people continue to migrate internally; rural-urban migration as well as externally, particularly to neighbouring South Africa (Crush 2012). This chapter will discuss the economic and socio-political conditions of the country and how these cause migration from the kingdom of Eswatini to South Africa and other destinations. The first section briefly looks at migration patterns in Eswatini and some of the factors that contribute towards the movement of people. Thereafter, the chapter turns to discussions on a combination of economic, social, and political conditions as factors mainly causing external migration. These discussions are based on existing literature on the economic and socio-political conditions within the Kingdom of Eswatini.

5.2 Migration patterns in Eswatini

Migration in Eswatini takes place both internally and internationally and can be legal or irregular migration, long or short term (IOM 2005). Mainly migration within the Southern African region is believed to be motivated by the search for better economic opportunities. This is evidenced by the migration trend within the region that sees the migration of people from less economically developed countries to those regarded as being more developed (UNCTAD 2018). People are constantly moving for a variety of reasons, some of which are discussed in this chapter. In Eswatini, most emigration flows, the movement of people out of a country to another, are directed towards South Africa (James 2020). A migration data portal (2020) report indicated that some of the main sectors of employment for these migrants included the manufacturing, mining, agribusiness, and domestic work sectors.

It has been noted that in some cases, the reasons for rural-urban migration become the same reasons for international migration of Swati citizens into South Africa (Miles 2000). Rural-urban migration in the country is often associated with high levels of poverty due to unemployment and the effects of HIV/AIDS, lack of access to basic goods and services, lack

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of agricultural productivity and the lack of appropriate infrastructure and access to quality education (Crush et al 2005). These factors cause some of the rural population of the country to move to urban areas, often to the peripheries of city centres as a survival strategy (Miles 2000; Tevera et al 2012). People leave their rural communities with the hopes of finding employment in the city and using that income to support their families back in the rural areas. However, internal migrants often discover that finding work is difficult and for those that do get jobs, the income received from it is often not enough to sustain their livelihoods in the urban areas, making it difficult for them to send money home (Manana & Rule 2021: Miles 2000). In some instances, migrants manage to send their relatives money; however, it is often not enough to cover the expenses of the household (Crush et al 2005). Urbanization creates further challenges for urban areas as they end up with over-populated areas where food insecurity and crime are prevalent as a result of the high levels of unemployment (Tevera & Simelane 2014). Both internal migrants and those living in the rural areas may then turn to international migration as a means to gain or supplement their income (Manana 2019). The decision to migrate, consistent with the NELM theory, is made by the collective as a survival strategy for the entire family.

5.3 Economic conditions contributing to migration

The kingdom of Eswatini is characterized as a low middle-income country mainly driven by the manufacturing, agriculture, and construction sectors (Nhlengethwa et al 2020; UNICEF Eswatini 2020; U.S State Department 2021). Eswatini's economy is closely tied to South Africa's, which makes the kingdom vulnerable to economic and socio-political developments in South Africa (IMF 2020; World Bank 2021). The Eswatini government is constantly involved in initiatives aimed at achieving economic recovery and development. In this regard, the government has made efforts to reposition itself as an export oriented and private sector led economy (U.S State Department 2021). However, despite these efforts, the country's economic growth rate has been particularly slow between the periods 2014-19. Although this was expected to improve in the year 2020, such improvement was affected by the COVID-19 pandemic which caused disruptions in economic and other socio-political activities (UNICEF Eswatini 2020). The kingdom continues to experience slowed economic growth as highlighted by the -1.6% Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth rate recorded in 2020 (World Bank 2020).

As a sub-regional body, the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) plays a significant role within the Eswatini economy (Nhlengethwa et al 2020). SACU is based on an agreement signed by South Africa, Lesotho, Botswana, Namibia and Eswatini for the purposes of promoting economic development through regional coordination of trade (Maphalala 2021: SACU 2021). According to the World Bank (2021) an over-reliance on SACU revenue continues to be an impediment to sustained economic growth in the country (Schwidrowski et al 2021). SACU revenue accounted for approximately 60% of the Swati government's budget in 2009-2010, which resulted in a fiscal crisis when the proceeds dropped by almost 60% (Manana 2019; Woods 2017). The effects of this crisis are argued to still be significant today and continue to affect some of government's capabilities. A large portion of the economy's exports come from the textile and sugar industries, which also account for the bulk of the state's SACU revenue (Basdevant, Baba & IMF 2020; Mircheva 2011; Phiri 2018). This further demonstrates the heavy reliance of the economy on the SACU platform. In addition to this fiscal crisis, the country also has high levels of unemployment, income inequality and struggles with food insecurity and poverty among others (Brixiova, Ncube & Bicaba 2014; Phiri 2018). According to Basdevant, Baba and Mircheva (2011), foreign direct investment and other financial inflows have also dropped significantly, worsening the economic conditions in the country (Khumalo 2014; Marope 2010).

This section discusses some of the economic conditions within Eswatini that create the necessary circumstances for migration as an alternative household survival strategy for some families in the kingdom.

5.3.1 Unemployment

In the year 2020, the kingdom of Eswatini was estimated to have a 23.4% unemployment rate (World Bank 2020). This mostly affects the country's most vulnerable groups, the youth, and women, particularly those in the rural areas (Mohammad & Dlamini 2018). The youth unemployment rate last recorded by the World Bank (2019) shows that 46.2% of youths aged between 15 and 24 were unemployed during this time.

Unemployment is characterized by the inability to secure work by an individual that is actively seeking. This is regarded as the strict understanding of unemployment (Dlamini et al 2018). The extended version includes individuals that are able bodied and available for work but have stopped or are not actively seeking for work. This is a group that may have been

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actively seeking for a while, who then became discouraged after numerous unsuccessful attempts at securing work.

The country has policies in place aimed at addressing the unemployment challenge (Khumalo 2014). These include the Youth Policy of 2009, the Strategic Roadmap for development and the Poverty Reduction Strategy among others (Mavundla 2018). All these policies prioritize the development of the economy and subsequently the development of the people of Eswatini (Dlamini et al 2018). However, the country's statistics have shown that unemployment rates and poverty levels among other socioeconomic indicators remain extremely high which has caused devastating impacts on both economic and social levels for citizens, particularly those residing in rural areas (IMF 2020; UNICEF Eswatini 2020). The interventions struggle with creating sufficient employment opportunities to match the increasing demand, especially from newly qualified youths. In 2013, the labour market profile indicated that of the 10 000 students that qualify each year, the labour market is only able to absorb 2000 of them (Khumalo 2014). In the year 2018, the youth literacy rate was a high 95% yet the unemployment rate within the same group the following year was recorded at a 46.2 % (Maphalala 2021: World Bank 2021).

Causes of unemployment in Eswatini are often associated with the slow economic growth rates, the lack of necessary skills which is often a result of a mismatch in the education offered and the type of skills required by the Swazi economy (Dlamini et al 2018; Khumalo 2014; Schwidrowski et al 2021). The Finance Minister, Neal Rijkenberg (2020) also attributed the high unemployment rate to high corporate taxes in the country. The Minister claimed that these taxes discouraged corporates from setting up business and employing more emaSwati in the process. Government is one of the biggest employers in Eswatini (Khumalo 2014). However, because of the existing fiscal crisis and now the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, in 2020 government was said to reaffirm the hiring freeze originally initiated in 2018. Government departments were instructed not to hire within the civil service unless there was an urgent need to (Khumalo 2021). This also contributed to the increasing unemployment rates in the country prompting families, as captured by the NELM theory, to seek alternative means of survival through migration.

5.3.2 Income inequality

The levels of income inequality in the country are significantly high. In 2019 the kingdom of Eswatini ranked 138 out of 189 countries in the Human Development Index (WFP 2020),

making Eswatini the 10th most unequal society in the world with a 49% income inequality rate. Subsequently, the gap between the poor and the rich in Eswatini is extremely defined (Miles 2000; Tevera et al 2012). The distribution of income is skewed in favour of the country's elite while an estimated 70% of the population lives in poverty (Motsamai 2012; Simelane 2011). According to Sukati (2010), 10% of the population owns over 50% of the country's income. Income disparities are also related to gender inequality, often perpetuated by the traditional customs and institutions which place women and the youth in subordinate positions to their male and older counterparts (Khumalo 2014; Marope 2010). This has created grounds for people choosing to leave the country in pursuit of better conditions in South Africa and elsewhere. The assumption is often made by the migrant that although income and gender inequality exist in other countries, the benefits such as higher pay provide an incentive for migration.

5.3.3 Poverty and food insecurity
5.3.3.1 Poverty
Approximately 59% of the country's population are living below the national poverty line (Unicef 2020). The World Food Programme (2020) in Eswatini indicated that an estimated 58.9% of the rural population lives below the national poverty line, while 20% of this figure is considered to be extremely poor. According to the World Bank (2019), the country continues to struggle with achieving poverty reduction because of slow economic growth, unfavourable weather conditions (mainly affecting the agricultural sector), the high prevalence of HIV/AIDS, and high levels of unemployment among other challenges (Marope 2010; Sukati 2010). Eswatini ranked 77 out of 189 countries on the Global Hunger Index in 2019, highlighting the severity of the poverty and food insecurity challenges in the country. These conditions create a host of push factors which may lead others to consider migration as a household survival strategy.

5.3.3.2 Food insecurity
Food insecurity as captured by the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO 2010) is characterized by "a situation that exists when people lack secure access to sufficient amounts of safe and nutritious food for normal growth and development and an active and healthy life." Eswatini is among the other countries in the Sub-Saharan region that experience severe food shortages. According to FAO (2007), the Sub-Sahara accounts for 31% of the world's food insecure population and the situation is projected to worsen over the years (NDMA 2017). This is based on the continuous struggle with environmental issues such as drought

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and cyclones, affecting agricultural productivity and subsequently, food supply (Myeni & Wentink 2021).

Majority of the country's population is located in the rural areas, with urban and semi-urban areas accounting for approximately 30% of the kingdom's total population (Tevera et al 2012). This 70% in the rural areas is susceptible to poverty and food shortages due to the environmental and socioeconomic challenges faced by rural communities, especially those who rely on subsistence farming and livestock herding for their livelihood (FAO/WFP 2015; Mohammad & Dlamini 2018; Motsamai 2012; UNDAF 2015). Rural communities are faced with a combination of challenges which include; access to adequate arable land, climatic conditions suitable for agricultural productivity, access to credit facilities to fund expansion projects for commercial farming and limited technical support from the state, resulting in the use of unsustainable farming techniques (Sukati 2010; Tevera and Simelane 2014; Tevera et al 2021). These challenges on agricultural productivity, for both subsistence and small-scale commercial farming, increase rural communities' vulnerability to food insecurity. According to UNDAF (2015), the country had an estimated 67 592 people in need of food assistance and a further 223 249 that needed livelihood support.

Some causes of food insecurity include: climate change, droughts, military conflict, and political instability among others (Mohammed & Dlamini 2018). Eswatini's major contributor to food insecurity is droughts but more importantly, the country's lack of capacity to deal with the effects of droughts on agricultural productivity and the subsequent impact on livelihoods (Marope 2010; NDMA 2017; Phiri 2018). One of the most severe droughts (since 1950) recently experienced in the country was the El Nimo drought of 2015/16 (Tevera et al 2012). The country is still dealing with the impacts of this drought which affected the livelihoods of many Swati citizens. Mohammed and Dlamini (2018: 70) argue that droughts negatively affect agricultural productivity which has an impact on food prices. This often affects the poor who may experience reduced income from agricultural production while having to sustain their livelihoods under conditions of increased food prices due to insufficient supply (NDMA 2017; Tevera et al 2021). This creates conditions necessary for the consideration of migration. Families living under these conditions may be pushed to consider labour migration as a household survival strategy.

5.4 Socio-cultural conditions contributing to migration

5.4.1 Education in Eswatini

The Ministry of Education and Training (MOET) in Eswatini has made efforts towards improving the quality and access to education for all members of its society. These efforts include the introduction of the Free Primary Education (FPE) programme as well as feeding schemes within public schools (Government of Eswatini 2021). According to UNICEF Eswatini (2020), the MOET was able to achieve an "near universal" enrolment rate in primary schools because of the FPE programme. At the secondary school level, the MOET continues to make efforts towards increasing access, especially for Orphaned and Vulnerable children (OVC). The ministry has an on-going grant programme that is aimed at reducing the burden of educational costs at secondary and higher education levels for children who come from less privileged socioeconomic circumstances (Government of Eswatini 2021). The government of Eswatini, through the MOET has also made efforts towards improving the skills and labour market demands gap to help reduce youth unemployment, among other related socioeconomic challenges. The MOET has initiated a national skills framework aimed at better allocating education and training efforts at all levels to match the needs of the economy (UNICEF Eswatini 2020). Despite all the efforts made by the MOET, several challenges still exist within the education sector. These are mainly categorised into two, access and quality of education.

5.4.1.1 Challenges associated with access to education

Access to quality education has always been a major challenge for citizens of Eswatini, particularly for those in rural communities. Although efforts towards improving access to schooling have been made by the government through the free primary education programme, completion of secondary schooling is still a big challenge as the programme does not extend to this level of education (Sukati 2013; UNICEF Eswatini 2020).

The high levels of poverty in the country have resulted in some learners not completing their secondary education. Families that cannot afford to pay school fees and other learning expenses often must discontinue their children's education (Marope 2010; Motsa & Morojele 2019). This is evidenced by the high drop-out rate at secondary level. According to UNICEF Eswatini (2020) net enrolment rates were pegged at a 32.3% at secondary and only 13% at upper secondary school levels. As a result of this inability to access education because of a poor socioeconomic background, these learners often end up looking for low-income jobs to help sustain the livelihood of their families (Sukati 2010; Sukati 2013). Unskilled labour jobs

within the retail, service and other industries require a secondary education certificate which many Swati citizens do not possess. This prerequisite and the high levels of unemployment and subsequent lack of employment opportunities in the country both contribute to the decision by some people to migrate. The move is regarded as a survival strategy as those migrating have hopes to be employed in unskilled and semi-skilled sectors in often neighbouring countries such as South Africa. Some of the work unskilled Swati migrants engage in includes housework, mining, truck driving and cross-border trade amongst others (Manana 2019; Simelane and Crush 2004).

For those that are able to successfully complete their education and qualify to enrol in institutions of higher learning, the challenge of access persists. This group faces a number of challenges in accessing tertiary education, one of which is the financial constraints that majority of citizens are confronted with (Marope 2010). Majority of Swati students rely on the Eswatini government scholarship program for tertiary education (Oluyele 2000; Sukati2010). Over the years, not only has the government reduced the scope of coverage for a variety of study programs but they have also reduced the monies received by students for their book and living allowances (Oluyele 2000; Simelane 2007). In addition to this, the government scholarship program has also reduced the number of beneficiaries, citing economic challenges and the subsequent impact on government's coffers. This has decreased students' chances for receiving a tertiary education as majority had and continue to rely on the government for funds at this level (Government of Eswatini 2021). In 2016, tertiary enrolment statistics indicated that only 6% of high school leavers continue to tertiary level (Masuku and Limb 2016). This means that the rest of the student population is either seeking to further their education outside of the country or seeking employment both within and outside of the country.

For those who are able to travel out of the country for education purposes are those who have either received an international scholarship to study at an (usually) overseas institution or those who can afford to pay for their own educational expenses. Migration for educational purposes is usually temporary as students return after the duration of their respective study programs. This migration can be international or regional. In most cases it is international when a student has received a scholarship and regional, usually to South Africa, when the student is funding their own education (Marope 2010). However, the common determinant for migrating among all student migrants from the kingdom is the prevailing challenges within the educational structures of the country. These being both the financial and access

issues discussed above, and the issues related to the quality and relevance of the education system, to be discussed below (Manana 2019).

5.4.1.2 Challenges associated with quality and relevance of education system

The 2009 National Youth Policy (Kingdom of Swaziland) admits that the system of education has not adapted itself to the changing needs of the modern society. This has been further highlighted under the current world conditions where schools and the education systems of many African and other continents' countries have been challenged (Dlamini et al 2018). For Eswatini, the quality of the curriculum at all education levels has been questioned, especially when tested against regional and international standards (Marope 2010; Simelane 2007). It is argued that students often experience challenges when applying for admission at international institutions since the current curriculum is not recognised as sufficient for enrolment into most of these institutions of higher learning (Marope 2010). Students have to obtain a Matric certificate or enrol for an extra year or more of learning after their secondary school certification in order to apply both regionally and internationally. Consequently, some students have opted to migrate to South Africa for secondary schooling in order to position themselves for a chance to enrol in institutions within Africa and internationally (Schwidrowski et al 2021). This also applies to the perceived quality of education offered at the tertiary level. Those that can afford to and those on scholarships often migrate to other countries for their tertiary education as the standard of training provided by institutions within the country is largely viewed as sub-standard (Marope 2010).

Closely related to the issue of quality education is the relevance of the education provided within the country (Sukati 2010). Currently, Eswatini's education system is argued to be failing to provide learners with the necessary skills and knowledge to successfully participate and compete in a globalised capitalist world order that has placed African states in a position of underdevelopment (Khumalo 2014; Manana 2019). This is because of a perceived mismatch between the skills offered and prioritised within the country's institutions of higher learning and the requirements of the Swati economy (Brixiova, Ncube and Bicaba 2014). The skills prioritisation also affects the flow of funds within the tertiary sector. This means that government focuses tertiary funding on certain skills at the expense of others (Dlamini et al 2018; Simelane 2007). As a result, some training programs at universities and Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) colleges are not offered or funded by government (Marope 2010). These programs include a majority of social science and Humanities

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programs, Arts, and some Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) programs among others. Students then migrate in order to find training opportunities outside of the country. As mentioned earlier, this option is only available to those who can afford to migrate at their own expense or from a scholarship opportunity. For those that cannot afford to travel or pay local tertiary fees, they often migrate to neighbouring countries for labour purposes within the low skilled sectors.

5.4.2 Health care
5.4.2.1 Health care challenges in Eswatini

According to the WFP (2020) Eswatini has the highest HIV/AIDS prevalence in the world, with 26% of the adult population being infected (Phiri 2018; Rabkin et al 2012; Woods 2017). Of these, women are argued to be the most infected and affected by HIV/AIDS (Simelane 2011). This epidemic is further argued to be one of the major contributors to poverty and food insecurity at the household level, especially in rural areas (FAO/WFP 2015). A large number of the country's OVCs are a result of the death of parents and guardians due to HIV/AIDS infections (Sukati 2010). This usually results in increasing poverty levels especially when income earners who are infected are no longer able to work or pass on (Tevera et al 2012). The high prevalence in kingdom is attributed to inadequate levels of education on the virus and the lack of access to quality health care, particularly from public health facilities (Marope 2010). When families are left without an income as a consequence of HIV/AIDS, are often have to find alternative means for survival (Simelane 2011; Sukati 2010). This, in some instances, may result in the collective decision to have a member of the family migrate for work in a neighbouring country. This is often done by able-bodied members of the family who take up unskilled and semi-skilled labour in other countries for survival purposes. This is discussed in detail in the data presentation and analysis chapter.

Public health capacity challenges are not a recent phenomenon in the country. The public health system has suffered severe shortages in the past and continues to experience challenges in providing quality health care to citizens (Marope 2010). This has been further highlighted by the pandemic's (Covid-19) impact on health. In addition to a shortage of medical personnel, the public health system is often overburdened and constantly struggles with shortages in medicines (Dlamini 2013: 35; Ngcamphalala & Ataguba 2018). The kingdom also experiences challenges with medical infrastructure with a number of health facilities across the country operating in debilitated buildings and using outdated or

inadequate equipment (Rabkin et al 2012). There is a lack of medical specialists within the system such that cancer patients for instance, have to be transferred to medical facilities outside of the country for treatment. These capacity challenges also affect other chronic patients such as those living with HIV/AIDS (Marope 2010).

The state of healthcare in the country has led to some people, mostly those who can afford to, migrating for both long and short term periods in order to receive medical attention in other countries (Simelane & Crush 2004). Some of these medical trips are organised by the Eswatini government through a civil servants' health programme. For those that are not able to travel outside of the country for medical attention are often those who solely rely on the local healthcare system (Ngcamphalala & Ataguba 2018). As a survival strategy, families with members that require constant medical attention may resolve to have a member of the family migrate to find work in a neighbouring country. The income earned is the used to pay for medical expense and for the sustenance of the family back home.

5.5 Political conditions contributing to migration

Officially, the kingdom of Eswatini is regarded as a "constitutional monarchy", with the king acting as head of state (Masuku & Limb 2016: 518). The constitution empowers the king to exercise executive authority, be a part of the legislature and have influence within the judiciary (Dlamini 2013: 32; Fabricius 2021). He appoints, and therefore heavily influences, the Prime Minister and other members of cabinet, two-thirds of the senate and ten out of 69 members of the House of Assembly (Maphalala 2021; Simelane 2011; Woods 2017). The country uses a dual governance system- traditional and parliamentary- called Tinkhundla (represented in figure 5.1 below) (Marope 2010; Motsamai 2012; Woods 2017). The system categorises the country into 59 constituencies across the four regions (Dlamini 2013: 121; Sihlongonyane & Simelane 2017). In total, these make up all 365 chiefdoms found in the country (Mohammed & Dlamini 2018). Masuku and Limb (2016) argue that the Tinkhundla system places power in the hands of the monarch and the royal family. This creates a number of uncertainties for locals and potential investors as access to resources and opportunities is argued to often require royal allegiances. The country's socio-political climate is quite volatile as calls for greater freedoms and equality have been sustained through continuous protest and dissent from locals and external actors (Manana & Rule 2021: Marope 2010:). This section identifies and discusses the human rights conditions and the lack of meaningful

participation in decision making structures as some of the contributing factors of migration in the kingdom.

Figure 5.1 Eswatini's dual governance system (traditional and parliamentary)
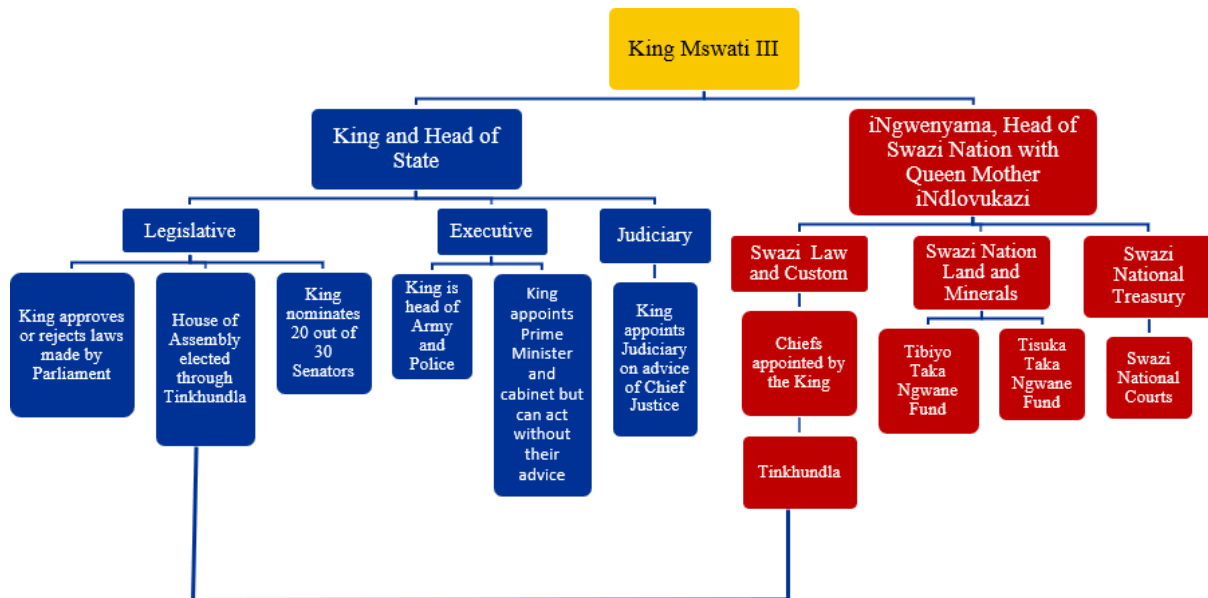
Source: World Bank Group 2020

5.5.1 Lack of meaningful participation in decision-making structures
5.5.1.1 The youth

The Youth constitutes about 43% of the Swati population yet this group is marginalised when it comes to meaningful political participation (Mavundla 2018). The political, social and economic structures of decision making at local and national levels do not account for the potential contributions of the youth (Brixiova, Ncube and Bicaba 2014). Decision making is almost exclusively reserved for the old, more experienced members of Swati society, both within urban and rural structures of governance. The youth is also denied access to legislative and policy making bodies. They are marginalised in the processes of policy formulation on issues that affect the development of the youth (Maphalala 2021). Consequently, youth programmes and policy instruments are created by older officials who find it difficult to relate to and capture the concerns of the young. This leads to the institution of policies that have very limited impact on the conditions of the youth, creating a lack of faith in youth initiatives from government. Young people in the country lament this marginalisation on issues that directly affect them (Manana & Rule 2021). Some of these concerns have been expressed through youth focused political platforms such as the Swaziland Youth Congress

(SWAYOCO) and the Swazi National Union of Students (Sihlongonyane and Simelane 2017; Woods 2017). However, these formations have faced constant opposition and challenges in achieving their mandates as a result of the constraining conditions in the country. This has caused some youths to believe that there is no hope for them in the country as opportunities for youth engagement and participation in the economy and governance structures is elusive (Maphalala 2021). Educated youths who can afford to move often opt for migrating to a different country, especially South Africa, where opportunities for advancement are believed to be present in comparison (Schwidrowski et al 2021).

5.5.1.2 Women and socio-political participation in Eswatini

Participation within governance structures is not only a challenge for the young but also a concern for women and the poor, especially in the rural areas (Dlamini 2013: 13). Eswatini remains a highly patriarchal society (Mthembu 2019). Although the constitution makes provision for equality across political, economic, social and cultural spheres among others, the implementation of these provisions has been minimal. This is also influenced by the contradictions presented by the dual governance system (Sihlongonyane & Simelane 2017). The parliamentary system makes provisions through the constitution for the protection of women's rights and the prioritization of gender equality. While on the other hand, the traditional system continues to function on the basis of patriarchy (Mthembu 2019; Simelane 2011). Women are often not included within traditional decision-making structures, and where they are, they are often not afforded adequate or equal power to effect any decisions made (Simelane 2011; WFP 2020). The final directive often comes from the male and influential leadership. Chiefs, who play a very instrumental role in the governance of the kingdom's constituencies, are always male. In those instances where a female will be appointed leader, especially in chiefdoms, they would be acting as regents. As soon as the male and rightful successor is ready to take on the responsibilities of leadership, the female regent would be relieved off her duties as placeholder (Mthembu 2019). This trend is also prevalent within most of the modern governance platforms including the legislature. Although a provision in the constitution, female representation in the legislature is still a challenge. Female participation is not prioritized within governance structures (Simelane 2011). This perpetuates the misrepresentation of female voices and further marginalises women's right to equal participation.

The poor experience a similar marginalisation in decision making at both local and national levels. Decisions that affect poor communities are often made by those with power and

influence. This often creates a sense of disillusionment among community members as they often believe that they do not have the ability to change their conditions without the approval of those in power (Dlamini et al 2018). This is particularly difficult to accept for people because of the levels of poverty and underdevelopment in the country, especially in the rural areas. Moreover, this lack of participation is a challenge because the current political system of Tinkhundla was established in order to achieve optimum and meaningful participation of community members in issues that directly affect them.

5.5.2 Human rights abuses

One of the major concerns that have been highlighted by protests and calls for action by citizens and the international community, particularly the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) and other civilian and activist groups, has been the violation of human rights argued to be taking place in the country (Maphalala 2021). The current system of governance is said to create an environment suitable for the repression of human rights (Marope 2010). Citizens are constantly faced with restrictions on their rights to protest, freedoms of association and speech among others (Mthembu 2019). Under the 2005 constitution, political parties were allowed to exist, albeit under restricted conditions (Marope 2010). However, since 2008 political parties and other socio-political organisations have yet again been banned, restricting the options available to citizens for political engagement and mobilization (Woods 2017). This ban was instituted under the 2008 Suppression of Terrorism Act (Dlamini 2013: 7). Protesting civilians are often met with force from law enforcement and face lengthy detentions without trial. According to Masuku and Limb (2016), political prisoners are among the citizens that have been jailed without the possibility of bail or a hearing (Maphalala 2021). They are also subjected to physical torture, beatings and others have died under mysterious circumstances while in police custody. Protester in the kingdom are often workers striking for better wages and working conditions or tertiary students who are constantly fighting for improved access to funding and education opportunities within the country (Sihlongonyane & Simelane 2017). However, the years 2020 and 2021 have seen more widespread participation in protests by citizens. The youth, the unemployed, labour formations and political formations calling for democratic change have all participated in the recent protests witnessed in Eswatini (Maphalala 2021). Since political parties are banned, most activities occurred clandestinely as people were aware of the consequences of participating in political activities outside of the confines of the government. Trade Unions were mostly used as vehicles for both workers' concerns and socio-political expression by

wider society (Motsamai 2012). This is because workers' organisations were better positioned to actively engage the government under the provisions of the International Labour Organisation's (ILO) conventions which protect workers' rights to freedom of association and expression, among others (Dlamini 2013: 33).

These socio-political conditions have made it difficult for opposition causes to gain traction and effect changes in the system. The government has often made concessions in some areas, especially those that receive the support of international actors such as the United Nations and other regional bodies such as the European Union and the African Union's African Commission on Human and People's Rights (Dlamini 2013: 12; Woods 2017; Maphalala 2021). However, these have not been enough to transform the current governance system, and this has resulted in some citizens making the decision to leave the country. Some have left voluntarily, in search of better socio-political environments in other countries while others have migrated involuntarily as exiles (Schwidrowski et al 2021).

The system of royal allegiance has also forced some people to migrate in search of more equitable environments. These are often people that can afford the costs associated with migration for these reasons. The power afforded to traditional leaders by the Tinkundla system also affects citizens' access to land as well as equitable land rights (Sihlongonyane & Simelane 2017). Land ownership is divided into two categories, Title Deed Land (TDL) and Swazi National Land (SNL) on which 70% of the country's population resides (Miles 2000; Sihlongonyane & Simelane 2017; Tevera et al 2012; Woods 2017). SNL is under the administration of local chiefs, who are regarded as acting on behalf of the king. They have the authority to grant and evict people living on SNL as and when deemed necessary (Dlamini 2013: 34; Woods 2017). This increases the levels of insecurity experienced by citizens and further reinforces the need to maintain allegiance to the royal administration. This system is also a contributing factor in the slow progress made towards constitutional and governance transformation. Dlamini (2013:9) mentions how some people have publicly denounced the progressive agenda and any other initiatives believed to be in opposition to the monarchy in order to secure opportunities. People have pledged their allegiance to the royal administration with the hopes of securing employment, educational, business and other opportunities (Woods 2017).

5.6 Living conditions within migrant mineworkers' communities in the kingdom of Eswatini

This section describes the living conditions within the migrant mineworkers' communities that were part of the survey and the interview processes of this study. These conditions are discussed in view of those national conditions that have already been highlighted above. What mainly stood out were the socioeconomic conditions within the identified communities as these were easily observable than political conditions, which would have required a more participatory kind of observation. The communities discussed here are from all the four geographical regions of the country, as both the surveys and interviews were conducted across all four regions. The communities identified were all rural communities that are under the Tinkundla system of governance. They still practice traditional conflict resolution mechanisms and are organised at the community/chiefdom (*umphakatsi*) level with a chief as the head of the *umphakatsi* (Times of Eswatini, June 2021).

All the participating communities were in the rural parts of the country, placing them in peripheral areas. This means that these communities were not in close proximity to a number of services. The most important of these were hospitals, only having access to small local clinics. These local clinics rely on the supplies received from government which is already struggling to adequately supply facilities across the country. As has been discussed above, the main hospitals in the country often struggle with resources and delivering quality healthcare to citizens. This in turn makes it even more challenging for smaller healthcare facilities, especially those in remote rural areas, to provide the necessary quality of healthcare to constituents of those particular areas. In addition, villagers often have to travel long distances to get to the local clinics as well since there are only a few of these within the rural areas. The extremely rough terrain in the rural areas also creates challenges for travel. This would make it difficult for emergency services to reach patients in need of medical attention in a timely fashion. These issues demonstrate how members of these communities are often at a disadvantage with regards to access to healthcare.

While in these villages, one is able to notice the dilapidated or sometimes incomplete houses in various homesteads. There are a few sightings of big and very well-maintained homes, which have become a common phenomenon within the rural areas. These homes are very few and far between. Within the families interviewed for this study, 3 out of 4 had an incomplete or dilapidated house within their compound. The only home that was in good condition and well maintained belonged to a family that had a nuclear set up, where the only people living

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in the homestead were the mother and her three children. This is an important factor to consider because the number of dependents in any household does affect the use of remittance money received. In most of the participating households, the family was made up of extended family members, which increased the number of dependents relying on remittance money for survival. This is what made it difficult to direct money towards building or renovation projects in the 3 families since the money had to be used for the families' other basic and more immediate needs.

All the communities had access to electricity and clean running water mainly from shared community taps. They all had access to farmland, as is the case with most rural households. However, only a few households had the means to carry out any farming activities. The costs associated with farming were too high for most households when compared to the expected returns. Often the land was left untouched, with some households using small pieces of land to start smaller gardens instead. Most areas had proximity to schools, both primary and secondary. The quality of education provided within these schools could not be determined through mere observation therefore cannot be reflected on here. A different study examining this particular issue would have to be conducted, collecting empirical evidence in order to make any valid claims on the situation. Lastly, access to public transportation was another challenge that was observed and reiterated by some of the interviewees. Moving from the villages to town was a challenge as transportation was limited and often specifically timed. One of the interviewees, LBS 3 (Personal interview, 26 February 2021) said that when one wanted to go to town, they would have to wake up very early that day to make sure that they caught the bus. Once one is done with their errands in town, they would have to wait for the same bus to take them back home at the end of the day. This, she said, meant that the whole day was lost. In addition to that, if one was not able to take the bus back home, they would have to find a place to sleep for the night to return home the following day.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter was a discussion of the economic, socio-cultural, and political conditions faced by Swati citizens living in Eswatini. These were highlighted as being some of the main drivers of international migration in the country. The chapter began with a brief discussion of the migration patterns in Eswatini, looking at both internal and international migratory activity. Thereafter, the chapter focused on the various conditions contributing towards migration in Eswatini. The conditions discussed included the education system and its

challenges, the healthcare system, poverty, food insecurity and the high levels of unemployment in the country, especially among the youth. The discussion continued to reflect on the political conditions within the country and highlighted issues related to human rights abuses and the reported lack of meaningful participation, particularly among the youth. The final section was a presentation of the living conditions of the participating migrant-sending families. This was based on data collected by the researcher during the fieldwork phase.

CHAPTER 6

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results of fieldwork conducted as part of the study's data collection aimed at answering the research questions. The chapter includes both the presentation of these findings and a subsequent analysis. It makes use of descriptions and illustrations such as tables and graphs to effectively present the data gathered. The data was informed by research participants' responses to survey questionnaires and in-depth interviews. The chapter starts with a section dedicated to the participants' biographical data, indicating information such as level of education, number of dependents and primary sources of income. It is then divided into three main parts, each directly linked to the study's research objectives. The first objective relates to the economic and sociocultural impacts of labour migration in Eswatini. It investigates the economic quality of life for the left-behind by presenting findings and subsequent analysis of responses given by left-behind spouses and dependents. The second objective focuses on the sociocultural implications of labour migration on migrant-sending families in Eswatini. The discussion includes the traditional gendered social norms that affect the division of labour in Swati homesteads. The traditional socialisation practices of young Swazis are also discussed with the aim of highlighting labour migration's impact on the unique traditional context of the Swazi. The third objective is discussed under the nature of migration's impact on the left-behind's welfare. This section looks at the relational, academic, and emotional welfare of the left-behind as a consequence of labour migration. The final objective highlights the experiences of left-behind families in Eswatini by discussing the benefits and challenges associated with labour migration. This is then followed by a conclusion of the chapter, highlighting all the main arguments made by this study.

6.2 Biographical data: Participating migrant mineworker families in Eswatini

Table 1 shows the biographical data of the left-behind spouses (LBS) that participated in the survey questionnaires. A total of 14 spouses were surveyed and 9 of them were between the ages 46 and 59, followed by 3 spouses aged between 36 and 45 years. One respondent, LBS 1, was between the ages 26 and 35 and one more, LBS 11, was 60 years and above. It should be noted that respondents' ages were recorded in ranges because most participants, both the LBSs and the Left-behind Dependents (LBDs), preferred not to mention their actual age.

Most respondents were uneasy about stating their actual ages, hence the ranges were used as a suitable alternative. The levels of education among the spouses varied. Out of 14 participants, only 2 had a high school certificate while the majority, 8 out of 14 had obtained a primary school certificate. There were 2 participants who had completed their secondary school education and 2 more participants who had not been to school at all. With regards to participants' occupations, none of the spouses had a full-time professional job. Those that were working were doing so as semi-skilled artisans and local business owners. As presented in the table above, 10 out of 14 indicated that they were unemployed while 4 were self-employed. The 4 participants that were self-employed were running small family businesses, retailing products such as vegetables, hand-made artefacts and shop keeping. The participants indicated that they used the income from these small businesses to supplement the remittance income from their migrant spouses.

Out of 14 participants, 10 of them relied on the remittances sent by migrant spouses as their primary source of income. For other participants, their primary sources of income were either from the family business, 2 out of 14, or from contributions made by other family members who were working in the cities, 2 out of 14. Lastly, the table shows the average number of dependents each left-behind spouse had to take care of daily. Out of 14 spouses, 4 had an average of 7 and above dependents, with 2 spouses indicating that they had 10 dependents each. Participants who had between 5-6 dependents totalled 6 out of 14 and those with 3-4 dependents were 3 out of 14. Only one participant had 1-2 dependents.

Table 6.1: Left-behind Spouses' biographic data

Respondent ID (Left-behind Spouse)	Age group (Years)	Level of education	Occupation	Primary source of income	No. Dependents
LBS 1	26-35	High school certificate	Unemployed	Remittances	3-4
LBS 2	36-45	None	Unemployed	Remittances	5-6
LBS 3	46-59	Primary school certificate	Unemployed	Remittances	7 & above
LBS 4	46-59	Primary school certificate	Unemployed	Remittances	5-6

LBS 5	46-59	None	Self-employed	Small family business	10
LBS 6	36-45	Primary school certificate	Self-employed	Family contributions	3-4
LBS 7	46-59	Primary school certificate	Unemployed	Remittances	5-6
LBS 8	36-45	Secondary school certificate	Unemployed	Family contributions	3-4
LBS 9	46-59	Primary school certificate	Self-employed	Small family business	5-6
LBS 10	46-59	High school certificate	Self-employed	Remittances	5-6
LBS 11	60 & above	Primary school certificate	Unemployed	Remittances	1-2
LBS 12	46-59	Primary school certificate	Unemployed	Remittances	5-6
LBS 13	46-59	Secondary school certificate	Unemployed	Remittances	7 & above
LBS 14	46-59	Primary school certificate	Unemployed	Remittances	10

Table 6.2 shows the biographical data of the participating left-behind dependents (LBDs). The data shows that a total of 10 LBDs participated in the study, answering questions related to their experience with labour migration. From the 10 participants, 7 were female while the remaining 3 were male. All the respondents were aged between 18 and 35 years. Out of the 10 respondents, 7 were aged between 18 and 25 while 3 were aged between 26 and 35 years. With regards to education, 1 respondent had a primary school certificate, 5 out of 10 had a secondary school certificate while the remaining 4 had a high school certificate. The table also shows the respondents' occupations. Out of 10, only two respondents indicated that they were employed. It should be noted that in both cases, this was unskilled contract based work. Seven of the respondents indicated that they were unemployed while only one respondent was still attending high school.

Table 6.2: Left-behind Dependents' biographical data

Respondent ID (Left-behind dependent)	Sex	Age group (Years)	Level of education	Occupation
LBD 1	Female	18-25	Secondary school certificate	Unemployed
LBD 2	Male	18-25	Secondary school certificate	High school Learner
LBD 3	Female	18-25	Secondary school certificate	Unemployed
LBD 4	Male	18-25	High school certificate	Employed
LBD 5	Female	26-35	High school certificate	Unemployed
LBD 6	Female	26-35	High school certificate	Unemployed
LBD 7	Male	18-25	Primary school certificate	Unemployed
LBD 8	Female	18-25	High school certificate	Unemployed
LBD 9	Female	18-25	Secondary school certificate	Unemployed
LBD 10	Female	26-35	Secondary school certificate	Employed

6.3 Labour Migration's Economic and Sociocultural Impacts in Eswatini

6.3.1 Economic quality of life and the left-behind

The amount received from remittances varied between 2 500 Emalangeni and 5 000 Emalangeni[1]. Out of 14 left-behind spouses, seven received E2 500 or less and the other seven received between E2 500 and E5 000. All seven spouses who received E2 500 or less believed it was not sufficient to cover their respective families' needs. This money was expected to cater for food, school fees and other school-related needs, clothing, and other living expenses of the family. For the seven spouses that received between E2 600 and E5 000, only two believed that the money was enough to cater for their families. This was because one of these respondents only had two dependents to take care of, while other left-behind spouses had to distribute the remittances received among more dependents. The second of the two spouses who believed the remittances received were sufficient had a small business that helped in supplementing the remittance income. Unlike other spouses, who relied solely on the remittances received, she was able to cover the rest of her family's needs through the income from her small business.

Figure 6.1: Economic improvement for left-behind families
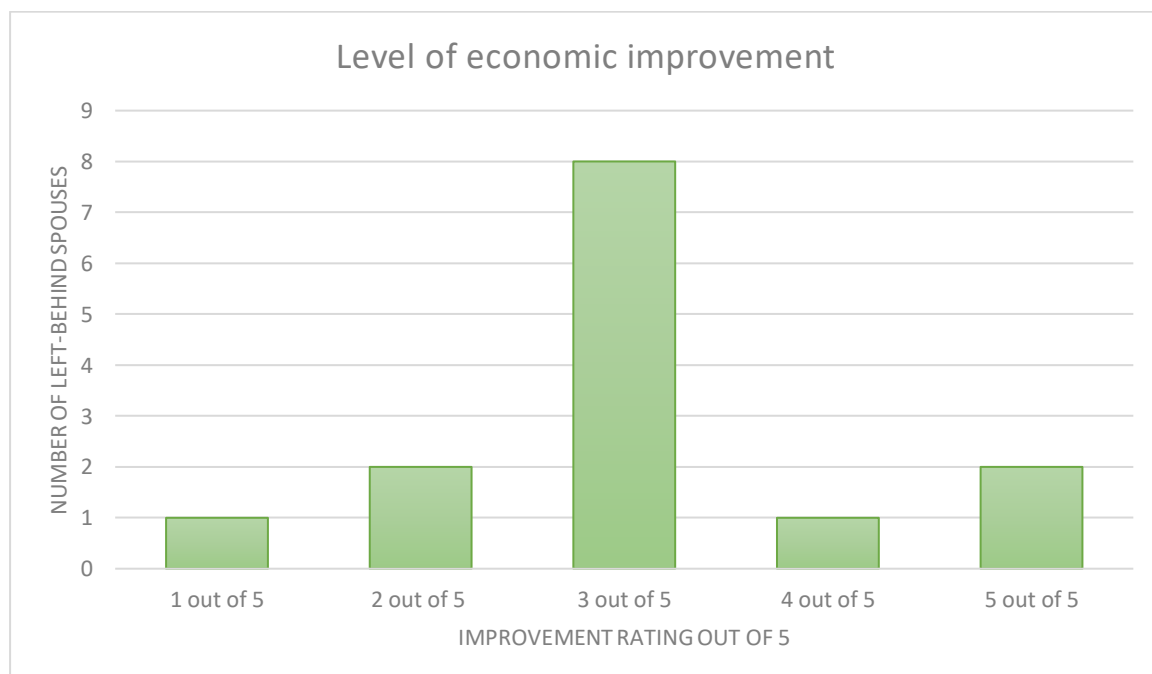
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Source: compiled from fieldwork data by the author

To further understand the economic conditions of the left-behind, a scale, represented by figure 3 above, was incorporated into the survey questionnaire. On a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is no improvement at all and 5 being drastic improvement, left-behind spouses were asked to rate their level of economic improvement because of having a family member working in South Africa. Most respondents, seven out of 14, indicated that they experienced economic improvement at a rate of 3 out of 5, while two respondents said they had experienced a 5 out of 5 improvement in their economic conditions. Additionally, two of the respondents indicated a 2 out of 5 improvement and one respondent rated her economic improvement a 1 out of 5. As a follow-up question, the respondents were asked if their spending power had improved because of the remittances they received. Out of 14 respondents, eight said that they could afford to buy more products and services ever since their spouse started working in the mines, while four out of 14 respondents believed they could afford less than when the migrant member was around and two said that they could afford the same as before the migrant member left.

When determining how the money received from migrant members was used, participants were asked what their top three spending priorities were. The responses indicated that food and education were the highest priorities, as most families, 13 out of 14, used remittances to cover these expenses. The next most prioritised expenses were clothing and money used for small business activities. The least money was spent on healthcare, rent and transport. The graph below shows how the remittance monies are spent by indicating the percentage spending on each item from the families.

Figure 6.2: Spending on remittances received

% Spending on remittances received
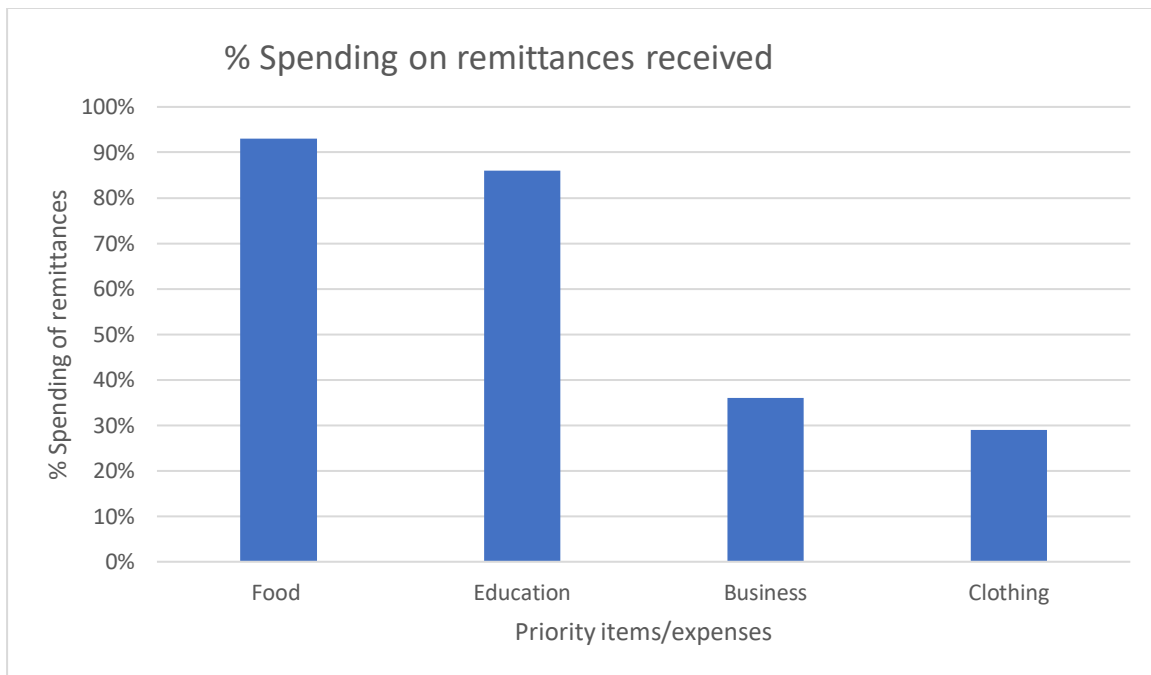
Source: compiled from fieldwork data by the author

Most of the respondents, 10 out of 14, indicated that their family's access to education improved because of their migrant member working in a South African mine. For the rest of the participants, three out of 14 felt that access had somewhat improved, and one respondent said that her family's access to education had not improved at all since her spouse started working in the mines. A follow-up question asked respondents if the migration of their family member had affected the quality of education they could now afford. The majority, 11 out of 14, of the respondents indicated that the quality of education they could afford had improved since the migration. Only one participant said that the quality of education they could afford had somewhat improved while two participants indicated that they had not experienced any improvements in the quality of education they could afford. Both respondents indicated that this was because the money they received from their migrant spouses was not enough to afford the children an opportunity to attend better quality schools. They had to distribute the remittances received, which in both cases were the families' only source of income, across all the family needs, including schooling supplies. This left very little money, if any at all, to be allocated towards better schooling opportunities.

Figure 6.3: Improvement in access to quality healthcare
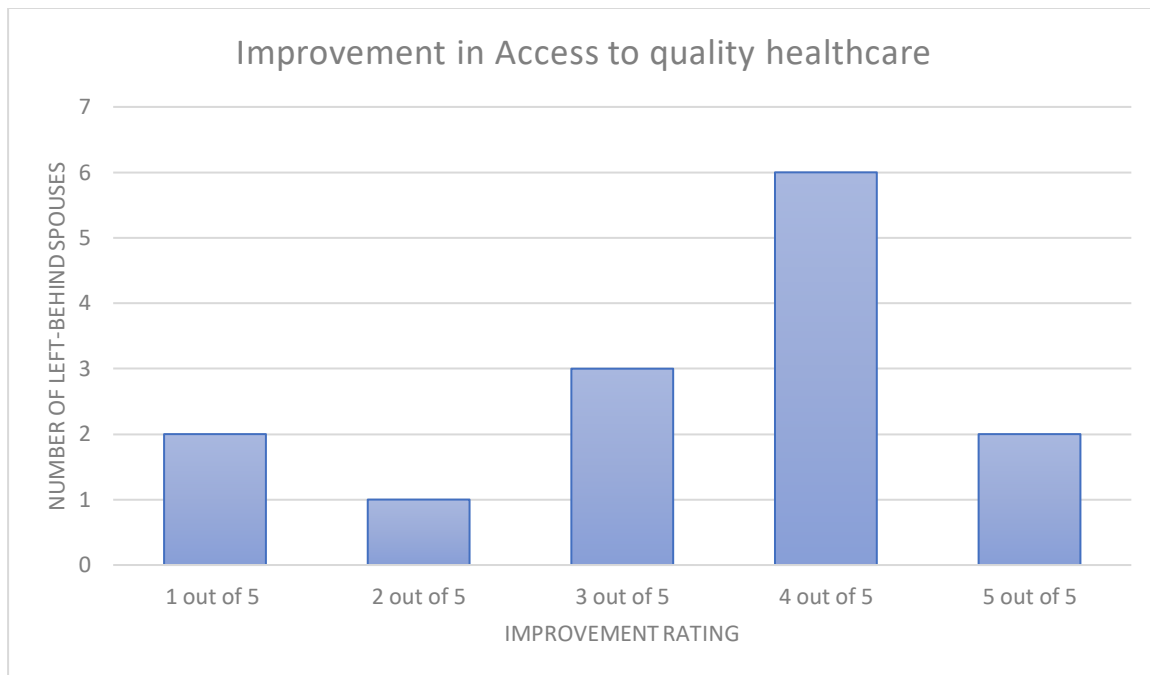
Source: compiled from fieldwork data by the author

Additionally, the question of families' improved access to healthcare since the migration of their respective family members was also asked (represented in figure 5 above). Respondents were asked to rate the improvement of access to quality and adequate healthcare on a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being no improvement and 5 being drastic improvement. The responses indicated that six out of 14 respondents experienced a 4 out of 5 improvement in access to quality and adequate healthcare, while three out of 14 rated their experience as 3 out of 5. The rest of the responses were divided equally between two participants who believed their access had not improved at all and another two who believed that they experienced a 5 out of 5 improvement in access. Only one respondent indicated that they experienced a 2 out of 5 improvement in access to adequate and quality healthcare. This, again, was a consequence of priority-setting against the amount received from the migrant. Adequate and quality healthcare were least prioritised to cater for more priority items such as food and education.

The in-depth interview questions were used to gather more information on the socioeconomic conditions of left-behind families. The dependents were asked to describe the current living conditions in their households, including those economic in nature, as a consequence of not having their migrant member around. Respondent LBD 4 (Personal interview, 8 February 2021) indicated that:

"The situation is definitely not the same in almost all areas of life when my father is not around. Generally, life is much better now that he is working in the mines. We still struggle to get certain things, but it is no longer the same as before. It is usually better when he is around because he comes home with extra money to cater for these things we usually cannot afford. He acts like a father, you know, taking care of everything that is needed in the home. But when he has gone back, he gives us the monthly income and that is that, we have to wait until he is back to ask for other things that we cannot afford with the money he sends".

He said that economically they were able to spend more without much concern when the father was home, stating that their needs were better catered for during his presence. While he is away, the family must try and cater for all their needs using the limited funds they receive as remittances. This was because the migrant father was able to spend more money during his visits home. He was able to cover those expenses that were not usually covered by the remittances. However, upon his return to South Africa, they had to find ways to cater for those expenses as only a set amount of money was sent home every month. However, this did not take away from the fact that the respondent acknowledged a change in their livelihoods and the role that his father's income from the mines played in this.

Respondent LBD 7 had a migrant member who constantly fell ill, which affected his productivity. This also affected his ability to send money home for the family's upkeep. The respondent LBD 7 (Personal interview, 18 February 2021) said:

"We never really know when he might be sick again. Some periods are fine but when he is not well, it is really bad, and it means he cannot work. He spends a lot of time in hospital or at home during these periods and that affects his work and salary. So sometimes we go for long periods without receiving anything from him. We have to borrow from people, which means even after he recovers and starts sending money back home, we still need to first cover all the debt we would have accumulated. So relying on his salary is very unstable for us but we have no other choice since he is the only one with a job".

The migrant member was said to have lost some work opportunities in the past because of illness. This illness was caused by the work carried out at the mines, which the migrant

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member had not been compensated for despite several attempts at securing such payment. This forced the migrant to continue working to continue supporting his family back in Eswatini. The respondent indicated that his father's illness not only affected them financially but emotionally as well. He mentioned how they wished he could come home but also understood that his return would affect the family's livelihood. This respondent further highlighted how all these challenges also affected his performance while he was at school. The constant worry about his father's health and the financial conditions of his family made it difficult for him to concentrate on his academic work.

Respondent LBD 5 also relayed her experience with the effects of her father's migration to South Africa. She said that her family's socioeconomic conditions had improved since her father started working in the mines. She indicated that while her father had a difficult time supporting their family before, he was now able to send money on a monthly basis. The respondent LBD 5 (Personal interview, 22 February 2021) mentioned that:

> "Our situation has really improved since dad started working in the mines. Before, we could barely afford to survive the whole month without having to ask for assistance from relatives. We had income from his contract jobs, but it was not stable since the contracts would be very short term and sometimes they would not get paid for months. So, when he got a job in South Africa, we experienced a huge change. We now have a stable income and we do not have to worry about our livelihoods anymore. It has been a very big relief for the entire family and we are now able to afford things we could not afford to buy before. Without his income from working in the mines, our family would still be struggling to make ends meet every month, so we are grateful".

His job in the mines meant that the family could now afford products and services they could not before his departure. This made it easier for the family members left behind to understand and accept his absence as they witnessed their living conditions improve as a result.

The experience described by LDB 5 confirms the neoclassical economics theory's claims to why people choose to migrate. The theory states that the decision to migrate is often a utility maximisation strategy. The person who migrates does so with the idea that the destination country will offer high economic returns for their labour. Consequently, the decision to migrate to South Africa for work meant that better opportunities for employment, stable and

higher wages were anticipated by the migrant's family. These prospects provided the necessary motivation for the initiation of migration.

The neoclassical economics theory also claims that this transfer of resources between labour-sending and receiving states results in opportunities of development and growth for both states. The flow of labour from capital-scarce sending states towards the labour-scarce receiving states results in development and growth for both states. The labour-scarce states receive the much-needed human capital for productivity while the sending states receive capital resources (in high wages), which are argued to help facilitate the development of these countries. It is vital to note however that this analysis is often emphasised at the macro level. As noted in chapter 2, the neoclassical economics theory has been criticised for being too narrow in its focus because of this emphasis on the macro-level activities associated with migration. The developmental impacts of migration, as understood by neoclassical theorists, may be present at the macro level and the micro level, as seen in the case above. However, the theory's assumption of a trickle-down effect of this development from the state level to community and household levels requires more empirical attention and further research.

6.3.2 Labour migration and sociocultural implications for the left-behind

The precolonial Swazi nation was believed to place great significance on the role played by a woman in the traditional Swazi home (*likhaya)*. However, with the influence of colonial structures and values, the Swazi society has come to be recognised as a patriarchal nation (Myeni & Wentink 2021). According to Muchanyera (2020), traditions and customs are not static; they change over time. This is true for Swazi traditions and customs that were and continue to be modified through the influence of modernisation and colonialism. Urban populations have experienced this modification more than rural settlers have. Within rural communities, Swazi tradition and customs are still practiced and the influence of modernisation on these is believed to be less pronounced. In this regard, young boys and girls still partake in cultural activities such as the *Umhlanga* (reed dance) and *Lusekwane* (older members of Swazi society still attend the *Buganu* and the *Incwala* ceremonies). Other traditional practices that include the socialisation of these young men and women are also still practiced within the rural communities of Eswatini (Kuper 1953). In this regard, the unique traditions and customs of the Swazi people become important in the discussion of any phenomenon affecting the Swazi society, particularly the rural communities of the kingdom. For this study, this unique sociocultural context of the Swazi becomes vital in understanding the contextualised impacts of labour migration.

6.3.2.1 Eswatini's traditional gendered social norms and labour migration

The patriarchal nature of Swazi society today places great importance on the husband/male authority (*umnumzane)* in a way that the contributions made by other family members towards the socialisation of younger male members cannot replace the *umnumzane*'s role. Therefore, even though the remaining family members may try to fulfil the absent father's role, the way tradition orders socialisation requires the mentoring of a young man by the *umnunzane* or a male elder such as *umkhulu* (grandfather) or *bomalume* (uncles). However, with increasing levels of rural-urban migration in Eswatini, able-bodied men migrate to the cities in search for jobs (Myeni & Wentink 2021). This leaves a vacuum within rural homesteads, often derailing the socialisation process of the young men. Therefore, the absence of the father because of labour migration often means that the traditional process of socialisation, which is primarily the responsibility of the *umnumzane*, is affected. This also has an impact on the relationships young men then have with their mothers during the migrant father's absence, as will be shown in the following sections in this chapter. During an interview, respondent LBS 3 (Personal interview, 26 February 2021) indicated that:

> "We are left with no men in the villages because most of them either go to work in the mines and the truck driving industry in South Africa or they go to the cities to try and find work. Once they are there, they have to get rooms to rent because they cannot commute from the villages to town every day. So they end up coming to visit us just like the migrant ones in South Africa. We are only left behind with the younger boys who still have to go to school and they too one day will have to go look for jobs in the cities or in South Africa. So, while all the older men of the family are away, the boys are left to learn some things on their own because I cannot teach them as a woman".

Traditionally, the division of labour in a homestead is a consequence of gendered social norms. These norms assert that each home will have feminine and masculine tasks that will be divided among family members based on gender (Myeni & Wentink 2021). Feminine tasks are often related to food and food processing such as cooking. Other tasks reserved for females include cleaning, washing, and other related domestic chores. The masculine tasks involve providing economically and protecting the family. These tasks are in conjunction with the independence and physical strength often associated with the masculine (Mkhatshwa 2017). Traditional social norms reinforce the idea that boys are leaders and girls are followers. According to Mkhatshwa (2017), boys are taught to be assertive and innovative

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while girls are taught to be shy, avoidant, and respectful. Girls are often trained in caregiving and are regarded as being exclusively responsible for the domestic work in a home (Kuper 1953). Women are expected to only be active within the family setting as caregivers and nurturers. Responsibilities that fall outside of the home environment such as politics and related governance issues are largely seen as the reserve of men and the elite (Mthembu 2019). In relation to this, respondent LBS 1 (Personal interview, 23 February 2021) said:

> "We grew up knowing that there was a clear division between tasks done by boys and those done by girls. Everyone knew what they were expected to do and what not to do because we received training from our parents and other family members about this. It is customary for the girls to do housework and for the boys to do the stuff needed outside like herding cattle and ploughing the fields. The men are the ones who make the important decisions, even at the community level. Women's roles are mainly about making sure that their families are well taken care and that they do not need for anything a mother has to provide. It needs to be evident that there is a woman in the household through how well taken care of the children and other family members are. It is something some of us were taught to take pride in".

It is these gendered social norms that determine the roles assigned to each gender in the household (this will also form part of the discussion on the new responsibilities assumed by the left-behind during the migrant's absence). Consequently, these norms also affect the way in which the genders relate to each other. For this study, the relationship between a mother and her son is of particular importance as the traditional expectations placed on each, based on their respective genders, has an impact on the way the two relate to each other. This relationship and how it is affected by the gendered norms becomes even more important in a home where the father is absent, in this case, because of labour migration. The centrality of traditional gender norms within rural communities can help to explain the inability of left-behind young men to be emotionally vulnerable with their mothers or any other female figure at home. Motsa and Moreleje (2019) found that the heteronormative conception of gender in Eswatini makes vulnerability almost impossible for boys. The mother and son relationship, regardless of the age and seniority differences that may exist, is also structured according to the traditional gendered norms. Therefore, even though a young man may need the kind of support often expected from a male figure, they usually will not turn to their mothers or female family members because of the instituted traditional norms. This was consistent with

the findings of this study as captured in the responses of both the LBS and LBD during interviews.

During an in-depth interview, respondent LBS 10 mentioned that the male children often had difficulty talking to her as a woman about some of the challenges they faced. To this end the respondent LBS 10 (Personal interview, 8 February 2021) said: *"They would much rather talk to their father, but because he is not around you often find that they keep their issues to themselves only for it to show in their schoolwork or general emotional behaviour at home"*. Respondent LBS 3 shared similar sentiments about the nature of her relationship with her sons. She highlighted the emotional gap that existed between them which made it difficult for her sons to talk to her about their challenges. This would often result in them being distant, unruly, and rebellious towards her. She mentioned that she would not have gone through some of these challenges if her husband was able to be home with her to help raise their children together. The respondent LBS 3 (Personal interview, 26 February 2021) said that:

> "It is challenging raising boys without their father around. As much as you may want to assist your children as a mother, you know that there is only so much you can do for them emotionally as boys. Sometimes even trying to discipline them is very difficult, something I know would not have been a problem if their father was here. They listen to him when he corrects them. With me, they sometimes listen and sometimes it is like I did not say anything to them at all. When it comes to their personal issues, they normally tell me that I would not understand even if they tried to tell me. So they just wait until their father returns or they speak to their friends".

These findings are supported by Motsa and Moreleje's (2019) argument that the established traditional gendered norms make it difficult for a young man to be vulnerable to a "lesser" gender. This stems from the emphasis on the masculine role and its superiority over the feminine in patriarchal societies. These gendered social norms also explain why some left-behind spouses have a difficult time disciplining the younger male members of their households. The position of women in the gender hierarchy means that the male child may sometimes have difficulty recognising her authority in the home. Mkhatshwa (2017) found that it was easier, and even expected, for children and other members of a family to acknowledge and respect male authority and leadership than it was to do the same for a female counterpart. Booth's (1995) study on the effects of father absence on school

preparedness for Swazi children also highlighted the role of fathers as disciplinarians and authority figures in the Swazi home. Children were found to react differently to having their mothers as authority figures as opposed to their fathers. Even in Swazi society where the *Gogo* (grandmother) is afforded seniority and respect by the rest of the family, her authority is only as strong as the male imperative allows. The *Gogo's* power within a homestead is ultimately affected by that of the *Mkhulu* or *Umnumzane*, particularly in instances where all this respective authority is exercised concurrently.

6.3.2.2 Labour Migration's impact on traditional family roles

In the case of Eswatini's migrant communities, not only do the responsibilities of migrant workers become those of their left-behind spouses on a long-term basis, the nature of responsibilities that the left-behind must take up go beyond the distribution of remittances and domestic work. Left-behind spouses are tasked with responsibilities such as being a provider, protector of the home (usually in the absence of other adult male members of the family), family representative at the community council (*emphakatsini*), principal decision maker, lead farmer and custodian of the family's livestock. These, as mentioned earlier, are roles traditionally associated with males within the Swazi homestead. Under normal circumstances, these responsibilities would be otherwise reserved for the *umnumzane* of the home.

According to De Haas (2007), a study conducted by Van Rooij in 2000 comparing the responsibilities of migrant and non-migrant wives revealed that migration did not contribute to a change in gender roles. According to this study, the lives of migrant wives often remain confined to housekeeping, taking care of the children, and doing agricultural work. The only area of greater control or responsibility that was identified was in the distribution of the remittances received from the migrant spouse. However, this responsibility was also temporary because the migrants would resume their positions as patriarchs upon return. This may be the case in some communities, especially where the return of migrants is more frequent. In Eswatini's mineworker communities, the rate of return by migrant patriarchs is not as frequent. This means that the responsibilities taken up by the left behind spouse may become permanent or may be fixed for a very long period during the migrant's absence, only to change upon their retirement or permanent return.

During the interviews, respondent LBS 1 indicated that she took over all her husband's responsibilities after he left for South Africa. She said that it was not easy managing both

their duties in the household and that she often felt overwhelmed. The respondent LBS 1 (Personal interview, 23 February 2021) said:

"It is difficult when you are faced with all these responsibilities and the task of raising the children alone. I think what makes it even worse is that at some point, I was not doing this alone and then all of a sudden, when my husband left, I had all this work. Everyone now looks to me for direction and that can be overwhelming sometimes, especially when I cannot get their father's help in making some of these decisions. He tries to be supportive in the best way he can, but it is absolutely not the same as having him here with me to help".

One of the responsibilities she had to assume was acting as the official representative of the family at community meetings during her spouse's absence. She mentioned how this responsibility was among one of the most challenging as people often found it difficult to engage with her as head of the household. She indicated that during community meetings, her and other women's opinions were often ignored. This made it difficult for her to represent the interests of her family during these gatherings. The respondent LBS 1 (Personal interview, 23 February 2021) had this to say:

"Sometimes I just think I should stop attending these meetings because it is pointless being there. With all the work I have to do at home, I wish I could save the time for household tasks than going there. If I had it my way, I would not keep going but I cannot because then my family will not be represented there. If you do not show up or have a representative there, then you miss out on some opportunities within the community. For example, if there is help coming from outside and you are not seen as an active member of the community, you may not be considered for whatever that support is. So I have to go, even though we are not heard, at least we can be counted. When my husband was around, he attended those meetings, and I could stay home and do my work without having to worry about any of this".

Mthembu (2019) notes that high levels of gender-based exclusion are a consistent feature in the country's systems and structures, particularly those that are traditional. This is mainly because of the patriarchal structuring of traditional Swazi society, which places women in less influential roles, especially when it concerns decision-making (as evidenced by participants' responses to follow). According to Mthembu (2019), women have been

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marginalised in Eswatini on social and political issues. Women, particularly in the rural areas, have been confined to spheres of influence and activity that are tied to feminine responsibilities such as reproduction, caregiving, and the general upkeep of the household.

The sentiments expressed by LBS 1 were shared by respondent LBS 10, who also indicated that she had trouble with the role of family representative within her community. She mentioned that in her community, they had weekly meetings at the chief's kraal. However, she no longer attended these meetings because the other members of the community, particularly the men, did not recognise her role as head of household and family representative during her husband's absence. She highlighted how she believed attending these meetings was *"useless because your opinion and ideas as a woman are not taken seriously there. The men do not take women-headed households seriously and believe that the only person who has the authority to speak on any community issues was the male figur*e" LBS 10 (Personal interview, 8 February 2021). Participant LBS 12 indicated that she attended the community meetings but only in a non-contributing representational role. This was because, just like the other respondents, her voice was regarded as being insignificant. The only reason she attended was to ensure that her family was seen to be participating in community activities, which was important in instances when families needed help from the community's royal administration council (*emphakatsini*). The respondent LBS 12 (Personal interview, 25 February 2021) stated that:

> "I go there because I have to but I know that not much will come from my presence there. With the amount of work I have at home, I would use my time for other things but because my husband is not here, I have to attend these meetings. His absence means that I have to take over this responsibility as the other head of our household and represent him in his absence. If I could send the children, I would, but that is not possible".

Left-behind spouses in Eswatini's migrant-sending communities also take up farming responsibilities during the absence of their respective migrant spouses. Respondent LBS 1 highlighted how her other inherited responsibilities included taking the lead on the yearly farming process and taking care of the livestock. These responsibilities came with their own challenges, especially because they are often regarded as a "man's job". Respondent LBS 1 (Personal interview, 23 February 2021) relayed the following:

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"Before he left, he would take care of the whole process of ploughing the fields. It is something that the men do. Women can also do the work but normally it is for the men to do, especially the hard parts of it that require a lot of psychical strength. I would assist by bringing the men working on the farm food and light refreshments while I continued with my tasks around the house. This had to change when my husband left. At first, he tried to come back home for ploughing season, but it became too expensive for him to travel each season and the time he could spend was not enough since he had to go back to work. So I ended up having to take on that responsibility myself. I ask some local boys to assist me and I have to pay them for their time and effort".

Respondent LBS 3 also indicated that several projects were on hold during her husband's absence. She said that there were certain tasks, such as large-scale farming, that they could not carry out on their own. These, according to the respondent, were regarded as being the responsibility of the migrant spouse and since her children had not grown up enough to take over this responsibility, their land often went unploughed. This had caused trouble for the family with community members as they believed that the land should be given to other members of the community that would be able to farm on it. The left-behind spouse mentioned how this has caused tension between her family and those community members advocating for this. Respondent LBS 3 (Personal interview, 26 February 2021) said that:

" It is tough dealing with all the issues that come with my husband's absence. We have enough land, but the farming of the land gradually stopped after he left for the mines. I cannot do it by myself, so we just decided to wait until he returned permanently. Some people here do not like that, they say that we are wasting the land by not ploughing each year. Some have even gone as far as taking the matter up to the *umphakatsi* to ask that they be given the land since they would put it to good use. It has been difficult dealing with all of this. Maybe if my husband was still home, they would not be causing so much trouble for me".

It is vital to note that although the added responsibilities of left-behind spouses may not be permanent, it does not take away the impact of having to take up these responsibilities in the first place. As shown in the responses of the women interviewed for this study, the emotional

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burden and at times the physical strain of taking on extra responsibility remains, with or without taking into consideration how long this responsibility lasts (De Haas 2007). The migrant spouse only steps into their responsibilities for a shorter period when compared to the left-behind spouse. When migrant spouses return, they often stay for no longer than a month and this is usually around the festive season in the December/January period. This was also the case in Ndlovu and Tigere's (2018) study of migrant-sending households in Gweru, Zimbabwe. The rest of the year, return stays are usually a week or two. This period is significantly less when compared to the amount of time the left-behind spouse spends taking care of her and her husband's responsibilities at home.

6.3.2.3 Eswatini's traditional socialisation practices and labour migration

For young men, the process of socialisation involves *kuvulela*, which is the daily act of herding cattle. This practice is particularly prevalent within rural communities, as these have the facilities, vast grazing lands, for cattle keeping. As part of their mentorship process, it is expected of young men to herd cattle from their respective households. According to Mkhatshwa (2017), the young men leave early in the morning only to return at sunset. During this absence from home, these young men head to the valleys and mountains, distances from their homes. While there, some still engage in hunting, gathering wild fruit and learning about the natural environment around them. The herding of cattle is believed to teach young boys principles such as discipline, responsibility, and physical strength among others. For the Swazi, herding cattle is a rite of passage meant to teach boys those masculine values associated with the male gender. The *umnumzane* is often responsible for teaching this new skill to the young men of the family. In addition to herding the cattle, they are taught how to take care of them at home, learning how to vaccinate and maintain their overall health. The responsibility to initially teach all these skills normally rests with the father as head of household.

The absence of this male authority because of labour migration deprives young men in some migrant-sending households of the opportunity to learn these skills directly from their fathers. In addition to the skills acquired, the mentoring process involved in *kuvulela* creates an opportunity for young men to form strong bonds with their fathers. This is not possible for young men from migrant-sending homes. The responsibility is often taken up by another male member of the family, depriving the young men of an opportunity to create strong connections with their fathers. Consequently, the relationship between a migrant father and his son(s) is affected as these opportunities are missed.

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When respondent LBS 10 was asked about the impact her husband's absence had on the children's upbringing, she indicated that the children had been negatively affected. She highlighted how the male children especially had missed out on several lessons they were supposed to receive directly from their father. She believed that it was the migrant worker's responsibility to teach their children how to behave as young men but that they had been denied that opportunity by the circumstances of his absence. The respondent LBS 10 (Personal interview, 8 February 2021) said:

> "I actually feel sorry for them (her children) sometimes because they do not have their father around to teach them things they should be learning from a man. While other kids around them have their fathers here, they have to figure out how to take care of the cattle, for example all by themselves. It is even worse when they come back home and start telling stories about how their friends had the chance to spend quality time with their fathers when they were teaching them something".

Respondent LBS 12 also indicated that she believed the father's absence was detrimental to the children's upbringing. She stated how some of the children were very difficult to raise alone, especially the boys. She believed that they would have benefitted from having their father around to teach them how young men ought to behave and how they need to carry out certain responsibilities in his absence. The left-behind spouse mentioned how some of her children went through very rebellious phases, which she believed would have not happened if her husband was living with them.

> "They need a man to teach how to act like a man. We cannot do that for them, it is their father's thing but he is not here. So they miss out a lot, they are definitely not like the other kids in the village who have their fathers here with them. But there is very little we can do about it since their father has to work to sustain this family. The time he spends when he is back at home is not enough to really change the boys' behaviour, it cannot happen overnight. So I can only hope that they turn out okay" LBS 12 (Personal interview, 25 February 2021).

The absence of the patriarch in traditional families presents a challenge in the socialization of the younger members of the family. According to Moala-Tupou (2026), this is often the case where the role of disciplinarian is mainly associated with the patriarch in the family and

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because of cultural orientation in the community. According to De Haas (2007), the assumption made is that the absence of a paternal authority figure in the family, especially in traditional households, results in an increase in delinquent behaviour among the younger members of the family. This is based on the significance placed on the paternal figure's role in teaching and enforcing the values of discipline and moral behaviour among the young. His absence is often interpreted as having dire consequences for the behaviour of younger members of the family.

It is also important to note that the levels of impact across families may vary. In cases where the migrant father had left for work either during the very early years of their children's lives or had left before they were even born, the impact may be felt differently from those who had had a chance to develop a strong bond with the migrant parent. In instances such as these, the young members of the family did not have the same expectations as those who had experienced living with their fathers before. For them, the absence of the patriarch was more "normal" than it was for others. Respondent LBD 2 (Personal interview, 25 February 2021) had this to say in relation to the above:

> "By the time I was grown up enough to be conscious of our family set-up, my father had already been working in the mines for almost a decade. For me, it was normal that dad was away for long periods of time and that mom was the only parent staying with us. It only when I was old enough to start seeing the effects of dad's absence on the family, especially my mom, but for the most part I am used to it. My older siblings may have had a hard time, but we never have talked about it in that way. I guess everyone just had to accept the situation because they knew it was for their livelihood".

However, this still did not change the fact that they had lost out on the opportunity to grow up with their father at home. They too experienced the deprivation experienced by other migrants' children even though the emotional response to it, based on the prevailing conditions surrounding the father's absence, may differ.

6.3.2.4 Labour Migration and missed opportunities for left-behind dependents

When left-behind children were interviewed, they relayed their experiences with migration's impact on their socialisation and other areas of their lives. During the interviews, the children were asked if they believed that they had missed out on certain things, such as experiences or

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activities that their peers may have had the chance to engage in, because of the absence of their migrant fathers. The responses were varied, with male dependents mainly feeling that they were being deprived of the guidance of an older male figure. This was the case as all the migrant mineworkers absent were the father figure of the families interviewed. The female dependents also believed they experienced deprivation to an extent. However, these feelings of missing out were not as intense as they were for their male counterparts, as socialisation is often believed to be provided by members of the same sex in the family environment. Therefore, for the female interviewees, they still had their mothers with them at home providing the expected teachings.

Respondent LBD 7 felt that the absence of his father meant that he could not do certain things. The respondent indicated that they could not continue with activities like driving lessons when their father was not around. He felt that he was missing out on this experience and others that he had shared with his father before. In addition to this, he also indicated that he often felt lonely as he is the only boy at home. The respondent LBD 7 (Personal interview, 18 February 2021) highlighted that:

> "I enjoy having talks with my dad and spending time with him. Talking to the girls at home is hard for me, so I often find myself feeling very lonely and left out when he is not around. My mother is also not able to teach me how to drive because the car is with dad in South Africa. I only get a chance to learn and spend quality time with my father when he comes home from the mines, which is only a few times a year. I do wish it was different, that he was able to come home more often".

Similar sentiments were shared by respondent LBD 4. He highlighted that his father's absence affected his socialisation in a negative manner as he believed that some lessons that ought to be taught to a young man were the reserve of a father. The respondent LBD 4 (Personal interview, 8 February 2021) said that:

> "Having my father around would have helped him (father) monitor my growth and easily identify things that I needed help with. But since he is away, we both miss out on the father and son relationship we could have had if he was working locally. I do not have any examples to use on how to behave as a young man because he is not here to show me. Sometimes it is not about actually sitting down with someone to talk about things but about

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leading by example. That is how we learn most things as boys, we need to see it from our fathers first, but that is not really possible for some of us".

The young man also indicated that he would be able to drive by now if his father was around, as he was the only one helping him with this exercise. He further described how he believed that his life after completing high school would have turned out differently if his father was around. The respondent was convinced that his father would have not only been able to advise on what to do after completing his studies, he would have also helped him secure a job or find other activities to keep him busy. The interviewee felt that he had very little guidance because of his father's absence and particularly because he did not believe the female figures in his home could provide this kind of guidance.

A study conducted by Ndlovu and Tigere (2018) found that children resented the absence of their fathers. This was especially true for young men who believed that they were deprived of an ally and mentor because of their fathers' absence. As mentioned before, the gender roles associated with instilling discipline and socialisation are often rigid. Unlike other responsibilities that can be shifted between parents, those relating to more personal and gender-specific issues are often reserved for the respective genders to address. With the prolonged periods of absence of the fathers, young men often find themselves frustrated with issues they cannot discuss with their mothers. In some cases, this results in delinquent behaviour mainly as a manifestation of the frustration experienced by these young men.

6.4 Labour migration and impact on welfare of the left-behind

6.4.1 Relational welfare of the left-behind

The dependents of migrant workers were asked how their respective relationships were with the absent member before and after their departure to South Africa. On the state of their relationship with the migrant member before their departure, four out of 10 indicated they had very good relationships with them and were quite close while another four said they did not have a close relationship with the migrant. One of the reasons cited for this was that they left home while the respondents were still very young. When asked if their absence affected the relationship between them and the migrant member, five out of 10 of the respondents indicated that it did. One respondent, LBD 4 (Personal interview, 8 February 2021) stated that because of his father's absence:

"The bond between us is not as strong or deep as it would be if he were around. His absence means that we do not get to spend enough together and

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that can affect any relationship. We try to keep in touch through the phone, but that is not the same as having someone psychically there with you. The distance and the amount of time spent with no psychical presence has really created a sense of awkwardness between us, especially during the first few days of his return".

The respondent went further and explained that if his uncle was around, he would "*be able to run to him with his personal challenges*" LBD 4 (Personal interview, 8 February 2021). Respondent LBD 9 (Personal interview, 10 February 2021) felt that her relationship with her migrant father was negatively affected by his absence:

"Sometimes I feel like I need correction or guidance, but my father is not around to help me with that. It is different when mom says I should not do something because with her I usually get away with things, she is not as strict as dad is. I also feel like we would be closer if he was around, helping me be more disciplined. At the moment, I think our bond is not as strong as I would have wanted it to be, but it is difficult to create strong bonds when a parent lives so far away from you".

Respondents were asked how frequently they kept in touch with their migrant family members. The responses revealed that four out of 10 of the respondents spoke to their migrant members at least once a week, three on a daily basis and two less than monthly. Channels of communication included text messaging, mainly via the WhatsApp platform, phone calls and in one instance letters. Of all 10 respondents, nine indicated that they were happy with the frequency of communication with their respective migrant members. Only one respondent felt that they were not happy with the frequency of communication as they had also indicated that they spoke to the migrant member less than monthly. The respondent LBD 6 (Personal interview, 22 February 2021) had this to say:

"I only talk to my father once a month. He is not that good with technology, so he does not have WhatsApp and the likes. He normally calls my mother when he is sending money, then we get to talk to him. I wish the conversations would be more frequent and longer, but it has not happened yet".

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The relationship dynamics for each of the respondents were mainly based on the initial form of closeness they had with their migrant parent. Five out of 10 of the respondents stated that they did not believe that their relationship with their fathers was affected by their absence. This can be explained by the fact that four of the five respondents were born into or experienced from a very early stage a situation where the father was already a migrant worker. This means that the form of relationship developed in such circumstances would be one tailored around the absence of the migrant parent. Therefore, his absence is not an unusual circumstance for them that they still need to adapt to, whereas the other four respondents may have experienced a separation at a later stage of their lives, making the absence more impactful.

6.4.1.1 The left-behind and extended family members

Up until this point, the results have shown the nature of the relationship that left-behind dependents have with their respective migrant parents or guardians as a result of the latter's absence. The question on relational impact went further to cover the impact on relationships between those left behind during the migrant member's absence. These relationships include those between left-behind spouses and their children, the dependents of the migrant member and members of their extended family and the relationship between siblings or dependents. In addition to this, the interviews also probed the relationships migrant sending families have with the rest of their communities as a result of the absence of their family member.

Respondent LBD 7 was asked if the absence of their parent affected his relationship with the rest of the family and he responded that it had. In this instance, the absence of the migrant member was said to create room for conflict within the family as he often acts as the authority when he is around. His absence, according to the respondent, made it easy for other family members, particularly extended family, to create conflict and trouble for the members left behind. He used the following scenario as an example to illustrate his point:

> "We usually have extended family members coming to tell us that the land
> we are occupying does not belong to us. They do not do this when he is
> around. They wait for him to go back to work, and then they start giving us
> trouble again. Peace is maintained within the home as there are limited
> instances of conflict when he is present" LBD 7 (Personal interview, 18
> February 2021).

This experience is common among the respondents. Members of the migrants' extended family may take advantage of the absence of the traditional head of household and undermine the authority of the left-behind spouse. This results in a number of injustices that are suffered by those left behind, including violent crimes. Iqbal et al. (2014) found that these instances are a direct result of the absence of the male authority figure of the household who, as demonstrated earlier, is often regarded as the only authority worth recognising.

Respondent LBD 9 from the individual interviews had a similar experience with extended family members. The respondent indicated that the relationship among her siblings and their mother was fine. They did not have any problems and when faced with any challenges, they were able to pull their collective resources towards resolving them. Essentially, the relationship between immediate family members was good. There was cooperation and understanding between them. However, according to the respondent, the challenge was from some members of their extended family. The respondent LBD 9 (Personal interview, 10 February 2021) had this to say:

> "We have maintained peace and respect even through our disagreements (refereeing to the relationship between her siblings). It is a different story with the extended family members. The absence of our father results in them abusing our mother as she is the one that is always at home, which raises her stress levels".

In both cases, immediate members of migrant-sending families reported that they had good relationships among themselves but struggled with the abuse suffered at the hands of the extended family. Both respondents alluded to feeling vulnerable to such abuse as a consequence of the absence of the migrant member.

The third and fourth respondents, LBD 5 and LBD 4, respectively had a different experience with the impact of their fathers' absence on the relationships among family members. The respondents indicated that the absence of their migrant members had not affected any of the relationships within their families. They explained that very little had changed since the migrant member left and that the relationships between family members were healthy. Respondent LBD 5 (Personal interview, 22 February 2021) explained that:

> "Nothing much has changed; peace and harmony have been maintained even in his absence. The family is still fine since there are no fights or anything

like that. We all still treat each other the same way we did before. The only difference would be that our mother has tried to fill the space left by dad's absence. She has tried to be more accommodating of us emotionally so that we do not feel his absence as much".

It should however be noted that in her case, the response was limited to her immediate family and did not reflect on the actions of any extended family members.

The unique conditions found within Eswatini's extended families in comparison to nuclear structures may provide an explanation for the differences in respondents' experiences. In both instances where the family had challenges, they originated from extended family members. This may suggest that if these families had a different structure, one that did not allow for the direct influence of extended family members, they may have had a different experience during the migrant member's absence. However, this does not suggest that extended family members will no longer have access or influence in the family's affairs under different circumstances. It also does not suggest that the only reason why some migrant families do not experience this negative consequence of the migrant's absence is based solely on the structure of their family. In a patriarchal society such as Eswatini, in some instances male members of the extended family may feel that they ought to take up the position of head of the household in the absence of a migrant husband. This may be an uncle, brother or grandfather who tries to assert their authority to fill the void left by the migrant. This is consistent with Iqbal et al.'s (2014) findings, which claim that this logic may be used to justify the influence of extended family members, particularly the men, in the affairs of the migrant's family. One of the two families who indicated that peace was maintained in the absence of the migrant member was also an extended family member. The reasons for this response may be varied. It may have been a genuine response, or it could have been a response given, particularly from a child or dependent's point of view, out of respect for their elders.

6.4.1.2 Relationships between left-behind families and their respective communities

The relationship between the families left behind and their respective communities also formed part of the study's exploration. Participants were asked if their relationships with their community members had changed because of having a migrant mineworker family member. The responses varied across the different socioeconomic contexts each of the communities' participants were from. While others indicated that they had not experienced any changes to

the nature of their relationships with the rest of the community, others acknowledged that having a migrant member had altered community perceptions about them and particularly their perceived economic standing.

Recounting his family's experience with the rest of the community, respondent LBD 7 indicated that his father's absence because of work in a South African mine led to community members believing that his family had money. He explained that the way the rest of the community interacted with them was based on this assumption of wealth, as there was a general perception that working in the mines led to the accumulation of riches for the migrant worker's family. The respondent LBD 7 (Personal interview, 18 February 2021) indicated that:

> "The material resources that my father has been able to afford, like the family car have created this belief that we have a high status in the community or that we are a well-off family. Generally, people think we have a lot of money".

This popular perception of his family wealth has earned them respect with some members of the community, while it has also created a sense of animosity with others. The respondent mentioned that they have had unpleasant experiences with those that perceived his family in this way. The respondent LBD 7 (Personal interview, 18 February 2021) said that:

> "His absence has had negative effects (on their relationship with the community) as some members of the community believe that we think we are better than the rest of them and they end up bad-mouthing our family".

This experience was shared by respondent LBD 5, whose family also faced challenges with the rest of the community as a migrant-sending family. She explained that her family's relationship with the rest of the community had also been:

> "… negatively affected by the fact that some community members believed that we think we are better than the rest of them simply because we have money. They say that we are wealthy because of the small improvements they see in our yard, which in turn they say makes us think we are better than others in the community" LBD 5 (Personal interview, 22 February 2021).

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This is an experience that was shared with the first respondent, LBD 7, where migrant-sending families were accused of thinking highly of themselves and subsequently looking down on the rest of the community. This was found to be consistent with the one part of Elrick's (2008) study, which indicated that the perception of wealth from community members often created relational difficulties. However, Elrick (2008) goes further to state that it was the migrants who flaunted their possessions, which promoted the idea that migrant families in Poland were well off. These turned into situations where community members treated migrant families differently either out of admiration or jealousy. This part of the argument was not true for Eswatini's migrant families. The sampled families in Eswatini's rural communities often struggled to survive using the remittances they received. Therefore, they were mostly not economically well off enough to afford to flaunt their possessions. Secondly, the traditional Swazi are generally a modest people who do not place as great a value on material possessions as Western cultures may (Motsa & Moreleje 2019).

Respondent LBD 5 (Personal interview, 22 February 2021) further highlighted that:

> "Having a member of our family working in South Africa has created envy amongst other community members as most of those that were working there (ex-miners) have come back home. We are seen to have all the luxuries we want because there is income from the mines, but this is not true. People start to envy you for the mere fact that they know someone works at the mines, but they do not have any proof to say that we are living lavishly as they claim. It just causes unnecessary tensions here".

Being a family that currently has a member working in the mines while others have lost their jobs and have had to return home to be unemployed has placed sending families whose members are still working in a precarious position with the rest of the community. In addition to this community dynamic, this particular family had also experienced discrimination from some community members. This discrimination was said to be based on the assumption that the family was wealthy and did not require any assistance to support their livelihood. The respondent went on to add that all these occurrences did not take place when her father was at home. She indicated that her father was a well-known and respected member of their community and that the community members who would usually treat them with animosity when her father is away for work normally act differently when he was back home.

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The last two respondents, LBD 4 and LBD 9, had a different experience from those of the others described above. The respondents indicated that their families' relationships with the rest of the respective communities had not changed after their migrant member left. Respondent LBD 4 (Personal interview, 8 February 2021) described how:

> "… harmony and respect had been maintained with the rest of the community even in his absence. They still see us as they did before, or at least that is what I know based on my observation, someone else may think differently. Generally, their behaviour towards has not changed at all, we still interact with our neighbours the same way we did before Dad left".

He further indicated that his family, unlike the previous respondent's, still received support and assistance from community members. Therefore, the family maintained the same relationship with their community regardless of the absence of their migrant member. This continued support among community members is not uncommon. This is because part of the reasons for changed behaviour from community members is often justified as a reaction to observed changes within the migrant family. Whether these observations may be founded or not is a different debate. Essentially, the assumption, as captured by Elrick (2008), is that the community members have noticed and are therefore reacting to a particular change within the migrant family. This may be perceived material improvements or economic progress for instance. These are enough to create perceptions of inferiority or superiority among community members and migrant households. As mentioned already, these perceptions may not be founded but they still inform the decisions and actions of both migrant households and community members.

6.4.2 Academic welfare and left-behind dependents

When left-behind dependents were asked if the absence of their parent or guardian had affected their academic performance or their levels of concentration and motivation at school, the responses were varied. Some believed that the absence played a positive role in their academics while others believed it had an adverse effect.

Two participants highlighted how they understood that the only reason they were able to afford a good education was because their parents were working in South Africa. They knew that their parents had to be away for them to afford all their school and family expenses. This, according to respondent LBD 9, also provided the necessary motivation for them to work

even harder at school to honour the sacrifices made by their migrant parent. These sentiments were captured in the participant's response when they said:

> "I understand that if he were around, we probably would not be able to afford school fees. So, I am also motivated to do well in school because his absence means that I can continue going to school. I do not want him to sacrifice being home with us only for me to fail at school, so I push myself as much as possible so he can also see that his efforts are worth it" LBD 9 (Personal interview, 10 February 2021).

Participant LBD 4 (Personal interview, 8 February 2021) who held the same view, indicated that:

> "I understood that my father went to work so I could have a better life, so it also gave me that drive to do my best at school. If it was not for him, our family would still be going through hardships, and I may have been a school dropout by now. So I get it, as much as it can be hard sometimes not having him around, I do understand why".

Although these participants understood the reason it was important for their parents to work and therefore be absent from their day-to-day lives, they also wished they could have more time with their migrant parents. Respondent LBD 4 (Personal interview, 8 February 2021) expressed his sadness over the absence of his father and indicated that *"sometimes I wish he were around"*. The respondent acknowledged the negative effect of their parent's absence on his emotional well-being as well. Although they expressed how grateful they were for the sacrifices made, they also wished they could have access to the same privileges afforded to them by their migrant parents' work in the mines while concurrently having their parents around.

These findings were consistent with those from Hu's (2017) study on perceptions of parental migration by left-behind children. The study focused on children in transnational families from rural China. These children's understanding of parental absence and how they responded to it was found to be based on the importance of education in Chinese values. The children understood that for them to have better life chances and a good education, their parents had to migrate for work either internally (to the urban areas) or internationally. The high value placed on education and the accompanying commitment to it by both parents and

their children meant that the children were able to accept most challenges associated with parental absence.

On the other hand, there were two respondents who indicated that they had had negative experiences as a result of the absence of their respective migrant family members. One participant, LBD 7, who lives in a household where the eldest brother usually shares the responsibility of heading the home along with their mother in the absence of the migrant member, had this to say about his experience:

> "The absence of my father has affected my academic performance in a negative way. My older brother usually leaves for work-related reasons and is not around as much anymore. As the oldest child left behind, I then become the go-to person for my mother as she turns to me to talk about the various problems we are faced with. This negatively affects my performance at school as most of these issues are the kind that should be ideally discussed with my father. Some of these matters are too much for me to handle, which then affects my concentration levels" LDB 7 (Personal interview, 18 February 2021).

The respondent believed that if his father was around, he would help carry the burden of the family's problems, leaving him to focus on his studies and on being a young man. However, he also admitted that this would mean that some of their financial problems may worsen as the return of his father would mean that they would no longer receive the income they currently get from his work in the mines.

Ndlovu and Tigere (2018) found that the absence of a migrant parent for children in Gweru, Zimbabwe had a negative effect on their school performance. This was based on teachers' observations that children who lived with their parents usually did better in school than those who had migrant parents. According to the findings of the study, this was assumed to be a consequence of the suspected lack of adequate parental supervision in migrant households. Ratha et al. (2011) refer to D'Emilio et al.'s (2007) study, which found that as a result of the absence of their migrant parent, left-behind children often found themselves involved in substance abuse and violent behaviour. This ultimately affected their school performance. In some cases, children from migrant-sending families often did not do well at school because of their own expected migration. The assumption here is that they too will migrate like other members of their family when they come of age. Children may follow in their parent's

footsteps and migrate for work in the same industries as their parents. However, the findings of this study contradict this argument. The respondents interviewed here had no the aspiration to migrate, especially for the same job as their migrant family member. Instead, respondents indicated that they tried to perform as well as they could in school to avoid a situation where they had to go to work in the mines. All the respondents relayed how they wanted to further their studies to improve their chances of securing professional and higher-paying jobs in the future.

Some studies show that parental absence is bound to result in poor academic performance (Antman 2012), while the responses from students interviewed in this study reveal that the circumstances often differ based on a variety of factors. In Eswatini's migrant-sending families, the absence of some learners' parents serves as motivation to do better at school, as shown by the responses from the respondents interviewed. Of course, this is dependent on other conditions within the household being present, such as adequate support from the remaining parent and an environment or living conditions in the family that is not too stressful (Faini 2007). The mere absence of a migrant parent is not enough to provide a clear picture of the other household factors that may be contributing to a student's performance. Therefore, some migrant-sending families end up with students who perform well while others do not.

6.4.3 Emotional and psychological welfare of the left-behind

Respondent LBS 10 indicated how she, on a personal level, was deeply affected by her husband's absence from home. She said that she missed him a great deal and often felt lonely. This was made worse by the fact that he spent nearly a year in 2020 without returning home because of the travel restrictions effected during the initial South African COVID-19 lockdown. The respondent LBS 10 (Personal interview, 8 February 2021) said:

> "It was very hard for me last year (2020) because we hardly saw him. I miss him a lot and I am often very lonely without him, which is something I do not wish on anyone. Being away from your spouse is quite difficult but I always hold on to the fact that he will be back at a specific time. So when the borders were closed and he could not come home for almost a year, I struggled a lot but I had to be strong".

Women in Pakistan also experienced similar emotional and psychological impact from their migrant husbands' absence. A study conducted by Iqbal et al. (2014) revealed that left-behind

spouses often struggled with issues such as depression, isolation, feeling lonely and unwanted as a result of the migrant spouse's absence. The prolonged periods of separation and inadequate communication were said to affect the relationship between the migrant and the left-behind spouse, which also increased the psychological effects of the absence of the migrant.

The first respondent's experience was shared by all the other left-behind spouses, who indicated that her husbands' absence was very difficult to deal with. Respondent LBS 1 mentioned how she missed him and often felt the void brought by his absence. The respondent LBS 1 (Personal interview, 23 February 2021) said:

> "I use prayer and try to practice patience to deal with his absence. I wish he
> was able to come home more frequently so the children and I can spend time
> with him".

She mentioned that she was also grateful that their relationship was still good, as some women ended up losing their husbands after their migration to South Africa. Respondent LBS 12 also narrated how she often missed her husband and would feel very lonely most times when he was away. However, the respondent mentioned that she was among the fortunate ones because her husband often came home (every quarter), which was said to be a rare occurrence for other left-behind spouses. The respondent indicated that:

> "Some of the women who have migrant husbands around here do not get to
> see them for almost a year. So as much as I would like to see my husband
> more, I always remember just how blessed I am to see him as much as I do
> because others do not have that. Knowing this helps me feel a bit better and
> grateful" LBS 12 (Personal interview, 25 February 2021).

These sentiments echo those expressed in Ndlovu and Tigere's (2018) study, which focused on left-behind families in Zimbabwe's Gweru rural district, specifically in ward 8. According to the findings of this study, the women often felt lonely during the periods of their migrant husband's absence. Some believed that it was unfair that they only saw their husbands once a year and were denied their conjugal rights for that long. This is particularly a challenge for women, because some of the migrant spouses do not suffer the same denial while they are away from home. As indicated by respondent LBS 12, some husbands start cheating on their wives, while others start entirely new families in the host country. This does not only place

left-behind spouses in danger of contracting sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and HIV, but it also makes them vulnerable to financial instability in instances where the migrant stops sending money home (Ratha et al. 2011). The absence of the migrant worker creates opportunities for both spouses to be unfaithful. However, based on the responses received during the interviews, it seems that the women are less likely to be unfaithful than their migrant counterparts. This is owing to cultural expectations on women to remain faithful while their husbands are allowed to have partners outside of their marriage or even marry a second wife (Mkhatshwa 2017). In Ndlovu and Tigere's (2018) study, the women cited the use of prayer as one of their strategies to avoid temptation while their husbands were away. This strategy was popular among the left-behind spouses interviewed in Eswatini as well.

According to the left-behind spouses, their children were also emotionally affected by their fathers' absence during the pandemic. Respondent LBS 3 mentioned how they would constantly ask her when their father would return and if he was well, considering the circumstances surrounding the COVID-19 pandemic. The respondent mentioned that:

> "The children would constantly worry about their father's well-being and wonder if they would be able to see him again. It was a difficult time for them too. They would speak to him over the phone but as a mother you could tell that they were not entirely happy that he could not come home" LBS 3 (Personal interview, 26 February 2021).

This was an experience shared by respondent LBS 10, who indicated that her children were often worried about their father while he was away. This was especially the case during the lockdown in South Africa. The respondent said that she would often hide things from her children because she did not want to further worry them about their father's well-being. She explained how not having their father around, especially when other migrant workers in the community were able to return during the lockdown, made it difficult on the children. They would constantly complain about how other kids were with their fathers and that theirs seemed to not care enough about them to return home. The respondent explained that although her husband had wanted to come home, they both believed it was best for him to stay in South Africa to prevent any travelling costs and to ensure that he was close enough when work resumed. According to the respondent, this further highlighted the family's financial situation and how it affected other areas of their lives. The respondent said that:

"When the lockdown started, others started coming back home because their mines had closed. The kids got excited because they taught their father would also come home but we decided that it was best he remained behind. They were sad to hear this but there was very little we could do about the situation. It was difficult on all of us" LBS 10 (Personal interview, 8 February 2021).

According to Ratha et al. (2011), the above findings are consistent with the claims made in the literature on migration impact. The absence of any parent within the family structure generally influences the children. It may affect them in various areas of life, including their emotional well-being. The absence of migrant fathers is often associated with behavioural challenges, especially among young men (De Haas 2007). However, some children experience emotional reactions to this absence that may affect them psychologically. There are children who struggle to understand and accept the constant absence of their parent. These emotional effects are difficult for the children to deal with, but they also pose a challenge for the mothers left behind with them. They have to help the children through the periods of absence and try to play the roles of both mother and father. This has emotional and other consequences for the mothers, increasing the impact of heading the household alone.

The left-behind spouses admitted that the decision to migrate was made collectively with their husbands. Although the challenges of the absence of the male heads of household were anticipated, the decision was seen as necessary for the families' survival. This is consistent with the claims made by the NELM theory, which states that the decision to migrate for work is made at the household level. The NELM also highlights the importance of migration as a household survival strategy often employed by families in sending communities. It is because of this need for survival at the household level that the challenges often associated with migration are acknowledged by those making the decision to migrate but not regarded as a deterrent. The main concern here is the continued survival of the household rather than the non-economic impacts of the absence of the migrant family member. Therefore, during the collective decision-making period, priority is often given to sustaining the family than it is given to avoiding the sociocultural effects of the decision.

The respondent LBS 1 (Personal interview, 23 February 2021) had this to say about the situation:

"We knew it would not be easy on us when he left but we had to think about the children. If he had continued to stay here, we would have continued to

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struggle, which is not good for the kids. We are trying to give them a better future, take them to school and provide better for them so they have better lives than us. So yes, it is hard and we knew it would be, but at least the important part is that our family is taken care of".

These sentiments were shared by respondent LBS 12 (Personal interview, 25 February 2021) who said that:

"We thought long and hard about this decision, but in the end, we knew it was between surviving and maintaining the situation as it was. He had tried getting employment here for so many years, so if he stayed, there was little evidence to say that things would change for us. We considered how the children would be affected by his absence and all these other things, but in the end the only thing that we both agreed on was that the family needed to be taken care of and that this was the best way. We also discussed it with our elders and our older children so that we were all aware of the plan and how it would help us as a family".

The NELM theory argues that in addition to the above, the decision to migrate is often based on the acknowledgement (by the migrant) of prevailing structural conditions that go beyond the economic sphere to include sociocultural and political factors. For NELM, the decision to migrate is influenced by a combination of these factors. These local conditions may not be conducive for households' survival, which prompts the decision to migrate in search for external opportunities. Therefore, the perception of households' relative deprivation within sending countries provides the necessary motivation for people to migrate. This is consistent with the influences that drive migration of mine workers from Eswatini. The decision to migrate is often made as a consequence of sending families' relative deprivation, which is caused by restrictive sociocultural and political factors in the country (as discussed in chapter 5). This was confirmed by some of the left behind spouses during the interviews. The respondent LBS 3 (Personal interview, 26 February 2021) said:

"The situation here is bad for us, especially for us who are not educated. Getting a job in this country is very difficult, even for those that have a good education. So, after spending so much time here, only getting piece jobs, going to South Africa was the only option we had".

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Echoing these views was LBS 10 (Personal interview, 8 February 2021) who had this to say:

> "To get a job nowadays you need to have connections, you must know someone who can get you in. If you don't, then you need to at least have money to influence that person to help you. So, the only chances for us here, with little education and no connections, were limited to selling produce from our gardens or working piece jobs when they were available".

6.5 Experiences of the left-behind with benefits and challenges associated with labour migration

6.5.1 Labour migration benefits and the left-behind

The dependents and spouses of migrate mineworkers were asked to list some of the benefits associated with having a member of their family working in South Africa. Respondent LBD 2 indicated that they had been able to build a big house from the remittances received from the migrant member. The respondent LBD 2 (Personal interview, 25 February 2021) highlighted that:

> "Our home did not have proper houses before my father left to work in the mines. When he was able to send money home, we started a building project of the current house we have. This was one of the biggest things we managed to do with the money as this is a long-term investment".

In addition to that, they could afford to buy some cattle, which are culturally regarded as a high-value investment in rural Eswatini. The respondent mentioned that most of the community members were not able to afford cattle, which made his family one of the few within the community to own a large herd. His father was also able to buy a good-quality sound system from South Africa which they now used for hiring out to make money. The respondent mentioned that:

> "The sound system you see here is another investment we have managed to secure since he started working. He bought it so that we could hire it out for events and make extra cash. It has been generating some income for us, although it is not a lot, it is still very helpful" LBD 2 (Personal interview, 25 February 2021).

Respondent LBD 4 listed access to an education as one of the benefits of having a member of their family working in a South African mine. He indicated that the only reason he was able

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to attend and finish high school was because his father had left to work in the mines. Like most of the other migrant sending families, his family was not able to sustain itself prior to the migration of the father. The family experienced difficulties in covering the costs of their expenses, including schooling, which only improved after the father started working in the mines. According to the respondent, although the family was not wealthy, they were now able to afford their basic needs. Respondent LBD 5 shared a similar experience, where her family had observed an improvement in their living conditions. She indicated that her family's economic situation was better now that her father was working in the mines. To this effect, the respondent highlighted how:

> "We are not rich or anything like that, but we are definitely better off than before. We can now afford to buy food for the entire family and sometimes we can get nice things for ourselves. We are able to go to school and have our fees paid on time, which is something that we struggled with before. So yes, things are definitely not the same here" LBD 5 (Personal interview, 22 February 2021).

Respondent LBD 8 believed that their living conditions were good as a result of her father's job in the mines. She listed the ability to support the family financially, building them a house and affording to send her and her siblings to school as some of the benefits that have come with her father's job. She also mentioned that her father works very hard to support the family emotionally even in his absence. The respondent said:

> "I am grateful for having a father that is able to provide for us as a family. Some people struggle to make ends meet and have no one to support them but we do. Having a working parent means we can ask for the things we need and know that we will be supported. This has also improved everyone's well-being in the family, especially my mother, since she has less to worry about now" LBD 8 (Personal interview, 10 February 2021).

Most of the experiences, as indicated by respondents' responses, were based on the economic benefits of migration. The families mainly reported being able to afford items they could not afford before and being able to build houses and acquire other assets. The living conditions of respondents' families were impacted by the remittances they received, albeit in varying degrees. In most cases, the improvement came as a result of moving from a period of not having any income at all to one where the migrant was consistently sending money back

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home. This allowed for the living conditions to improve over time and in the few instances, it allowed the families to buy income-generating items such as the sound system used for hire.

These positive effects of migration and specifically the remittances received are consistent with the claims made by the NELM theory. The theory suggests that migration will result in improvements to the conditions of living for those left behind through the role played by remittances. This is consistent with respondents' responses as provided above. They demonstrate the usefulness of remittances for left-behind households in improving the standard of living. The NELM claims that these remittances can be used to not only secure the livelihoods of sending families in the present, but it can also help secure investments for future use. This is confirmed by one of the respondents' experience above, where the money made by the migrant was used to buy equipment that has been used as an investment.

These findings also confirm the neoclassical economics theory, which states that labour migration from capital-scarce countries towards resource-scarce receiving states can lead to development and growth in the former. The theory also highlights the utility maximisation motivation for the decision to migrate. The claim made, as discussed earlier, is that the promise for better chances at employment and higher wages influences the decision to migrate for work. This is consistent with the findings from this study, which show that the initial motivation for the migration of all the respondents' migrant members was the allure of utility maximisation in South Africa.

The respondents did not mention any other benefits apart from those economic in nature. The sociocultural conditions of these families were not necessarily improved as a result of the migration. Instead, the discussions above demonstrated how these areas were usually negatively affected by the migration of mineworker family members. However, this does not take away from the positive economic benefits experienced by migrant-sending families in the Kingdom.

6.5.2 Labour migration challenges and the left-behind

When asked about the challenges faced by left-behind spouses of migrant mineworkers, several economic and sociocultural issues were highlighted by respondents. During one of the in-depth interviews, respondent LBS 12 indicated that the major challenge faced by her and other left-behind spouses was the inadequate support received from the migrant workers. She narrated how the money they received every month was not enough to cover their family's expenses. This, according to her, was a challenge she and her fellow left-behind spouses in

the area faced every month. The respondent mentioned that she could not cover expenses such as clothing, as the remittances received were allocated towards food and schooling expenses as priority household items. The respondent LBS 12 (Personal interview, 25 February 2021) said:

> "I do appreciate the improvements we have experienced in the family because of my husband. But the truth is, the money we receive is not enough to cater for everything. It is certainly better than when we did not have any income at all, but it is still difficult to cover some of the children's needs. Sometimes we end up borrowing money from people to cover certain items, then we have to repay them with the remittances for the following month. This cycle continues and just makes it difficult to truly enjoy having an income".

Respondent LBS 12 had further indicated that some families in the area did not receive any support at all from their migrant spouses. She said that some spouses in her village had to find alternative means to earn an income for their families, as it was the norm that some men leave and never send money home for the duration of their stay in the mines. In some families, the migrant spouse would send money once in a few months rather than doing so on a regular basis. This made it difficult for left-behind spouses as they then had to find ways to make up for the periods when they would not receive remittances.

These experiences were shared by respondent LBS 3, who narrated how her family struggled financially despite her husband working in the mines:

> "Life is very difficult for us here; the money that my husband makes is not enough to take care of my family. We have a very big family so what he sends could be enough if it was just a few of us but we have 12 mouths to feed daily" LBS 3 (Personal interview, 26 February 2021).

The left-behind spouse said that she too has had to borrow money from loan sharks and community members to cover school fees as the children were often expelled from school for outstanding fees. Her husband would send what he has but it was never enough to cover all the children's expenses. She indicated that she has tried to find work to supplement the remittance income but her lack of an education has meant that she can only secure low-paying and often physically strenuous work. These jobs were also temporary, which meant that they would end, in some cases quite abruptly, making them unsustainable. Recently, she

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had not been able to work at all as she fell ill working at a nearby forest mill. Her illness had made it difficult for her to work anywhere, which she said had further worsened the conditions in her household. At the time of the interview, the left-behind spouse indicated that they were asking for food from their neighbours or extended family members.

The left-behind spouse was set to travel to her sister-in-law later that day to get maize meal for the family. She said that in addition to the remittances, they were making ends meet through acts of kindness from people and the community. The respondent highlighted how:

> "The money alone is just not enough. If it was not for the kindness of my relatives and some neighbours, I honestly do not know where I would be. The help is really needed because everything needs money and when there are so many of you relying on just one person, even their efforts are limited" LBS 3 (Personal interview, 26 February 2021).

A support network among migrant-sending families in the area did not seem to exist or be as strong as the kinship network among families. Although migrant family members, especially the wives left behind, were able to reach out to other left-behind wives they knew from their respective neighbourhoods, the relationships had not developed into formal or semi-structured networks. Rather, the left-behind spouses interviewed here indicated that they preferred asking for help from their fellow kinsmen. This may also have been influenced by the proximity of some kin. As noted by Kuper (1963), instances exist and are quite common where clan members can be found in a high concentration in a particular area. Kuper stated that even though the clan is no longer organised in large singular units, scattered members of a clan can still dominate certain locations.

The literature on migration often focuses on remittances and the role they play in improving the living conditions of migrant families (Khan 2017). According to Hammond (2010), a World Bank analysis revealed that the impact of remittances on economic growth were not clear. However, what was observed was that remittances had the ability to contribute to the reduction of the severity of poverty in any given area. It is also argued that remittances have the power to increase the spending capacity of households, including spending on human capital formation, which comes in the form of investments in education. However, the findings of this study show a different reality for Eswatini's migrant-sending families. Although the migrant families interviewed here received remittances, a number of factors also need to be considered to determine the value of remittances for these left-behind

families. Among these are the cost of living and the family expenses, which are all affected by the size of the family (Iqbal et al. 2014). In rural Eswatini, the most common type of family is the extended family. Families are made up of grandparents, parents, aunts, uncles, and their children. This means that there are more dependents than those in nuclear family structures.

The financial responsibility of taking care of the family is often shared among income earners. In the instance where the remittances received, which was the case in most households, is the main source of income the family may still struggle financially. As illustrated by respondent LBS 3 above, the money sent by her husband is never enough to cover the expenses of all their 12 dependents. The income from remittances had to be supplemented for the family to survive. Therefore, although the income made a difference because it was better than not receiving any money at all, it did not bring about any significant improvements to the living conditions of the family. This is in direct contrast to studies (Gadau & Yahaya 2020; Moniruzzaman 2020) that have argued that remittances lead to improved living conditions for those left behind. The evidence gathered during interviews demonstrates that. Accordingly, the idea that families receiving remittances face better and improved living conditions does not always apply.

The other assumption often made is that the money received from migrant members can be used for investments and savings. A study conducted by Elrick (2008) investigating the influence of migration on origin communities in Poland showed that a few migrant-sending families were able to invest and save the remittances they received. However, those that did invest often used that money to start small businesses or shops, which ended up failing. This was true for the families interviewed in Eswatini as well. Most of the families, except one, were not able to save or invest at all. The family that had a bit of a surplus after their monthly expenses invested the money they had in their shop. However, the shop was not doing well and had very little chances of growing into a profitable enterprise. It was mainly useful for access to cash flow during the tougher periods of the month.

The idea that remittances can be used for investments requires that the families receiving the money are already in a position where they are able to cater for their basic needs. Being able to invest or save means that there are other sources of income within the family that allow for a surplus after covering the household's expenses. This is not the case for mineworker families in Eswatini, as most struggle with attaining these conditions for investment. The

high levels of unemployment in the country mean that the chances of having multiple sources of income are limited. For those that do have jobs in the country, the wages are often extremely low, which creates difficulties in making meaningful contributions towards the household's living expenses (Moore & Daday 2010). If the conditions were different, that is, families had more income earners because of a relatively stable employment market and the average wage levels were substantial, then mineworker families in Eswatini may also be in a position, regardless of the family size, to save and invest some of the remittances received.

This speaks directly to the claim that migration often results in income inequality among community households. The assumption made is that the remittances received by migrant sending households elevate their economic standing, increasing the income gaps between migrant-sending and non-migrant families (Ratha et al. 2011). However, De Haas (2007), in his study on migration impact for Moroccan sending regions, indicated that this claim has not been supported by empirical evidence. The responses from migrant household interviews for this study refuted this claim, as some of their income and living conditions were not as high as expected by other community members. The expectation that migrant families have more disposable income because of the income from remittances does not apply in most of these mineworker households in Eswatini, as they also struggle to adequately cater for their families' basic needs. Of course, the availability of any income would place any family in a better off position than the next. However, the claim that disparities in income increase because of the remittances received by some within the community is not supported by the lived experiences of mineworker communities in Eswatini. De Haas (2007) further highlights how inequality has always been inherent in traditional communities; it is not a recent or new phenomenon. For De Haas, the only change has been the form and type of inequality that is now evident within these communities. In Eswatini, particularly within rural communities, livestock is still regarded as a source of wealth. Therefore, the assumption that access to financial resources gives migrant households economic privilege may not be completely accurate.

6.5.2.1 Physical Security challenges in the absence of the migrant

Respondent LBS 12 spoke about the security challenges migrant households often face. She indicated that she was lucky enough to have never been a victim of theft and other crimes. However, she said that she knew of families within their community that were specifically targeted by criminals during the absence of the migrant worker. They would steal their

livestock, farm produce and other valuables. LBS 12 (Personal interview, 25 February 2021) said:

> "I am one of the lucky ones, I believe because I have never experienced any violent crimes during my husband's absence. There have not been any attempts before even though I know some families have been targeted. I think what helps is that I stay with quite a number of young men (children and other members of her extended family) so maybe this makes the thieves wary of trying to break in, they know they would be beaten up by the boys here".

Respondent LBS 10 indicated that her family had been victims of this targeted criminal activity in previous years. She narrated how some had been broken into during the absence of her husband. LBS 10 (Personal interview, 8 February 2021) stated that:

> "We were attacked by criminals who came in and demanded money and took other items from the house. People think we have a lot because my husband works in the mines. They think we can afford expensive luxuries, this is not true. They also know that when he is away it is just me and the kids here, so it is easy for anyone to try something. It is very scary. I have to make sure the kids are home before dark so we can lock up. It is always better when he (husband) is home, I feel so much safer knowing that if anything were to happen, he would be there to protected, we would not be as defenceless".

On the day of the incident, the perpetrators knew the migrant worker had returned to South Africa. They had waited for him to leave for before breaking into the home. At this point, the perpetrators took advantage of the family's vulnerability with regards to the absence of the respected male figure, and they assumed the migrant worker had left behind money and valuables after his stay. According to the respondent, her children were left extremely traumatised by the experience. She mentioned how she wished they had all received trauma counselling after the incident, especially the children. The perpetrators tried to break in again after the first incident but failed to because the family had now installed a security gate. However, the fear of being targeted remains with the family, where they only experience relief when the migrant member is home. Since then, the family has been victim to petty crimes such as the stealing of chickens and garden vegetables. The respondent felt that these were better, although not acceptable, in comparison to the violent attack they had experienced before.

Respondent LBS 3 indicated that her family had also been targeted before. However, it has never been violent crimes. Some community members, upon knowing that her husband was away, would steal food and livestock from her. She said that this never happened when the migrant was home. LBS 3 (Personal interview, 26 February 2021) mentioned that:

> "You know when the father of a household is not around, people start to think they can do whatever they want in one's homestead. They know that you do not have the power to stop them, so they take advantage. There have been a number of instances where our chickens have been stolen overnight because of this. They have also stolen some of our produce from the small garden I cultivate to try and feed my family. They have never done this when my husband was around. In fact, some of these people who steal from us are people we know from the area. When my husband is around, they pretend to have respect for us when in actual fact they do not".

On the other hand, respondent LBS 1 indicated that her family had never experienced any crime-related incidents in their home. This was during both instances when the migrant member was around and away. She said that the area they lived in was not one that experienced any criminal activity, that it was a very peaceful place. Therefore, it would be difficult to target any family in the area. She also mentioned that her home had a lot of people living there, including able-bodied men, and that this may also act as a deterrent for anyone that might try to steal from them. The respondent LBS 1 (Personal interview, 23 February 2021) said:

> "This place is very quiet and peaceful. For as long as I have been living here, I have never heard of someone complaining about a break-in of any kind. It has happened in neighbouring villages, but they are quite far from us, so we have not been affected so far. This area is mainly made up of kin, so everyone knows each other either as relatives or otherwise. I also have too many people moving up and down in our yard, it would be near impossible to do something here without the rest of the family intervening".

The effects of migration on the families left behind cover a variety of areas. As part of the areas of life affected by the absence of the patriarch in migrant-sending families, criminal targeting is a common occurrence. Migrant families, including those in other industries outside of mining were targeted by criminals. The absence of a male authority figure usually

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leaves female-led households vulnerable. Criminals are often aware of these families' circumstances, hence the tendency to attack during the absence of the migrant workers. Although not all the families included in this study experienced criminal targeting, three out of four indicated that they were aware of their vulnerable position. Respondent LBS 10 reported installing security measures such as a security gate to restrict access to their home. She mentioned that:

> "I had no other choice but to invest in a security gate for my home. My children and I were not feeling safe, so I had to try do something about the situation. At least now I know that even if they would try to come back, the security gate would either stop them or buy us some time to call for help from our neighbours" LBS 10 (Personal interview, 8 February 2021).

The other families could not afford to do the same. Instead, they relied on measures such as trying to be more vigilant and buying padlocks for their storerooms and chicken coops.

The rural migrant-sending families have less access to security infrastructure than those found in more urban areas. The response rate from both fellow community members and the police, is usually slow in rural communities. This is mainly a consequence of the long distance security forces have to travel to get to remote rural communities, which is not the case in urban areas. The different reasons for a slow response rate within the urban areas are also noted. Locally, homesteads in rural areas are often built a considerable distance from each other, which may make it difficult to get help in time. These conditions create circumstances of vulnerability for rural migrant-sending families, particularly those led by women, during the absence of the patriarch.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter presented and analysed the data gathered during the fieldwork process. The responses of all the respondents from both the surveys and the in-depth interviews were presented with the intention to highlight key and recurring themes through analysis. The findings revealed that the mainstream arguments found in migration literature are often not consistent with the realities of migrant-sending families in Southern Africa's Kingdom of Eswatini. While some instances revealed positive impact, the evidence largely revealed that the left-behind are often faced with challenging conditions as consequences of labour migration. Some of these impacts were long or short term, while others were temporary or

permanent in nature. One of the major findings related to the economic improvement of the life circumstances of migrant-sending families of Eswatini. The study revealed that although factors such as access to remittances were expected to improve the living conditions of migrant families and bring about development, this was not entirely the case among the families interviewed. The families were receiving remittances, but these were not sufficient for the basic expenses most families had. Several factors affected the value of the money received, including the family size and the employment statues of other members of the family. The study found that the economic conditions in the country, which often provided the incentive to migrate in the first place, made it difficult for those left behind to effectively contribute towards the household expenses. Most of the families interviewed were solely dependent on the migrant for their livelihood. This also made it difficult to use the remittances for savings and investments as anticipated by advocates of the developmental benefits of migration for the sending states and families. Migrant-sending families in Eswatini, particularly families who had a member working in a South African mine, were still experiencing financial difficulties despite the expectation that labour migration as a survival strategy would bring economic benefit and an improvement of their living conditions.

The chapter also examined the non-economic impacts of migration on the left-behind spouses and their children. Here, issues relating to sociocultural implications of migration were presented and analysed. The first area of focus was on the impact of labour migration traditional family roles and socialisation practices in Eswatini. The second part was concerned with the impact of migration on the welfare of the left-behind, focusing on relational, academic, and psychological welfare. The final part of the section on sociocultural impact looked at the benefits and challenges associated with labour migration, as experienced by the left-behind, in Eswatini. The aim of this section was to highlight the nature of migration impact on the left-behind.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to highlight and summarize the objectives and findings of this study. In addition to this, the chapter discusses some recommendations and possible areas of future research, based on the overall findings of the research. The chapter starts off with a reflection on the key theoretical discussions of the study based on the empirical findings presented in the preceding chapter. This is followed by a section summarizing the findings of the study in relation to the objectives set out at the beginning of the research study. Here, the main arguments of the study are highlighted and are later used as a basis for forming the study's recommendations as well as establishing the avenues for further research in the subject area. The chapter closes off with some concluding remarks, reflecting on the research and its outcomes.

7.2 Key Theoretical Discussions

The study set out to answer the question, how does labour migration impact on migrant-sending families in the kingdom of Eswatini? What is the nature of these impacts, if any, on migrant-sending families and their welfare? In addressing this question and the study's subsequent objectives, the research came to a number of conclusions based on the empirical and secondary data used. The study used both surveys and interviews to gather empirical data which was then organised according to themes for the purposes of analysis in chapter 6. As part of the analysis, discussions on theory and the literature on migration impact were included with the aim of presenting a comprehensive response to the research question and fulfil the research objectives. The NELM and neo-classical economics theories were identified as being appropriate for analysis in chapter 2 of the study. These theories were used to make sense of the initiation of migration at the micro level as well as the effects of migration on this level.

The NELM was shown to have provided an appropriate theoretical frame to understand the decision to migrate as made by the household. Discussions in chapter 6 revealed how the decision to migrate from Eswatini to work in South African mines was often made collectively rather than by the individual alone. The theory also reflected on the reasons for migration and the consequences for the left behind. The evidence presented in chapter 6 (and

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discussions of the socioeconomic and political environment from which the migrants originate in chapter 5) demonstrated how migration for Eswatini's sending families was influenced by both economic and socio-political conditions which led to relative deprivation. Therefore, the decision to migrate was made in order to address families' perceptions of their relative deprivation, with the aim of securing the livelihoods of their respective households. This was shown to be consistent with the claims made by the NELM about migration initiation and the reasons behind it.

Furthermore, the findings were found to be partially consistent with the NELM theory's claim that migration, specifically through remittances, led to opportunities for development and the improvement of the standards of living in sending states. The data revealed that remittances played an important, though limited role in the improvement of living conditions within sending families of Eswatini. Although these changes varied across different families, the presence of an income was found to have created positive shifts in the respective families' living conditions. Analysis revealed that these changes were regarded as being minimal by most families as they continued to struggle with basic needs. The combination of family size, the amount of remittances received and the prevailing socioeconomic and political conditions in the country often meant that the remittances received could not cover all the families' basic needs. The remittance income had to be supplemented by small business ventures, local employment or in some cases, acts of kindness from neighbours and relatives. Consequently, this affected the kind of impact remittance income had on the sending households' livelihoods.

The study also integrated the neo-classical economics theory to support the NELM in the analysis phase of the research. For the neo-classical economics theory, the main assumption is that the decision to migrate is taken at the individual level, highlighting the importance of human agency in the migration process. According to the theory, the individual decides to migrate because of the geographical imbalances of labour supply and demand between sending and receiving nations. This imbalance leads to people migrating from capital-scarce states to human resource-scarce nations with the aim of accessing better labour opportunities. The principle of utility maximization was found to be present in the empirical data. The reasons provided by respondents as influencing the decision to migrate confirmed the claims made by neo-classical economics theory. The wages differentials were found to be a motivating factor in the decision to labour migration among the participating sending

families. The migrants left because of the prospects of accessing better remuneration in South Africa, which the Eswatini labour market could not provide.

The neo-classical economics theory also espouses the assumption that migration leads to a mutually beneficial outcome of development and growth for both sending and receiving states. This, as discussed above, is largely based on the role played by the remittances that flow into sending states. As the study demonstrated, the participating families in Eswatini experienced shifts in their economic living conditions. However, these shifts were not adequate as respondents perceived them as very minimal. The families made constant reference to the inadequacy of the funds they received from migrant members in truly advancing the living conditions of their respective households. They had to engage in part-time work or small scale business to supplement the remittance income. The assumption that the flow of remittances into sending communities results in development for them was therefore found to be inapplicable in the Eswatini case. The study provided evidence that disagreed with the assumptions of mutual benefit made by the neo-classical economics theory.

7.3 Summary of findings

7.3.1 Objective 1: Socioeconomic and cultural impacts

The first objective was to analyse the way in which labour migration socioeconomically and culturally impacts on the families and or communities left behind by labour migrants. This objective was met through the presentation and analysis of data related to the socioeconomic and cultural impact as experienced by the left-behind members of migrants' families in Eswatini. The response to this objective was divided into a number of sections, each looking at the various themes that emerged during the study. The first section was focused on the economic impact of labour migration on the left behind. This section was further divided into two, with one detailing the experiences of the left behind spouses and the other section focusing on those of the left-behind dependents. The second section looked at the sociocultural impacts of migration on the left behind in Eswatini. Here, the traditional gendered norms of the kingdom were discussed and how these are affected by labour migration. The impact on traditional family roles was also highlighted in an effort to demonstrate the effects of migration on migrant-sending families of Eswatini. This was followed by a discussion of the traditional socialization practices of young men and women of Eswatini and how these have been affected by the absence of migrant parents. This

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absence was argued to be the cause for some of the missed opportunities the left behind dependents spoke about in the next section.

7.3.1.1 Economic quality of life

The economic quality of life for migrant sending families in Eswatini was found to either be the same as before the migrant member left for work in South Africa or slightly improved. This was mainly because the remittances that they received were not enough to cover the living expenses of the family. Some of the reasons cited for this included the large number of dependents found within some households. This often happened in cases where the extended family were living together or the elder members of the family were left-behind with the children and grandchildren of the migrant worker. This meant that the remittances had to be shared among a large group of people, often making it insufficient for the monthly expenses of the entire household (Libanova 2019). The other reason for the insufficient remittance amount was the living expenses of the migrant himself while living in the host country. These often include rent, transport, food and medical expenses among others. After the allocation of the migrant's income towards these living expenses, the amount of money they are able to send back home is significantly reduced. Some of the migrants were reported to avoid constantly travelling home so as to reallocate the travelling costs towards remittances sent home.

Another reason cited for the insufficient remittances received was the instance of new responsibilities taken up by some migrant workers in the host nation as they build new families during their stay. This phenomenon was also cited as the cause for some of the relational and health challenges that the left-behind face as a consequence of labour migration. When the migrant worker, in addition to the family left behind, now has to financially support other dependents from his 'new' family, the amount sent to those left-behind may decrease significantly. Although this was not reported by any of the participants as being their experience, they did indicate that they were aware of a few left-behind spouses within their communities that had experienced this particular situation.

In most cases, the money received through remittances had to be supplemented with other local sources of income from employment or small business. For those that could not supplement their income, they had to rely on the support received from fellow community members, family members and donor programs designed to assist locals in need. One of the dependents indicated that she mainly relied on kin when the money sent by her husband ran out. She also relayed how she often experienced challenges accessing some of the benefits of

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the donor food assistance programs in her community as there was a general assumption that migrant-sending families had money. For her and her family, this was not the case as a result of the low wages received by her husband and most importantly, because of the large number of dependents they had in the family. The children from this particular household were unemployed with the exception of one who also had to sustain his own children and wife, in addition to the rest of the family members. This meant that the remittances received would always be insufficient for as long as the conditions within the household remained the same.

Therefore, the study's conclusion is based on the argument that the remittances received by the left-behind cannot be assumed to improve the living conditions of the household. It is important to take into consideration the variety of other factors influencing the economic conditions of a household in Eswatini. The overall economic, sociocultural and political conditions found in the country do not only influence the decision to migrate as a survival strategy for the family, but they also affect the effectiveness of this decision in providing for the family. The study found that the usefulness of remittances in improving the living conditions of families left behind in Eswatini was dependent on these multiple factors. The lack of (or the limited) improvement in the living conditions of left-behind families, as shown by the study, provides evidence that migration as a survival strategy is not always effective, particularly when this decision is taken within societal conditions filled with challenges. In the case of rural Eswatini, the decision to migrate, instead of providing support to existing local sources of income (as expected by NELM theorists), often becomes the only source of income in a country struggling with high levels of unemployment and income inequality among other structural challenges. The amount of remittances received in comparison to the family size, being a society that still has extended family structures (particularly in the rural areas), further demonstrated that the assumption made by mainstream literature that the remittances received will be sufficient for the household's expenses and investments does not readily apply in the context of rural Eswatini.

7.3.1.2 Labour migration and its sociocultural implications

This study found that the unique sociocultural structures in Eswatini presented a set of migration impacts specific to this particular nation and its people. As such, it is this study's conclusion that labour migration has specific sociocultural implications on the left-behind. These impacts were demonstrated in the discussion of the traditional gendered social norms prevalent in the country and how migration affects these through traditional family roles. The patriarchal nature of Swati society was argued to create certain expectations on the genders

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and the roles they ought to assume within the family structure. These gendered norms were found to place emphasis on the male role as being that of a leader, innovator, independent thinker, provider and protector. The female role was mainly associated with feminine tasks such as caregiving, reproduction, food processing and the general upkeep of the household (Mkhatshwa 2017).

These roles were found to be so entrenched in the family life that some of these were accepted as normal (Motsa & Moreleje 2019). Therefore, this created an expectation within members of the household and society at large, for certain tasks within the household to be carried out by specific genders. The study therefore found that the absence of the father figure, which was the case for all the families selected for interviewing, meant that certain tasks could not be carried out or that they had to be done by the female spouse left-behind. These activities included leading the farming process, disciplining the younger members of the family and teaching the young men how to behave and guiding them through traditional rites of passage. These activities were found to create extra responsibility for the left-behind spouses. This extra responsibility was reported to not only affect the spouses physically but placed emotional strain on them as well.

In addition to this impact on the physical and emotional states of the left-behind spouses, the vacuum left by the migrant member often created relational challenges as well, particularly between mothers and their sons. This was due to the fact that most of the young men interviewed were not able to emotionally relate to their mothers because of the gender differences. These differences, perpetuated by the prevalence of traditional gendered social norms, made it difficult for young men from migrant sending families to be vulnerable with their mothers when they needed advice or emotional support. This was found to have an impact on the young men's emotional wellbeing and their ability to form functional and balanced relationships with their female counterparts.

This absence specifically had implications for the process of socialisation of the young men. As part of their socialisation, young men are taught *kuvulela* (cattle herding) by their fathers or other present male figures in the household. Although this role can be taken up by other male authority figures in the family such as the grandfather or uncles, traditionally it is usually the father's responsibility to do so. This is not only about the mentorship that takes place but is also seen as an opportunity for creating strong bonds between a father and their son. This process, as shown in this study, is affected by the absence of the father as a

consequence of labour migration. The young men reported missing out on this opportunity to learn from their fathers and to create lasting bonds with them as a result.

7.3.2 Objective 2: Nature of labour migration impacts and families' welfare

The study's second objective was to give an account of the nature of impacts of migration on the welfare of migrant-sending families in Eswatini. This objective was addressed by examining three aspects of the left-behinds' welfare and how each has been affected by labour migration, particularly the absence of a migrant member of their respective families. The first welfare aspect investigated was relational welfare, which focused on the relationships of the left-behind with a number of actors. The first was a discussion of the relationships between immediate family members of the migrant and the extended family. The second looked at the relationship between the left-behind and their respective communities. The study then turned to the academic welfare of the left-behind who still attended school or were recently in school. This section demonstrated the type of impact that labour migration has on the academic performance of children from migrant sending families. The last section responding to this objective was on the emotional and psychological welfare of the left-behind and how this is affected by the absence of the migrant member as a direct consequence of labour migration. All these aspects were investigated to demonstrate the nature of impacts on the welfare of those left behind by the migrant member.

7.3.2.1 Relational welfare

Labour migration was found to have an impact on the relationships of left-behind family members, both internally in relation to the extended family and externally, specifically with the immediate community members. Based on the evidence supplied by respondents, the study found that the relationships between members of the migrants immediate family were generally not affected by his absence. However, the relationship between these members and the extended family was often challenging. Extended family members were reported to interfere in the affairs of the migrant's family or start arguments with the immediate left-behind family members. This was often done during the periods of the migrant's absence. The reasons cited for this behavior were based on the fact that the migrant's family was vulnerable in the absence of the migrant as the head of household. This made it easier for extended family members to cause trouble for the family because the left-behind spouse's authority, being female in a patriarchal society, was not recognized as her absent husband's (Iqbal et al 2014).

The study also investigated the relationship between migrant sending households and their respective communities. This was considered important as community relations within the rural context are central to everyday life. Based on the interviews conducted, the study found that relationships between migrant families and the rest of their communities were affected by the migration of their family member. Community members often assumed that the migrant-sending household had money and wealth as a result of having someone within their home working in South Africa. This assumption was compounded by the ability to afford certain things that other members of the community could not. These included educational expenses, making improvements to infrastructure, and having a large herd of cattle among others. This created perceptions of inferiority and superiority among community members and migrant households. This resulted in community members either treating these families with respect, in account of their supposed wealth, or being treated with contempt because of envy or the presumption that these families thought highly of themselves.

It should also be noted that in some communities this perception did not seem to exist as respondents indicated that the community relations remained the same. This could be explained by the fact that some migrant families have had 3 generations of migrants in their household, therefore the community relations have always been based on this reality. While families that experience changes within their households as a result of recent labour migration may be perceived differently by community members as a consequence of these changes. In other cases, community relations may remain the same because community members are aware of the lived reality of migrant households in rural Eswatini, where the financial benefits are not what is expected.

7.3.2.2 Academic welfare

The academic welfare of the left-behind children was also investigated in order to determine labour migration's impact. The study found that the academic performance of children from migrant households was affected by the absence of the migrant member. However, this was also in consideration of other factors within the respective households which contributed to the children's performance (Antia et al 2020). The responsibilities at home that children had during the absence of the migrant were also identified as contributing towards learner's academic performance. Some of the left-behind children had to assist with more chores or had to deal with the emotional burdens carried by themselves or their mother as a result of the migrant father's absence. This affected the levels of concentration and ultimately their academic performance. For children that had less challenges at home that stem from the

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absence of the migrant father, the situation was different. These children were able to focus better at school knowing, thus perform better. Academic performance was also found to be impacted by learner's individual perceptions and aspirations (Libanova 2019). For those that wanted to perform well at school in order to have a chance at furthering their education, the biggest motivation was the need to get a stable, well-paying job. This would help them take care of their families in ways that the migrant member could not. This also provided motivation for some to perform well in school because they wanted to avoid having to migrate, as their migrant members had, in order to work in the mines.

7.3.2.3 Emotional and psychological welfare

On the question of emotional and psychological effects of labour migration on the left-behind, the study found that both spouses and dependents from migrant households were affected in a variety of ways. Some of the respondents, particularly the left-behind spouses reported feeling lonely during their migrant husband's absence. The frequency of visits home by the migrants were usually not sufficient and made the time the left-behind spouses spent apart from their husbands emotionally burdensome. In addition to this, left-behind spouses were deprived of their conjugal rights during these periods of absence which also affected them psychologically (Ndlovu & Tigere 2018). All the spouses interviewed stated that they did not have any other partners other than their migrant husbands. They indicated that they were faithful to their husbands even though the pressures of living apart from them were present. For some wives, the absence of their husbands also created psychological challenges as the daily tasks involved in running the household were physically, financially and emotionally demanding. Some of the activities and responsibilities that were normally shared between the two spouses, now being the sole responsibility of the left-behind spouse, affected the women emotionally.

The left-behind children were also found to be emotionally and psychologically affected by their migrant parents' absence. The young dependents interviewed for this study were found to be impacted by their fathers' absence in different ways. Most of them felt left out as their peers had the opportunity to spend time with their fathers. They felt that they could not enjoy the privileges of having their father around, such as emotional support and guidance, especially for the male dependents. These findings were consistent with much of the literature on migration impact on the individual (Kraus & Wotjas 2021). The literature indicates that migration can affect those left-behind emotionally and psychologically because their absence

often leaves a void in their lives. This void is difficult to fill or even accept for some, resulting in emotional and psychological effects on the left-behind.

7.3.3 Objective 3: Experiences of migrant-sending families

The third objective of this study was to highlight the experiences of the left-behind with labour migration. This was done to understand, based on the perspectives and lived experiences of members of migrant sending households, the impacts of migration on the left-behind. The literature on migration impact acknowledges some of these challenges and benefits associated with migration. However, studies on the lived realities of these impacts, particularly in the kingdom of Eswatini, are limited. Therefore, this section was justified by the need to not only base the understanding of migration impact on theoretical assumptions and expectations, but to provide empirical evidence for some of the claims made about migration impact in order to support or refute the assumptions made in mainstream literature. As such, this objective was addressed by dividing the evidence and analysis into two sections, one section on the benefits of migration for the left-behind, as they have come to experience it during the course of their migrant member's stay in South Africa. The second section is on the challenges faced by these left-behind family members during the periods of absence of the migrant.

7.3.3.1 Labour migration benefits

Members of the migrant families interviewed for this study indicated that they had experienced a number of benefits from the migration of their migrant member. The experience of having a member of the family working in South Africa was not all negative, at least for some of the families. The most cited benefit by both left-behind dependents and spouses was the ability to afford access to an education. For some, the migration of the family member meant that they could afford to pay school fees on time and to buy school uniforms and other school related materials. Some families managed to keep their children in school because of the money they received from the migrant member. This was because education was one of the top priorities for all the families that participated in this study. Although the migration of a family member meant that access to education could be guaranteed, it did not necessarily guarantee access to higher education. The money received for all the households was not enough to cater for higher education. Some of the dependents were hoping to apply for a government scholarship or study abroad because the option of funding higher education through the family's income was not one that was available to them. Therefore, the study found that labour migration has benefits for the left-behind, however, these are often limited

as a consequence of the existing socioeconomic and political conditions of the area under investigation.

7.3.3.2 Labour migration challenges

The findings of this study as presented in the foregoing chapter revealed that migrant sending families in Eswatini experienced a number of challenges as a consequence of the absence of their respective migrant family members. Since the migrant member from each of the families interviewed was always a male and the *umnumzane* (head of household), a number of areas were affected by his absence from the home. Some of the major and common challenges highlighted by the respondents included economic challenges and challenges with physical security and safety during the absence of the migrant. Economically, the migrant families were found to be in need for support in order to supplement the income from the migrant member of the family. Respondents indicated that their most significant challenges, in addition to the emotional, psychological, sociocultural challenges associated with migration on their families, were related to the economic conditions they lived under and the consequences this had on their livelihoods.

This reinforced the findings discussed earlier on in the chapter on the economic impact of labour migration on the left-behind that the presence of remittance income does not inevitably translate into improved living conditions for the migrant sending families of Eswatini's rural communities. Although the expectation exists, not only by the family members who make the decision to have someone in the family migrate as a survival strategy but by the community at large, the reality shows that the expectations do not match the outcomes of labour migration within these communities. Labour migration is assumed to be an effective survival strategy, with the expectation from the migrant sending families and the communities that such a move will guarantee not only a stable income but an improvement in their living conditions as well. However, the lived experiences of the respondents in this study demonstrated that this is not always the case and that the mere presence of remittances does not guarantee economic improvement.

The study found that some of the migrant families were targeted by criminals during this period of absence. This was based on the commonly held assumption that migrant families had money, especially in the period immediately after the migrant's visit home. The belief that the migrant leaves money and valuables behind during his visit provide motivation for the targeting of migrant-sending families in some communities. The gendered social norms also contributed to the assumptions made about the vulnerability of the family's security in

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the absence of the migrant father. Criminals found it easier to steal or break in only when the migrant was away or when they were aware that the family did not have any other able-bodied males to play the role of 'protector' (Libanova 2019; Motsa & Moreleje 2019). Of the four households that participated in the in-depth interviews, only one had not been targeted by criminals during her migrant husband's absence. This respondent also indicated that she had a number of able-bodied young men living with her and that she suspected that was part of the reasons why she had not been targeted. Essentially, the evidence provided revealed that the security and safety of migrant-sending families is often compromised during the migrant's absence and that this has psychological, financial among other implications for those left-behind.

7.4 Recommendations

Based on the preceding chapter, presenting the study's findings and analysis and the current chapter summarising and highlighting these, the following recommendations are made. These relate to the economic, sociocultural effects of labour migration on sending families in Eswatini, their lived experiences and how some of the challenges they face can be mitigated through a variety of interventions. These recommendations will also include a discussion of the possible areas of future research, which would be aimed at further understanding the impact of migration on a context specific basis in order to generate research that is relatable and consistent with the lived experiences of the subjects of the phenomenon being studied.

a) Community level support groups for migrant-sending families

Support groups at the community level would be beneficial for migrant-sending families. These groups would work as a resource center for migrant households where support from ordinary members of society and donor organisations can be directed towards then distributed to the group's members. The support provided by these groups would mainly focus on assisting with counselling and peer support services for left-behind spouses, mentorship programs for the left-behind children/dependents as well as pooling financial resources towards accessing higher education, as this was one of the major challenges faced by the left-behind dependents.

b) Commission research projects to gather empirical evidence on migration impact

To understand the true nature of migration impact and develop strategies and policies that directly relate to the conditions faced by migrant communities in Eswatini, more evidence-based research needs to be conducted. This can be structured as government initiatives

carried out through the Ministry of Labour and Social Security in collaboration with local and international organisations specialising in migration and developmental affairs. Outcomes from such research would inform migration and migration related policy and guide intervention projects carried out by the state and non-state actors.

c) **Skills training and development for the left-behind**

The state, in collaboration with non-governmental actors could consider providing artisan skills training and development for the left-behind in order to assist with income generation. The over-reliance on remittance income creates economic challenges for most migrant-sending families. Therefore, the need to have several sources of income is highlighted. Interventions aimed at training and developing skills of able-bodied members of migrant households would be beneficial in increasing their chances of employment, especially self-employment, and contributing towards the household's development and welfare.

d) **Social education on gender and gender roles**

Sensitisation on gender related issues can be undertaken at the community level to help form less rigid understandings and interpretations of gender and gender roles. This would be useful in dealing with some of the relational challenges that emerge as a consequence of the severe gender norms found in some communities. This also has the potential to alleviate the burden on left-behind spouses when dealing with gender related challenges in the absence of their spouses.

7.4.1 Areas of future research

a) Research how remittances, within the Eswatini context, interact with other structural conditions in the country to impact on the livelihood and welfare of migrant-sending families. This study has shown that the remittances received by migrant-sending households are often not enough to cater for the needs of the family as a consequence of a combination of economic and socio-political factors present within the country. Future research can look into how these factors interact with each other and the implications thereof on the usefulness of remittances received, in the backdrop of these conditions.

b) In relation to the above, further research can be undertaken to investigate the effectiveness of labour migration as a survival strategy, as captured by the NELM theory, within the Swati context. This would potentially provide useful insights into migration theory and its applicability across non-Western contexts which present a different set of realities than those assumed in mainstream migration theory.

c) The role played by other members of the family (especially grandparents, uncles and aunts in extended family structures) during periods of migrant parents' absence needs to be investigated further. Currently research often focuses on the impact of the migrant parent's absence on the children left behind, placing emphasis on the vacuum left by the migrant parent in the child's life. However, the extended family structure often found in the African context means that left-behind children, although affected by their parents' absence, are usually taken care of by other members of the family who consider and treat them as they would their own children. This phenomenon seems to be different from that witnessed in more Westernised societies that place less importance in family relations outside of the nuclear structure.

d) Another area that requires further investigation relates to the impact of technological advancements, particularly in communications and media, on relationships between migrants and their left-behind families. Constant advancements in technology provide easier and faster communication across boundaries which could be argued to have an impact on the intensities of presence and absence. Some of the respondents indicated frequent communication with their migrant family member through social media, especially WhatsApp. Although this may not substitute actual presence, it may have an impact on the intensity levels of some of the emotional and psychological effects of the migrant's absence as a consequence of migration.

e) The study sought to understand migration impact from the lived experiences of members of migrant-sending households. An area that also requires investigation relates to the experiences of community members from non-migrant households and their perceptions and relations with those from migrant households. This would help better understand migration impact at the community level and assist in the development of intervention strategies that are consistent with the experiences of these communities.

7.5 Concluding remarks

This study has endeavored to make a contribution to the debates on labour migration's impact on the left-behind. The focus on the left-behind families of migrants was important because mainstream migration literature often prioritises the impacts of migration on a macro level while the micro level is given inadequate attention. This has resulted in the study of and interaction with migration impact from an asymmetrical position. Those highly affected by migration, at the micro level, are therefore marginalised in the debates on its impacts. Furthermore, the study highlighted the importance of context specific understandings of

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migration impact by investigating the nature of labour migration's impact on the kingdom of Eswatini. This particular context, particularly the unique cultural conditions found in this country, presented a unique set of migration consequences for the families left-behind. This outcome was evidence of the importance of context specific investigations of migration impact and the understanding that the unique conditions, economic, socio-political and cultural among others, are extremely significant for generating migration research that is consistent with the lived realities of those affected by migration.

It is the hope of the researcher that this study can be used to inform further investigation of migration impact in Eswatini and other African states as a basis for not only understanding the true nature of migration impact on African communities and families, but also as a means to structure migration and migration activities in such a way that is consistent with its impact at the micro level.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Ethical Clearance Letter

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Faculty of Humanities
Research Ethics Committee

12 March 2019

Dear Ms Malindisa

Project:	**Socioeconomic and cultural impacts of labour migration on migrant mineworker families in the Kingdom of Eswatini**
Researcher:	**N Malindisa**
Supervisor:	**Dr C Nshimbi**
Department:	**Political Sciences**
Reference number:	**13382251 (GW20181016S)**

Thank you for your response to the Committee's correspondence.

I have pleasure in informing you that the Research Ethics Committee formally **approved** the above study at an *ad hoc* meeting held on 12 March 2019. Data collection may therefore commence.

Please note that this approval is based on the assumption that the research will be carried out along the lines laid out in the proposal. Should your actual research depart significantly from the proposed research, it will be necessary to apply for a new research approval and ethical clearance.

We wish you success with the project.

Sincerely

Prof Maxi Schoeman
Deputy Dean: Postgraduate and Research Ethics
Faculty of Humanities
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
e-mail: PGHumanities@up.ac.za

cc: Dr C Nshimbi (Supervisor)   Prof S Zondi (HoD)

Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe
Lefapha la Bomotho

Research Ethics Committee Members: Prof MME Schoeman (Deputy Dean); Prof KL Harris; Mr A Bizos; Dr L Blokland; Dr K Booyens; Dr A-M de Beer; Ms A dos Santos; Dr R Fasselt; Ms KT Govinder Andrew; Dr E Johnson; Dr W Kelleher; Mr A Mohamed; Dr C Puttergill; Dr D Reyburn; Dr M Soer; Prof E Taljard; Prof V Thebe; Ms B Tsebe; Ms D Mokalapa

<div align="right">

Department of Political Sciences

Faculty of Humanities

University of Pretoria

Pretoria 0002

Tel: 012 420 2464

</div>

<div align="center">

Letter Requesting Informed Consent

</div>

Dear participant

Title of research project: **Socioeconomic and cultural impacts of labour migration on migrant mineworker families in the Kingdom of Eswatini.**

Researcher details: Nomzamo Penelope Malindisa, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Humanities. University of Pretoria

Email: nomzamo.malindisa@up.ac.za Tel: 012 420 5182/ 078 088 3329

Research study description.

This study seeks to investigate the socio-economic and cultural impacts of migration on Swazi communities, particularly the families of Swazi migrants who work in South African mines. The research aims to provide an understanding of the impacts of migration from the migrant sending families' perspectives by bringing out these families' experiences.

The interview/data

- The interviews will be in-depth, semi-structured and conducted face-to-face. Interviews will last for approximately an hour each.

- The purpose of the interviews will be to focus on the experiences of members of migrant sending families, revealing the nature of labour migration impacts on them and members of their households.

- The data generated from interviews will be documented through audio recording and field notes. As a participant, you are at liberty to indicate at any point should you be uncomfortable with the recording of your interview, in which case your responses will be captured manually through note-taking.

- All the interview responses recorded will be treated as confidential.

- There are no benefits associated with participation in this research. Participation is on a voluntary basis. You can withdraw your participation at any time without any adverse consequences towards you.

- Participation in this research effort is generally not associated with any potential harm to you in any physical, psychological, legal or social manner.

- However, should you experience any emotional harm and require counselling as a result of your participation in the project, such services will be made available to you. In such a case, after the interview the researcher will facilitate your access to counselling services with LifeLine. The counselling will be done telephonically. The contact details of the counselling service provider are as follows:
  LifeLine Pretoria
  National Crisis Line: 081 322 322
  Email: reception.lifeline.pta@gmail.com

- All electronic data will be securely stored in a password protected pdf file. Data will be stored for 15 years as stipulated by the university of Pretoria's regulations. The results of the interview will be used for academic publication and further research efforts in future.

Please **complete and sign the attached form for individual informed consent** and return it to the researcher for record purposes.

Kind Regards,

Nomzamo Malindisa

Appendix 3: Consent Form

Faculty of Humanities
Department of Political Sciences

INTERVIEW: INDIVIDUAL INFORMED CONSENT

Nomzamo Penelope Malindisa, PhD International Relations

Socio-economic and cultural impacts of labour migration on migrant mineworker families in the Kingdom of Eswatini

I, the undersigned

TITLE: _____

INITIALS AND SURNAME:

_____

_____

INSTITUTION / COMPANY/INTEREST GROUP:

_____

POSITION / APPOINTMENT:

_____

ADDRESS:

_____

I have been fully informed about the purpose of the research and understand the conditions of informed consent under which I shall be interviewed. I hereby grant permission for the interview on condition that:

- the interview will be electronically recorded and further documented in a written form for research purposes

- my name and affiliation to _____ may be used and cited for
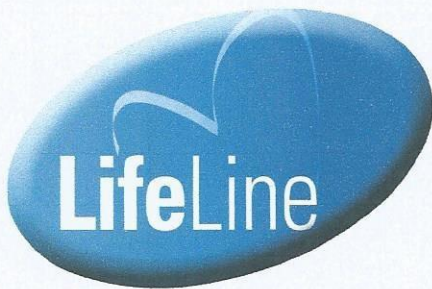
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the purposes of the thesis and related articles.

- my name may not be used or cited, or my identity otherwise disclosed, in this research project, thesis or related articles, but that the interview can be used or cited on a basis of anonymity

- the interview maybe used or cited in this thesis or related articles for the purposes of further research.

- I understand my right to choose whether to participate in the project and that the information furnished will be handled confidentially. I am aware that the results of the investigation may be used for the purposes of publication and further research.

Interviewee signature:-------------------------------------Date: -----------------Place:-------------

Researcher signature: --------------------------------------Date: -----------------Place:------------

Supervisor signature: --------------------------------------Date: -----------------Place:------------

Appendix 4: Letter for Counselling services

LifeLine Pretoria

71 Watermeyer Street
Val de Grace, 0184
P O BOX 12407
Queenswood
0121
Office Tel: 012 804 1853
Crisis Line: 012 804 3619
Rape Crisis Line 082 340 2061
email: reception.lifeline.pta@gmail.com
www.lifelinepta.org.za

N.P.O. no.: 001-592 NPO
P.B.O Number 930031148
Section 18A Reference Number: 9442/794/12/3
B-BBBEE: Level 2

26 November 2018

Dear Nomzamo Malindisa

Re: Request for LifeLine Pretoria to render services to your clients

Thank you for contacting Life Line Pretoria in this regard, our services are available to anyone in need of Free counselling and you are most welcome to refer any of your participants to us. We usually work with 16 – 18 years and upwards.

Our counselling is Carl Rogers person centred approach we deal with the emotions and refer clients when it is beyond our scope of practice.

We offer face to face counselling but for those who are not close to our offices I would suggest our National Line which is 0861 322 322 available 24 hours 7 days per week and 365 days per year.

Warm regards

Sonya Rayne
Director LifeLine Pretoria
076 516 8824
Tel: 012 804 1853 | Fax: 012 804 7039
Crisis: 012 804 3619 |
Rape Counselling line - 082 340 2061
http://lifelinepta.org.za
http://www.facebook.com/lifeline.pretoria:

LifeLine Pretoria 2018: Directior S. Rayne Chairperson: S Houghton

Appendix 5: Individual Interview Questions

Student name and surname: Nomzamo Penelope Malindisa

Student Number: 13382251

Degree: PhD in International Relations

Research title: Socioeconomic and cultural impacts of labour migration on migrant mineworker families in the Kingdom of Eswatini.

<u>INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR CHILDREN/DEPENDENTS (Persons 18 years and above) IN MIGRANT SENDING FAMILIES</u>

1. What is/was the role and family position of the absent family member?

2. Who has taken up this role and the responsibilities attached to it as a result of their absence?

3. According to your observation, how has this family member handled these responsibilities?

4. How best would you describe your overall feeling/experience about the absence of your family member?

5. Did/has the absence of your family member affect your academic performance? If yes, was/is it in a positive or a negative way?

6. Has the absence of your family member affected your relationship with the rest of your family members?

7. Has the relationship you and your family have with the rest of the community changed as a result of having a member of your family working in a South African mine?

8. Has the absence of this member (particularly a parent or guardian) resulted in you feeling like you are/have missed out on certain experiences and activities that your peers have experienced? If yes, what are these?

9. Based on your observation, are the family roles still the same as before or has there been a change? If any, how do you feel about these changes?

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10. Given the opportunity to, would you leave or encourage another family member to leave the kingdom to go work in a mine in South Africa and why?

11. Do you feel that your family has benefitted (in one or more ways) from the migration of your household members? If so, how?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR LEFT-BEHIND SPOUSES IN MIGRANT SENDING FAMILIES

1. Have there been any changes in your family since your migrant member left? If any, please elaborate on them.

2. Do you believe these changes were solely caused by the migration of your family member or are there other factors that may be contributing towards them?

3. Based on your experience, what seems to be the challenges associated with migrant mine labour, particularly for the family left behind?

4. Do you think these challenges are unique to mine worker families or are they evident in other migrant sending families?

5. How is the relationship between you and the absent family member? Has it changed since they left home, if so how?

6. How is the relationship between you and your present family members? Would you say it has been affected by the absence of one of your members?

7. According to your observations, has the absence of certain family members affected the socialization of the younger members of the family? If yes, how?

8. What are the traditional norms and roles within your family structure? Have these been affected by the absence of your family member?

9. Do you feel you need additional support with the responsibilities of your household as a result of the absence of your family member/s? If yes, what kind of support could this be?

10. Do you believe that the migration of your family member(s) has improved the economic conditions of your household? If yes, how so?

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11. Is there anything you would change about your family's current situation that has been altered by the absence of your migrant member?

12. Should the opportunity arise, would you encourage the younger members of the family to also migrate to South Africa for work in the mines? What would motivate your decision?

Appendix 6: Survey Questionnaire

Student name and surname: Nomzamo Penelope Malindisa

Student Number: 13382251

Degree: PhD in International Relations

Research title: Socioeconomic and cultural impacts of labour migration on migrant mineworker families in the Kingdom of Eswatini.

<u>Biographical information</u>

1. Region:

    - Hhohho Region

    - Lubombo Region

    - Shiselweni Region

    - Manzini Region

2. Nearest town_____

3. Village
   _____

4. Local   royal   administration   (Inkundla)
   _____

5. Age

    - 18-25 years

    - 26-35 years

    - 36-45 years

    - 45-59 years

    - 60 years and above

6. Sex:

- Male

- Female

- Other_____

7. Marital status

- Single

- Married

- Married (Customary)

- Divorced

- Other

  _____

8. Level of education

- None

- Primary certificate

- Secondary certificate

- High school certificate

- Tertiary qualification

9. Primary source of income

- Local employment

- Local business

- Local family contributions

- Remittances

10. Occupation/skill type

- Unskilled

- Semi-skilled

- Skilled

- Professional

11. Number of direct dependents

- 1-2

- 3-4

- 5-6

- 7 and above

Experience with migration within the family

12. Do you have any experience with a family member migrating to work in a South African mine?

- Yes

- No

13. What is the nature of your relationship with the migrant family member?

- Parent/guardian

- Spouse

- Child

- Sibling

- Other_____
_____

14. How long have they been working in South Africa? _____

15. What influenced their decision to migrate to South Africa for work?

16. Have other family members migrated for the same purpose?

- Yes

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- No

17. Do you currently have a member of the family planning or preparing to migrate for the purposes of working in a South African mine?

   - Yes

   - No

<u>Nature of relationship with migrant family member</u>

18. How often do you keep in touch with the migrant member while they are away?

   - Daily

   - Weekly

   - Monthly

   - Less than monthly

19. Are you happy with the frequency of your communication with the migrant member?

   - Yes

   - No

   - Not sure

20. How often does your migrant member come home?

   - Monthly

   - Quarterly

   - Bi-annually

   - Annually

21. Do you get to spend time with your migrant family member when they are home for the holidays?

   - Yes

   - No

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- Sometimes

22. What was the state of your relationship with the absent family member before they left for work in the mines?

  - Very good, we were close

  - Good

  - Fair

  - Bad

  - Non-existent

23. Would you say that the absence of your migrant family member has affected your relationship? If yes, please elaborate.

  - Yes

  - No

  - Somewhat

_____

_____

____

Economic impact

24. How much money/remittances do you and your family receive from the migrant member of your family?

  - E2, 500

  - E2, 501- E5000

  - <E5, 000

25. How is this money distributed across all the expenses of the household? Which of the listed items form part of your top three priorities in spending monies received?

  - Food

- Education

- Clothing

- Healthcare

- Investments

- Business

- Transport

- Other household expenses_____

- Entertainment

26. Which item from the above uses up the highest percentage of the money received?

_____

_____

27. How improved would you say your economic situation is after the migration of a family member to work in a South African mine?

- On a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is no improvement at all and 5 is drastic improvement.

   1   2   3   4   5

28. How would you describe your spending power as a result of the migration of a family member?

   Can you:

- Afford more products

- Cannot afford, the situation is worse

- Afford the same

- Afford less

Socio-cultural impact

29. Has access to education, at all levels (basic, secondary and tertiary) improved because of the migration of a member of the family?

- Yes

- No

- Somewhat

30. Has the migration of a family member impacted the quality of education you can afford as a family?

- Yes

- No

- Somewhat

31. On a scale of 1 to 5, has access to other needs such as adequate and quality healthcare improved as a result of this migration?

1   2   3   4   5

32. Who has taken up the responsibilities of the migrant member within the family?

_____

_____

33. What do these responsibilities include? Is decision-making one of them?

_____

_____

_____

34. How is this family member dealing with the (extra) responsibility?

- Very well

- Well

- They manage just okay

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- They struggle and often need assistance

35. Has this affected the member's ability to fulfill their own responsibilities? If yes, how?

_____

_____

_____

36. When the migrant member returns, do they resume their responsibilities or the member left behind continues to fulfill these?

_____

_____

37. If so, would you say that this creates conflict and/or tension between the two family members? Both when the migrant member is around and when they are away. If yes, how would you describe this conflict and/or tension?

_____

_____

_____

_____

38. Does this shift in responsibility create confusion among the rest of the family members with regards to whose lead to follow between the migrant member and the member left behind? If yes, how would you describe this confusion or misunderstanding?

_____

_____

_____

39. Overall, would you say that you are happy with the changes that have taken place within the family? Please elaborate.

_____

_____

_____